THE FUNCTIONS OF INDONESIAN IN CENTRAL JAVA[1]

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1. INTRODUCTION

The population of Central Java (the area around the cities of Yogyakarta and Surakarta on the island of Java, Indonesia) is to a large extent bilingual. First, there is the language native to the region, Javanese, which is the mother tongue of the vast majority of the native-born population, and second there is Indonesian, the national language of Indonesia, which is very widely known and used in daily life, especially by the generations which have grown up since World War II. In this paper we shall discuss the function which Indonesian occupies in the Javanese speech community of Central Java.[2] What we describe for Central Java also holds true in its broad outlines for other areas where Javanese is spoken, but there are differences which arise from difference in attitudes toward Javanese in Central Java as opposed to Javanese elsewhere.

To start out with, we must distinguish two subcommunities of the Javanese speech community whose speech and behavior differ markedly: the Peranakan, Javanese speakers of Chinese ancestry, and the Pribumi, the rest (for the most part, people of native Javanese ancestry). Although these communities speak the same language and have absolutely no difficulty understanding each other's speech, the function of Indonesian and attitudes toward it in the two communities are so dif-

ferent that we must deal with them separately.

Let us start with the Pribumi speech community (or rather the size-
able portion of the Pribumi community which has a good command of
Indonesian and uses it frequently in daily life). In Central Java, as
throughout Indonesia, Indonesian is the official language and is used
for the kind of functions which official languages commonly occupy:
in schools above the first few grades, for any activities involving the
government (courts, military, public health, agricultural extension,
etc.), for national mass media, advertising, and the like, and other
such activities which are carried out on a national scale. Indonesian
is also a language of wider communication. It is the language of
business above the bazaar level and is the language of communication
with non-Javanese. Indonesian, thus, also has the function of creating
distance and clarifies the outsider's status as an outsider. The
corollary of this is that Javanese (as is true also for other regional
languages) is the code for in-group identification, the recognition of
a person as 'one of us'; and Javanese have the tendency to use Indo-
nesian with all non-Javanese, even those who know Javanese.

The activities for which Indonesian is typically used are prestigeful
activities, and in using Indonesian people get the kind of prestige one
would get from engaging in these activities. Thus, Indonesian functions
as a means for conferring prestige of a certain sort. For example,
Indonesian is associated with education. A well-educated person is
fluent in Indonesian, and therefore fluency in Indonesian gives one the
prestige of being well-educated. Indonesian is also the language of
Jakarta, the capital city, and as such is associated with people who
have gone places, especially with the elite (most of whom live or have
lived in the capital or at least frequently go there). It is the lan-
guage which non-Javanese use, and since these people in Central Java
are often perceived to be economically better off than the ordinary
Javanese, their language has an aura of prestige. On account of these
factors, Indonesian has become an important code among Javanese: it
is used not only to communicate with non-Javanese or to talk about
subjects for which Javanese is normally not used, but it is also a
device for asserting the status or right to prestige which is ascribed
to speakers of Indonesian.

Finally, Indonesian also has the function of avoiding Javanese,
where the use of Javanese involves a speech-level choice which would
create a feeling of awkwardness. (We shall discuss this function in
Section 3.1., below.)

1.1. SPEECH LEVELS

In order to understand the functions which Indonesian occupies in Central Java we must give a short description of Javanese speech levels.[3] As is well known, Javanese has speech levels, a series of alternative vocabularies, the choice of which depends upon the relative statuses of the speaker and the interlocutor and their degree of intimacy. A person of low status gives a high level speech to his superior. A high-status person gives low level speech to his inferior. Intimates give each other low level. In other words, the choice of a lower or higher speech level is governed by considerations very similar in type to the ones which govern the choice of **tu** or **vous** in French, du or Sie in German, **ty** or **vy** in Russian, and so forth. There are differences: whereas the **tu-vous** alternation involves only these pronouns and verbal agreement in French, the Javanese levels involve close to a thousand vocabulary items. Further, in the European languages there is only a two-way choice: one speaks either on a **vous** level or on a **tu** level; in Javanese, level choice is a cline: one may speak on a purely low level or on a purely high level or on any of an infinite number of levels in between, depending on how many and for which particular meanings one chooses the high as opposed to the low alternative form.[4] In Javanese the picture is further complicated by the occurrence of honorific vocabulary which gives honor to the person spoken or referred to and which is employed or not employed irrespective of the speech level. The presence or absence of honorific vocabulary is also referred to by the term 'speech level'.

