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# GENDER AND POLITENESS IN JAVANESE LANGUAGE

NORWANTO NORWANTO

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield  
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for  
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield

August 2016

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## Abstract

The purpose of the thesis is to find patterns of gender and (im)politeness within the Javanese language. To attain its goals, the research discussion focused on the patterns of gender and (im)politeness in its formal aspects, power relations, and criticism. To accomplish the goals, the research applied a participation order and quantified data related to recurring actions (frame-based analysis). The research participants were Javanese families living in Surakarta and its surrounding areas, which are in Central Java, Indonesia. The data recorded natural conversations, involving voluntarily recorded daily conversations within familial settings.

The formal aspects analysis indicated (1) husbands use a low style (*ngoko*) to address their wives; (2) Javanese women of the middle social class use different linguistic styles. Additionally, to express their respect, a higher number of women spoke in *ngoko*, while others addressed their husbands in higher level (*basa*). Those who used *ngoko* speech level displayed a minimal sign of deference by using honorific pronouns (e.g. *panjenengan*) and titles. The analysis on power relations reflected higher agreement in relation to the Javanese norm of indirection. However, the discussion on criticism demonstrated overtness and mock impoliteness, which disagrees with the norm of indirection.

The last two analyses indicated that the evaluation of (im)politeness is different across social actions (e.g. asking, criticising, etc.). Among the three areas of analysis (formal aspects, power relations and criticism), there were persistent aspects involved in the evaluation of (im)politeness) such as intention, identity, moral orders, and utterances or actions.

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## Dedications

For

My parents &

My family

Katur

Tiyang sepuh &

Kulawarga kulo

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## List of abbreviations

AB	<i>antya-basa</i>
AR	Arabic language
BA	<i>basa antya</i>
BI	Bahasa Indonesia
ENG	English
F	father
H	husband
HON	honorific
Ind	individual
K	krama
KA	krama andhap (humble krama)
KI	krama inggil (high krama)
KM	kramantoro
M	madya
MD	madyantoro
MDK	madya-krama
MK	mudo-krama
MN	madya ngoko
N	ngoko
NL	ngoko lugu
NP	noun phrase
PAR	particle
PASS	passive voice
POSS	possessive
R	recipient
S	sender; speaker
SUF	suffix
S1	sentence 1
S2	sentence 2
V	verb
VP	verb phrase
W	wife
WK	wredo-krama
lit.	literally
1SG	first singular pronoun
2SG	second singular
[Ø]	omission
'...	soft raise intonation
(:)	elongation vowel
?	unknown

## Academic Biography

### Personal

Name Norwanto  
e-mail [u1276919@hud.ac.uk](mailto:u1276919@hud.ac.uk)  
School Music, Humanity, and Media  
University of Huddersfield

### Education

PhD *University of Huddersfield, UK*  
Linguistics  
Master *Gajah Mada University, Jogjakarta, Indonesia*  
Master of Humanity (M.Hum.) in Linguistics  
Bachelor *Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta, Indonesia*  
Bachelor of Education (S.Pd.) in English Teaching  
Short course *University of Oregon, US*  
On line short course on Critical thinking on EFL Curriculum  
funded by RELO, U.S. embassy ( September – December, 2011)

### Conference

2016 *Linguistic, Impoliteness, Aggression, and Rudeness (LIAR) IV*  
Manchester Metropolitan University (12-14 July 2016)  
2015 *Postgraduate Research Conference*  
University of Huddersfield (13 November 2015)  
*Linguistics and Modern Languages annual postgraduate conference*  
University of Huddersfield (16 June 2015)  
2006 *International Seminar on Gender Mainstreaming in Higher Education*  
Satya Wacana Christian University, Salatiga, Indonesia

### Workshop

2016 *Teaching Assistant Preparation Programme (TAPP)*. University of Huddersfield  
2010 *Post-Writing Workshop for Curriculum Developers*. Funded by Temasex Foundation, 6 December – 8 December 2010, Organised by CELC NUS Singapore.  
*Pre-Writing Workshop for Curriculum Developers*. Funded by Temasex Foundation, 22 January – 23 January 2010, Jointly Organised by SWCU Salatiga, Indonesia and CELC NUS Singapore.  
*Needs Analysis Workshop for Curriculum Developers*. Funded by Temasex Foundation, 5 July 2010, Jointly Organised by State Polytechnic of Jember, Indonesia and CELC NUS Singapore.

### Teaching Experience

2015 – 2016 *University of Huddersfield, UK*  
2002 - .... *State Institute for Islamic Studies(STAIN) SALATIGA, Indonesia*  
2010 *Universitas Terbuka Surakarta, Indonesia*  
2008 - 2009 *Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta, Indonesia*  
2004 *State Institute for Islamic Studies(STAIN) SURAKARTA, Indonesia*  
1999 – 2002 *Muhammadiyah University of Surakarta, Indonesia*

**Grant**

- 2013 -2017  
2010  
2006  
2001
- MORA Scholarship of Indonesian Government* (grant for PhD)  
*Capacity Building of English Language Curriculum Developers for a Professional Communication for University Faculty in ASEAN Universities.* Funded by Temasek, Organised by CELC National University of Singapore  
*Leech's Politeness Principles in Javanese Language*(research). Funded by Islamic Higher Education Directorate of Religious Ministry of Republic of Indonesia.  
*English Teaching Material Model for Islamic Banking*(Research). Funded by Islamic Higher Education Directorate of Religious Ministry of Republic of Indonesia.  
*The phenomena of Madrasah and Islamic Full Day School*(research). Funded by Department of Religious Affair of Republic of Indonesia  
*BPPS of Indonesian Government* (grant for Master degree)

**Publication**

- Pragmatics in Language Teaching*, Journal Register Vol. 3, No.2, November 2010  
*A Study on Cooperative Principle in Indonesian Political Language*, Journal KajianLinguistik danSastra (Accredited:No.34/DIKTI/Kep/2003) Vol. 18, No. 35, Desember 2006,  
*Chomsky and The Turning Point of Audio-lingual Method*, Journal Humanity Vol. 9, No.2, July - Desember 2008  
*Refusal Act in Indonesian Political Language* ,Journal Sastra dan Bahasa vol.2 No.2 Sept. 2004 – Jan. 2005  
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*English For Mathematics*, Muhammadiyah University Press, Surakarta, 2002  
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*The Shifting of Gender Relation of Family of Indonesia Woman Migrant Workers* , Kompas (newspaper): 2 April 2007

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

In this introductory chapter, I will present the background to my study, the research aims, its contribution to knowledge, the research method and the structure of this thesis.

#### *Background to the study*

This thesis, which is rooted in research into politeness, is interested in the formal aspects of Javanese politeness and the way in which it reflects perceived gendered relationships. Gender and politeness have been a significant topic of discussion among scholars over the last few decades (cf. Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 535). Several of these studies relate language refinement to the relationship of men and women and their social status. In general, women are noted to be more polite than men (Holmes, 1995). “Women’s language” is characterised by means of euphemism, avoiding intense feelings of expression and uncertainty; whilst the trivial world reflects a marginalised woman’s world (Lakoff, 1973a, p. 45). In Javanese culture, women are expected to speak politely and formally as they are considered to be part of an inferior group and gender that is second-class (Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 536). Regarding this point, (im)politeness and gender affects the expected manners of men and women. Thus, the refinement of language, subsequently, characterises the inferior social status of women.

Keenan (1974) established different facts in relation to the Malagassy (Madagascar) language. The Madagascar women do not have superior social status; nevertheless, they have direct and open expressions and their language opposes non-confrontational conversation norms (Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 536). Discussions regarding gender and (im)politeness (e.g. in Javanese and Malagassy culture), subsequently, signify the roles of norms. The norms of Malagassy language guide the men to use a highly stylised mode of speech in ceremonial speech situations (*kabary*) (Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 536). Smith-Hefner (1988, p. 536) also refers to the norms employed to classify Malagassy men as being more well-mannered than women. Furthermore, Keenan’s research also informs that the relationship between women’s language and politeness is “by no means as simple and straightforward as has been assumed” (Brown, 1980, p. 112).

Brown’s research conducted in a Mayan community concludes that women, who are in an inferior position, “will be likely to use more negative politeness”; nevertheless, if they have multi-stranded relationships, “positive politeness should be strongly elaborated in women’s speech” (p. 134). Brown’s research indicates that gender and (im)politeness are potentially

different across groups in a society; hence, women in “an inferior” or “so far inferior”, or “having multi-stranded” networks express their gender and (im)politeness differently (Brown, 1980, p. 134).

With regard to gender, (im)politeness and norms, in many parts of Southeast Asia, they have speech levels to express not only deference but also social status or a humble manner (Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 536). One of the examples is Javanese language, which has the most elaborate systems in relation to speech levels (Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 137). Javanese speech levels not only index deference (Silverstein, 2003, p. 213), but also to what degree and to whom the deference is directed (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, pp. 59-61). For instance, a wife may use *baso-antyo* (BA) to address her husband, who has an exceedingly high birth or social rank; however, the wife of a *priyayi* (gentry) husband may speak in *antyo-baso* (AB) to her husband (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, pp. 60-61) (for the description of the two codes see Table 5). Pertaining to this point, politeness in the Javanese language, to a certain degree, relates to norms, gender roles and social identity. Smith-Hefner (1988, p. 537) indicates that “[t]he Javanese example offers some general insights for our understanding of the relationship between the status of women and the politeness or formality of their speech”. Therefore, this thesis addresses these issues as the focus of its analysis.

### *Aims of the research*

This thesis aims to answer a query regarding what the patterns of Javanese gender and politeness are. As I will examine Javanese gender and politeness in four areas related to speech levels, power, criticism, and aspects of politeness, the specific research questions concerning this thesis are as follows:

1. What are the distinctive patterns of speech levels used by Javanese wives in familial linguistic interactions?
2. How do Javanese men and women negotiate power in familial linguistic interactions?
3. How do Javanese men and women express criticism in familial linguistic interactions?
4. What are the aspects of gender and (im)politeness evaluations based on the analysis of gender and politeness with respect to the Javanese language?

### *Contribution to knowledge*

This thesis contributes to the third wave of im/politeness research. Consequently, it aims to examine the existence of moral orders or norms and how they operate in familial conversations regarding the evaluation of gender and (im)politeness. Moreover, this thesis analyses a large corpus to examine how norms (see the definition of norms in Chapters 2 and 4)

function in Javanese conversation concerning gender and (im)politeness. By conducting analysis of linguistic interactions within Javanese families, this research will contribute to the third wave of research. On the one hand, this thesis will look for the existence of norms in the evaluation of gender and (im)politeness, which therefore makes it different to the second wave of research. Conversely, this paper is data-driven research, which does not reflect the first wave of research. The concerns pertaining to the third wave of research are the ways conversants evaluate (im)politeness in their socio-cultural contexts, which potentially involves norms and conversants' social roles (e.g. gender roles). Kádár (2017, p. xiv) reveals several features related to the third wave of research:

A common characteristic of these studies is that they attempt to model politeness and impoliteness in terms of interactional productive and evaluative *tendencies*. That is, without denying the existence and importance of idiosyncratic behavior, third-wave theories attempt to set up models that are not prescriptive by nature, but which can capture the macro-tendencies of the production and evaluation of (im)politeness.

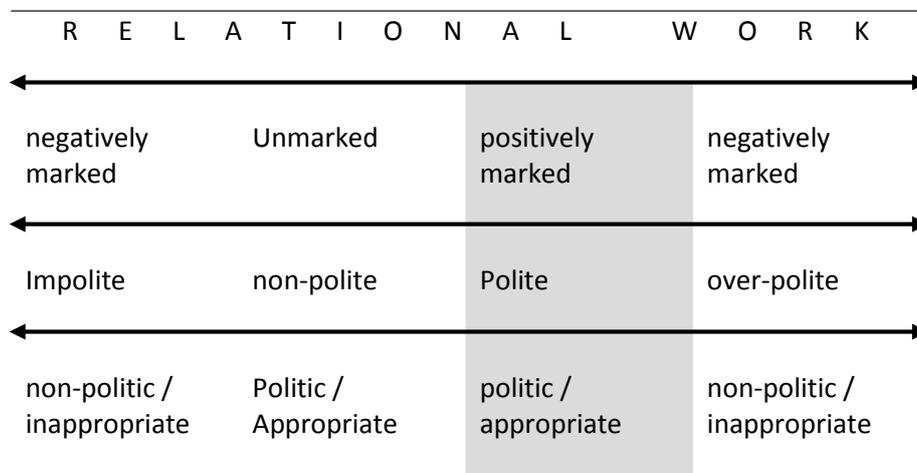
In pragmatic studies, there has been a shift from macro – micro – macro levels, which respectively demonstrates the research area of the first, the second and the third wave of research. Even though the first and the third wave of research undertake their studies on a cultural level (macro level), they differ with respect to several features. The first wave searches for similar values across language and culture, reflected in the works of Brown & Levinson's (1987) "Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage", Leech's (1983) "Principles of Pragmatics", and Lakoff's (1973b) "The Logic of Politeness: or, Minding Your p's and q's". "[T]hey claim, whether explicitly or not, the universal applicability of their principles of linguistic politeness" (Ide, 1989, p. 224). Lakoff proposes two rules pertaining to pragmatic competence: "be clear", which reflects Grice's Co-operative Principle, and "be polite" consisting of three maxims: "Don't impose", "Give options" and "Make your receiver feel good". Leech recommends the politeness principle (PP), which has six maxims, specifically, tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and antipathy. Based on "face" and "rationality", Brown and Levinson suggest five strategies concerning linguistic behaviours: 'without redressive action, baldly', 'positive politeness', 'negative politeness', 'off record' and 'don't do the Face Threatening Act' (Ide, 1989, p. 224). Therefore, their theories basically depart from Grice's (1975) Co-operative Principle (CP) and speech-act theory (Terkourafi, 2005, p. 246). Hence, "Politeness is claimed to come into existence when a speaker disobeys the CP" (Kádár, 2017, p. xii). For example, when A asks, "We'll all miss Bill and Agatha, wont we?" B replies "Well, we'll all miss Bill" (Leech, 1983, p. 80). Thus, B flouts the CP by not being informative and being unclear

(B only refers to Bill instead of the two referents), so as to be polite to the third party. “Their speech act focus, on the other hand, is seen in their act-by-act analysis, seeking politeness at the level of individual utterances” (Terkourafi, 2005, p. 240).

While criticising the homogeneity of principles across culture, the researchers of the second wave of research argue that “politeness is negotiated at the micro-level and jointly by the speaker and the addressee” (Terkourafi, 2005, p. 238). They do not only refocus their study on discourse instead of utterances, they also bring impoliteness into the scope of their research (Kádár, 2017). Other features in relation to the second wave of theories are that they are “critical of the notion of norms” (Terkourafi, 2005, p. 243) and acknowledge the impossibility of a generalisation or predictive theory (Terkourafi, 2005, p. 238). Additionally, they focus their studies on “idiosyncratic rather than normative behaviour” (Kádár, 2017). With respect to the second wave of research, one problem identified is that “no method has yet been devised that grants direct access to participants’ own perceptions of the situation” (Terkourafi, 2005, p. 244). Another problem observed is, while criticising “CP-based theories”, in particular Brown and Levinson’s (1987) universal theories, they did not offer a macro-level framework.

Based on the achievements and the weaknesses of the second wave of theories, a number of scholars have attempted to reinstate studies of (im)politeness at a macro-level. Kádár (2017) calls them third wave research. Regarding norms, third wave researchers seek “descriptive/empirical norms” instead of “prescriptive/theoretical norms”, which characterise the first wave theories (Terkourafi, 2005, p. 244). The first is “what one is *likely* to do” and the second is “norms about what one *should* do” (Haugh, 2003, pp. 399-400; Terkourafi, 2005, p. 244). Examples of third wave research include Terkourafi’s (2005) frame-based view, Locher and Whatt’s (2005) relational work, and Kadar’s (2013) ritual work.

It is worth noting that frame-based analysis depends on a large corpus of lay conversations. This framework describes politeness as a habit and not a rational calculation; frame is subsequently the implementation of Bourdieu’s habitus to collect and describe polite habits (2005, p. 250). It is data driven, which relates conversations to its social context, and norms of politeness behaviour are born from the regularities of the data. Moreover, the perspective of frame-based analysis allows qualitative data to capture the regularity of the large amount of data. To perceive the relationship between the regularities and politeness norms, Terkourafi argues that societal rationality constrains individual rationality in two ways. First, “[i]ndividual intentions are in their essence socially constituted”, in the sense that a speaker



**Figure 1: Relational work**  
(Locher & Watts, 2005)

must assume that the hearer recognises his/her action. For instance, aggressive behaviour may become a rude action when the hearer interprets the intention in the same way as the speaker does. Second, when the hearer recognises the intention and the “face-constituting potential”, s/he saves it as his/her experience collection. Therefore, his/her conversational turns reflect the recognition. Additionally, the participants could recall the stock of experience and ratify the experience repeatedly in the future action, which serves as the norm in relation to the interactions.

Relational work also includes norms in linguistic interactions. Locher & Watts (2005, p. 10) define relational work as a framework that “refers to the “work” individuals invest in negotiating relationships with others”. This definition acknowledges the ongoing relationship built by the conversants and an action involves the meeting of the ongoing and historical norms of interaction or latent network. Watts (2003, p. 153) suggests that relational work involves a historical objectified product and a ‘dynamic process’ of ongoing interaction which may form a network. He argues that the historical objectified network is the basis of the ongoing social interaction. Within such a relationship, Locher and Watts contend that relational work involves social norms which have “structuring, emergence, and continued existence” during verbal and non-verbal interactions. They describe how structuring may involve participants in exploiting norms pertaining to hostile or conflictual attitudes. Thus, relational work does not only focus on the distinction of politeness and impoliteness, but is also able to construct and/or maintain the harmony, cooperation and equilibrium of society.

Relational work theory in Figure 1 describes the continuum of relational work and discusses im/politeness under the terms of marked or unmarked behaviour (Locher & Watts, 2005, pp. 11-12; Watts, 2005 [1992], p. xliii). Unmarked behaviour is linguistic behaviour which conforms to the norms of on going interaction (Culpeper, 2012; Watts, 2003, p. 19), “norms established in previous interactions” or politic/appropriate behaviour (Locher & Watts, 2005, p. 11). Marked behaviour can be perceived negatively or positively. The behaviour is marked negatively if it is judged as “impolite/non-politic/inappropriate (column 1) or over-polite/non-politic/inappropriate (column 4)” (2005, p. 11). It will be marked positively, if it is perceived as polite/politic/appropriate (column 3). “In other words, polite behaviour is always politic while politic behaviour can also be non-polite” (2005, p. 12).

Departing from the view that linguistic interaction is constructed by way of historical norms, the main ideology of a particular group or society potentially constructs the members' views on gender and (im)politeness and is negotiated in/as part of the conversants' historical relationship. “Ideology refers to the goals, principles and ideas of a social group” (Lock, 1989, pp. 228-229). Javanese culture, for example, expects Javanese women to be more polite within the family by offering more deferential speech levels and gaining less in return (Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 537). This pattern reflects the inferior status of women (Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 540). The asymmetric pattern is reportedly most pronounced in Central Java among *priyayi* (gentry) families (Errington, 1985, p. 53; Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 61; Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 540) to express the superior and inferior social strata. However, “[t]he pattern of asymmetric speech level use [...] is not as pronounced in East Javanese speech, [...] especially in rural areas” (Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 541). The example informs the existence of the primary ideology of Javanese norms, as well as the regular behaviour of a social group in a particular time, to align with or negotiate the main ideology. It also signifies that a particular speech level does not only occasion evaluation of (im)proper behaviour, but that it may carry sociolinguistic meaning (e.g. gender roles, social identities, etc.). In a study of a large corpus, the linguistic interaction could be quantified in order to determine the regularisation of evaluative tendencies, reflecting the norms of social interactions in a particular time, with regards to a particular social group. This thesis is data-driven, which grounds the analysis on a large corpus (approximately 67,485 words) involving 26 families. Moreover, qualitative analysis accompanies the quantified data, in that Javanese conversations are analysed sequentially to ascertain how norms operate.

## *Research methodology*

### The research setting

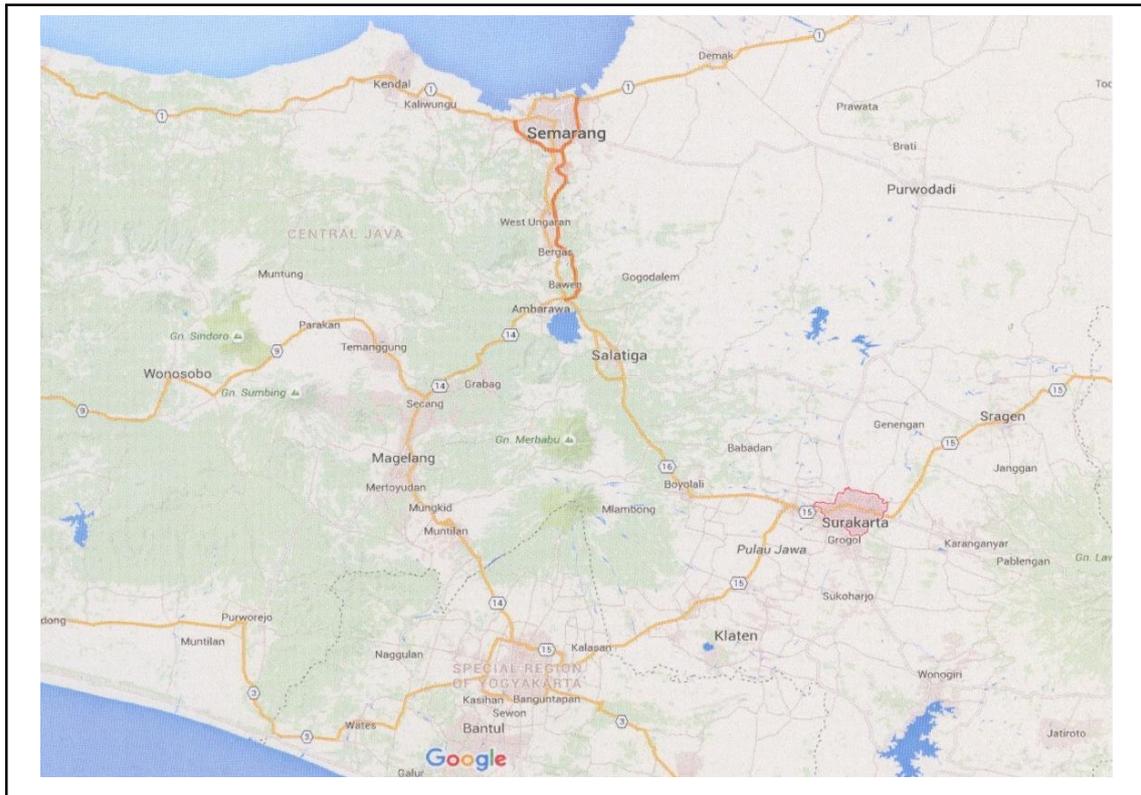
#### *Surakarta*

The location of the research is in Surakarta, a region in Central Java, Indonesia and a few areas close to the border of Surakarta, such as Kartasura (Sukoharjo), Boyolali and Karanganyar. These areas have a culture that is bound to the Surakarta kingdom. Surakarta is the second most popular city in Central Java after Semarang, the capital city of Central Java. Together with Yogyakarta, it is the centre of Javanese culture (Ewing, 2005 and Robson, 2002 in Kurniasih, 2005, p. 2). It has two kingdoms, which exist to this present day. The two Javanese kingdoms are symbols of Javanese culture; however, even though they have kings, they do not hold any political power within Indonesia.