2. FORM OF INDONESIAN USED BY JAVANESE SPEAKERS TO OTHER JAVANESE SPEAKERS

With this brief description of what speech levels are, we are now in a position to understand the form which Indonesian takes when used in everyday conversations among Javanese. First, except for formal speech on formal occasions or discussions of an official nature, there is practically no conversation purely in Indonesian (or, for that matter, in many circles, purely in Javanese). Instead, we find a constant switch from Indonesian to Javanese and back. It is possible to do this because the syntactic structures of the two languages are very close. Now this switch is by no means random. The choice of Indonesian forms is governed by factors or motives which we shall examine in the succeeding section. Further, there are certain forms in Javanese which very clearly indicate speech level (functors, demonstratives and pronouns and certain other words of high frequency in conversation), and

these forms have a strong tendency to be put in Javanese so that the
speech level is clear. (When the purpose of a shift to Indonesian is
to obscure the speech level, as we describe in Section 3.1., below,
these forms are put in Indonesian). The following citation exemplifies
the shift to Indonesian where Javanese forms are interspersed to pre-
serve the speech level. The speaker has shifted to Indonesian because
of the subject (school), but the Indonesian is broken by forms which
clearly indicate a high speech level (meniko *this,* éngkang *marker,* etc).
In this citation and all citations in this paper forms that are Indo-
nesian and not Javanese are capitalised.[5]

1. Lajeng kulo raq énggéh meniko kéngéng pón wastani dados PANI-
TIYA MENERIMA MURÉT. Wonten maléh anu meniko, MASALAH laré éngkang
NILÉNYA KURANG BEGITU BAÉQ, ATÓ ANAQ YHANG DHATANG meniko BISA
DITERIMA.

further I you-know also umm could passive-marker *be-called be*
THE-COMMITTEE TO-ACCEPT PUPILS. There-is also umm this PROBLEM child
who HIS-GRADES NOT-SO VERY GOOD OR CHILD THAT COMES that-one CAN BE-
ACCEPTED

'Further, I could also be called the admissions committee.
Further there is, umm, the problem of the child whose grades aren't
good enough or whether the child that comes can be admitted.'

In a similar way, Javanese forms of lower level are inserted in between
Indonesian forms in utterances which are at a lower level.

3. FACTORS WHICH LEAD TO A CHOICE OF INDONESIAN AS OPPOSED TO JAVANESE

In Java Indonesian functions much as the High forms of diglossia
function in the four speech communities which Ferguson describes and
Javanese functions much like the Low forms. We find that Indonesian
is used for most of the functions which Ferguson outlines for the High
form in diglossia: personal letters, political matters, university
lectures, news broadcasts, newspaper editorials or news stories; and
Javanese is used for the functions which he lists as typically per-
formed by Low: instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks,
conversation with family friends, colleagues, radio 'soap opera',
caption on political cartoon (in publications whose readership is
largely Javanese). The only exception is that poetry and sermons are
in Javanese (if aimed at a Javanese audience). Whether or not the
term diglossia should properly be applied to the Javanese speech com-
munity is a question we cannot consider here. There are enough dif-
ferences in language attitudes and forms which the alternative codes
take between the Javanese speech community and Ferguson's illustrations

that the question needs further consideration. Suffice it to say
that some functions of Indonesian are much like the function of High
speech in diglossia and we will refer to these functions by the term
'high speech in diglossia'. Further, just as in diglossia there is
no rigid separation of High and Low (there seems to be a switch back
and forth and various intermediate forms), so in Central Java we find
switching from Javanese to Indonesian and back again.[6] Citation one,
Section 2, above, exemplifies this formal feature and also the choice
of Indonesian elicited by the subject matter.

It is important to note that not only the subject matter leads to
the choice of Indonesian but also the setting: conversations conducted
in a setting (either in the location or with the mood of a certain
setting) where Indonesian is the normal code tend to be in Indonesian
(or, more accurately, in an Indonesian – Javanese mixture). For
example, formal meetings among people who know each other from work or
school are commonly carried out with Indonesian. The following citation
is from the meeting of a group of students who are planning an outing.
We find a mixture of Indonesian and low-level Javanese. (The normal
code among students for social intercourse is low-level Javanese.)
Utterances directed to someone are in Javanese, whereas those of an
official nature discussing the subject of the meeting are in Indonesian.

2. A. Njóq kuwi BIYAYANÉ piro?
        and that ITS-COST how-much
        'What is THE COST?'

    B. Telóng atós sèket, BERMALAM DIBUATKAN KÉMAH
        three hundred fifty OVERNIGHT BE-USED-FOR CAMPING
        'Three hundred and fifty, FOR THE CAMPING FEES OVERNIGHT.'

    A. Nèq utang ólèh, óra?
        if owe can not
        'Can we pay later, or not?'

    B. MAKAN DUWA KALI.
        eat two times
        'You get two meals.'

    C. Ngandel óra?
        believe not
        'Do you believe that?'

    D. (to C) Kowé dikongkon meneng whaé.
            you ordered be-quiet just
            'Hey, it's not your turn to talk!'

Pretending that one is in a certain situation is sufficient grounds for
switching to Indonesian. In the following citation the switch to Indo-
nesian is a way of jesting: a young man jokingly upbraids his cousin,
a doctor, for not giving a clear explanation of some medical problem.
The doctor was intentionally obscure, and the cousin by choosing Indo-
nesian creates the scene of a courtroom:

3.   Lha INI TERDHAQWA anu, MEMBERIKAN KETERANGAN YHANG MENYULÉTKAN
     and THIS IS CHARGED UMM, GIVE EXPLANATION THAT MAKE-DIFFICULT
     'THIS MAN IS CHARGED WITH GIVING EXPLANATIONS WHICH LEAD TO
     EVEN MORE CONFUSION.'

This use of Indonesian for official matters thus allows Indonesian
to have the function of creating a scene or atmosphere of seriousness.
Thus, an utterance can be given importance by choice of Indonesian.
The following citation illustrates this use of Indonesian.

A servant whose master had promised him a government job asks per-
mission to quit. The master threatens to withdraw the application for
a government appointment if he does not stay on. The threat is with
Indonesian. The Javanese itself is on a mid level, not the highest and
not the lowest, and very formal in style:

4.   Dadi kulo iséq iso MEMPENGARUI ajengo sampan mpón dugi TAHAP
semanten niko. SAYA BILANG Dhéq Ratno nyemlangi DIPUTOSKAN SAJA,
kulo saget.
     so I still can INFLUENCE although you already arrived stage
that-far that. I SAY title name are-in-danger-of BE-CUT-OFF just I can
     'So, I could still INFLUENCE (the decision about your job), even
though it has already reached this STAGE. I AM TELLING YOU, Ratno, you
are running the risk of HAVING YOUR APPLICATION WITHDRAWN. I could just
do that.'

The use of Indonesian for education leads to its use as a device to
show the world that one is not ignorant. In fact Indonesian is fre-
quently resorted to as a self-defense mechanism. The following citation
shows a combination of these factors. The speaker (a clerk for our
project) reports to an outsider about a co-worker (a student) of whom
he is jealous. He uses Indonesian to show that he himself is just as
educated as the student and also to underline the officiality and
importance of his deductions. The speech level is high, but the speaker
becomes so upset as he proceeds that he loses control over the speech
levels as well as the syntactic construction.