Surakarta or Solo is a growing region in the service industry. It is located in the middle between Lawu and the Merbabu Mountain. It has a strategic location connecting several large cities: Yogyakarta, Surabaya (East Java) and Semarang (the capital city of Central Java). It has five sub-districts: Laweyan, Serengan, Pasar Kliwon, Jebres and Banjarsari. The development of malls, hotels, apartments, international events, such as the batik festival, etc., over the last eight years, informs its strategic position in the service industry, in the province of Central Java. With only 4,404,06 hectares (Dishubkominfo, 2016c), this city has 24 hotels that have acquired stars (Dishubkominfo, 2016a). The facts indicate its strategic position within the service and tourism sector.

The development of Surakarta began in 1745. In this year, the King of Mataram, Pakubuwono II, moved the kingdom from Kartasura to Surakarta (Dishubkominfo, 2016b). Hence, the government designated February 18<sup>th</sup>, 1745 as the birthday of Surakarta. On June 16<sup>th</sup>, 1946, the Indonesian government established a city government for Surakarta, replacing the authority of the kingdoms.

Surakarta is one of 6 cities in Central Java, or one of 93 cities in Indonesia (Kemendagri, 2013). This archipelago has 13,466 islands ("Hanya ada 13.466 Pulau di Indonesia," 2012). The five biggest islands are Kalimantan, Sumatra, Papua, Sulawesi and Java. Central Java is one of 6 provinces in Java and one of 34 provinces in Indonesia (Statistik, 2016). The other provinces in Java are East Java, DI Yogyakarta, DKI Jakarta (the capital city of Indonesia), West Java and Banten.

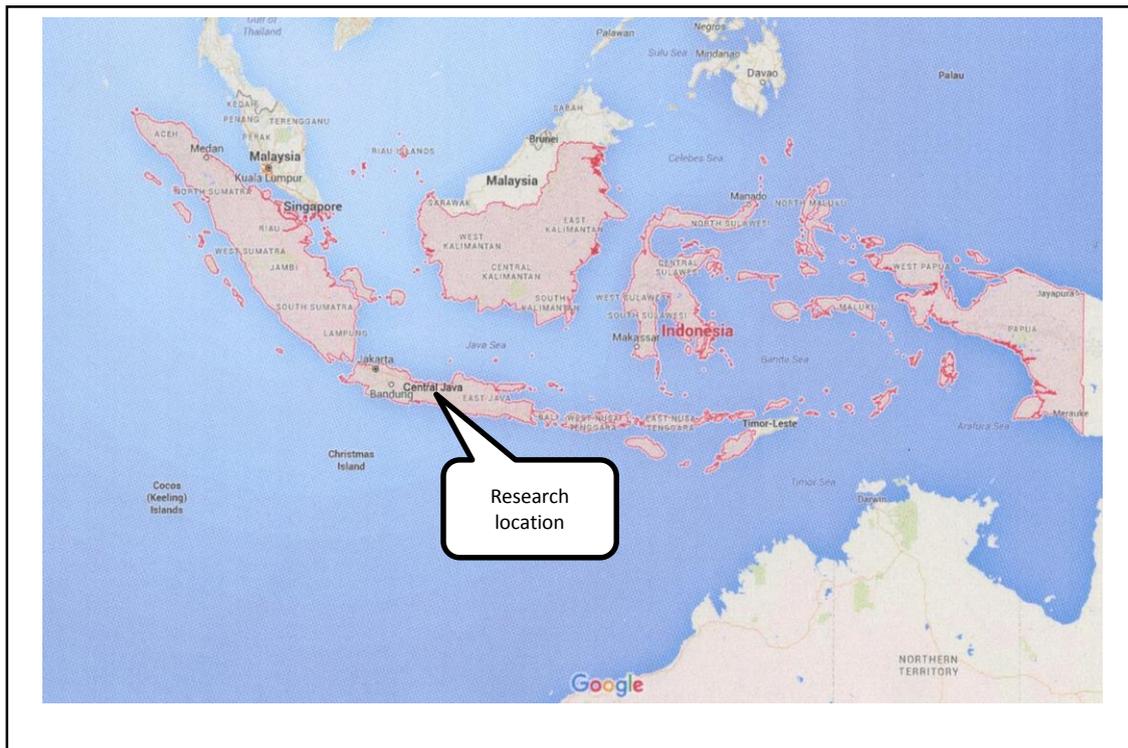


**Figure 2: Map of Indonesia**  
(Google, 2016a; emphasis & picture frame added)

### *Javanese language*

Indonesia has one national language (Bahasa Indonesia) and 707 local languages (Lewis, Simons, & Fennig, 2015). The Javanese language has the largest number of native speakers among the local languages. It is the language of 84.3 million people (Lewis et al., 2015) in three countries. Most native speakers of the Javanese language occupy East Java, Central Java and D.I. Yogyakarta. Furthermore, speakers of the Javanese language also inhabit the northwestern part of West Java, North Sumatra, Lampung and two countries outside Indonesia, specifically New Caledonia (in the South Pacific) and Suriname (northern South America) (Gunarwan, 2001, p. 172).

The Javanese language belongs to the Western Austronesian language family (Gunarwan, 2001, p. 172), and consists of three main dialects, with the dialects of Surakarta and Yogyakarta as the standard dialect (Wedhawati et al., 2006, p. 13). The other two dialects are East Java (in the province of East Java) and Bayumas. The second dialect has 15 million speakers in the regions of Karsidenan Banyumas, Karsidenan Pekalongan and the western part of Karsidenan Kedu (Paryono, 2011, p. 2).



**Figure 3: Map of research setting, i.e. Surakarta**  
(Google, 2016b (picture frame added))

Historically, the Javanese language comprises two phases of development: the old and modern Javanese language (Wedhawati et al., 2006, pp. 1-2). Wedhawati et al. classify the first development into two stages. Initially, from the 1<sup>st</sup> until the 6<sup>th</sup> century, the Javanese language was only an oral language, borrowing approximately 45% of its vocabulary from Sanskrit languages. Second, from the 7<sup>th</sup> until the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the invasion of Hindu – Buddha in relation to Javanese culture brought written forms with regards to the development of oral Javanese language. The first written form was in Pallawa before it obtained its own old Javanese letters. Sukabumi inscription dated back to March 25<sup>th</sup>, 804 is the artefact of the written form. The transition from Hindu-Buddha-Java to Islam-Java marked the development of the modern Javanese language. This process started around the 16<sup>th</sup> century and continues up until the present day (Wedhawati et al., 2006). Since then, Arabic has influenced the Javanese language to express Islam-Java culture. One example of this is the transformation of Arabic letters commonly known as *pegon*, into the Javanese language.

### Data collection

The researcher collected the data for this thesis in two periods: 30<sup>th</sup> January 2014 – 30<sup>th</sup> March 2014 and 7<sup>th</sup> May 2014 – 5<sup>th</sup> July 2014. These periods followed the immigration rule, which only allows 60 days leave from the UK to collect data outside the UK. During these periods,

the researcher recorded the conversations of 53 participants (26 females and 27 males) from 26 Javanese families. Fifteen persons declined to be participants, while four participants cancelled their involvement in this research. The Kelud Mountain eruption on 13<sup>th</sup> February 2014 marked the first phase in the course of data collection. The volcano, which is located in East Java, erupted volcanic ash over the region of Surakarta and surrounding areas. As a consequence, it restricted the mobility of the researcher.

The data related to the research are *naturally occurring interactions*. This type of data allows the researcher to use “a wide variety of datasets” and depends on recording (Kádár & Haugh, 2013). The research collected data by means of recording ordinary conversations between husbands and wives with their permission. There was no limitation concerning topic and time relating to these conversations. The research participants primarily recorded their conversations using an MP3 Sony recorder provided by the researcher, although a number of participants found it more convenient to use their own recorder.

To obtain naturalistic data, Wolfson (1981 in Félix-Brasdefer, 2006, p. 2163) pointed out that the researcher should gather the data “in a wide variety of spontaneously occurring speech situations.” Additionally, the researcher was not involved in the recording process to maintain the neutrality of the interactions; given that the participants might change their linguistic styles in the presence of the researcher. In fact, the participants were given a recorder to record their linguistic interactions on their own. To minimise the possibility of changing their style because they knew they were being recorded, the researcher and his assistant informed participants of the purpose of the research and asked them not to change their style. The recordings indicate that their routines were minimally interfered with by the recording. The volume of conversations in the recordings occasionally decrease, which indicates that one or more of the conversants sometimes moved away from the recorder to do their daily routines. For the participants, who have historical contact with the researcher or his assistant, the researcher compares the linguistic style in the recordings with their daily styles. Moreover, the participants sometimes inform what style they use in relation to their daily interactions. Consequently, this helps to ensure that the participants use their styles as naturally as possible.

Other types of data were recordings or field notes of conversations between the researcher and participants. Interactions occurred between them during the data collection process, which usually provided the researcher with valuable information.

In the process of data collection, the research applied four steps, obtained from Darlington and Scott (2002, p. 48). Step (1) is to find and select participants. In this step, the

researcher determined the validity of participants, such as the address and language of interaction in their family (whether they use Javanese or the national language, Bahasa Indonesia). There were two methods in this step. First, the researcher contacted participants via phone or by means of the address he had. Second, previous participants assisted the researcher to contact their colleagues, friends or neighbours to be participants. The next step (2) is to make a connection or establish a rapport. During the data collection process, the researcher employed a female research assistant. She assisted the researcher to approach female participants who were frequently more comfortable speaking to a female research assistant. Step (3) is the initial contact. This was the meeting between the researcher or the research assistant and the participants prior to the recording process. This step offered the opportunity to explain the research, ask permission to tape their conversations, and moreover, to train participants in how to use the recorder. Step (4) is the recording process<sup>1</sup>. In this process, the researcher handed a recorder to the participants to record their own conversations over a period of three days, although the participants occasionally required more time. The data recording involved two participants (e.g., husband and wife) who had different businesses. They might take time to arrange the time they had available to record their conversations. Three days or more gave enough time to record natural conversations. The four steps require an additional stage (5), principally the collection process. This step required intensive contact between the researcher and the participant to arrange time to collect the recording.

It should be mentioned that five problems transpired during the data collection. First, the participants had limited time available. Several female participants informed the researcher that their husbands worked in different cities or towns; hence, they experienced some obstacles in arranging the recording time. Second, the participants were worried about the possibility that their participation might affect their privacy. Third, some participants talked very little during their conversations (taciturn persons). Consequently, it caused one party to dominate the conversations. Fourth, it required a longer time allotment of between 5-7 days to approach, record and collect the data for each couple. Under specific conditions, a number of participants required more time. Fifth, some Javanese families speak in Bahasa Indonesia instead of the Javanese language when undertaking linguistic interactions within the family.

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<sup>1</sup> The participants agreed to be involved in the research by signing research permission that was written in two languages, English and Bahasa Indonesia

## Data analysis

Over the duration of the project, I had to undertake two steps prior to conducting the data analysis: data transcription and data codification. Actually, the Javanese language has its own traditional transcription<sup>2</sup>. However, Javanese people do not use this transcription in current written forms; they use a modern alphabet, or what Ager (2016) labels the modern Latin Alphabet, which is commonly used in computer or smartphone keyboards. To transfer recorded conversation to written forms, this research does not apply traditional Javanese transcription. The transcription process for this research uses “standard orthography” (Ehlich, 1993, p. 125) or “conventional orthography” (Gumperz & Berenz, 1993, p. 96). Ehlich describes this type of transcription as “a filter whose relationship to the acoustic structures of the data is indirect, serving to regulate the translation of auditory input into written output”.

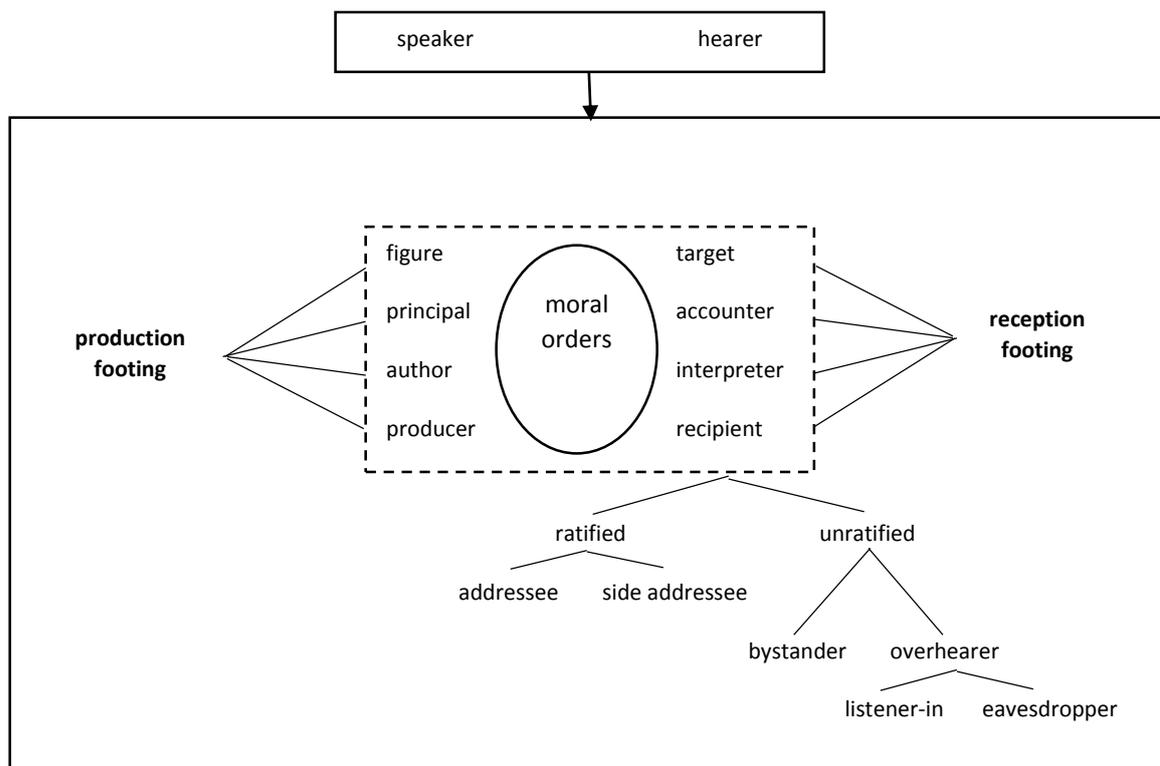
The researcher saved the transcriptions in .doc and .txt formats. The first format enables Nvivo 10 to read the data, whereas the second is the format for Antconc software (Anthony, 2014). Both software helped this project to complete classification. Antconc was applicable to search word type, particularly in categorising and calculating word types (*ngoko*, *madya*, *krama*, *honorifics*). Nvivo 10 was valuable in classifying the regular behaviour of the conversants; similar behaviour was grouped in the same node. Furthermore, the current thesis counts the codified data descriptively to obtain regularity or recurrent actions regarding the data.

To analyse the fragments sequentially, this research applied participation order (Haugh, 2013; Kádár & Haugh, 2013) (for discussion of the reason related to using participation order, see Chapter 3) to evaluate the intentions of the participants in relation to producing utterances. There are two sides concerning this participation footing, specifically - production and reception footing. The first is the party who produces utterances (producer), constructs conversation (producer), holds social accountability (principal) and is the image of the talks (figure). The party may hold one or more footings.

The production footings have their counterparts in the reception footings (see Figure 4). “The animator (or producer) who engenders the talk (and conduct) has a counterpart in the various recipients (potentially) attending that talk or conduct” (Haugh, 2013, pp. 61-62). The recipient may be a ratified or unratified participant. A ratified participant, a person expected to

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<sup>2</sup>*Hanacaraka* is the name of Javanese orthography (see picture 5). The name is originally the first five letters of the orthography, such as *ABCD* in the English alphabet. It comprises 20 main symbols, whereby one symbol represents one syllable. “Javanese orthography is syllabic, with each “basic” consonantal character ordinarily representing one or more syllable initial consonants, a vowel, and perhaps a syllable-final consonant” (Errington, 1988, p. 41).



**Figure 4: Types of participation orders**  
 (Haugh, 2013; Kádár & Haugh, 2013)

participate in the conversation, could be an addressee or side addressee. “An addressee is a person (or persons) to whom the utterance is (ostensibly) directed; however, both addressees and side participants have recognised entitlements to respond to the utterance, although their degree of responsibility to do so varies (at least ostensibly)” (Haugh, 2013, p. 61).

Following Verschueren (1999), Haugh divides the unratified recipient, the hearer (or hearers) who have the least responsibility to attend the talk, into bystanders and overhearers. These two participant types are different in the nature of the information they may receive. Even though bystanders are not ratified participants, participants expect them to hear some parts of the conversation; meanwhile overhearer(s) are those who are around the site of the talk and may be able to hear some parts of the conversation. Furthermore, Haugh categorises the overhearers as “listener-in” in which the speakers, as well as the ratified listeners are aware and “eavesdrop” when participants are unaware of their existence. The next footing is the interpreter or the counterpart footing who is potentially able to construct and understand the intention of the author. The last three footings are the accounter, the figure and the target. Haugh argues that the accounter is the party who complements the social responsibility of the

principal. Finally, the depicted party in the conversation is potentially the figure, the target or a potential target (co-present character).

### **Structure of the thesis**

This thesis comprises of 7 chapters. The first chapter introduces the background to the study, aims of the research, contribution to knowledge and research methodology. The second chapter relates speech levels within Javanese language to gender and social status. It introduces the aim of life as well as the etiquette of Javanese people leading to *unggah-ungguh ing basa* (linguistic etiquette). Chapter 3, 4, and 5 analyze the patterns of gender and (im)politeness reflected in the use of speech levels, power relation and criticism. Chapter 6 presents the aspects of gender and (im)politeness evaluations. The last chapter is conclusion discussing findings of the research, contribution to third wave research, and suggestion for future research.

## Chapter 2

### Gender Roles, Status and Language in Javanese Families

#### *Introduction*

This chapter discusses the norms of Javanese cultures, which includes linguistic etiquettes, gender roles and world views of Javanese people. To start with, it is crucial to discuss the definition of moral orders or norms. Kadar and Haugh (2013, p. 67; 269) define moral orders as a set of beliefs in which the members of a sociocultural group or relational network ‘take for granted’, “expected, background features of everyday scenes”, which tend to be “seen but unnoticed” (Garfinkel, 1964, p. 226) and are imbued with morality. Under this definition, moral orders are the social norms of a society. Social norms or “morals” are “standards of behaviour that are based on widely shared beliefs with regards to how individual group members ought to behave in a given situation” (Fehr & Fischbacher, 2004, p. 185). Moreover, it “dictates how certain actions are performed by an individual” (Chalub, Santos, & Pacheco, 2006, p. 234).

Following Linton (1947), French and Raven (1959, p. 158) “[distinguish] group norms according to whether they are universal for everyone in the culture, alternatives (the individual having a choice as to whether or not to accept them), or specialties (specific to given positions)”. Using different terms, Kádár and Haugh (2013, p. 95) divide moral orders into localised norms, group-based norms and societal/cultural norms. The first relates to norms which are shared among individuals via their own history of interactions with others. The second is “sets of expectancies that are shared across identifiable communities of practice, organisational cultures or indeed any social group recognised as such by [its] members” (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 95). The last is norms, which operate in a particular society.

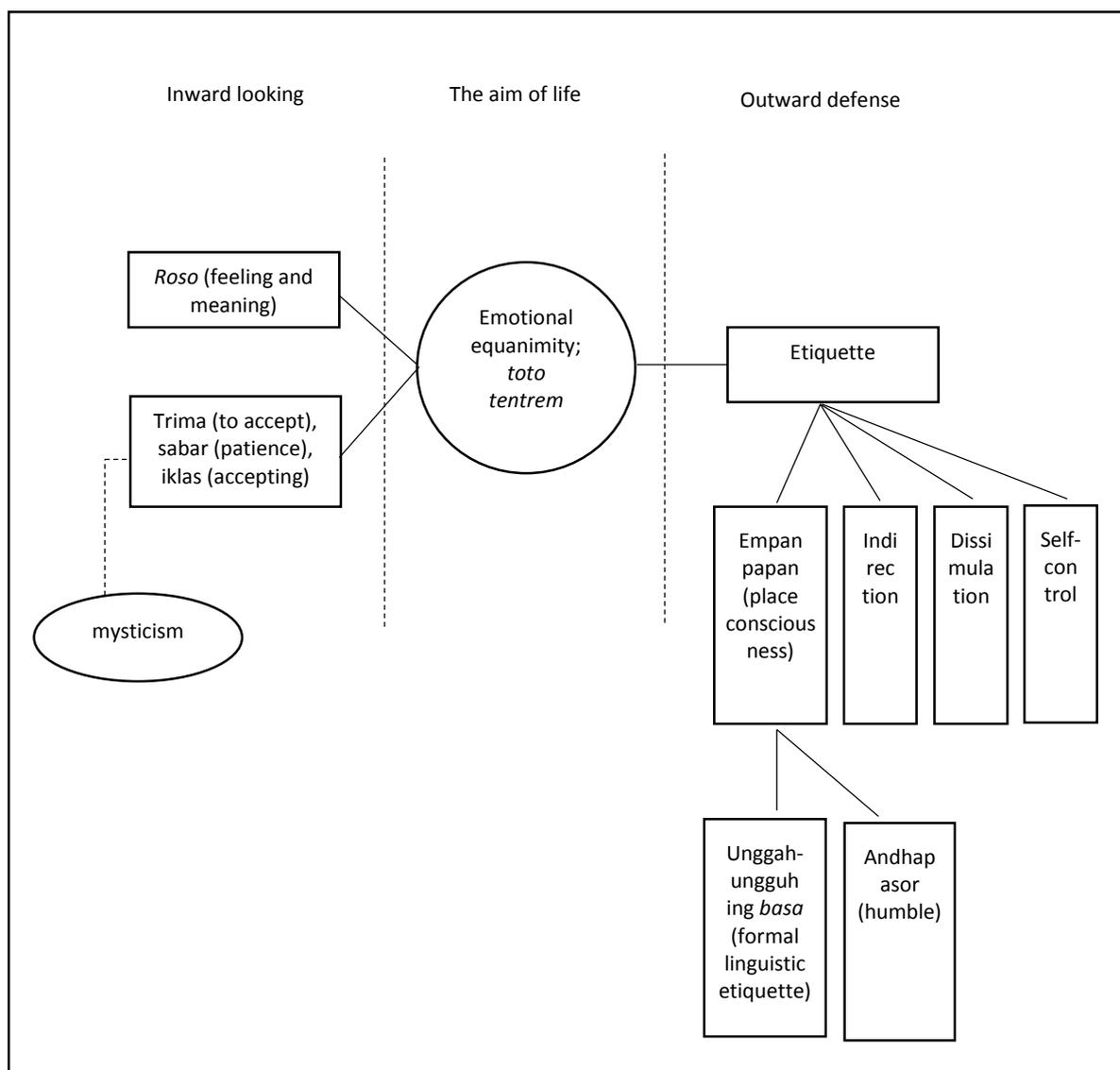
The discussion regarding Javanese norms begins with the nature of meaning in Javanese culture. The ways in which Javanese people view their relational network (i.e. *toto tentrem* (peace and order)) (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002) and mystical world (i.e. ascetic practices of self-control) (C. Geertz, 1960) develop their formal aspects of politeness, particularly in drawing conclusions through meaning. The Javanese people understand meaning in two layers: outward and inward. “[T]he meaning of events in the *lair* [outward] [is] the external behavioural world of sound, shape and gesture, and in the far more mysterious *batin* [inward] [is] the fluid inner world of life” (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 239). In relation to the formal aspects of politeness, the outward layer is the evaluation of the semantic meaning of word dictions arranged in regularised order, whereas an inward meaning is the interpretation of intentions and values (i.e. etiquette)

underlying the utterances. The absence of one of the two layers of meaning may occasion a different understanding. To illustrate this, let us analyse H. Geertz's anecdotal data (1989 [1961], p. 122).