5.   Méng kulo-meniko kuwatos kulo-menio, ong larélaré mriki
mahaséswa mriki nio ... és yhéh anu, sami pinterpinter nai mrayu

NANTI KALOQ ORANG ... KELIHATAN ORANG-ASÉNG rós dhidhekati. Lajeng,
yho, NANTI teros MUDHAH DHIANGGAP SEBAGÉ ... DHIJADHIKAN ASISTÈNNYA.

     only I am-concerned I, because boys here students here this ...
OK yes umm, plural *smart at flattery LATER WHEN PERSON THEY-SEE*
FOREIGNER then APPROACH HIM. Then, umm, LATER then EASY BE-CONSIDERED
AS ... HE-MADE HIS-ASSISTANT.

     'Only I am concerned because these young people, these students
here ... um, you know, they are good at flattery, and SO IF SOMEONE,
... IF THEY SEE A FOREIGNER, THEY JUST GO RIGHT UP TO HIM. So, umm,
THEN THE FOREIGNER PROBABLY THINKS THAT THEY ARE umm ... SO HE HIRES
THEM AS ASSISTANTS.

3.1. INDONESIAN AS A DEVICE FOR AVOIDING SPEECH LEVEL CHOICE

Indonesian is frequently used as a device for obviating references
to status or intimacy which Javanese makes clear. As we mentioned
above, in such situations Javanese forms which clearly indicate speech
level are avoided at all costs. Situations which lead to the choice
of Indonesian as a neutral speech level:
1) where the relationships between the participants in the conversation
are such that two different speech-level choices which conflict with
one another are called for - i.e., where two factors which lead to a
certain speech level choice are in conflict;
2) where there has been a change in the course of time in the relative
status or relationship between the participants or where modern life
conflicts with older usage;
3) where the Javanese calls for a choice between an honorific or its
absence but where the status of the person spoken or referred to is
too high for the absence of an honorific but too low for the employment
of an honorific;
4) where someone has used an inappropriate speech level. It is im-
portant to note that the switch to Indonesian is not freely available.
Because Indonesian functions as an official language or like High
speech of diglossia, it creates a feeling of distance, over-emphasis
or pretentiousness which must be balanced against the difficulties
posed by speech-level choice. Usually, we find that speakers cannot
decide and end up switching back and forth from pure Javanese in the
wrong speech level to Indonesian (or part Indonesian) and back again
to Javanese.

A typical example of the choice of Indonesian as a device for
obviating conflicts is the situation in which two persons of widely
differing age work or study together in the same institution and have

exactly the same rank. People who work together are on a pseudo-
intimate level, very much like co-workers in America who are on a first-
name basis: they are not intimate in reality, but custom requires them
to speak as if they were. However, it creates conflicts for a person
to use low-level speech to someone old enough to be his father or
mother, especially if he is, in fact, not really intimate with the
addressee, but is just in this pseudo-initmate relationship. In such
cases we find constant shift.

Similar behavior is evoked by a change in status. For example, a
village school teacher meets an old pupil of his who has meanwhile gone
on to get a PhD. The former relation was low-level speech on the part
of the teacher and high on the part of the student. They meet again.
The teacher should not speak low to a PhD. On the other hand, older
persons who have known someone since childhood and were at one time the
child's superior should continue addressing the person with low-level
speech. Thus when the teacher and the student meet, the student con-
tinues speaking high-level speech, but the teacher switches from
Javanese low to Indonesian mixture to Javanese high to Indonesian and
so forth. The Indonesian mixture is the sort that obscures the speech
level.