Javanese women sometimes jokingly remark that all they know about day in and day out is *Lombok* and *tempe* (Spanish pepper and soybean cake, the two essential accompaniments of the Javanese meal), but actually there is little of the man's world that they cannot participate in and still less that they do not know about. In the rice growing cycle, there are certain tasks traditionally performed by women. After the harvest, in which men rarely engage, the rice is brought home by the women; and frequently its disposal, including complex financial transactions, is also in their hands. The market is dominated by women, and even the rich successful wholesalers are as often women.

H. Geertz understands that *lombok* and *tempe* relate to the kitchen, representing women's role in preparing food for their family. Her focus on gender analysis demonstrates a contradiction between the utterance and actual roles. Even though she has moved from dictional meaning (i.e. cooking is the only role of Javanese women) to pragmatic meaning (i.e. jokingly remark), she fails to reach "ultimate significance" (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 238), the deepest meaning. As she uses the plural "women", it signifies that she observed that more than one woman use the expression (i.e. *lombok* and *tempe*) to hide their gender roles. In other words, it indicates recurrent actions or convention (cf. Kádár & Haugh, 2013; Kádár & Mills, 2013) among Javanese women. When we refer to Javanese etiquette, the remark (i.e. *lombok* and *tempe*) is the reflection of *andhap asor* (humble manner). *Andhap* (below; under) and *asor* (low; inferior) are two words that comprise a similar meaning, although they have a different word style. The first is *krama* (K; refined level) and the second is *ngoko* (N; basic word). "*Andhap asor* means to humble oneself politely and is the correct behaviour to adopt toward anyone who is either of approximately equal rank or higher" (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 243). One example of *andhap asor* is to reject a compliment (Errington, 1988). Javanese women consider any acknowledgement toward women's roles (i.e. "little of the man's world that they cannot participate in") as a compliment. Thus, *lombok* and *tempe* reflect rejection of the compliment. Errington implies that there is a ritual among Javanese people to reject a compliment, so as to conform to *andhap asor*. Additionally, women's remarks pertaining to *Lombok* and *tempe*, subsequently, reveal the mimetic function of Javanese values to express a humble manner.

The excerpt informs the significance of not only the basic understanding of formal aspects in relation to the evaluation of gender and politeness, but also the complex field of living ideologies in Javanese culture. To lay the foundation for the following chapters, the next sections will explore the idea of the life of Javanese people and two layers of actions, i.e. inward looking



**Figure 5: Javanese worldview leading to formal aspects of politeness**

and outward defence. Inward looking refers to the empirical realm of mystical practices; linguistic practices are the outward manifestation of ascetic practices. Therefore, the researcher will summarise the ways that the Javanese people view their world leading to formal aspects of politeness, as revealed in Figure 5. It is essential for the author of this work to admit that the figure reflects the ascetic practices of the *priyayi* (gentry) group (C. Geertz, 1960), which affects many aspects of the linguistic practices of Javanese people. The following discussions relating to the aim of life, inward looking, and etiquette explore the figure in detail.

**The aim of life**

Javanese values are reflections of the equilibrium between self and others, individual welfare and harmonious society, and moreover, micro and macro cosmos. C. Geertz (1960, p.

240) mentions that priyayi values a highly *alus* (refined) character as a reflection of the psychological state of emotional equanimity. This individual welfare supports the relational idea of *tata tentrem* (peace and order). Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo (2002, p. 14) define it in two mutually dependent facets. The first term, *tata*, means in proper order; thus, everything in a macrocosm has a proper place in harmonious rhythm. *Tentrem* (tranquil) comprises internal peace (*tentrem ayem*) and interrelational serene (*rukun* or *rukun* (harmonious)). “Tentrem means that the beings which make up the universe are calm and serene within themselves (feel what is called *tentrem ayem*) and at peace with one another (called *sayoq rukun* or simply *rukun*)” (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002, p. 14). H. Geertz (1989 [1961] and also see Gunarwan (2001)) describes these values as *kerukunan* (harmony) and *hormat* (respect). Every member of a society has the responsibility to preserve harmony in society. They must also demonstrate respect to others in accordance with their social standing. This basic idea means Javanese value modesty, refined demeanour, indirections and other behaviours reflecting self-control. In terms of social stratification, Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo attribute *tata* to social status; every member of society has their own status and hence, behaves accordingly. The regularity in *tata tentrem* presupposes two roles for interactants, e.g. the speaker and hearer who understand and apply it together with its co-occurrence regulations.

To achieve *tata tentrem*, there must be a rule of conduct within society which is known as *tata krama* (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002, p. 14). Robson and Wibisono (2013, p. 726) describe *tata krama* as “etiquette; proper social conduct”. Errington (1988, p. 35) defines *tata* as “arrangement” or “framework”, while its verb form “*nata*” means “to put in order”. Additionally, *krama* could be broadly translated as “to take steps”, differential acts, or the “state of being married”. Errington (1988, p. 34) depicts *tata krama* as “the ethics of interaction” which can be glossed as “the ordering of conduct”. “*Tata krama* signifies a concept like politesse as well as the quality of politeness in conduct” (Errington, 1988, p. 35). This term is also applicable as a social sanction to refer to those who are unable to behave appropriately according to their social standing as *kurang tata kramane* (lack of *tata krama*).

In order to reach *tata tentrem*, self-control is a significant key. C. Geertz (1960, p. 241) describes the ways priyayi reaches emotional equanimity in two steps: inward discipline and outward defence. They protect their feelings respectively by way of ascetic practices and performing rigidly formal types of etiquette. In a broader sense, these two ways may protect society in the *ayem tentrem* state. The following two sections focus on discussions related to both ways, particularly their relationship to the formal aspect of politeness.

### *Inward looking*

As the focus of the thesis is on formal aspects of politeness, this section will emphasise *roso* (feeling), which affects linguistic practices. Another facet of inward looking (i.e. the mystical practices of *trima*, *sabar*, *iklas*) will require less attention. *Sabar*, which means patience, indicates “an absence of eagerness, of impatience, of headstrong passion” (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 241), whilst *trima* means to accept or to receive. The Javanese people apply this concept such as in the aphorism *nrima ing pandum* (accepting whatever comes). Thus, when someone obtains a job, s/he should be able to *nrima* the salary, either big or small, and spend it properly to cover all their needs until the next salary. “[I]t means not to kick against the pricks, to accept what comes without protest and without rebellion” (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 241). *Iklas* means “accepting; unaffected by loss” (Robson & Wibisono, 2013, p. 279). Furthermore, it also refers to doing something without expecting rewards. “*Iklas* brings psychological peace through a lack of attachment to the external world; *sabar* brings such peace by inward restraint of emotional drive, an atrophy of the will, an excess of caution; *trima* brings peace through the acceptance of the inevitable with grace” (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 241). In relation to mysticism, C. Geertz defines it as training to be *trima*, *sabar* and *iklas*.

It should be noted that *roso* means taste, sensation, meaning, sense (Robson & Wibisono, 2013, p. 617). C. Geertz (1960, p. 238) classifies them in two words: “feeling” and “meaning”. The first refers to human nerves, in addition to emotional responses toward external stimulus (e.g. taste, sensation, pain, sadness, happiness, etc.). C. Geertz (1960, p. 238) explains the second definition of *roso* in the following excerpt:

As “meaning”, *roso* is applied to the words in a letter, in a poem, or even in speech, to indicate the between-the-lines “looking north and hitting south” type of allusive suggestion that is so important in Javanese communication. And it is given the same application to external acts generally: to indicate the implicit import, the connotative “feeling” of dance movements, polite gestures, and so forth. But, in this second sense, it also means “ultimate significance” – the deepest meaning at which one arrives by dint of mystical effort and whose clarification resolves all the ambiguities of mundane existence.

The two types of meanings we have discussed previously reflect *roso* in the second form. Javanese people do not often express their intentions through the *lair*, but the internal meaning of *batin*. This tendency occasions “indirections” in their linguistic practices (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 244; Gunarwan, 2001). Within relational network, characterised by “looking north and hitting south”, participants should undertake “an empirical analysis of inward perception [yielding] at the same time as a metaphysical analysis of objective reality” (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 239). Additionally, participants should use their *roso* to understand the internal or indirect meaning.

C. Geertz (1960, p. 244) gives an example of the indirection in which old-time *kyais* (Quran teachers) inform one's mistake by telling a brief story leading the person to come to the point less painfully. Moreover, indirection guards the emotional equanimity of participants as "[i]nformation in Java always carries some threat of discord" (Keeler, 1990, p. 137). The following story illustrates how the Javanese reject marriage proposals without breaking the emotional equanimity.

This the Cermas did by proposing marriage. Bu [Mrs.] Cerma let it be known that the offer would be forthcoming, and one evening Pak [Mr.] Cerma, Pak Marto, who was a fairly well-off farmer living next door, and I went to Marni's parents' home. We went in the evening lest we attract the attention of neighbours and obliged to field questions about where we were going. We were received by Marni's father and sat in the front room of the house, while the girl and her mother appeared briefly to greet us and to serve us tea and snacks. We made small talk for about half an hour. Eventually Pak Cerma broached the subject of a marriage between Jarno and Marni, speaking in a refined style and with a light and even jocular tone that nevertheless teetered on the officious. Marni's father, Pak Lasimin, responded that he is certainly very honoured by the proposal but that he would have to talk the matter over with the girl's mother, and with Marni herself. We continued to speak of a variety of unrelated, and rather mild, topics for another hour, and then took our leave, Pak Lasimin assuring Pak Cerma that he would provide an answer in a few days time.

More than a week had gone by when Pak Lasimin appeared one evening at the Cermas' home. The fact that he had let rather a long time elapse before coming by already prepared the Cermas for his reply, but then Bu Cerma had already learned from neighbours that the answer was to be negative. As a result, no one was startled when Pak Lasiman reported, after a little small talk, that although he thought the match would be an excellent one, his daughter appeared unwilling to marry at this time. He made various comments about her schooling (a girl is expected to stop attending school as soon as she marries) and about the inability of parents nowadays to determine their children's actions. Pak Cerma expressed complete understanding and fulsome agreement with pak Lasiman's remarks. Soon after drinking a glass of tea, Pak Lasiman took his leave (Keeler, 1990, pp. 135-136; translation added).

The ultimate end of the communication construction in the story is the emotional welfare of both parties. Excessive disappointment may result in destructive feelings, which may ruin relational networks, a condition breaking the *ayem tentrem* of the network. Keeler argues,

"If contrary to its receivers' wishes, [information] may startle them, causing disarray to their thoughts and feelings, and so endangering both their health and their self-possession. It may, most dangerously, arouse disappointment or anger, which dissipates potency and threatens the outbreak of hostility" (Keeler, 1990, p. 137; emphasis added).

C. Geertz (1960) confirms this state by describing the behaviour of *priyayis'* (gentry) who are cautious with speech delivered to *wong cilek* (commoner), as misunderstandings may cause

destructive emotional feeling of anger. Keeler's story illustrates the ways that the Javanese people manage the information concerning the equanimity of relational networks. Refined linguistic style, indirection, jocular tone and other symbolic practices (e.g. giving a delayed answer) are reflections of the intention. Prior to giving the answer Pak (Mr.) Lasimin gives a sign by not visiting on the given date, and probably leaks the answer to some neighbours. Bu Cerma reads the signs and collects information from the neighbours. On the day of the visit, Pak Lasimin offers several clues (i.e. the unwillingness of his daughter to get married because of her school) without direct denial. The clues are not necessarily correct, as everyone knows that his daughter had been in relationship with the Cermas' son. The superficial signs of utterances do not occasion ambiguity, since the audiences use their *roso* (the meaning of *batin*) to seek the absolute intentions of Pak Lasimin.

The ascetic practices of *sabar*, *trima*, *iklas* and *roso* are inward actions to protect one's equanimity of feelings from destructive external inputs. Some of the research literature classify these exercises in addition to other mystical practices as "spiritual potency" (Brenner, 1995; Hatley, 1990; Keeler, 1990). The term potency is similar to power (Anderson, 1972). The Javanese concept does not restrict power only to "coercive authority" (Keeler, 1990, p. 131) but also allows for "intangible, mysterious and divine energy" (Anderson, 1972, p. 7). Within this concept, those who are able to acquire the immaterial power are able to control themselves and others. The acquisition of this power could be completed by way of ascetic practices, such as fasting from food and passion, meditation, etc., which in the words of Anderson (1972, p. 8) is to concentrate one's intention on the primordial essence. Additionally, self-restraining behaviour, such as refined speech, controlling emotions, etc., is the reflection of this mystical power (Brenner, 1995). Moreover, Anderson (1972, pp. 9-10) states that any unrestrained passions cause the the owner to lose his/her spiritual potency. In a relational network, those who can display the quality of this spiritual potency deserve to gain respect and prestige.

The intention of the inward looking self-emotional quiescence should care for the emotional welfare of others in order not to interfere with one's serene feelings. The mutual understanding of social practices brings *tata tentrem* to relational networks. The "wall" of the "outward defence" is etiquette (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 241). The subsequent section focuses on etiquette, leading to formal aspects of politeness.

### ***Etiquette***

C. Geertz (1960, p. 246) demonstrates four major principles animating *priyayi* etiquette: *empan papan*, indirection, dissimulation, and the avoidance of any act distracting self-control.

The previous sections have discussed the second and the fourth, whereas the first relates social status to linguistic etiquette and *andhap asor*.

Dissimulation or *etok-etok* refers to “concealing one’s wishes in deference to one’s opposite” (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 246). In Keeler’s story of marriage proposals, the audience dissimulates as uninformed persons and let pak Lasimin deliver his refusal formally. There is in fact disappointment, even though they utter their “complete understanding and fulsome agreement”. Bu Cerma dissimulates her feeling in the meeting and expresses her sadness in a private conversation with her husband, pak Cerma. She believes that the Lasimins want their son-in-law to achieve a higher status. “Bu Cerma scoffed a bit at all this, saying that her parents always said that you should marry someone, neither above nor below your station, but rather someone who is “just the same”” (Keeler, 1990, p. 136).

A further etiquette regarding formal aspects is the reflection of one’s acknowledgement toward his/her social standing, vis-a-vis others. Gunarwan (2001) describes this awareness as *empan papan* (knowing one’s place). In general, scholars classify Javanese people into two groups, *priyayi* and *wong cilek* (commoners) (Dhofier, 1980; Poedjosoedarmo, 1968; Srimulyani, 2012). An additional category provided by C. Geertz (1960) and H. Geertz (1989 [1961]) relates to the religion of Java. They categorise the Javanese people into three: *Santri* (students of Islamic school; “one who adheres strictly to Islamic rules” (Robson & Wibisono, 2013, pp. 650-651)), *priyayi* and *abangan*<sup>3</sup>. Furthermore, “the Islam of the *santri* variant and the Hindu-Buddhism of the [*priyayi*] variant is derived from “great tradition”, that is, they are systematised, universalistic and proselytising. The third religious variant, the *abangan*, is a “little tradition” found within animistic households and neighbourhood rituals” (1989 [1961], p. 2). The first classification of *priyayi-wong cilek* together with seniority repeatedly emerges in the discussions of Javanese linguistic etiquette. *Empan papan* means acknowledgement of the social status and behaves accordingly, e.g. to use proper speech levels. The subsequent section describes the historical relations of *priyayi-wong cilek*, leading to formal aspects of speech levels.

### *Priyayi (gentry)*

Historically, the royal system of Javanese kingdoms was attached to Javanese culture. Four of them still exist in Yogyakarta and Surakarta (*Mangkunegaran* and *Kasunanan*), even

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<sup>3</sup> Abangan is from the word *abang* (N; adjective; red) having the suffix –an to form a noun. Robson and Wibisono (2013, p. 21) translate it into “one who does not adhere strictly to the precepts of Islam”.

though they have lost their political power, particularly in Surakarta, as a result of their recognition of the authority of the Republic of Indonesia.

Within traditional Javanese society, which was under the kingdoms' services for hundreds of years, there are two social stratifications of *priyayi* (gentry) and *wong cilek* or *tiyang alit* (commoners). *Priyayi* is an elite group comprising civil service officers and intellectuals. *Wong cilek* is the lower class people, including peasants and merchants. Dhofier (1980, p. 48) argues that the Javanese social system does not have a particular term for middle class people, e.g. wealthy peasants and employees in towns. C. Geertz (1960, p. 229) defines *priyayi-wong cilek* through the dichotomy of *alus* (refined) and *kasar* (unrefined) works. *Priyayi* are among those who work as white-collar nobles (*alus*) and the rest, e.g. merchants, peasants, carpenters, etc., are non-*priyayi* (*kasar*), without considering their wealth.

The term *priyayi* also refers to an upper group of aristocratic families. Supardo (2007, p. 4) classifies *priyayi* into two clusters, primarily a genealogical category and educated persons. The *priyayis* in the line of educated persons are commonly government officials. Supardo distinguishes genealogical based *priyayi* as "genuine royal descendant" and "common *priyayi*". Among the first group are *putra sentana dalem* (Errington, 1985, p. 36) or descendants of the King (*Sunan* or *Sultan*) up to the fifth generation. He remarks that they deserve to receive the titles *Raden Mas* (boys) and *Raden Ajeng* (girls). Common *priyayi* are those who have genealogical relationships to kingdom families, who are nonetheless outside the first group. Their titles are *Raden* (boys) and *Raden Roro* (girls) or *Raden Ayu* (married women).

C. Geertz (1960, p. 229) confirms such classifications. He describes how the title *priyayi* is for the king's ancestors, in addition to government officials, as the direct cause of the existence of Dutch colonialism. "Priyayi originally indicated a man who could trace his ancestry back to the great semi-mythical kings of precolonial Java". The Dutch, who ruled Java for more than three hundred years, required more administrative officers, which limited authentic aristocrats were unable to fulfil. C. Geertz notes that the Dutch government recruited commoners to run its bureaucracy system. This policy made the recruited commoners live in the *priyayi* world. Moreover, several other studies classify the descendants of the King as *bendoro* or *bangsawan* and *priyayi* as an honorary degree conferred on bureaucracy officers (Bertrand, 2008, p. 77). In these terms, *priyayi*, which literally means "the prince's younger sibling" (2008) are persons who are "close to the king" (Errington, 1988, p. 24).



**Picture 1: Gamelan (Javanese music orchestra)**  
(ANTARA & Octavianus, 2013)

*Priyayi* predominantly lived in towns (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 229) and occupied different rings in accordance with their status (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 230-233). Koentjaraningrat describes how traditionally the first ring was a square (*alun-alun*) which was the centre of the royal city. The local governments of modern Yogyakarta and Surakarta preserved the existence of the *alun-alun*. The location of *kraton* (kingdom) as the residence of the king and the centre for royal administration were in this area (Errington, 1988, p. 25). In the Kasunanan kingdom, the *kraton* is positioned on the south side of the *alun-alun*. Furthermore, Koentjaraningrat describes the general landscape of a traditional Javanese town. The head of the administration, *bupati* (regent) and the Dutch supervisors lived on two sides of the square. The two remaining sides were the buildings of important government offices and other buildings indicating the government's authority, e.g. the Town Hall. The notables of the town and public school occupied the second ring around the *alun-alun*. The third ring was for the Indo-European and Javanese civil servants, market (*pasar*), Chinese shops (*toko*), railway station and housing for railway employees. It should also be mentioned that the *masjid* (mosque) and church were commonly in this ring. However, in the Surakarta kingdom, the *masjid* is in the first ring, on the western side of *alun-alun*. The fourth ring was the area in which the less wealthy Javanese lived. The next

ring was *kampong* (bamboo housing for 'lower class' commoners)(Koentjaraningrat, 1985) or *kampung* ("a rural Javanese village") (Peacock, 1968, p. 328).

A further study denotes that *priyayi* was the offspring of the political disequilibrium of the Mataram kingdom. The king of Mataram had started the policy to pull commoners into bureaucracy prior to the colonialism of the Dutch. Bertrand (2008, pp. 76-77) summarises how Sultan Agung who reigned over the Mataram kingdom from 1613–1646 expanded his territory through military campaigns. He dominated all of Java (see also Errington, 1988, p. 22). In 1625, he conquered Surabaya, the northern coast (*Pasisir*) of Java. This was the turning point in the political history of Java. This expansion connected the agrarian kingdom of Mataram to the trade port of Pasisir (Bertrand, 2008). Bertrand states that the expansion of the territory called for "a reorganisation of the administrative system" to govern the conquered territories. These periods resulted in new functions for the *priyayi* and *bendoro* or *bangsawan* (the descendant of the king). The first was the kingdom's administrators, who were primarily from the village world. *Bangsawan* was a closed elite, having the valid criteria of blood aristocracy. Furthermore, Bertrand (2008, p. 77) explains that "[a]t the end of this critical moment in which the political structure was institutionalised, the *priyayi* group was transformed into a service aristocracy, relegating the military referent to the background, which up until this point had made it resemble a warlike castle". This group, according to Bertrand, transformed their roles to have administrative efficiency and abandoned their roles as warrior in the end periods of Sultan Agung's reign. In order to maintain their privileges and pass them down to the next generation, they realised that they had to develop their own social class. They had to develop an ideology, which distinguished them from martial values on the one hand, and merchant and commoners on the other hand (Bertrand, 2008, p. 77).

Errington (1988, pp. 23-24) argues that *priyayi* ideology emerged as part of the relocation of the Javanese kingdom from Kartasura to Surakarta and provides chronological orders of the replacement. After the fall of Sultan Agung, there was chaos and a struggle for the throne, and the Dutch interfered in this turmoil. Sultan Agung's son Mangkurat I replaced him; nonetheless, he was cruel and consolidated his power on the Pasisir. This northern coast was an unstable area, which was the locus of rebellion against the inland monarch. As a result, there was a coup in the palace and they crowned another Sultan, Agung's son Mangkurat II. Consequently, armed conflicts filled the rest of the Javanese kingdoms history. Mangkurat III took the throne, although his uncle dethroned him with the assistance of the Dutch (see also Anderson, 1972, p. 18). The uncle had the title Pakubuwana I and reigned until his death in 1719.

The descendent of Mangkurat governed until 1723, when Pakubuwana II held power over the kingdom. In a struggle to establish stable political power, he moved the kingdom to the west bank of the Solo River. This place is the location of the modern city of Surakarta or Solo. The king built the new kingdom together with its *priyayi* ideology. There were mystical practices as part of the cult of royal glory and ideology of kingship, which informs us that movement is not only the decision of the king, Pakubuwana II, but also by means of sacred ascetic conduct. In addition, the *Priyayi* “made use of a system of etiquette that governed both the means and ends of interactions”.

The ideology equated to social engineering disseminated and strengthened through literature and social media, such as *wayang* (shadow puppet) and *kethoprak* (traditional Javanese drama). Quoting Budya Pradipta<sup>4</sup>, Quinn (1983, p. 24) includes three spiritual qualities in relation to old Javanese literature: they are *sangkan paraning dumadi*, *roso* and *laku*. She translates the qualities respectively as “mystical philosophy”, “intuitive perception” and “the outward, controlled practice of inwardly perceived truth”. The translations are broader interpretations of the qualities. *Sangkan paraning dumadi* semantically means the origin of life. Therefore, it roughly means that a human being is the divine work of God, who is born into a temporary mundane life. Death finally leads a human being to an immortal life before God. (For the next quality, *roso*, see the previous section i.e. inward looking). Additionally, the word *laku* (to act) commonly relates closely to *laku tirakat* (meditation), in which the whole phrase partially refers to ascetic practices. Quoting Hadiwijono<sup>5</sup>, Quinn states that old *pujangga* (Javanese writers) did their works via ascetic petition.

Examples of Javanese literature teaching the qualities of *priyayi* can be observed in the treatises of Javanese kings: *serat wedhatama* (Mangku Negara IV reigned from 1853-1881) and *serat wulangreh* (Paku Buwana IV, 1788 – 1820). *Serat wedhatama* compares the wise person (*si wasis*) and the imbecile (*si pengung*) (Bertrand, 2008, p. 77). The imbeciles are those who are unable to admit defeat. They insist upon “having the upper hand in words and actions, inevitably ending up disturbing social and natural hierarchies”, talk more and are “lost in a series of long [and useless] digressions” (2008). In contrast, the *priyayi* has virtues of moderation, tact, and the ability to control anger and passion or knowing to *ngalah* (give in) (2008). Errington (1988, p. 39) comments that *ngalah* (to give in/up) does not mean to *kalah* (lose). *Ngalah* is the active

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<sup>4</sup> Budya Pradipta, *Makna dan Manfaat Sastra Daerah Lama untuk Pengembangan Sastra Daerah Baru*, paper presented at the Pengembangan Sastra Daerah, seminar, Jakarta, 13 Oct. 1975, p. 13

<sup>5</sup> S. Hadiwijono, *Kalenggan Pujangga*, Kunthi, 4, no. 11 (1975), p. 15.

form of *kalah*. It has a more idiomatic meaning regarding “to give in” and means to “engage in the act of losing”. Pragmatically, Errington describes *ngalah* as “to place another’s desires or opinions above one’s own voluntarily to preserve equanimity ... I may go to someone’s house to discuss linguistic etiquette, but if they want to talk about philosophy, I *ngalah*”.

Quoting Lombard (1990), Bertrand (2008) presents the basic principles of Javanese aristocratic qualities. They are *nrimo* (to accept), *pasrah* (surrender) and *mawas diri* (introspective). The terms respectively indicate the quality of the *priyayi* to respect an order, to “submit to authority” and to have self-control. An additional quality is *sepi ing pamrih, rame ing gawe* (“hush your selfish interests and devote yourself entirely to your duty”).

*Priyayi* ideology places the king as the locus of spiritual potency and the source of status. The King has functions as a “patrimonial chief” and mediator between humans and god (Errington, 1985, p. 36). This centralistic pattern creates social status, which absorbs the absolute power of the king. Those who are closer to the king have higher status, as opposed to those who are relatively distant. The descendants of the king from the queen (the *padmi*), for instance, have a higher status than the offspring of concubines (the *selir*) (Errington, 1985, p. 37).

Errington (1985, pp. 38-42) distinguishes six categories of social status as the source of linguistic etiquette. The *first* is descent. All *priyayis* have a line of descent to the founder of the Mataram Empire, Sultan Agung. The *second* is genealogical seniority. A *priyayi* has the status of an elder sibling of another *priyayi*, when his grandparent was an elder sibling of the other *priyayi*’s grandparent. Seniority in this pattern refers to *awu* (“ash; family ranking according to the order in which members of preceding generations were born” (Robson & Wibisono, 2013, p. 60)). Commoners also adopt this pattern (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]). A person loses in *awu* (*kalah awu*) when a person is older than his/her relatives but he/she is considered a younger brother or sister. This could transpire because of the reference to grandparent, i.e. his/her grandparent is younger than his/her relatives’ grandparent. Hence, the person should call the relatives *mas* (elder brother) or *mbak* (elder sister) and get *dik* (younger brother/sister) in return. The *third* is the status of mother. With regards to *Priyayi* (and commonly the king) who had more than one wife, the first wife had a higher status than the others. Errington comments that all children addressed the first wife by way of the refined speech level of *krama*, but used ordinary *ngoko* with regards to the other wives, including the biological mother. The *fourth* is birth order, in which someone who was born earlier of the same father and mother deserves to receive *krama* (refined code) and give the younger ordinary *ngoko* (basic style). The *fifth* is affinal seniority; a

man would consider the younger sibling of his wife as his younger sibling. The *last* is physical age; nevertheless, Errington considers it as less important in the choice of speech style in the presence of the other five categories. Conversants of a relatively close relation do not place a greater concern on it regarding the choice of speech style. However, “[a] difference in physical age would often have had a negligible impact on interaction within the highest circles” (Errington, 1985, p. 41). Errington (1985, p. 41; emphasis added) offers an example to assist with our understanding and notes “[a] twenty-year-old prince would speak ordinary *ngoko* to a forty-year-old grandchild of a king and receive highly deferential *krama in* return”.

The ideology of *priyayi* also affects women roles. Relating to women’s status, “the dominant gender ideologies of Javanese society dictate that the wife should defer to her husband’s greater prestige and authority as the head of the household” (Brenner, 2012, pp. 137-138). Traditionally, women are second class people (Handayani & Novianto, 2004) and are subservient to men (Brenner, 1995; Smith-Hefner, 2009, p. 72). Linguistic practices are the evidence of power domination (Brenner, 1995, p. 72). Several popular aphorisms confirm the inferiority of women in the status system, such as *konco* (friend) *wingking* (behind) and *suwargo nunut neroko katut* (following husband either to heaven or to hell). The first literally means “friend in behind”. *Wingking* has the connotation meaning the behind part of the Javanese traditional house, which is usually the kitchen or household work. *Konco wingking* means a partner who does domestic work. The second aphorism means that a wife follows the husband to “heaven” (i.e. happiness, prosperity, etc.) or to “hell” (i.e. sadness, poverty, etc.). It represents the social status of Javanese women who are attached to the social status of the husband.

The ideology of male dominance refers back to the nineteenth century during the declining supremacy of Javanese noblemen. Dewi (2012, pp. 115-116) illustrates it in her discussion concerning two Javanese works. She states that, after the end of the Diponegoro War (1830), there was a diminution of the power of royal men. There was a struggle among the royal male elite who had lost military and political power, particularly in Surakarta, in constructing gender relations to voice male domination through women’s literature. She provides a few examples to support her inferences. The literature of *Piwulang putri* (teaching for women) teaches women to be a good wife, which includes the accommodation of her husband’s intention to have more than one wife (polygamy) and submit to the husband’s authority. A poem, *Serat Murtasiyah* (Murtasiyah letter), similarly illustrates women’s submission toward their husbands, and furthermore, describes women who surrender and devote their happiness to their husbands as virtuous Javanese wives.

The ideology culturally weakened women's power historically, particularly in the 19<sup>th</sup>s century and can be perceived in the life story of R.A. Kartini (1879-1904), who reflects on it. The Indonesian government has in fact labelled her a national heroine with respect to the emancipation of women. As she was given the title *Raden Ajeng* (R.A.), she was a *priyayi* and a daughter of the Regent of Jepara, Central Java born of a mother who "had been trapped in a polygamous marriage" (Dewi, 2012). Additionally, Dewi (2012, p. 116) writes that Kartini opposed polygamy. Kartini frequently wrote letters to her friend in Dutch (see Kartini, 1921). Dewi points out that in one of her letters, Kartini argued that polygamy was unfair and a narrow interpretation of Islamic practice. However, she surrendered her ideology when her father asked her to marry a man who already had three wives. The man was the Regent of Rembang.

An additional symbolic status of women is that of the wedding ceremony. A Betel (*sirih*) battle in Javanese traditional marriage rituals symbolises the idea of male dominance. Brenner (1995, p. 22) argues that the battle implies submission and the lower status of women. The bride and the groom "takes up a small quantity of betel (*sirih*) and throws it at the other, the idea being that the one whose betel hits the other person first will be the dominant partner in the marriage" (1995, p. 22). However, in this traditional cultural practice, "the bride is supposed to make sure that the groom wins the betel battle [even though sometimes the bride wins the battle], and washes his foot "in token of loyalty and loving submission"" (1995, p. 23; information added).

It is important to note that the mystical practices of spiritual potency accentuating self-refinement and self-control, result in further dominance by men. Potency refers to the power of immaterial authority, a power to influence others even without the use of force and/or money (Keeler, 1990, p. 131). This potency expects *Priyayi* (either men or women) to have "inner spiritual strength" due to ascetic practices, which results in complete self-control (Brenner, 1995, p. 20). Those who are able to control emotions are able to display calm attitudes and refined languages (Keeler, 1990, p. 131). They practice *alos* (refined) characters in opposition to behaviour which is *kasar* (coersive). There is a word in the Javanese language, *menep* (calm), that refers to people who are able to control their emotions and hence, attain high spiritual potency. Someone who is *menep* deserves to have a higher status and linguistically receive a high speech level or *basa* (refined language). The possessor deserves to receive greater respect, fear and deferential behaviour from others (Keeler, 1990, p. 131). Brenner (1995) describes women as inferior in pursuing this religious potency, as opposed to men. *Priyayi* women are unable to reach higher spiritual potency, for the reason that their roles as homemakers relate

to money and the market; two qualities that degrade one's spiritual potency. They, then traditionally learnt to absorb male potency for protection and guidance (Hatley, 1990, p. 181). Their social status depends on the positive images of men. As spiritual potency is the source of male status, Javanese *priyayi* women should submit themselves to the styles of their husbands (Keeler, 1990, p. 133). Thus, a *Priyayi* woman "should care for her husband's emotional and domestic needs, be submissive to his wishes and supportive of his endeavours" (Hatley, 1990, p. 181). Different from women who generally tend to be described as emotional, crude and uncontrolled (Keeler, 1990, p. 130), the *priyayi* expect Javanese women to have virtue and modesty, and are described as shy and reticent (Hatley, 1990, p. 181).

Due to the dependence of the *priyayi* toward the ideology of spiritual potency, Javanese *priyayi* women traditionally have restricted social roles and activities. Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 261) describes how they are the holders of household works, the area which is deemed improper for *priyayi* men. They have circumscribed access to work outside the home, because it debased family status (Hatley, 1990, p. 180). Hatley comments that young girls were "kept in seclusion until marriage" or *dipingit* and that marriage was the initiation for them to submit their obedience to their husbands.

In relation to the *alus* (refined) demeanour of Javanese women, Javanese performing arts are able to illustrate it properly. Keeler (1990, p. 130) describes how in each *wayang* (shadow puppet) or *kethoprak* (the less formal folk drama) or *wayang wong* (dance drama) performance, two characters of women are presented: *alus* and *kasar*. Female artists who are talkative, emotional and disruptive are seen as being undesirable.

Other female characters, however, conform to the ideals of self-restraint and concomitant refinement in language, sentiment and behaviour that Javanese culture prizes in both men and women. These refined women cast their eyes demurely to the ground, move with elegantly flowing gestures and speak in the most floridly beautiful reaches of high Javanese (Keeler, 1990, p. 130).

The unfavourable styles of talkative and assertive women who represent *kasar* (unrefined or crude traits) conform to the *kethoprak* performance of *lakon* (plot, story) *Damar Wulan*. Hatley (1990, p. 192) remarks how Damar Wulan is a villager who becomes the hero of Majapahit. He has just won a battle against the King of the Blambangan region, who is in conflict with the Majapahit court. In the drama, there is a girl, Anjasmara, who is the daughter of *patih* (the prime minister). She is a strong-minded young woman, loquacious and unintimidated by men. She is in love with Damar Wulan and assertively reveals her affection to him. The traits are explicitly a violation of the decorum of traditional Javanese women. A dignified woman should not start

such a relationship, but later she must give full submission as a wife. The inference comes from Hatley's description of her father's and brothers' expression; thus, her "father and brothers express shock at both her bold assertion of opinion and her excessively free behaviour with a member of the opposite sex" (1990, p. 192).

Within the dichotomy of *alos-kasar*, linguistic etiquette of *unggah-ungguh ing basa* reflects a different muted status. Errington (1985, p. 44) describes the informant of an elderly conservative *priyayi* who asked his daughter to act as his interpreter when he met *wong cilek* (little people or commoner), who could not address him in *krama*. This does not mean that he did not understand the commoner's language. In fact, he considered himself deserving of a higher speech level (i.e. *krama*) and hence, asked his daughter to translate the commoner's words into the refined language of *krama*. The daughter or interpreter is what Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 446) calls the centre or neutralizer in a threefold symbolic system<sup>6</sup>. In relational networks, *priyayi* express their refinement via strict language rules. When they meet higher-level *priyayi*, they address them in *krama*. When they meet lower *priyayi*, or those from *kasar* or *andhap* (low) worlds, e.g. commoners, they use *ngoko* and expect to receive *krama* in return (Keeler, 1990). Moreover, commoners who are unable to acquire *krama* employ *madya* (middle) level, as *alus* or *basa* (refined) style (Errington, 1985).

Errington (1982, p. 89) notes another linguistic style regarding the Javanese language in the Javanese kingdom: *basa kedhaton* (palace language), used by the members of kingdom (e.g., king, *priyayi*, etc.). It has a particular pronunciation marked by a semi-chanted rhythm (*ulon*) (Benedict, 1967). Errington states that this peculiar style originates from the order of king Sindhula of Galuh (on the northwest coast of Java) to his prime minister, Raja Kapa-Kapa – to create a specific language. The king intended to distinguish his "magico-religious" role (Errington, 1984, p. 277) as the representation of God on earth from other social groups (Errington, 1982, p. 90). Furthermore, Errington also indicates that the king of (Susuhunan) Kartasura and (Sultan)<sup>7</sup> Yogyakarta inherited it. However, this language is only used by "(very rare) official audiences" in modern Surakarta (1982, p. 90; footnote).

The last fact suggests a massive loss of political power with respect to Javanese kingdoms. The less frequent use of palace language reflects the reduced services given by the

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<sup>6</sup> Based on symbolic classification methods developed by E. Durkheim and M. Mauss and L. Levy-Bruhl, Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 446) attributes three of them to Javanese culture: two, three and nine categorisations.

<sup>7</sup> Susuhunan and Sultan are titles used for the kings.

Location	Number of Residents
Jakarta	123
Surakarta	7
Semarang	35
Surabaya	33
Bandung	17
Madiun	9
Other	45
Total	300

**Table 1: Residence of an extended Priyayi Family**

elite of priyayi. The loss of political power was the direct effect of power changes from Holland to Japan and moreover, to the Republic of Indonesia. On 9 March 1942, the Dutch surrendered their control of Indonesia to Japan (Men, 2013). During and after the Japanese occupation, many priyayi left Surakarta to support the revolution to establish the government of the Republic of Indonesia (Errington, 1985, p. 61). After the war, the establishment of the national government brought the Javanese kingdoms in Yogyakarta and Surakarta into the Republic of Indonesia. Politically, Yogyakarta and Surakarta are now respectively a province and a city (in Central Java). Indonesian law acknowledges Yogyakarta as a special region and assigns the king as the governor. The national government takes over administrative functions and uses Bahasa Indonesia as the official language in relation to the administration services. Political transformation has changed the roles of the *priyayi*. In addition, those who fought for the revolution gave their services to the new nation. The former king of Yogyakarta (Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono IX) was the vice-president of the republic. Female priyayi also had their niches in the national framework. For instance, Gusti Kanjeng Ratu Hemas (The wife of the current king and governor of Yogyakarta, Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwono X) is a member of the Regional Representative Council (DPD)<sup>8</sup>. She served as a member of the council from 2009-2014 and is currently serving a second period until 2019. Furthermore, other priyayis have been government employees (*pegawai negeri sipil*) (Errington, 1985, p. 62).

As priyayi do not serve the king but the nation, they experienced geographical movement to the centre of power, e.g. Jakarta (the capital city of Indonesia), Semarang (the

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<sup>8</sup> In the parliamentary system of Indonesia, The People's Consultative Assembly of the Republic of Indonesia (MPR RI) comprises the DPD and The People's Representative Council (DPR).

capital city of Central Java province, etc.). Errington summarises the residences of 300 priyayi in Table 1 (Errington, 1985, p. 63) from information he obtained from the survey he conducted from 1979-1980. The table reveals that Java Island is the most preferred place for the priyayi to live. Outside Java and abroad (other), there are no more than two priyayi in one area. Jakarta was the most interesting location for priyayi. Moreover, Errington (1985, p. 62) established that “[l]ess than one in eight [lived] in Surakarta”.

The priyayi has also experienced changes to the ideology of their language. Outside *basa kedhaton*, speech levels in the Javanese language are “moribund” (Errington, 1985, p. 67). Errington emphasises that it is the norm among modern Javanese people to use honorific *krama inggil* (high-refined vocabularies) based on occupation, age and affinal relation, instead of *priyayi* status. An older *priyayi*, in his research, stated that the use of *krama inggil* among commoners is incorrect (*salah*) but an “error which is widely accepted” (*salah kaprah*). Errington describes the changes in a paragraph in his research:

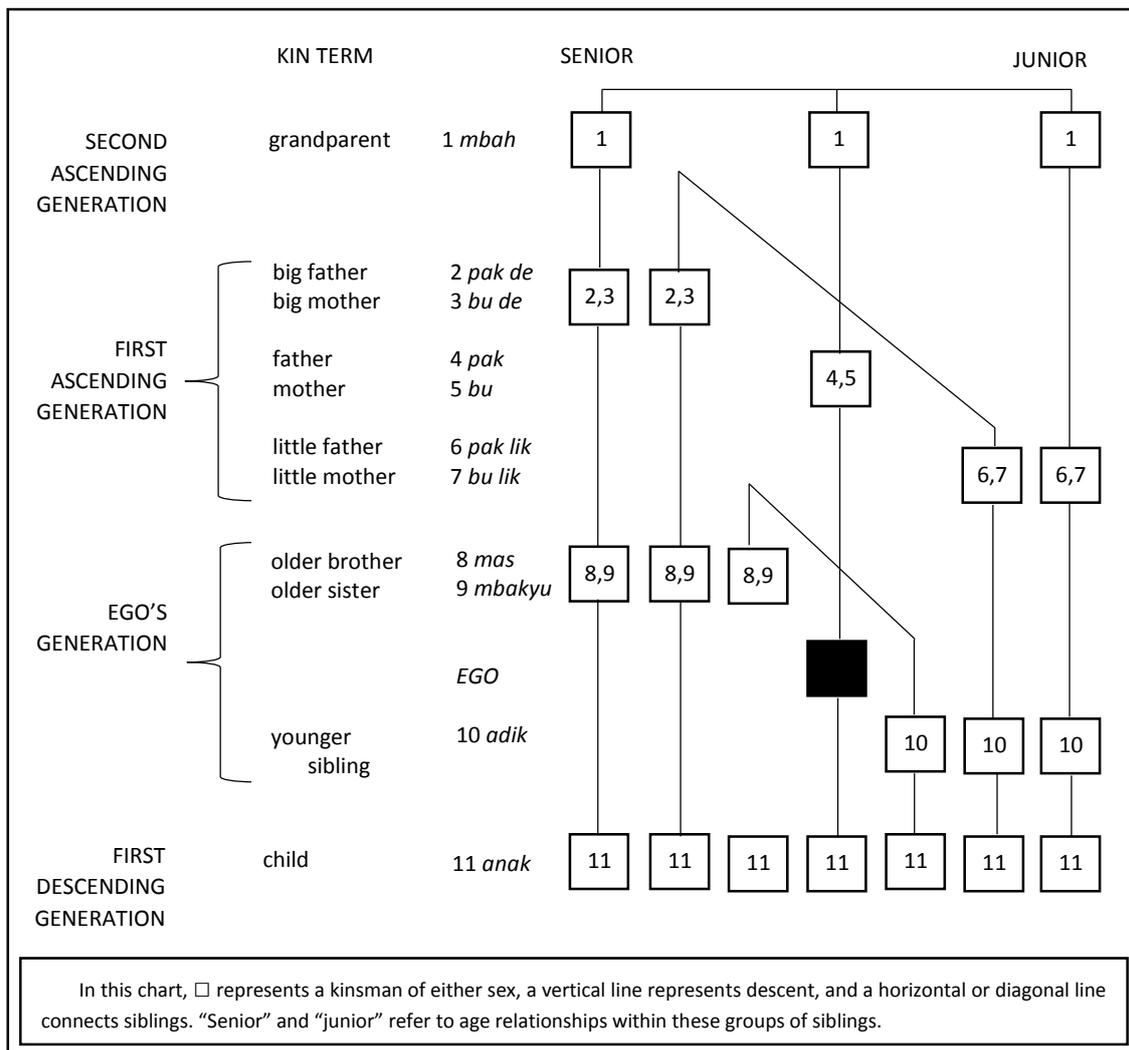
Over the last fifty years, such self-determined [strict use of traditional linguistic style], generally less traditional status orientated usage has spread through much of what remains of the upper strata of priyayi society in Surakarta. Younger persons of traditionally high status no longer share or feel terribly constrained by attitudes toward status and conduct they called ‘old fashioned’ (kolot), ‘feudal’ (feudal), and ‘the way of the *ndara*’ (*cara ndara-ndara*)<sup>9</sup>. Those of their parents who do not share this self-consciously forward-looking flexibility in interaction are increasingly unable to prescribe use by their children to any save themselves. One elderly *wayah dalem* [grandson of king], for instance, told me that he was given *basa* [refined language] by his younger half-brother with whom he felt close just because it was their father’s wish. But nowadays he cannot induce his youngest seventeen-year-old daughter to give her thirty-five-year-old half-brother *basa* [non *ngoko* or basic level] ... As he said to me, “it’s not fitting (*pantes*) anymore.” His half-amused, half-concerned comment that these days children are not concerned with etiquette is true insofar as younger priyayi adopt their patterns of etiquette use with non-priyayi and priyayi alike that are keyed more to relative social distance or intimacy than to relative status (Errington, 1988, p. 76; emphasis added).