A momentary shift to Indonesian also may serve the function of avoid-
ing the choice or absence of an honorific where the decision is a dif-
ficult one. In the following citation the discussion is about where
an American will live. The portion of the utterance which means 'to
live somewhere' is put into Indonesian to avoid the Javanese form which
clearly ascribes status. Manggèn *live* is not high enough for an
American and lenggah *reside* is too high for this particular American,
who is just a young student.

6. Lha, lajeng saqmeniko kepéngén nglajengaken Boso Éndónésianipón,
patang wulan maléh ngaten. Mawi tèhnik meniko, anu, HIDHÓP JADHI SATU
RUMAH TANGGA.

'Anyway, now he wants to improve his Indonesian for four more
months. Using that technique, umm, LIVING IN THE SAME HOUSEHOLD (with)
Indonesians)`.'

A closely related function to these avoidance usages is the use of
Indonesian in response to an interlocutor who one feels has given the
wrong speech level. For example, a college student addresses a vendor
older than himself with low-level speech. The use of low-level speech
to an older stranger is clear evidence of a wide social gap between the
speaker (high status) and the interlocutor (low status). If the vendor
were to answer at a high speech level it would be a clear acknowledge-

ment that his status is very much inferior to that of the student. On
the other hand, if the vendor were to respond with low-level speech,
he would be pretending to be in the same social class as the student
(i.e., a student himself, clearly not the case). In fact he tries
speaking low-level Javanese but is unconfortable and switches to Indo-
nesian. But since Indonesian gives an aura of pretentiousness, the
vendor goes back to Javanese, and so forth:

7. Student: Nèq kowé dhéwé sóq, opo slama rong taón ki yho meneng
             whaé?
             *'How about you yourself, will you also abstain for
             two years?'*

   Vendor: Ha iyo nó umóm poqé dhaérah nggɔnaku kuwi, KECUALI
             ADHA YANG NDHAQ SADHAR, YHA, ITU.
             *'Yes, that is common in my AREA, in my place. UNLESS
             THEY DON'T KNOW ABOUT IT (family planning), THAT'S
             WHAT THEY DO.'*

Also related to these functions of Indonesian is the function of
Indonesian to cover up incompetence in Javanese. Javanese is a language
with strong traditions of correctness, both in dialect and in proper
speech-level usage. (In this way Javanese differs strikingly from the
Low speech of the diglossic communities Ferguson describes.) Speakers
who use a substandard dialect or do not follow the rules of speech-
level usage which are considered correct (as is frequently the case)
may well take refuge in Indonesian. A case of this type of motivation
is the speech of a teacher from a poor peasant family who switches
periodically into Indonesian in speaking to his fellow teachers (and
others of respectable status). He uses enough Javanese admixture to
keep the feeling of speaking Javanese (avoid pretentiousness) but con-
sistently avoids Javanese forms which involve difficulties with honor-
ifics (or their absence). In these cases he uses the Indonesian
analogue or leaves the word unspoken. For example, in the following
citation he puts into Indonesian the word for 'give' and leaves un-
spoken the word for 'bought' (since these forms involve a three-way
choice depending on the relative statuses of the giver or buyer and
receiver):

8. Aspileks. DHIBERI DHULU resep Dhoqter Dewi, malah rong taq ...
   *'Aspilex. Dr. Dewi GAVE HIM a prescription BEFORE, but I
   haven't ... (bought it for him yet).'*

This discussion by no means exhausts the functions of Indonesian,
the motivations for the choice of Indonesian. Indonesian has other

important rhetorical functions: it may be used for softening and
euphemism; it may be used as a device for addressing several interlocu-
tors; it may be a device for keeping apart different threads of a nar-
rative.   All of these uses spring from Indonesian's function analogous
to high speech in diglossia.   Interests of brevity prevent us from
further discussion of these functions.

4.   INDONESIAN IN THE PERANAKAN COMMUNITY

For the Peranakan subcommunity, much as for the Pribumi community,
Indonesian functions as the high speech of diglossia, at least for the
younger generations educated after the War.   For older generations,
who rarely received education in Indonesian, these functions of Indo-
nesian are greatly reduced, even though practically all Javanese-speak-
ing Peranakans also can speak Indonesian.[7]   What is more interesting
and even startling are the differences between the two communities in
the function of Indonesian.