In general, modern Javanese people tend to adopt consumerism as a more favourable ideology than the traditional Javanese ideology (Smith-Hefner, 2009, p. 62). Smith-Hefner stresses that modern appliances and stores are the symbol of modern life, together with bahasa Indonesia. In terms of Javanese languages, she describes the intention of young Javanese people to use *ngoko* (basic speech level) as the symbol of a democratic relational network.

Up to this point, this section has explored the effects of temporal and political dimensions toward gender and politeness in the priyayi group. Another subculture of Javanese

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<sup>9</sup> *Ndara*, which is the short form of *bendara* (young prince and princess) is a term of address for the *bendara* (Errington, 1988, p. 67).

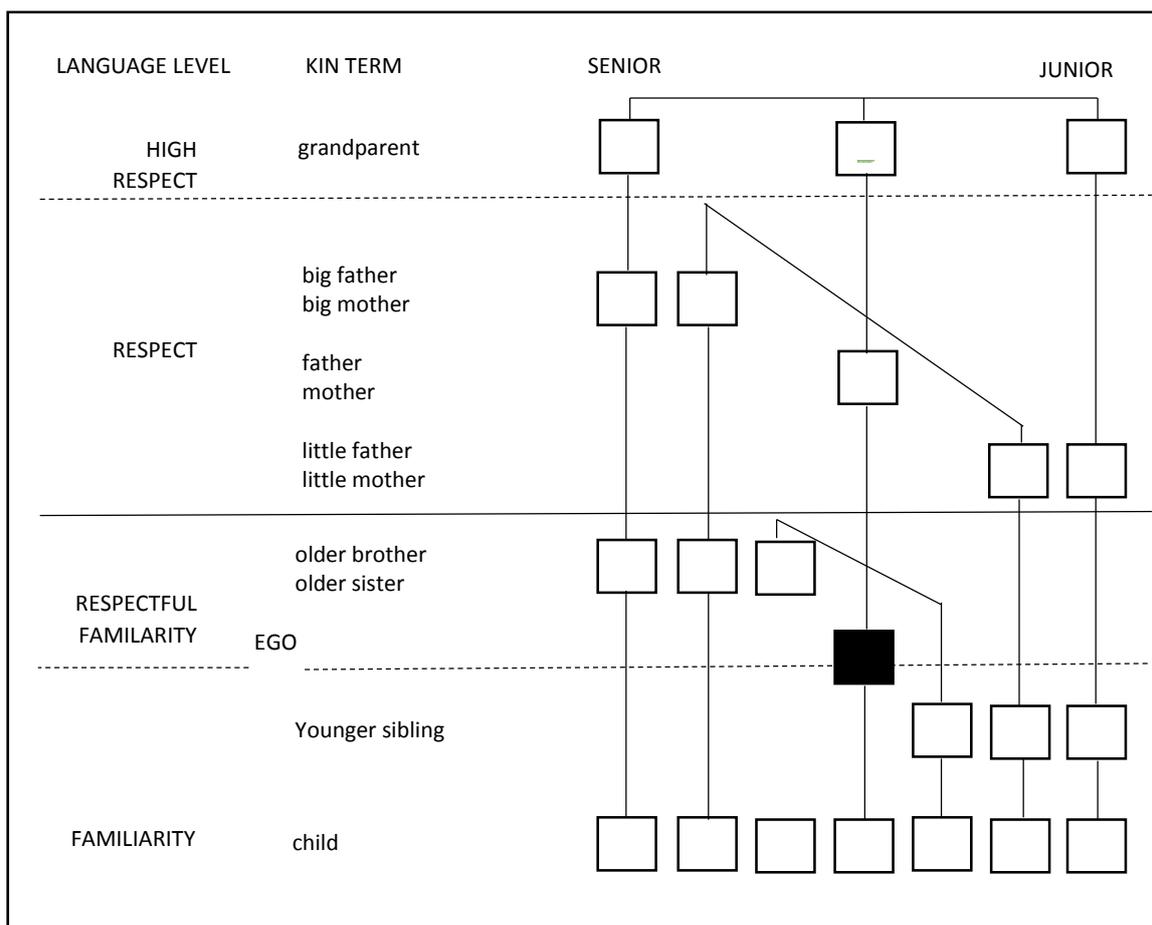


**Figure 6: Schematic Diagram of the System of Javanese Kin Terms**  
(H. Geertz, 1989 [1961], p. 17)

is peasantry. On the one hand, they have adopted the *priyayi* ideology (i.e. a stereotypical view regarding the domestication of women). Conversely, women in this group have enjoyed their roles in economic sectors outside the home since Dutch colonialism. The next section describes these two sides of attachments on gender and politeness in the agriculture group (the largest cluster of *wong cilek*) or commoners.

### *Women in agriculture and trading*

The description of women in agriculture begins with a discussion of Javanese kinship systems. In general, the system is the foundation for the Javanese to express a gradient of respect within the extended family. From the Javanese perspective, every person has their own place and should behave accordingly or *empan papan* (knowing one's place) (Gunarwan, 2001). One of the external aspects (*tata lair*) of the principle of *empan papan* is *unggah-ungguh ing*



**Figure 7: Kin Term Ranking interlocking with Linguistic Etiquette System of Respect-Familiarity**  
(H. Geertz, 1989 [1961], p. 21)

*basa* (linguistic etiquette). This formal aspect of respect is the normative guidance for every Javanese to express their correct place within the system. An alternative way to express place consciousness is by way of vocatives (see Chapter 3). Kinship terms serve another function as titles (with or without name) as a reflection of the self-awareness of *empan papan* (see Figure 6 and Vocatives (Chapter 3)).

Of the two books discussing Javanese culture comprehensively, H. Geertz (1989 [1961]) provides a more detailed kinship system in contrast to Koentjaraningrat (1985). The following discussions on kinship terminologies and their bonds to language primarily refer to H. Geertz's book. She argues that the Javanese family has a bilateral and generational kinship organisation. Bilaterally, both kin from the wife and the husband are treated equally (see also Zeitlin et al., 1995). However, there is tendency for Javanese women to have a strong network with their kin in undertaking household work; a network which produces a matrifocal kinship system (Zeitlin et al., 1995). Therefore, they actively provide aid for Javanese women in relation to undertaking household work or caring for children. The wife's parents commonly provide a room for a newly

married couple before they acquire their own place and become independent (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 131; Tickamyer & Kusujarti, 2012, p. 131).

Generationally, H. Geertz (1989 [1961], p. 17) classifies the Javanese family into four categories. She summarises the kinship system in Figure 6. Seniority is the basis for the division of the figure. The ego or the speaker who is the centre of the classification belongs to the ego's generation. The ego's elder brother is *mas* and the elder sister is *mbak*. His/her younger brother and/or sister are *adik*. The lower generation of the ego is the first descending generation comprising his/her child or children. H. Geertz terms the upper generation of the ego the 'first ascending generation'. The members of the group are ego's parents and their siblings. The elder brothers and sisters of father (*pak*) and mother (*bu*) are respectively *pak de* (big father) and *bu de* (big mother). The younger siblings are *pak lik* (little father) and *bu lik* (little mother). The next two older generations are the second ascending generation, which comprises the ego's grandparents and the grandparents' siblings.

The classification affects the formal aspects of politeness reflecting a gradient of respect toward seniority (see Figure 7). H. Geertz divides them into four categories. The lowest is familiarity, traits for younger siblings of the ego and his/her child or children. The elder brother and sister are the upper group who receive respectful familiarity. The next two groups are accorded respect and high respect. In this system, linguistic etiquette expects the ego to use *ngoko* (N; basic level) for familiar persons, *madya* (M; middle) for those who are in the intermediate degree, and *krama* (K; refined level) for distant and formal relations (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 57).

Within such kinship systems, numerous scholars are primarily interested in respect to the social and linguist relationship between a husband and wife (e.g. Brenner, 1995, 2012; H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]; Keeler, 1990; Smith-Hefner, 1988; Tickamyer & Kusujarti, 2012). Thus, they tend to concur in relation to two aspects. First, Javanese women have an inferior status in relation to their male counterparts. The norm expecting Javanese women "to be more polite within the family where they receive less polite speech and offer more" (Smith-Hefner, 1988) reflects this status. Their gender role as a housewife (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 261) contributes to their assigned inferiority (see *lombok* and *tempe* in the introduction). Second, Javanese women enjoy many privileges. Javanese women have "personal property", the property which she "had at the time of marriage or any property which [she] inherits during the marriage" (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961], p. 50; emphasis added). "Husbands have no claim over their wives' property and, in the event of divorce, a woman may take with her whatever she inherited"

(Brenner, 1995, p. 24). Within a family network, they also enjoy dominance spanning from a passive role in managing financial matters (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]) to active proponents in family economic issues, e.g. trading (Brenner, 1995) and agriculture, specifically in harvesting and marketing (e.g. Tickamyer & Kusujarti, 2012).

Brenner (1995) argues that women's inferiority relates to spiritual potency. The fact that *priyayi* men traditionally tend to avoid trading (C. Geertz, 1960) refers to the belief that business relating to money matters has a lower status (Brenner, 1995, p. 26). Money matters may distract them from their spiritual potency. *Priyayi* criticises merchants as greedy persons opposing a life of moderation; even *serat wulangreh* (wulangreh letter; king treatise) places them in the same class of opium addicts, unrepentant gamblers and criminals who are excessive in materials and *cacat moral* (moral "shortcoming") (Bertrand, 2008, p. 85). Within such views, spiritual potency opposes women's roles, which binds them to issues related to finance and markets.

Brenner describes how *kasar* (rude) conduct, shouting, laughing boisterously, and *ngoko* speech level occupies the market world. The utterances and actions do not reflect self-control. Moreover, by means of her observations, Brenner proves the attitudes:

Sudden shifts in language and behaviour are quite common in the marketplace and in women's interactions more generally. As women, the traders that I observed had the flexibility to switch stylistic registers abruptly without fearing loss of face or loss of relationship, although the sharp swings that sometimes characterise women's speech and behaviour are also seen by the dominant representations as indicating their inability to master their emotions and behavioural style (Brenner, 1995, p. 30).

Brenner (2012, p. 135) refers to Klewer<sup>10</sup> market, where most of the sellers and buyers are women, as the representation of women's domination in trading. The roles of women in the market and other household matters gives the impression that low status is their destiny, as they may not leave the world of money; they are supposed to calculate every spending for the welfare of the family (Brenner, 1995, p. 27).

Inferiority does not restrict women's ability to dominate power within the family. For Javanese women, the family is a place where they celebrate many privileges opposed to less defined status in traditional cultural ideologies. Javanese husbands, ideologically, are the head of the family and they gain their pride from this status (Tickamyer & Kusujarti, 2012, p. 145). Within this ideology, men are accountable for the family's economical needs (Tickamyer & Kusujarti, 2012, p. 143), although women are the party who control the management of the

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<sup>10</sup> Klewer is a textile market, which is located on western side of *kraton* (palace) *Kasunanan* Surakarta. The local government rebuilt the market after a fire on December 27<sup>th</sup> 2014 (Asfar, 2014).

family's needs (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]). Brenner describes the authority of Javanese wives in managing financial matters below.

In most Javanese families today, regardless of social class or occupation, the wife continues to manage household finances. Javanese women often voice the opinion that men are incompetent in managing money, and many men seem to agree. Husbands are expected to turn over most or all of their income to their wives, who in turn allocate it as they see fit for household expenditures, sometimes giving their husbands only pocket money with which to buy cigarettes or snacks (Brenner, 1995, p. 23).

Additionally, Brenner remarks that a husband should allocate a portion of his salary for his wife or *dhuwit wedok* (female money). However, she emphasises that many Javanese, particularly women, argue that the husband should submit his entire salary to his wife.

Tickamyer and Kusujiarti (2012, p. 153) compare two villages (i.e. Sleman and Bantul) in Yogyakarta to portray gender relations in modern Javanese peasantry. Sleman is a rural village and Bantul an urban village. In terms of decision maker, Tickamyer and Kusujiarti conclude that the husbands in Bantul are less active in agricultural sectors, although they have higher roles in Sleman. Bantul also has a higher rate in relation to the combined involvement of husband-wife, except in marketing. One of the male participants in the research states, "My wife has never helped on the farm, she just helps in selling the harvest. She is the one who determines the price and negotiates with the trader; it is all up to her. I don't want to interfere with this matter" (Tickamyer & Kusujiarti, 2012, p. 154). Within a peasant family in Sleman where agriculture is the primary economic source, a husband is responsible for preparing and cultivating land to cultivate rice. He makes the majority of important decisions and controls earnings that are not made from selling rice. In contrast, the wife's role is in rice cultivation and post-production: "planting, harvesting, weeding, drying out paddies, getting the rice hulled, and marketing the product" (Tickamyer & Kusujiarti, 2012). As she has more access to the market, she has greater access to control the income made from rice.

The involvement of Javanese women in economic activities is not surprising, since historically, both men and women are considered equals in the economic sectors of both pre-colonial and colonial periods (Stoller, 1984 [1963], p. 70). "Under the period following the Cultivation System (1830-1870), when larger tracts of land were put over to sugar and greater amounts of labour were demanded for cultivation and processing, both male and female Javanese labour contributed directly to export production" (Stoller, 1984 [1963], p. 77). These historical issues contribute to the flexibility of defining gender roles in Javanese families, which Brenner (1995, p. 22) calls "contested authority". In an area which is closer to town, such as



**Picture 2: Two male farmers are plowing fields in Wajak, Malang, East Java**  
(ANTARA & Sucipto, 2016)

Bantul, where farming is unable to support a family's income, Javanese woman may replace the responsibility of men in fulfilling economic needs. Tickamyer and Kusujarti (2012, p. 135) illustrate how men face difficulties in gaining non-agricultural jobs, meanwhile access to obtain credit makes it easier for women to start an enterprise, e.g. to run a stall at home, such as Bu Ani mentioned in their research. Within such conditions, the wife's income (Bu Ani) is primarily for the family and she becomes the decision maker. Brenner (1995, p. 22) states that observations of anthropologists, such as Geertz (1961) and Jay (1969)<sup>11</sup> confirm that Javanese women "rule the roost". Lont (2000, p. 84) provides a different narration of Parman's family in a different urban area. Both families have similarities in which the husbands have an uncertain income and are unable to cover the family needs. Wives are also active in receiving other sources of income. However, Parman's wife is not as lucky as Bu Ani, as her jobs do not support her family. "She therefore remains dependent on the highly uncertain income of her husband" (Lont, 2000, p. 84).

The last two cases indicate power contestation within Javanese families (see discussion of power relations in Chapter 4). Thus, the husbands have a normative advantage; whereas

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<sup>11</sup> Geertz, H. (1961 reissued 1989). *The Javanese Family: A Study of Kindship and Socialization*. Illinois: Waveland Press; Jay, Robert. 1969. *Javanese Villagers: Social Relations in Rural Modjokuto*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press

Javanese women have a competitive benefit. Javanese women suffer from the domestication view of the main Javanese ideology. However, this expectation, as well as spiritual potency, alienates Javanese men from the very basics of human skills (e.g. cooking), which in turn creates a dependence on their female counterpart. Historically, women gained benefits from Dutch colonialist policy on agriculture. The policy to employ both Javanese men and women contributed to expanding women's roles in the public domain. Even though women were unable to overcome the main ideology of domestication, men were unable to restrict women's involvement in economic sectors.

An additional factor, which contributes to gender development, is Islam. Both *priyayi* ideology and Islamic dogmatic teaching place a man as the leader of his family, but they have different views on gender roles. While traditional *priyayi* restricts women's role in domestic sectors, Islam liberalises women's roles as reflected by the wife of the Prophet Muhammad, who was a trader. Those ideologies, along with political issues, have shaped modern gender roles. Given the greater insistence on the freedom of women, it is common among modern Javanese people to accommodate women in public sectors, so long as they can manage their domestic areas (see Chapter 4).

### *Andhap asor and unggah-ungguh ing basa*

The social constructs in the previous section form the basic understanding related to applying the etiquettes of *andhap asor* and *ungguh-ungguh ing basa*. The previous sections have quoted *andhap asor* several times. The introduction presents *andhap asor* in the form of a rejecting compliment. Errington (1988, pp. 38-41) provides other examples of humbleness in Javanese relational networks. *Andhap asor* guides the Javanese to "lower oneself while exalting others". It serves an extensive range of social manifestations from physical self-lowering to verbal expression. When a Javanese enters a living room where several respected persons are sitting, the Javanese walks with a stoop, in which he/she habitually bends forward the head and shoulders. Moreover, another way "[t]o be *andhap asor* is to put others first, to restrain oneself: "Don't go ahead or precede someone, at least not without proper hedging and apologies" (Errington, 1988, p. 38).

*Andhap asor* directs the Javanese to behave properly, linguistically and non-linguistically, in accordance with one's social standing (i.e. *empan papan*). Linguistically, it is attached to the appropriate use of Javanese speech levels. "Politeness within Javanese culture involves showing the proper degree of respect to those who are of high rank and using the proper degree of formality" (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 54). Under the scheme, the Javanese

kinship system, in addition to social constructs, provides the standard regarding the degree of formality. The higher a person is with regards to seniority, the greater the degree of behaviour and language refinement they will receive. Poedjosoedarmo highlights the pattern where “the more polite a person’s language, the more elaborate are his other behavioural patterns; the more informal his speech, the more relaxed and simplified his gestures”.

In terms of linguistic etiquette, the Javanese language has sophisticated speech levels, which consist of three main levels: *krama* (K), *madya* (M), *ngoko* (N) respectively representing high, middle, and basic levels (Oakes, 2009, p. 820; Smith-Hefner, 2009, p. 60). Another popular classification is *basa-ngoko*, where the first comprises *madya* and *krama*. *Basa*, which literally means language, has another meaning in refined or non-*ngoko* style. Furthermore, it should be noted that the three speech levels are not different languages (Loeb, 1944, p. 114; Oakes, 2009, p. 820). Loeb asserts that only one quarter of the words are exclusively *krama* and that 50% of Javanese words are applicable to both *ngoko* and *krama*. He also notes that both of them have identical grammatical rules.

The speech levels express and index *empan papan* among participants (Smith-Hefner, 2009, p. 57). Therefore, those who have a higher social status deserve to receive a higher level and has the privilege to comment in a lower level. Some literatures relate the speech levels to gender and politeness. Smith-Hefner (1988, p. 535) remarks that Javanese culture expects Javanese women to be politer within the family, particularly in linguistic interaction with their husband. One of the factors, which has become the base for this norm, is the status of Javanese men as the head of the family. “[T]he dominant ideology dictates that the wife should defer to her husband’s greater prestige and authority” (Brenner, 1995, p. 22). In linguistic interaction, this cultural view affects the use of the speech levels. Poedjosoedarmo (1968, pp. 60-61) mentions that the wife should use *basa-antyo* (see Chapter 3), a variant of the *ngoko* style, to address her husband “if he is of a very high birth or [social] rank”. This speech style reflects the inferiority of the wife as she has to use honorific words to refer to the husband, his possessions, and his actions, as well as inserting *krama* words in her *ngoko* utterances.

*Krama* is a code to express great respect for counterparts who are in a distant relationship (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 59). The term *krama* does not have its counterpart in *ngoko* word types, hence, it is a neutral word (Loeb, 1944, p. 115), borrowed from a Sanskrit word, which means “manners,” “rule”, “order”, “refinement” (Loeb, 1944, p. 115) and “properly ordered speech” (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002, p. 4). In asymmetric patterns, the lower status person in age and rank uses this code to address a superior or senior and receives a low level,

e.g. *ngoko* in return (Loeb, 1944, p. 115; Oakes, 2009, p. 820). In this context, *krama* refers to the high status of the addressee and low status of the sender, or in terms of Irvine (1992, p. 257; 1998, p. 58), lowering the speaker and elevating the addressee. In his indexical system of Javanese speech levels, Silverstein (2003, p. 213) notes that there are 850 basic forms of *ngoko* alternating with *krama* forms. The choice of *krama* instead of *ngoko* makes an “indexical show of deference to the addressee”. He also identifies 250 *ngoko* items whereby a speaker may change with *krama inggil* to index “speaker deference to referent”.

*Madya* (middle), which is primarily a mix between *krama* and *ngoko*, only has a few forms (Loeb, 1944, p. 115). Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (2002, p. 4) argue that it is a Sanskrit word; however, Loeb (1944, p. 115) believes that it is originally a Kawi word, which means middle. *Madya* is a level for hearers having intermediate formality, such as a neighbour who is not in an intimate relationship (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 57), or a stranger (Oakes, 2009, p. 820). Within traditional Javanese *priyayi* interaction, *madya* reflects whether or not someone belongs to the in group and out group, for example, the pronoun *ndika* (M; you) used for a hearer refers to the out-group person (Errington, 1985, p. 47). Errington also stresses that there were two different standards of *basa* between the *priyayi* and commoners. Conservative *priyayi* believed that *krama* denotes status differences, although for commoners who were not able to speak at the highest level, and were only able to speak in the *madya* level to express respect, this style could be defined as a refined language, seeing as it was different to *ngoko*.

In Javanese socio-politico changes, *Madya* has a significant role in styles and status reform. Errington (1985, pp. 52-68) describes this history of social movement in his monograph “Language and Social Change in Java”. After the death of Pakubuwono (1939), the colonial government of the Dutch reduced their budget and restricted the power of the kingdom. The Dutch also gave *priyayi* families the opportunity to send their children to school and opened a medical school in Java in 1875 and moreover, established the Holland Inlandsche Scholen (HIS) in 1914 for children. Additionally, king Pakubuwono X established and subsidised schools for children of *priyayi* court circles, the “*Sana Kasatriyan*.” The school enabled *priyayi* to learn the Dutch language and introduced them to western culture. This European impact soon threatened the stability of traditional *priyayi* values, and created tensions between progressive *priyayi* and conservative *priyayi*<sup>12</sup> (Quinn, 1983, p. 16). The reforms in bureaucracy and education marginalised conservative *priyayi* who could not speak Dutch and Malay. The newly western

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<sup>12</sup> These two terms were taken from Scherer 1975 cited in Quinn 1983, p. 16 and Errington, 1985, p. 53.

educated *priyayi* were immediately promoted to good positions with good salaries. Unfortunately, the acquisition of these languages erased their mastery of *krama* and the correct etiquettes of the *priyayi*. They were only able to express their polite behaviour by some variety of *madya*, similar to non-*priyayi*. The awareness of the changes called for standardised speech levels. Errington predicted that traditional *priyayi* purified proper speech levels as a symbol of traditionality and allegiance, which reevaluated *madya* as a social dialect.

Basic level *ngoko* is the lowest level indicating non-respect and non-formality (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 57). *Kasar* (coercive; rude) linguistic behaviour is frequently in association with this level (Brenner, 1995). In the asymmetrical relational network between superior and inferior participants, the superior uses it to address the inferior (Oakes, 2009, p. 820). Loeb (1944, p. 115) considers this low dialect as “the basic language of the Javanese”; it is language to think and conduct self-contemplation. Etymologically, the noun form of this word, *koko* (N; K) means “the people’s language”, while the verb form (*ngoko*) is “to speak to the people’s language” (Loeb, 1944, p. 115). *Koko* is the reduplication of *ko* which is the older variant of the current *ngoko* pronoun *kowe* (you) (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002, p. 4).

### **Conclusion**

Formal aspects of Javanese politeness are the contextualisation of not only semantic or pragmatic meanings, but also social constructs and norms. Every utterance carries the speaker’s intention, his/her language ideology, in addition to his/her social awareness. Under such a context, evaluation toward linguistic forms of a conversation are only one aspect of *lair* (external) meaning, which does not guarantee the intrinsic (*batin*) meaning or the actual intention. *Krama* and *ngoko* utterances having identical semantic meaning do not necessarily reflect the same gradient of im/politeness. Thus, the existence of norms, which represent social belief, should be attached to the gender and understanding of politeness.

Chapter 3 discusses the applicability of norms in Javanese family interaction. It will inform how Javanese women use Javanese language speech levels. As speech levels index place consciousness, the use of speech levels will reflect women’s place in current social status. The use of speech levels will also discuss im/politeness as they are a part of Javanese linguistic etiquette.

## Chapter 3

### Speech Levels, gender and (Im)politeness Evaluation and Participation order

#### *Introduction*

This chapter focuses its discussion on how Javanese wives use speech levels in regard to the evaluation of gender and (im)politeness. It will include discussions of several social factors (e.g. culture, norms, identity, etc.), which may affect the use of speech levels. It does not only discuss how a speaker and hearer evaluate (im)politeness but also to whom the (im)politeness is directed. This chapter will discuss the literature review (section 2 and section 3) and be followed by a discussion of the findings (section 4).

Javanese language is the interface between formal aspects, politeness and social constructs. Formally, this language has speech levels indicating three types of sentences labelled with *krama* (the high level), *madya* (the middle), and *ngoko* (the basic). They comprise a regularised set of different types of words and affixes (for detail, see the following section). Loeb (1944, p. 113) argues that “Javanese class language differentiation” is not “an isolated phenomenon”. He suggests that the language classification is an integral part of the orientation toward “static class differentiation”. This social class orientation, on the one hand, opposes the caste system of India, whilst conversely, it reflects resistance to western democratic ideals. Thus, speaking in Javanese is the art of representing the refinement of one’s demeanor (e.g. polite, *alos* (refined), etc.) along with one’s social place among other participants. In relational networks, it has functions to express the degree of deference between interactants of two different social strata and familiarity in intimate relationships. The formal aspects (i.e. sentences of a particular level) could not appear in isolation in a linguistic interaction. Their occurrences should conform to the social stances of the speaker toward the hearer. Superior speakers may use *ngoko* to address the inferior hearer and receive *krama* in return. To clarify this inference, let us quote the anecdotal data in Errington’s research.

One elderly high noble priyayi told me of an uncle only a year his senior who spoke to him in a “low” (*ngoko*) language and expected “high” (*basa*) language in return, thus marking his uncle’s higher status. This usage was in my narrator’s opinion not fitting, as he himself had achieved considerable status through services to the republic during and after the revolution. But if his uncle thought that descent was more important than service to society, said this gentlemen, he himself would *ngalah* [give in] descending by accepting condescending use of low *ngoko* Javanese in return for polite addressee exalting *basa*, as his uncle desired (Errington, 1988, p. 40; translation added).

Apart from the conflict based on personal interests, this excerpt indicates the relationship between formal aspects (i.e. *basa* and *ngoko*), social status and im/politeness. Utterances do not only carry linguistic (semantic) meaning and speaker (pragmatic) meaning, but also sociolinguistic (the interface between language and social status) meaning. An utterance may be improper because the speech level does not fit with the social relationship between the participants. In this excerpt, the narrator describes *basa* as a polite manner indicating a speaker's inferiority. *Basa* is a non-*ngoko* style (Errington, 1985), which is probably *madya* or *krama*.

Due to the nature of Javanese language as the silent social classification, scholars commonly discuss it in relation to its socio-cultural background (e.g. Errington, 1985; Errington, 1988). Poedjosoedarmo (1968) discusses Javanese formal aspects prescriptively reflecting societal expectancies based on social hierarchy. The classification of speech levels in his paper is extensively known in the discussion of Javanese language. However, the focus on the relational network of *priyayi* (gentry) and commoners leads the paper to neglect in-group variability. Apart from its weaknesses, the discussion on the speech levels along with the word types is a valuable resource for this thesis to inform the semantic and pragmatic meanings of the words. Whilst describing the formal aspects of Javanese im/politeness, this chapter will depend on longer conversations from various contexts. To analyse the roles of participants in relation to norms of interaction, this chapter applies participation order (Haugh, 2013; Kádár & Haugh, 2013). As the nature of the Javanese language requires detailed descriptions of the interactional context, this approach provides a systematic analysis of participants' roles or footing. Its interrelated production and reception footings enable analysis of the social stances of not only the speaker and the hearer but also the third party. The social status of the speaker, the hearer and the third party is the basis for the appropriate use of speech levels (see Chapter 2).

### *Speech levels*

Some scholars have different nomenclature and classification systems with respect to speech levels. As introduced in the first section, the prominent categorisation is *krama* (K), *madya* (M) and *ngoko* (N) (Oakes, 2009, p. 820; Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 59; Smith-Hefner, 2009, p. 60). Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo (2002, p. 4) call the intermediate level *krama madya*. Subroto, Dwirahardjo & Setiawan (2008) describes the three levels as *krama inggil*, *krama* and *ngoko*, although they primarily have the same functions as high, middle, and low codes. Loeb (1944, p. 115) has a different classification. He adds *krama inggil* and *basa kedhaton* to the three primary levels. He argues that the five levels are not language, but dialect. Further popular terms

Types		Degree of politeness	Degree of formality	Addressee
<i>Ngoko</i>		Non-polite	Informal	Intimate relationship
<i>Madya</i>		Semi-polite	Semi-formal	Intermediate relationship (not too close and not too distant, such as neighbour who is not considered to be a close friend)
<i>Krama</i>		Polite	Formal	Distant relationship
Respective	<i>Krama Inggel</i>	High respect	-	Highly respected person
	<i>Krama Andap</i>	High respect	-	“any person’s action toward a highly respected person”

**Table 2: Word types: *ngoko*, *madya*, *krama***  
(Poedjosoedarmo, 1968)

are the simplification of the speech levels: *basa* and *ngoko* (Smith-Hefner, 2009, p. 60). Errington (1985) reveals that *krama* was the standard *basa* (polite linguistic style) among *priyayi*, meanwhile *madya* was considered appropriate *basa* among commoners, as they did not acquire the *krama* level. Errington’s description implies that *basa* (*madya* or *krama*) and *ngoko* are popular folk categorisations. A participant of this research stated that he did not use *basa* to communicate with his wife because they were *sebarakan* (similar in age). This statement conforms to the folk expectation on linguistic interactions. This means that, even though using *ngoko* was appropriate for the husband and wife, it may possibly violate general expectation and others might interpret it as improper. It also implies that he acknowledged that *basa* constitutes polite traits. Given the popularity of the folk terms (i.e. *basa* and *ngoko*); henceforth, this thesis will apply them in the description of the Javanese language.

Linguistically, the distinction concerning speech levels lies in the words and affixes composing them (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968). The Javanese language has five types of words. Table 2 summarises the word types. One feature that should be noted is that they have the same nomenclature with Javanese speech levels (i.e. *ngoko*, *madya*, *krama* may refer to speech styles or word types (see Tables 3 and 5)). The default meaning of words comprises the degree of politeness, degree of formality and degree of intimacy. In addition to conventional word categories (e.g. noun, verb, adverb, etc), the Javanese language has different classifications, specifically *ngoko* (N), *madya* (M), *krama* (K) and honorific words (Irvine, 1992; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002, p. 39) of *krama inggel* (KI) and *krama andhap* (KA) (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 57; 1969). Under these categorisations, Javanese words do not only have semantic

NGOKO	KRAMA		Krama Inggel (KI)/ Krama Andap (KA)	MADYA	
	Standard	substandard			
lunga	kesah	-	tindak	-	to go
teka	dateng=dumugi	-	rawuh	dugi	to come, to arrive
baki =	-	-	talam	-	tray
talam	asrep	-	-	-	cold
adem					

**Table 3: Examples of Javanese vocabulary**  
(Poedjosoedarmo, 1969)

meanings, but also serve social functions of politeness to express the degree of respect and formality. Each type of vocabulary represents the appropriate degree of behaviour given to the correct person (see the examples in Table 3). In these classifications, Javanese words do not always have their equivalents in every type. For this reason, the speaker may use the K form in the absence of the M word in *madya* speech levels.

The ensuing type of word is the honorific or “respective vocabulary” (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968). It comprises *krama inggil* (KI) and *krama andhap* (KA). They are specific words intended to give honour to highly respected direct addressees and third persons. Honorific words can be distributed in conjunction with words of any of the other three types (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, pp. 57-58). Furthermore, KI and KA are different in terms of the addressee.

This fourth type of vocabulary has two subdivisions: a) [*Krama Inggil*] (KI): (lit. high krama) words used to refer to the highly-respected person, his actions and his possessions; and b) [*Krama*] *Andap* ([KA]) (lit. humble [krama]) used in referring to any person's actions toward a highly-respected person. These may involve the speaker acting toward the addressee, the speaker acting toward a highly respected third person, another third person acting toward the highly respected third person, and so on (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 58).

The term highly-respected person in Poedjosoedarmo’s description is applicable either as the second person, or as the third person in their presence or absence in a conversation.

Table 3 presents examples of the five types of vocabulary. The word “lunga” (N) does not have a *madya* variant; meanwhile “teka” (N) has its variant in each type. The other examples (“baki” (N) and “adem” (N)), only have one variant in KI and K respectively. In the absence of one or more vocabulary types, one of the other types may replace them in an utterance. For instance, “in the absence of a *madya* word, the *krama* word is generally used. Occasionally, however, the *ngoko* word is used” (Poedjosoedarmo, 1969, p. 167).

	Passive Prefix	Determinative Suffix	Causative Suffix
<b>Ngoko</b>	di-	-e	-(a)ke
<b>Krama</b>	dipon-	-ipon	-aken

**Table 4: Javanese affixes having N and K forms**

The other types of linguistic descriptions forming speech levels are affixes. Different from word classification, affixes only have two types: *ngoko* and *krama*. Poedjosoedarmo (1969) classifies them according to three separate groups in relation to meaning, as presented in Table 4. The Javanese language has other affixes such as *ka-*, *-an*, *pa-*, *pi-*, *-ake*, *-i*, *ing-*, *ke-*, etc. (Oakes, 2009, pp. 822-823).

The composition of the five types of vocabulary and the affixes determines the types of speech levels. The *Krama* speech level predominantly comprises K words and *ngoko* speech level consists of N forms. The *madya* speech level has distinctive features. K, M and N words potentially compose this speech level (Loeb, 1944, p. 115). The frequency of the appearance of K and N words in the *madya* speech level depends on the degree of respect for the addressee. When the speaker wants to express less or higher deference, he or she will use less or more K forms. However, the higher familiarity the speaker feels, means that he/she will use more N words. On this point, different degrees of deference-intimacy induce different sub-levels concerning speech levels. Poedjosoedarmo (1968) proposes nine sub-levels to distinguish nine types of relational networks. Table 5 shows the sub-levels and the nature of interpersonal networks.

The examples in Table 5 display the changes related to word types following the speaker-hearer social relationship. The first sentence comprises *krama* words, *krama* affixes, and *krama inggel* as the speaker evaluates his/herself as the inferior person and considers the addressee as the highly-respected person. It is necessary to elucidate the word “anak” (N; child) as it is a N word, which appears in *krama* speech level. As there is no description of its appearance in both sub-levels in Poedjosoedarmo’s paper, we can predict that the word “anak” is applicable as it does not have a K form. The word child only has two forms: *anak* (N) and *putra* (KI) (Poedjosoedarmo, 1969, p. 171). As KI is an honorific word, which is appropriate when referring to an addressee’s action or belonging, the N form is suitable when indicating the speaker’s possession. In the second example, the speaker changes one of the vocabularies. He evaluates that the addressees have less social status than the hearer does in the first example. The speaker downgrades the quality of respect by replacing the honorific word *ator* (KI) to *criyos* (K). The word type changes based on different participants and is also applicable in other examples.

No	Speech levels	No	Sub levels and words composition	Functions	Examples
1	Krama	1	Mudo-krama (MK) or young krama (K affixes, K, and KI)	It is the most formal and polite level used by inferior to superior	"Meniko (K; here) anak (N; child) kulo (K; mine) Tiniengkang (K; whom) kulo (K;l) ator (KA; told) –aken (K; causative suffix) wau (K; just recently)" Here is my daughter Tini, whom I told you about just recently
		2	Kramantoro (KM) or equal krama (K affixes and K words)	Used to address strangers but not for very low persons (e.g. a beggar, coolie, etc.)	"Meniko (K) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini engkang (K) kulo (K) criyos* (K) –aken (K) wau (K)" * The word changes from ator (KA) to criyos (K)
		3	Wredo-krama (WK) or old krama (K affixes and K. Sometimes –e and –ke are used instead of –ipon and –aken respectively)	It is a code from old to young used by priyayi. It is also applicable from a superior to an older inferior.	"Meniko (K) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini seng* (N) kulo (K) criyos (N) –(a)ke* (N) wau (K)" * The words change from engkang (K) and –aken (K) to seng (N) and –ake (N) respectively
2	Madya	4	Madya-krama (MDK) or semi-krama (N affixes, M, and KI. In the absence of M, K is applicable)	The young use it to address non-family, older people	"Niki*(M) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini seng (N) kulo (K) ator* (K) –(a)ke (N) wau (K)" * The words change from meniko (K) and criyos (K) to niki (M) and ator (K) respectively
		5	Madyantoro(MD) or equal madya (N affixes and M. In the absence of M, K is applicable)	It is a code to address not too low or intimate commoners, e.g. a farmer neighbour, older fruitseller, etc.	"Niki (M) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini seng (N) kulo (K) criyos* (K) –(a)ke (N) wau (K)" * The word changes from ator (K) to criyos (K)
		6	Madya-ngoko (MN) (N affixes and M or K in the absence of M. The occurrence of N is unpredicted; the lower the status of the addressee, the more frequent the N will be).	Used to address older people of very low status, e.g. servant	"Niki (M) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini seng (N) tak* (K) kandak* (K) –(a)ke (N) wau (K)" * The words change from kulo (K) and criyos (K) to tak (N) and kandak (N) respectively
3	Ngoko	7	Basa-antyo (BA) (N affixes, N and KI. K may appear but is unpredicted; the higher the status of the addressee, the more frequent the K will be)	Used to address a person of very high status closely related to the speaker, e.g. a wife to a very high ranking husband.	"Iki* (N) anak (N) kulo (K) Tini seng (N) tak (K) ator* (K) –(a)ke (N) mau (N)" * The words change from Niki (M), Kandak (N) and wau (K) to iki (N), ator (K) and mau (N) respectively
		8	Antyo-basa (AB) (N affixes, N and KI)	Used to address a high-status person in an intimate relationship, e.g wife to priyayi husband or young brother to a priyayi elder brother	"Iki (N) anak (N) ku* (N) Tini seng (N) tak (K) ator (K) –(a)ke (N) mau (N)" * The words change from kulo (K) to ku (N)
		9	Ngoko-lugu (NL) or plain ngoko (N affixes, N, and KI for a respected third person)	It does not express respect from superior to inferior, elder to junior, or among friends or relatives of the same or younger generation of commoners.	"Iki (N) anak (N) ku (N) Tini seng (N) tak (K) kandak* (N) –(a)ke (N) mau (N)" * The words change from ator (K) to kandak (N)

**Table 5: Speech levels**

In general, "the grammar associated with *Krama* and *Ngoko* [*madya* as well], as we shall see, are almost identical" (Loeb, 1944, p. 144; information and emphasis added). However,

Speech Levels	Examples
	“Take or Please take”
<i>Mudo-krama</i>	“(Pen)jenengan) kulo aturi mundot” You-KI I-K please-KI take-KI
<i>Kramantoro</i>	“Sampeyan pendet” You-K take-K
<i>Wredo-krama</i>	“Sampeyan pendet” You-K take-K
<i>Madya-krama</i>	“(Pen)jenengan pundot” You-K take-KI
<i>Madyantoro</i>	“Sampeyan pendet” You-K take-K
<i>Madya ngoko</i>	“mang pendet” You-M take-K
<i>Basa-antyo</i>	“(pen)jenengan pundot” You-KI take-KI
<i>Antyo-basa</i>	“Pundot – en” Take-KI
<i>Ngoko-lugu</i>	“Jupuk – en” Take-N

**Table 6: Affirmative imperatives**

Poedjosoedarmo (1968, pp. 61-63) notes grammatical changes on affirmative imperative sentences. He describes the gradual changes in Table 6. *First*, *ngoko-lugu* and *antyo-basa* includes a verb with the imperative suffix, which do not necessarily require pronouns; *second*, the rest of the levels have a second personal pronoun; however, they do not have the imperative suffix; *third*, the second person pronoun in *mudo-krama* is optional, although it must add a phrase, which means "I beg", i.e. "kulo aturi". Furthermore, the imperative sentences must apply appropriate vocabulary in accordance to its level.

#### *Speech levels in participation order*

As described in the second section, every utterance in the Javanese language carries contexts of social hierarchy. This context is the untold story among participants in lay conversation. However, descriptions of the lay interactions should be able to unveil this hidden context in order to offer a logical reason underlying code choices. To do it, there should be a comprehensive analysis of conversants' interpretation toward utterances and their contexts. It should involve both speaker's and hearer's evaluations. One of the most important developments in pragmatic study has been the evaluation of both speakers and hearers in understanding their intentions. Fukushima (2004, p. 366), in her "Sequences in Communication", describes how a hearer evaluates a speaker's utterance or action and how the speaker evaluates the hearer's response. "[T]he whole dyad becomes the focus of attention ... (im)politeness

becomes not only a matter of speakers producing behaviour, but also of hearers evaluating that behaviour” (Eelen, 2001, p. 110). Haugh (2013, p. 61) suggests a third key point to the dyadic evaluation, specifically “the interactional achievement of both converging and diverging evaluation of (im)politeness”.

Even though the discussion of the “evaluation-centred approach” (Eelen, 2001, p. 110) in the previous paragraph indicates that it has commonly been used in (im)politeness studies, it is also applicable to analyse gender roles. Both gender and (im)politeness are constructed socially and moreover, (Im)politeness is “a truly social interactional phenomena” (Eelen, 2001, p. 120). “*Gender* is a term that has psychological or cultural rather than biological connotations ... *Gender role* is the overt behaviour one displays in society ... to establish his position with them [other people] insofar as his and their *evaluation* of his gender is concerned” (Stoler, 1977, p. 10 emphasis added).

In regard to Javanese language, the speaker’s and hearer’s evaluation of their speech levels do not only inform (im)politeness but also social status. Table 5 explains that the changes in the examples refer to the changes in participants’ roles in their socio-cultural contexts. The social status of the speaker, the hearer and the third person (i.e. *anak*; child) prompt elicit changes in the speech styles. A problem which may arise from the “general speaker-hearer model of interaction” (Haugh, 2013, p. 61), is its inability to address the roles of the participants and the third party (e.g. the child, who is depicted in the sentence). Another example is the definition of honorific words in the previous section, which indicates the existence of the highly-respected third person (e.g. his possessions, his actions, his figure, etc.). The person (in his presence or his absence) affects the (im)politeness evaluation of the speaker and the hearer (see Figure 9). Regarding this point, “the analysis of (im)politeness evaluations in interaction should therefore not just be whether some talk or conduct is im/polite, im/proper, in/appropriate and so on, but rather for whom this is polite, impolite and so on” (Haugh, 2013, p. 10). The facts obtained from the Javanese language reveal the need to analyse the roles of each participant (Dynel, 2012, p. 168; Haugh, 2013, p. 61), “going beyond a general speaker-hearer model of interaction” (Haugh, 2013, p. 61).