In the first place, Peranakan speech does not employ Javanese speech
levels or honorifics (except perhaps on the part of a few members who
have learned them much as one might learn a foreign language).   Thus
for Peranakans Indonesian does not have the functions of speech-level
avoidance that we discussed above in Section 3.1.   More interesting
yet is the use of Indonesian forms as speech level forms.   The admixture
of Indonesian forms into the Javanese speech makes for a higher level
of speech, i.e. speech with Indonesian admixture increases the distance
between the speaker and the interlocutor and ascribes status to the
interlocutor.   A person of high status received utterances on a high
level (Javanese with Indonesian admixture) and a person of low status
receives utterances on a low level (Javanese with little or no Indo-
nesian admixture).   Intimates exchange low level speech.   As in the
case of Pribumi Javanese speech levels, the Peranakan speech levels
are a cline: a speaker may choose a low level (speech with no Indo-
nesian) or high (speech with few or no Javanese forms) or, as is most
frequently the case, speak on one of an infinite number of levels
depending on how many of the forms are Indonesian and which ones they
are.   The following citation illustrates this function of Indonesian
as a speech level.   The utterance is on the high level (with a minimum
of forms left in Javanese).   However, it contains a quote of what the
speaker thought to himself, which is on low level.   (Quotations in
both Peranakan and Pribumi speech are made on the level of the original
utterance, and of course thoughts are on the lowest, most intimate
level.)   In the examples in this section forms which are Indonesian

only are Capitalised and forms which exist in both Javanese and
Indonesian are underlined. Purely Javanese forms are unmarked:

9. Tór LAGI dipikérpikér, nèq DIBAWAQ SINI MALEM, NANTI, APA,
"dadiné ra nono nggoné." NDAQ ADA TEMPATé to.

    *Further THEN I-thought-it-over, if I-BRING-IT HERE AT-NIGHT
THEN, UMM, "so no there-is place-for-it" NO THERE-IS PLACE-for-it
you know?*

      *'Then I THOUGHT if I BRING IT HERE AT NIGHT, UMM, (I said to
myself), "Then there won't be room to park it." You know, THERE
WON'T BE ANY PLACE TO LEAVE it.'*

4.1. FORMS WHICH INDONESIAN TAKES IN THE PERANAKAN COMMUNITY AS
       COMPARED WITH INDONESIAN IN THE PRIBUMI COMMUNITY

The use of Indonesian as a speech-level indicator in Peranakan
speech leads to what seems at first blush to be a random mixture of
Javanese and Indonesian, especially at a speech level intermediate
between the highest and the lowest level. Further, the choice of
Indonesian has absolutely no connection with the phrase structure,
again, as we shall see, a product of its function as a speech level.
The following citation shows speech on a mid (neither high nor low)
speech level. Brackets separate the immediate constituents in this
example:

10. [Mamaé ITU] [SUDAH rondo], [dadiné ngerjaqno japét]. [ITU
[séng njladrèni]], [YHA] [SUDAH diwarai]. [ADA séng mboqmboq] [KAN]
[SUDAH biasa], [Èl], [wong [lé bikén] [SUDAH suwi]], [YHA].

    *Her-mother THAT ALREADY widow so makes cakes. THAT the one-
who makes-dough, PARTICLE, ALREADY be-told THERE-ARE the-one-who old-
women PARTICLE ALREADY experienced name because THE-ACTION-OF MAKE
ALREADY long-time particle*

      *'Her mother is a widow, so she has been making these cakes.
The ones who make the batter already know how to do it themselves
because they have been shown how. There are some old women who are
experienced, El, because they have been doing it for really a long
time.'*

If we compare this citation with our first citation in Section 2, we
can see that when Indonesian functions as the high language of diglos-
sia, the switch from Javanese to Indonesian follows very closely the
phrase structure of the sentence. The only exceptions are the forms
interspersed to keep the speech level clear:

11.   Wonten maléh anu meniko, MASALAH [laré [éngkang] [NILÉNYA
KURANG BEGITU BAÉQ]], [atò] [[[ANAQ- YHANG DHATANG] meniko] [BISA
DHITERIMA]].