Goffman ([1979] 1981) proposes “smaller” categories of participants (p. 129). Additionally, Haugh (2013, p. 61) suggests two key elements of Goffman’s categorisation of speaker and hearer. *First*, he suggests that the notion of speaker comprises four “footings”: animator, author, principal and figure (Goffman, [1979] 1981, pp. 144-147). “An animator (or utterer) is the one producing talk, an author is the entity that creates or designs the talk, a

principal is the party responsible for that talk, and a figure is the character portrayed within the talk” (Haugh, 2013, p. 61). *Second*, Goffman proposes two types of hearer, specifically ratified and unratified recipient. The distinctions between them are related to their responsibility during conversation. Ratified recipient is an individual, who is expected *to listen* to the talk; *to listen* refers to “some kind of responsibility to attend or participate in the talk” (Haugh, 2013, p. 61). An unratified recipient is an individual who can *hear* the talk; although he/she does not have responsibility to participate in the talk. These two types of hearer have several different participation statuses. A ratified recipient comprises an addressee (“to whom the utterance is (ostensibly) directed”) and unaddressed side participant, both of the participants “have recognised entitlements to respond to the utterance” (Haugh, 2013, p. 61). Unratified recipients can be divided into bystander (person or group who are expected to hear some or the entire conversation) and overhearer (person or group who hear without any such expectation). The participants may be aware of the presence of the overhearer or listener-in, although they may not be mindful of the over hearer or eavesdropper.

It should be mentioned that some scholars have been reworking (cf. Dynel, 2012; Haugh, 2013; Levinson, 1996 [1988]) and criticising (Goodwin & Goodwin, 1987) Goffman’s proposal. Goodwin and Goodwin (1987, p. 225) note “a marked asymmetry”, where “the speaker is endowed with rich cognitive and linguistic capabilities, and the ability to take a reflexive stance towards the talk in progress. However, all other participants are left cognitively and linguistically simple”. Haugh (2013) and Kádár and Haugh (2013) answer the criticism by proposing types of participation footings (see Figure 4 and the detailed discussion related to it in the “data analysis” section in Chapter 1). Haugh (2013, p. 61) argues that “[t]he notion of speaker (or production) footing arguably needs to be complemented by the notion of recipient (or reception) footing” (see Figure 4).

This thesis uses the type of participation orders proposed by Haugh (2013) and Kádár and Haugh (2013) to examine the relationship amongst gender, (im)politeness and norms in Javanese language interactions. Using this type of participation orders, “interpersonal evaluations need to be situated vis-à-vis not only simply speakers or hearers, but also relative to a complex array of production and reception footings, the co-constitution of which is itself a morally implicative activity in interaction” (Haugh, 2013, p. 62). In conducting analysis, Haugh (2013) examines a conversation sequentially, which enables insightful analysis of utterances (e.g. particles, words, phrases, clauses, intonation, etc.). The analysis links the utterances to the relational history of an interaction and participant identities (p. 67). These methods of analysis



**Picture 3: Martial art of Pencak Silat**

(ANTARA & Budiana, 2013)

allow the analysis of Javanese language speech levels to include word types (i.e. *ngoko*, *madya*, *krama*, *honorifics*) and their social contexts. Regarding gender and (im)politeness analysis, every change in speech levels or word types reflect the evaluation of social roles and the (im)politeness of conversants.

To see how participation footing operates in the evaluation of gender and (im)politeness of Javanese language, fragment (A) illustrates how a wife (W) evaluates her social roles in a conversation with her husband (H) and her father in law (F). Prior to this fragment (see appendices), the conversation is between a husband (H) and his wife (W) who helps their children to do their homework. As they work, H's father (F) visits them and joins the conversation. F is curious about the bullying incident that day in an elementary school, which is located near their homes. In the next turn (1), the participants expand the conversation to the orphanage instead of the children. In relation to the violence, H accuses the orphanage's curriculum (1), which introduces traditional martial arts (i.e. *pencak silat*) as the principal which is responsible for the bullying.

(A) D2. 181-207- appendices: 280-294

1. F: *Mestine ora di-kenal -ke mestine* (pause)  
Necessarily-N not-N PASS-N introduce SUF-N necessarily-N (pause)

2. *Direktur -e barang ganti*  
Director the-N also-N change-N  
*It is not supposed to be introduced. The director has been replaced.*
3. W: *Oh! Direktur -e mpun ganti tho?*  
PAR-N director the-N already-M is replaced-N PAR-N  
Oh! The director has been replaced?
4. H: *Ganti! Bima wis ora ning kono*  
Change-N Bima already-N not-N in-N there-N  
*It has been replaced! Bima has already gone.*
5. F: *Bima jare rame. rame karo sopo tho?*  
Bima say-N conflict-N conflict-N with-N who-N PAR-N  
*Someone said that Bima was in conflict. With whom was he in conflict?*
6. H: *Duko*  
don't know-KI  
*I don't know*
7. F: *Mbek Arjuna opo mbek sopo tho?*  
With-N Arjuna what-N with-N who-N PAR-N  
*Was he in conflict with Arjuna or some one else?*
8. H: *Oh asale rame?*  
PAR-N originally-N crowded-N  
*Oh there was a conflict previously?*
9. F: *Opo mbek sopo ngono*  
What-N with-N who-N like that-N  
*He might be in conflict with someone else*

F expresses his assessment (1) through “mestine” (should be; necessarily). His “mestine” followed by “ora” (not) indicates his “negative assessment” (Haugh, 2013, p. 63) toward the curriculum. It indicates a lower gradient (Haugh, 2013, p. 63) disagreement expressed in N speech level. The “mestine” does not express a strong opinion because it indicates an option. In fact, it is closer to a suggestion than an obligation. The word “mestine” reflects the speaker’s belief that his assumption is a general truth, he believes that other people should have the same opinion. The pause following the first clause provides a transitional shift of the potential target from the curriculum to the director of the orphanage (2). F introduces “the director” as the new potential target, the third person recipient, who is not co-present. In his second utterance (2), the word “barang” (also) reflects his agreement with W. In the previous turn (appendices 272), W mentions that the orphanage has replaced its caregivers. The word “ganti” (N; replace) (2), which follows “barang” (N; also), indicates the coherence of his utterance to W’s prior utterance (i.e. the replacement of the caregivers). The suffix –e of the first word (*direktur*) refers to the orphanage. It informs his intention to relate “ganti” to the orphanage. Additionally, by means of the word “direktur” (director), F introduces additional information. The word “ganti”, subsequently, does not only connect the current utterance (i.e. line 2) to a specific context in

the past (i.e. appendices 272); it also refers to the supplementary information. In other words, the orphanage does not only replace the caregivers, but also the director. Thus, he claims his participation footing as co-author and co-principal. In the sense of sociolinguistic meaning as the producer, the second utterance introduces three (co) figures - (potential) targets, specifically: F person, the direct addressee W and the director. In the Javanese language, the identification of (co) figures and (potential) targets affects the use of speech levels. Through his N style, sociolinguistically, he claims his higher gradient status and lower social standing of W and the director. He roots his meaning in the cultural moral order of *tata krama* (see Figure 7), which gives him authority to claim higher social standing (cf. H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]). Based on Figure 7, F has higher social status than the other conversants and, hence, linguistically, he deserves to receive higher speech levels and address the others in lower speech level (e.g. N style). In his stance, he is the figure, principal, author and producer of the N speech level. The N style may consist of N words, N affixes (e.g. F's utterances in lines 1 and 2) and KI for highly-respected person (see Table 5).

W's response (3) has two possible interpretations, as the recipient and the producer. In the first footing of the recipient, the "oh" particle is orientated to evaluate the content of the utterance which is "new" information (Heritage, 1984 in Haugh, 2013, p. 63) for her. It is not the predicate "ganti" (replaced or fired) that surprised her, but the quality (i.e. the new news) of the referent "direktur" of "-e" (the; orphanage). In the previous turns (see appendices), she is the principal of the news, i.e. the new caregiver of the orphanage. Thus, "the director" is the co-potential target and F is co-author of the news. Through the "oh", W also distinguishes the director from the caregivers (in which she becomes the principal). Hence, "the director" brings original quality news; she does not expect that the replacement of staff at the orphanage included the director. In this utterance, she not only seeks information through her question (as F has just informed it), but she also evaluates his footing as a direct ratified recipient who has a moral commitment to listen (e.g. to give a response).

The following word "mpun" carries sociolinguistic meaning to express W's evaluation of F's claim of higher status reflected in N style. W acknowledges F's authority as the co-principle of the news and the author of social identification. The word presupposes her submission toward *andhap asor* (humble) to elevate F as his expectancies rooted in Javanese norms. There has probably been a long negotiation of historical network between them; negotiation, which faces her stance (e.g. identity) and localised moral orders (e.g. her language acquisition, historical or latent networks, etc.) vis-à-vis F's social standing and cultural moral order (e.g.

*andhap asor, unggah unnguh ing basa* (linguistic etiquette), etc). The language acquisition refers to Errington (1982) and Subroto et al. (2008), who propose that many Javanese people do not acquire *krama* speech level and *krama* words properly. Furthermore, the silent negotiation may include what style to use to express her deference, considering her language acquisition. This historical negotiation gives her authority to insert only one M word (compared to H who uses honorific KI in 6) among her N words to express her deference to F. As there is no negative evaluation from F and H (e.g. criticism), which indicates their disagreement concerning W's speech style (and hence evaluation of inappropriateness), W's footing as the producer, figure, principal and the author of M word is acceptable. Regarding this point, Javanese language indicates that evaluation of (im)politeness should refer to norms of interaction.

Unexpectedly, H (4) takes over the principal footing by way of his "ganti", which is the repetition of F and W words. He aligns with F and answers W's question (line 3). In his next clause, he paraphrases "direkture" with "Bima", and also revisits Bima's previous institution. H's utterance assumes that he knows the figure and intends to be the co-author of the conversation. As social identity awareness emerges in W's previous turn, H is supposed to evaluate it as well. As the ratified recipient, even though he is not the direct addressee, I argue, he considers that W's linguistic presentation of F's social standing is appropriate. This argument is based on his preference to evaluate the news rather than the existence of "mpun". In his footing as the producer, he co-constructs the news in the N speech level, which should relate to gender and politeness. The speech level reflects his evaluation of F's and W's social identity. As the default meaning of N words is non-polite and F deserves to receive deference expressed in *basa* (e.g. M, K, KI, etc), he evaluates W as having a lower social standing than F, in addition to himself. H may root his evaluation in the cultural moral order, which attributes a husband as the head of a family and hence, deserves to receive respect. This social attribution enables him to use N for the member of his family to indicate his higher status.

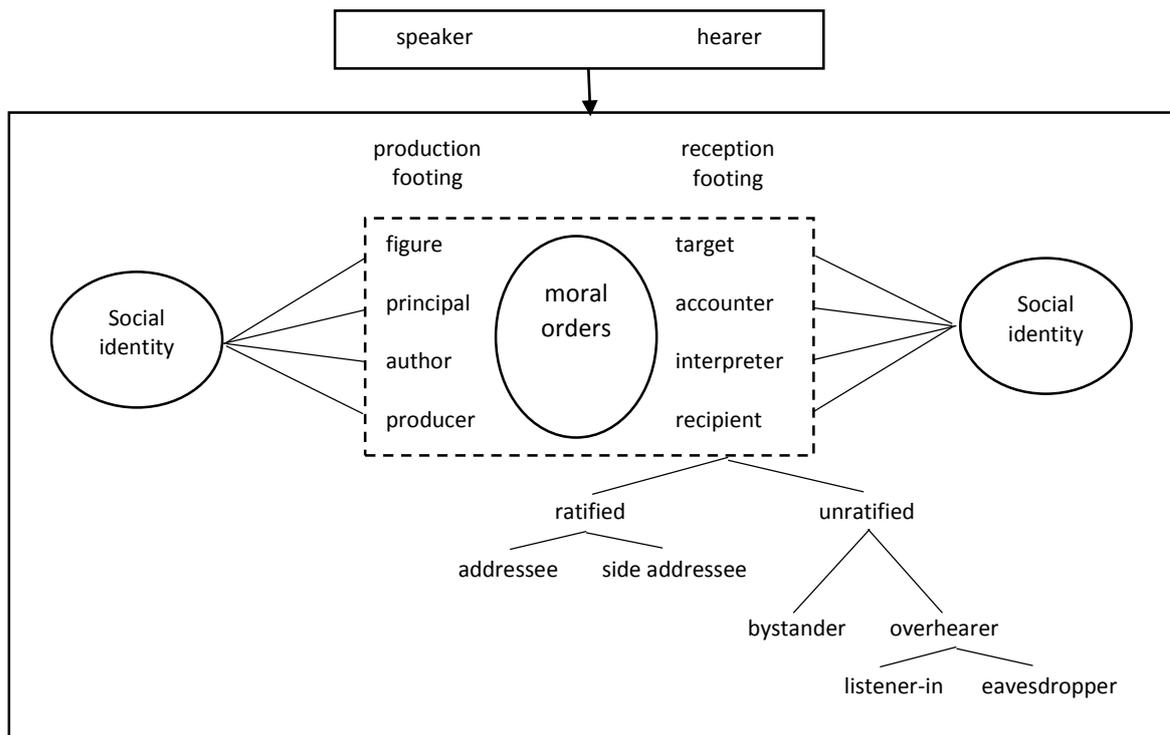
In the subsequent turns, evaluation of the sociolinguistic meaning of the participant's footing is relatively similar. F's turn in (5), which uses "Bima" rather than his own word "direkture", denotes his alignment with H. This action reflects his evaluation toward H's takeover as acceptable. In fact, he requires more information on "Bima". In the process of seeking information, the co-occurrence of H (4) as a co-principle provides him an opportunity to complete his 'mosaic' of information on the Bima person. F assumes that H knows something else in relation to Bima. He, subsequently, assigns H authority not as co-principle but as the principle. Therefore, F expects him to share his information regarding Bima's conflict. The

assessment of social identity awareness should accompany this gender and (im)politeness evaluation. As his deference position (e.g. old man, father, father in law) is attributed to the cultural moral order (see H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]), he claims his authority to use the N speech level with H. H's remark (6) confirms F's claim of identity awareness. H expresses his deference through honorific KI (i.e. "duko" (don't know)). It accepts his agreement with W to assign F authority to claim his high respect.

This is what I identify as a negotiation of politeness during W's turn in the previous paragraph. Both probably express a similar quality of respect; nevertheless, W expresses it at an intermediate level and H uses an honorific word. As H's assessment conforms to W's previous evaluation, this collective awareness arguably increases the father's social status.

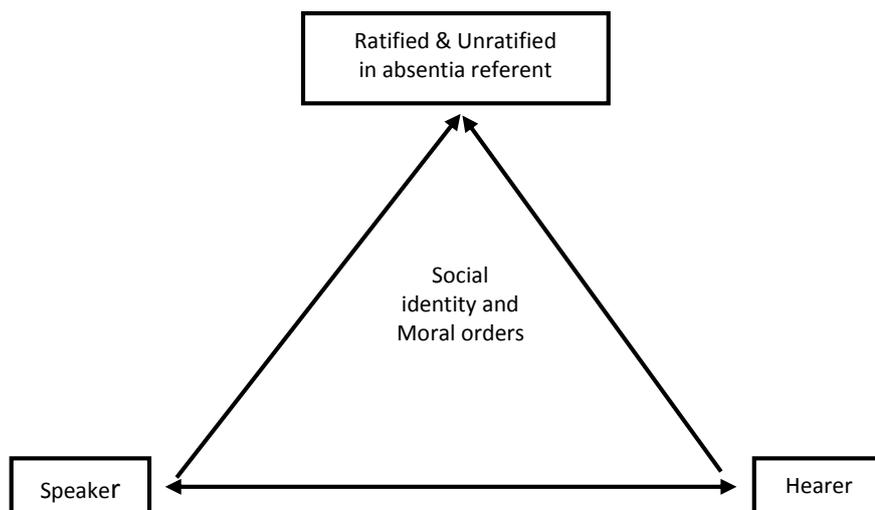
H's response (6) does not fulfil F's expectation to get more information on Bima's conflict. In the following turns, identity awareness follows the above patterns. As F is the author of Bima's conflict, H returns the principle to him. F manages his role as the author, although he continuously negotiates his role as the principal. He offers a weak fact (i.e. he is not sure himself) by introducing another potential target of "Arjuna". His question invites H to contribute his role in a ratified recipient. H's question (8) instead of giving information "indexes the [ ] gap" (Haugh, 2013, p. 66) between F's expectancy and H's offer. It means he once more returns the principal role to F. This gap and revisited question indicates that he does not know about Bima's conflict. However, F insists on gathering information about Bima (9). He uses the word "sopo" (who), which may refer to anyone. However, in his turn in the following fragment (B) line (10), H offers an answer, which relates to Bima, but not his conflict.

The analysis of fragment A informs how conversants evaluate gender and (im)politeness in relation to moral order and their participation order. The conversants, in production or reception footing, follow moral order, "the rule governed activities of everyday life", "the world of daily life known in common with others and with others taken for granted" (Garfinkel, 1964, p. 225). The fact that the differences in using speech levels does not raise questions concerning their functions, disagreement or occasion negative evaluation, the conversants perceive the differences as "normal courses of action" (Garfinkel, 1964, p. 225). Locher and Watts (2005, p. 11) demonstrate that when conversants in a verbal interaction meet "the norms established in previous interactions" or latent networks, the interaction will be "unmarked" and "will go largely unnoticed (i.e., it will be politic/appropriate)". The weakness of the fragment is its inability to present the evaluation of impoliteness. In regard to the use of speech levels, the evaluation of participation order should be located in the social contexts of the conversation (i.e., conversants'



**Figure 8: identity and moral orders in participation footing**  
 (cf. Haugh, 2013; Kádár & Haugh, 2013)

social identity, *unnghah-unnghuh ing basa* (linguistic etiquette), etc.). The ways in which the husband addresses F and W indicates his evaluation of their social roles, which in turn affects the use of the speech levels. Since he uses *basa* (see section *Andhap asor* and *unnghah-unnghuh* of Chapter 2) to address F but *ngoko* to W, seniority (see the position of a father in Figure 7) and gender role (i.e., a wife), they occasion a different evaluation of (im)politeness. He evaluates that, based on Javanese culture, F deserves to receive deference but not for the wife. Haugh (2013, p. 67) argues that “personal identities and relational histories are potentially constitutive of im/politeness evaluations” because they affect the judgements relating to (im)politeness. When F uses the N speech level (1-2), he refers to Javanese norms, which give a father higher social status than his son or daughter. The norms expect the son or daughter to submit deference to the father. Linguistically, *Basa* (e.g., M, K, honorific) may be functioned to signify the deference. Following the norms, the father (F) is the producer as well as the author of the N speech level and expects a higher speech level from the other conversants. He does not only evaluate the ratified addressee (i.e. H and W) but also the potential target who is absent from the conversation (the not co-present potential target) (i.e. Bayu and Arjuna). As he does not use honorific words (see Table 2) or titles (see vocatives), he evaluates them as having lower social



**Figure 9: Types of participants**

status than his. The facts inform the significant roles of identity and moral order. Hence, in Figure 8, I explicitly include them in the type of participation footing.

Regarding participation roles, the Javanese language recognises a third party who does not exist in the conversation, but affects the im/politeness evaluation of the emergent network. The participants formally treat them similarly, as if they exist in the conversation. The treatment is in the sense that the speaker-hearer recognises their social status in an equivalent way to evaluating the status of emergent participants. Hence, they deserve to receive formal respect accordingly. There are potentially two types of non co-present or in-absentia target. *First*, the in-absentia referents whose existence are established in both a speaker's and hearer's historical network. *Second*, a recently introduced person by either the speaker or hearer to his/her counterpart. As they are in-absentia, they do not have a role in respect to evaluating the ongoing conversations, and thus, are unable to evaluate the potential im/politeness of the conversation. Apart from the absence of the role, the existence of the in-absentia referent is able to affect the participants in evaluating im/politeness. Figure 9 summarises the relations of a speaker, a hearer, and in-absentia referents. The speaker-hearer comprises all aspects of production and reception footing (cf. Haugh, 2013). There are two different arrows of communication among them. On the one hand, there is reciprocal turn and evaluation between the speaker and the hearer. Conversely, when the speaker and the hearer refer to an in-absentia third party, they perform one-way evaluations of his/her status before delivering it (non)verbally to the existing counterpart (e.g. the speaker or the hearer). There is, then, a reciprocal evaluation between the speaker and the hearer on the utterances addressed to the in-absentia participants. The

evaluation may be rooted in moral orders and occasions moral evaluation as in/appropriate or im/polite, un/acceptable, or *alos* (refined) – *kasar* (rude), etc. The following fragment B gives the example of how the in-absentia target affects the evaluation of (im)politeness.

(B) D12. 201 – appendices: 568-580

10. W: *Lha nek di- jikuk engko Mami piye?*  
PAR-N if-N PASS-N draw-N later-N Mom how-N?
11. *Di- paring -i ngono?*  
PASS-N give-KI SUF-N like that-N  
*If the money is withdrawn, how is Mom? I give her some money, am I?*
12. H: *Gari awake dewe no. Iki gur saran*  
Leftover-N ourselves-N PAR-N. this-N only-N suggestion-N  
*It depends on us. This is only suggestion*
13. W: *Kan selama ini kan ra tak jipuk tho bagian -e,*  
PAR-N so far-BI this-BI PAR-N not-N I-N collect-N PAR-N share-N POSS-N  
*Satu juta*  
one-BI million-BI  
*I did not collect my share one million, so far.*
15. H: *Satu juta?*  
One-BI million-BI  
*One million?*
16. W: *He eh*  
Yes-N  
*Yes*
17. H: *Garek telung atus*  
Leftover-N three-N hundred-N  
*There is only three hundred left*
18. W: *Sing di- paring -ke aku rong atus,*  
Which-N PASS-N give-KI SUF-N 1SG-N two-N hundred-N
19. *selama iki lho.*  
all this time-N PAR-N.  
*Mom only gave me two hundred all this time.*

The wife (W) in fragment (B) talks to her husband (H) about her plan to buy a car. Previously, W's mother helped her to save her money in a bank or a building society (see appendices). When she intends to use the money to buy a car, she questions the appropriate reward for her mother (10). In the second question (11), she asks for her husband's advice. In these utterances, there are three primary participation roles. She concurrently makes herself the producer (e.g., offering an alternative reward), the husband as the accounter (e.g., requesting his (dis)agreement) in addition to the ratified recipient, and the mother as the in-absentia target. H expresses his partial disagreement implicitly (12). In the first utterance, he evaluates the appropriate reward for the in-absentia potential target (e.g. the mother). This is a tentative idea, he does not express his (dis)agreement overtly. He agrees with W's alternative idea but opens another possibility as well. The term "awake dewe" (N; we) confirms H's

intention regarding shared responsibility. In other words, they may or may not give W's mother a reward. It seems he understands that his idea may lead to a negative evaluation from W (e.g., improper) because the money belongs to W. Following the moral order of *andhap asor*, it is preferable to degrade one's self. Hence, he delivers the second utterance to decrease the force of the first utterance, he returns the decision along with the responsibility to W.