        *there-is also umm this PROBLEM child WHO HIS GRADES NOT-SO
VERY GOOD OR CHILD THAT COMES that-one CAN BE-ACCEPTED*
        *'Further, there is, umm, the problem of the child whose grades
aren't good enough or whether the child that comes can be admitted.'*

These examples also illustrate the difference in the semantic
character of the forms which are put into Indonesian as a result of
these different functions. When Indonesian functions like a High form
of diglossia, it is important to make the sentence readily identifiable
as Indonesian. Accordingly, whole phrases are put into Indonesian and
markers are largely Indonesian. This tendency is offset by the need
to make the speech level clear, in which case these markers may be left
in Javanese. Thus we see Indonesian markers in citation one: -nya *his*,
atò *or*, yhang 'grammatical particle', bisa *can*, dhi- 'passive prefix'.
(We do find some high-level Javanese markers.) In Peranakan speech the
markers are not strong indicators of speech level and are usually kept
in Javanese. Thus, in citation ten we have all Javanese markers:
-né *the* (= Indon -nya), -no 'transitive verb suffix', séng (= Indonesian
yang), lé 'nominalizing particle'. On the other hand certain forms of
high frequency and high communicative importance tend to be put into
Indonesian as long as the level is above the lowest. In citation ten
we have the following forms in Indonesian: itu *that*, sudah 'aspect
marker', yha 'particle asking if the interlocutor is following', ada *there
is*, kan *don't you know*, and only one contentive bikén *make*. These are
just exactly the forms which would be left in Javanese in Pribumi
speech, as they most clearly indicate speech level. Thus, the function
of Indonesian as a speech level in Peranakan speech gives rise to an
Indonesian - Javanese admixture very different in type from Indonesian
in its function analogous to the high speech of diglossia.

N O T E S

1. The results reported in this paper stem from a research project
undertaken jointly by me and Dr. Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo of Sanata
Dharma Teacher's College, Yogyakarta. The aim of our project was to
determine the various communicative codes which exist in the Javanese
speech community and how they function. The basis of our research is
tapes of conversations involving people from all walks of life and on
a large variety of subjects recorded as the conversations happened to
take place, usually unbeknownst to the participants. Our total record-
ings amount to more than one-hundred and fifty hours, and the quotations
here come from these recordings. We hope to publish our full report in
monograph form shortly. Our research was financed by the Ford Founda-
tion, to whom we express gratitude. I also express gratitude to Dr.
Soepomo. The conclusion drawn here are my own and I am solely respon-
sible for errors, but without his joint effort in the tedious job of
collecting the data and without the endless hours of discussion in-
volved in the interpretation the materials and the final write-up I
would have had no basis for preparing this paper.

2. We stick to the sociolinguistic concepts which are by now well
known and use terms current in sociolinguistic literature. The basic
concept is that of a **sociolinguistic variable** (Gumperz and Hymes: 18-
20). Sociolinguistic variables are alternate forms with the same
denotation (forms that are referentially equivalent) whose selection
carries social significance for some speaker (i.e., the choice of which
is motivated by factors of social context such as scene, setting, key,
subject matter, speaker, interlocutors, other parties present or
involved, et al. - Cf G and H: 35-71). Sociolinguistic variables tend
to occur in groupings (co-occurrent clusters - G and H: 21). Groupings
of stylistic variants which tend to cooccur we call a **code**. The socio-
linguistic meaning which a code has its **function**. The function can be

described in terms of the factors which motivate code selection (the
factors of scene, setting, key, etc. mentioned above) or it can be
described in terms of reactions by members of the speech community to
code selection. We follow Gumperz also in our use of the terms speech
and speech community (G and H: 53, 54): **speech** is the sum total of
forms which an individual uses at a single occasion or on many occasions
(or the surrogate thereof - writing, etc.). A speech community is a
group which shares rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech
and rules for the interpretation of at least one code.

3. A well-known and good introduction to Javanese speech-level usage
is given by Geertz 1960. Our forth-coming monograph (Soepomo and
Wolff) will treat these matters in great detail.

4. This statement is an oversimplification. As Friederich points out,
there is in Russian a wide range of level distinctions, which in many
ways seems to be analogous to the numerous distinctions available in
Javanese. The other languages of Europe have (or at least formerly
had) such an apparatus.

5. We transcribe all utterances phonemically but omit intonation
markings. Since Javanese speakers use the same phonemic system for
both Indonesian and Javanese, the same transcription will do for all
forms we cite. The following chart gives the Pribumi phonemic system.
The Peranakan system differs from the Pribumi mainly in that the apico-
alveolar series is merged with the apico-dental series, and we tran-
scribe Peranakan utterances using only the apico-dental symbols.

	labial	apico-dental	apico-alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
fortis stop	p	t	ṭ	c	k	ʔ
lenis stop (pharyngealized)	b	d	ḍ	j	g	-
prenasalized voiced stop	mb	nd	nḍ	nj	ŋg	-
nasals	m	n	-	ñ	ŋ	-
fortis continuents	w	l,r		y		
lenis continuents (pharyngealized)	wh	lh, nh, rh		yh		h

Vowels:

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		ó
low	ε	ə	o
very low		a	

Note on transcription: /t/ is transcribed as th, /d/ as dh, and /nd/ as ndh. /ŋ/ is transcribed as ng; /ŋg/ as ngg; /ʔ/ as q; /e/ as é; /ε/ as è; /ə/ as e.

6. Ferguson's original article did not make mention of this important feature of code choice in diglossic communities, but subsequent discussions make it clear that much of the speech in diglossic communities consists of a mixture of high and low. Cf. the discussion to Ferguson, 1962.

7. We have conducted no language ability tests, but we are confident of the accuracy of this statement. The main reason is that Indonesian functions as a speech level in the Peranakan community (as we shall describe below), and Peranakans tend to learn Indonesian forms very early in their speech development. We have recordings of adults using Indonesian as well as Javanese forms to infants, and recordings of children below the age of three using Indonesian (as well as Javanese) forms. I have personally never met a Peranakan who did not speak fluent Indonesian (though not necessarily what the speech community considers 'good' or 'correct' Indonesian). This includes a moron, who often made errors in code choice because of faulty social judgment, but never from lack of control of the Indonesian as opposed to the Javanese codes. Totoks (native speakers of Chinese) insofar as they enter the Central Javanese speech community at all, also seem to know Indonesian at least as well as they know Javanese, and often far better. Peranakans in Central Java most frequently think of themselves as native speakers of Indonesian and not Javanese speakers. In a survey conducted by Willmott in the fifties as to language of the home, approximately four times as many Peranakans gave Indonesian as gave Javanese (Willmott: 112). Willmot's figures do not accurately reflect the extent to which Javanese is used, and it is clear why: Peranakan speech consists of a mixture of Javanese and Indonesian, and since Indonesian forms are the better (the higher level, as we shall see), it is not unexpected that Peranakan respondents should describe their home speech as Indonesian. That the language of the Peranakans in Central Java is

Javanese, not Indonesian, is without question, even if Peranakan
utterances are often replete with Indonesian forms. We cannot go into
the reasons here. It is enough to say that surely all Peranakans in
Semarang, except for those who originate outside of Java, are Javanese
speakers. In any case Willmott's figures back up nicely our impression
that Indonesian is almost universally known and used in the Central
Javanese Peranakan speech community.

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