In the next turn (13), she informs him that she has not received her "*bagian* (share)". I interpret "*bagian*" as the share of her savings. "Share" is a term referring to a reward system in Islamic banking. A conventional bank commonly pays "interest" to the customers. Even though "share" and "interest" have a different system, in general, they are the amount of money awarded by a bank to its customer who saves or deposits his/her money in the bank, which is normally on a monthly or annual basis. In (15), the husband questions W's statement. There is disagreement on the amount of the "*bagian*" (share). H's raising intonation in (60) indicates that he is not only in doubt about the amount of the share (in Rupiah), he is also struggling to convince her to recalculate the amount. She insists on her opinion (16). There is subsequently a dispute in relation to the amount the share should be, seeing as each party holds different data (17) - (18).

The word "*diparingi*" (passive of "to give") (11) and "*diparingke*" (passive of "to give") (18) must be interpreted as an evaluation of politeness towards the the social identity of an in-absentia potential target (i.e. the mother). "Di-i" as well as "di-ke" are N affixes to form the passive voice. The "*diparingi*", in this context, refers W's action to give something to her mother. The "*diparingke*" is something (i.e. the money), which is given by the mother to W. There are two opinions with respect to classifying the word's "*paring*". Poedjosoedarmo (1969, p. 189) includes it in KI, meanwhile Sasangka (2005, p. 115) describes it as KA. To avoid ambiguity, I consider it as KI, because it also conforms to Robson & Wibisono (2013, p. 544). KI are honorific words, which refer to the possession and action of a highly-respected person. The affix "di-i" indicates W as the actor, meanwhile "di-ke" refers to the mother's action. Referring to Poedjosoedarmo's classifications (1968, 1969), W should use "di – atur (KA; to give) – i" in (56) as it is her action for her mother. KA is a honorific for self to index a humble manner (Robson & Wibisono, 2013). Actually, in isolation, there is a potential word, which means "to give", specifically *weneh* (N) (Poedjosoedarmo, 1969, p. 189). Relating this to Javanese linguistic etiquette, the use of *diparingi* and *diparingke* instead of *diwenehi* and *diwenehke* refer to the social status of the in-absentia target (i.e. the mother). Regarding this point, the in-absentia third party affects the evaluation of the conversants (im)politeness.

Types of conversation (n = 30 families)	
Asymmetric	Symmetric ngoko
6	20

**Table 7: Linguistic patterns in Javanese family**

The following section discusses the contested use of speech levels in familial interactions. It informs how Javanese wives evaluate their social roles vis a vis their husbands, which results in different speech levels.

### *Speech levels in Javanese familial interactions*

#### Symmetric and asymmetric pattern

The politeness evaluation of fragment A, which constitutes identity awareness and moral orders, occasions an asymmetric and symmetric linguistic pattern (cf. Smith-Hefner, 2009). In general, the second pattern is more preferable. Among 26 families involved in this study, 6 families use the asymmetric pattern, while the other 24 families speak in symmetric *ngoko* (see Table 6). The first pattern refers to linguistic interactions between F and two other participants. The father speaks in *ngoko* and receives *basa* in return. On the one hand, F claims his authority to use the N style and expect higher style. In contrast, H and W meet F's expectancy to use *basa* (e.g. M or K) to express their submission toward F. In the second linguistic pattern, the wife and the husband speak in symmetric *ngoko*. This indicates independence of evaluation between W to F and W to H. Within Javanese social constructs, F has a higher social status gradient, which is in two layers, in comparison to W. He is older (age) and is the father in law. Meanwhile, H only has a higher social status on one level in comparison to W. He is the head of the family. As we have discussed in Chapter 2, a social attribution as the head of family is a relatively accessible area of gender and politeness negotiation. Hence, we can expect contested evaluations of gender and politeness between the husband and wife of this family and other Javanese families. While society expects a wife to express more politeness (Smith-Hefner, 1988), this family values higher familiarity than the social expectation. This view occasions the symmetric pattern of *ngoko*. Fragment (C), which is the continuation of fragment (A), illustrates the intense use of *ngoko* between W and H.

In line (20), H introduces “ngontrak” (rent a house) to “achieve concurrent shift” (Haugh, 2013, p. 63). On the one hand, he remains alligned with F whereby this word has a semantic relationship to Bima. Conversely, he shifts the topic of discussion from Bima's conflict to Bima's house. Through an interrogative utterance ending in the particle “tho”, he assumes that he

shares the meaning of “ngontrak” with F. Particle “tho” refers to the director, besides acting as a discourse marker for the relationship between the utterances made by H and F. H posits himself as the producer, co-author and co-principal in addition to offering another co-principal to F. The word “enten” and “mriku”, which are M words, represent H’s evaluation of deference toward F. In the next turn (21), F aligns with H to discuss Bima’s house. F provides explicit referents of “mriku” (there) to “mbah Semar’s house”.

(C) D2. 200-207 – appendices: 296-329

20. H: *Saiki ngontrak enten mriku tho?*  
Now-N rent a house-N in-M there-M PAR-N  
*Now does he rent a house over there?*
21. F: *Ning nggone mbah Semar? Nganti seprene tho?*  
In-N place-N POSS-N grandmother-N Semar? Until-N now-N PAR-N  
*In mbah Semar’s house? Is it up to now?*
22. W: *Berarti yo ijek ning sekitar ning Alengka kene?*  
Mean-BI PAR-N remain-N in-N around-N in-N Alengka here-N  
*It means he remains around Alengka?*
23. H: *Lha ngontrak -e ning kono kok*  
PAR-N rent a house-N his-N in-N there-N PAR-N  
*He lives there*
24. W: *Lha kerja -ne ngendi?*  
PAR-N work-N his-N where-N  
*So where does he work?*
25. F: *Ngarep -e .. cedak -e Gatot kono, nggone sopo kae*  
In front of-N place-N .. near-N place-N Gatot there-N, whose-N who-N that-N  
*In front of .. near Gatot’s house, whose house is that?*
26. H: *Ngontrak -e nggon -e, mbak anu iki lho*  
Rent-N the-N place-N her-N, elder sister what-N this-N PAR
27. *sopo sing mbak*  
who-N who-N elder sister  
*He rent the house of, mbak<sup>13</sup> who the one who is mbak ..*
28. W: *Mbak Kunti?*  
Elder sister Kunti?  
*Is it mbak Kunti?*
29. H: *Kulon -e mbak Kunti*  
West-N the-N elder sister Nani  
*West of Mbak Nani*
30. W: *Mbak Arimbi?*  
Elder sister Arimbi?  
*Is it mbak Arimbi?*
31. H: *He-eh*  
Yes-N  
*Yes*
32. W: *hem*

<sup>13</sup> *Mbak* is a vocative for elder sister but the use can be extended not just for sibling but also for non sibling.

- ehm  
Ehm
33. H: *Sing omah madep ngalor kae*  
which-N house-N lead-N nothern-N that-N  
*The house which leads to the north*
34. F: *Yo wis ra tahu pethuk.*  
PAR-N already-N not-N ever-N meet
35. *Mbiyen kondo pengin ning nggona -ku ora sido terus.*  
Ago-N tell-N want-N in-N place-N my-N not-N go-N repeatedly-N
36. *Sopo kae ono sing crito*  
who-N that-N exist-N who-N tell-N
37. *Nanti saat Bima kesana kan tahu sebab nya*  
later-BI when-BI Bima go there-BI PAR know-BI cause-BI the-BI  
*I haven't met him anymore. Previously he told me he wanted to come to my house but he did not come. Who was the person? There was someone who told me that I will find out the reason when Bima comes*
38. H: *Memang anu Ramadhan niko nggih nate ngomong kalih kulo*  
Indeed-BI what-N Ramadhan that-M yes-K ever-K tell-N with-K 1SG-K
39. *pengin ketemu kalih kulo ndilalah enten acara terus.*  
Want-N meet-N with-K 1SG-K unluckily-N exist-M agenda-N repeatedly-N  
*Indeed, in Ramadhan (name of a month in the Islamic calender) he told me he wanted to see me. Unfortunately, there were always other agendas*

In (22), through her geographical knowledge, W locates the word “mriku” and “mbah Semar” in Alengka, an area where they live. In producing the utterance, she does not only test her hypothesis to verify the fitness of “mriku”, “mbah Semar”, and “Alengka”, she also fulfills her responsibility as the ratified recipient to be involved in the conversation. The critical point in respect to the analysis of gender and politeness is the use of the N style. As she has assigned a higher style to F as the representation of deference previously, the use of N style to address her husband or the direct addressee of (22) indicates her claim of familiarity between them (see Table 2). Smith-Hefner (2009, p. 69) illustrate that the use of the informal variety of Javanese, the N speech level, in the family relationship indicates a modern relationship, intimacy and equality between husband and wife. W claims that a social attribution, i.e. the head of family, does not necessarily give H privilege for higher linguistic deference (i.e. *baso*). H’s remarks in (23) and the next turns, which pursue the quality of Bima rather than evaluate the N style, align with W’s gender equality expectation; hence, the style is acceptable. It seems that this evaluation of gender and politeness confirms the idea that higher social expectation as the head of the family does not immediately give authority to claim privileges (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]) linguistically. The degree of deference toward the head of the family is negotiable rather than prescriptive and is discursive in nature.

In (24), W is not interested anymore in Bima's residence. She has another question concerning Bima, i.e. "kerjane" (occupation) and speaks in *ngoko*. In the following turns, F and W discuss Bima's residence instead of W's inquiry about Bima's occupation. However, this topic change does not indicate a negative assessment toward W. W raises two questions in (22) and (24), and F as well as H prefer the first rather than the second.

Another interesting phenomenon is the participants' linguistic behaviour toward the (co) figure and (co)(potential) target. The utterance (24) comprises particle "lha", noun "kerjane" and question marker "ngendi" (where) and the producer omits the existence of the potential target "Bima". Although the meaning of the utterance depicts him, syntactically he does not appear in the utterance. Semantically the focus of the utterance is "kerjane". The information flux indicates that Bima has emerged several times in the previous utterances. Hence, the existence of the Bima person is a historical network and understood only through his quality (e.g. "kontrake", "kerjane", etc.). Syntactically, the suffix -e represents his existence. The suffix means possession. However, in (29) the suffix -e does not omit the potential target (mbak Kunti). The two phenomena imply that the person represented by the suffix -e optionally occurs before or after the obligatory information. Conversations in lines (26) – (29) reflect similar linguistic behaviour. After H questions the rented house ("ngontrake nggone") (26), it soon becomes a historical network (i.e. the participants understand its existence). In (27), W does not repeat it but only names the property owner. The proprietor should be the understood information for H; however, he repeats it in (29). (For omission, see the section on omission and deference markers)

In its linguistic style, fragment (C) represents a symmetric linguistic pattern in gender and politeness relations between the husband and the wife. The symmetric exchange could be in *ngoko* (N), *madya* (M), or *krama* (K). Most wives and husbands in Table 7 speak in the N style. This pattern may relate to the tendency of young Javanese women to use the N style to express their "concern for greater equality between the husband and wife and, in particular, the desire for more closeness" (Smith-Hefner, 2009, p. 69). In this fragment, both participants (i.e. H and W) in production and reception footings assess their stances as informal and intimate and, hence, each of them claims the appropriateness of the N style. The linguistic behaviour in this fragment is different from Supardo's finding (2007), who argues that the existence of a third party, e.g. a guest, affects the linguistic behaviour of a husband and a wife. In his research, *priyayi* families have different titles for the husband and the wife in the absence and presence of guest(s). This family (e.g. H and W) represents their identity in the same way, in the presence

or the absence of a highly-respected guest (i.e. the father). They address each other using the N style prior to and after their father or father-in-law arrives.

Smith-Hefner (2009) mentions that, until the late 1970s, the asymmetric pattern was still relatively common in Javanese speech interactions. Using this pattern, “the lower status speaker in an interaction [uses] a more respectful speech variety to a higher status addressee and [receives] a relatively lower (less respectful, more familiar) speech variety in return” (p. 60). In the 1980s, she did not find the most refined speech levels (e.g. *krama*) in rural eastern Java. In Yogyakarta, by the early 1980s, she noticed that the Javanese elite (i.e. *priyayi*; gentry) “has made a significant shift away from asymmetric exchanges ... toward the symmetric exchange of the “middle” respect level, *madya*” (p. 60). She suggests that, among non-elites, the symmetric *basa* (respect level) of *madya* is the most common pattern outside the family. In Surakarta, Table 7 shows that, nowadays, a small number of Javanese families (non *priyayi*) use asymmetric exchanges, where the wife addresses her husband in a higher speech level and receives lower in return. The following section discusses the characteristics of asymmetric exchanges.

### Basa

Fragments (A) and (C) demonstrate different linguistic behaviours of H and W toward F in an asymmetric linguistic pattern. Even though both H and W have the same intention to express their deference through *basa*, they express it differently. On the one hand, W has limited deference words (e.g. one M word in a N utterance) to express her agreement toward Javanese moral orders. In contrast, H in (28) and (29) has a higher quantity and quality (e.g. variants) of deference words (e.g. Ms and Ks). Additionally, *Basa* refers to M, K or honorific (KI and KA) forms (Smith-Hefner, 2009; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002, p. 5) to express respect to the addressee (Smith-Hefner, 2009, p. 60). The primary point related to this initial finding on politeness evaluation is that deference expressions vary individually and potentially across networks; they are discursive in nature. The next two fragments describe the contested nature of deference in relation to moral orders, in two different families.

(D) D4.142-149 – appendices: 887-901

40. W: *Sing tumbas nggon -e sopo?*  
Who-NG buy-K place-NG POSS-NG who-N?
41. *Arjuna meleh tho?*  
Arjuna again-K PAR?  
*Where did you buy it? Did you get it from Arjuna again?*
42. H: *Yo*  
Yes-N  
*Yes*

43. W: *Njenengan bar keng mriko neh ok?*  
 2SG-KI already-N from-M there-M again-N PAR?  
*Have you already been there again?*
44. H: *Rak. Pas kapan kae, suwe*  
 no-N. Exactly-N when-N that time-N, a long time a go-N  
*No. I am not sure of the time exactly. It was a long time ago*
45. W: *Ndek nopo?*  
 On-N what-M?  
*When did you go there?*
46. H: *Wis suwe kok*  
 Already-N a long time a go-N PAR-N  
*It was a long time ago*
47. W: *Pas ndek wingi tindak ning Semarang kae*  
 Exactly-N on-N yesterday-N go-KI in-N Semarang that time-N
48. *berarti mpun?*  
 mean-BI already-K  
*Did you buy it before you went to Semarang?*
49. H: *Uwis no*  
 Already-N PAR-N  
*Of course*

Fragment (C) is an interaction between a wife (W) who begins a conversation (a producer) and a husband (H) who holds the role as the direct addressee. The husband works as an employee of a company that sells farm equipment; he also owns a farm. In the setting of the emerging conversation, he is preparing farm equipment for his own farm. The wife wonders where he bought the equipment and asks questions about when he went to the shop.

In (40), W questions where he bought the farm equipment. The word “tumbas” (K; buy) presupposes an existing object in the current setting of conversation. Without the existence of a future indicator (i.e. “arep” (will)), the word indicates past action. Questioning “tumbas” followed by “nggone” (the place) requires a particular place as the answer. In (41), she proposes an alternative, presupposing the historical attachment of the current potential target (e.g. something under questioned) and past figure (i.e. Arjuna’s shop, the potential shop where H got the equipment). The word “meleh” (K; again) denotes recurrent actions. It means that her prediction in respect to the Arjuna shop is not arbitrary but rooted in H’s habit.

The existence of K words in the N style requires further analysis. It assumes W’s assessment of social identity before producing her questions. She not only evaluates H as the direct addressee but also his social identity as head of the family. It indicates an awareness of deference on W’s side. Rooted in moral orders (i.e. *unggah-ungguh ing basa* (linguistic etiquette) and *empan papan* (place awareness)), the K words reveals her acknowledgement of being inferior vis-a-vis her husband. H’s short answer in (42) “yo” (yes) which is a N word denotes

two meanings. *First*, he confirms the truth related to W's prediction on Arjuna's shop. *Second*, the conversants are engaged in an asymmetric exchange. As discussed in the last paragraph of the previous section, in asymmetric linguistic patterns, the participant, who uses a higher speech level (e.g. the wife), has an inferior position vis a vis the recipient (e.g. the husband), who remarks in a lower speech level. In the rest of her turns, the wife submits deference (i.e. by using M, K or Ki words) to her husband and receives lower level (i.e. N speech level) in return.

On this point, linguistic choices between the wife in (A), (B) and (C) index different evaluations of deference in gender relationships. There has been an expectation that "Javanese women are required to be more polite within the family where they receive less polite speech and offer more" (Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 535). However, the differentiated lexical meanings of the wives' dictions in the three fragments prove variability in evaluating deference within family. Sociolinguistically, the semantic meaning implies claims of equality in the N style and deference in the *basa* style.

Another fact is that deference expressions do not fall under complicated formal rules regarding speech levels. Insertion of any non-N words into N utterances is appropriate for expressing deference. While different quantities of non-N words distinguish the deference expressions of the husband and wife in the fragments (A) and (C), W in this fragment (D) expresses inconsistency in inserting non-N words. In (40) and (41), W produces interrogative utterances, which do not only indicate an information gap between them but also depict W's claim of her social stance vis-à-vis her husband. His utterances comprise N and K words. This utterance is closer to the *basa-antyo* (BA) style, which is the variant of the N style. She immediately shifts to *madya-ngoko* (MN), the variant of the M style, in (43) and returns to BA in (47)-(48) (cf. Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, pp. 60-61). She also depicts the target's actions (i.e. her husband) in two different deference gradients and uses "tumbas" (buy) (40) and "tindak" (go) (47). These two words express two different qualities related to H's actions. On the one hand, "tumbas" is a K word to express respect. Conversely, "tindak" is an honorific KI assigning H's status as a highly-respected person. In other words, W depicts H in two different social stances in a single conversation. Furthermore, KI has a higher deference gradient than K. There are two potential logical reasons for these two social identities. *First*, in her language acquisition, the wife does not acquire *basa* properly. Subroto et al. (2008, p. 93) observed that Javanese, particularly young people, was unable to use speech levels properly; they also have very poor competence in mastering Javanese vocabulary. *Second*, because the husband does not evaluate the wife's language negatively, there is a tendency that they define *basa* as simply having either

M, K or honorific words in N utterances despite their inconsistency. The next fragment (E) also has a similar tendency.

An additional way to express deference in asymmetric linguistic patterns is in (E). This is a conversation in which the wife mixes N and *basa* codes. The wife (W) is ironing her husbands' clothes when she finds out that there is a button missing from one of the clothes. They negotiate how to replace the button. At the beginning, the husband asks his wife to replace it, but she rejects this request. She gets him to replace it because she is busy.

(E) D14.10-18 – appendices: 931-950

50. W: *Baju -ne sing pundi*  
shirt-BI your-N which-N where-K
51. *sing ajeng di- betho?*  
which-N will-K PASS-N carry-K?
52. *Tak gosoke sisan. Engko garek nyangking*  
1SG-N iron-N altogether-N. later-N just-N bring-N  
*Which shirt will you bring? Let me iron it, so you can bring it later.*
53. H: *Sing kantong -an kae wae ki.*  
Which-N pocket-N has-N that-N only-N PAR.
54. *Sing benik -e copot wis di- pasang durung?*  
which-N button-N its-N dislodged-N already-N PASS-N put-N not yet-N?  
*The shirt with the pocket is better. The button was dislodged. Has it been put on or not yet?*
55. W: *Dereng no!*  
Not yet-K PAR-N!  
*Not yet!*
56. H: *Ijek cementel tho kancing -e?*  
Still-N hang in-N PAR-N button-N its-N?  
*Is the button still hanging on the shirt?*
57. W: *Ora enek kok empun.*  
not-N exist-N PAR already-K  
*It's not there*
58. H: *Copot ning kono, ilang!*  
Dislodged-N in-N there-N, gone-N!  
*It was dislodged. It has gone!*
59. W: *Mboten enten. Nek enek ning mesin cuci*  
not-K exist-M. If-N exist-N in-N machine-N wash-N
60. *kan mestine enek. Ora enek kok.*  
PAR must-N exist-N. not-N exist-N PAR.
61. *Ayo sing nduwur dewe*  
Come on-N which-N above-N most-N
62. *kuwi lho Pak, di- jipuk wae po piye?*  
that-N PAR Dad, PASS-N take-N just-N what-N how-N  
*There is no button. If it was in washer, it should be there. It was not there. Come on, the button which is on top, should it be taken out?*
63. H: *Iyo di- pindah!*  
Yes-N PASS-N move in-N!

- Yes, move it!
64. W: *Bapak no aku nggosok kok*  
 Dad PAR 1SG-N iron-N PAR-N  
*It should be you Dad, I am ironing.*

W is the author who begins the conversation. She produces utterances (50) - (51) in *basa-antya* (BA) (for the definition of BA, see Table 5). In lines (50)-(51), W requires particular information (i.e. which clothes) in order for W to complete her social role (e.g. ironing). The responsibility to provide information exclusively belongs to her husband. In (53), she explains the reasons underlying her questions. Different from the two prior utterances, she exclusively uses N words to express her intentions. H fulfils W's expectation in (53), but he nevertheless switches the participation roles in (54). He is now the one who struggles in seeking information (producer and author) concerning the dislodged button. He posits the wife as the accounter who is responsible for the answer and uses *ngoko-lugu* (NL) (see Table 5). It is clear, on this point, that they have asymmetric linguistic patterns. The default meaning of the two styles is that they evaluate their stances as having different social identity. H claims his higher stance in comparison to W.

In the following turns (54-60), H continues to assume that W is the target responsible for sewing the missing button on. In her turns, W rejects the responsibility (55). The word "piye" (N; how) in (62) denotes her intention to share the responsibility with the husband. Through her utterance (62), she does not only advise the husband to use another button but also implicitly asks the husband to sew the button on. He meets W's expectancy partially (63). The word "iyo" (N; yes) indicates his agreement toward her proposal; however, he returns the responsibility to his wife to replace the button when he uses "dipindah" (move). In (64), W disagrees with H. She claims her inability to take the principal of the execution, negotiates the power and leaves it to H.

Apart from the power relation in this fragment, the wife expresses her deference in BA. W composes her question in (50) and (51) using N words, N affixes and K words, which is BA in Poedjosoedarmo's classification (1968, p. 60). Poedjosoedarmo argues that this style indicates the speaker's deference toward closely related recipients. For a wife, according to Poedjosoedarmo, it is a style of deference designed to recognise the very high social stance (e.g., birth) of her husband. Looking at the words composing the two lines, she shifts her style from BA (51) to plain *ngoko* or *ngoko-lugu* (NL) in (52), in which her entire utterances comprise of N words. In fact, both are a variant of the *ngoko* style. Following Poedjosoedarmo's classification, she remains in BA as the occurrence of K in BA is unpredictable quantitatively depending on the

quality of the social identity of the addressee; the higher the stance, the higher the frequency of K. However, in (59) she inserts “*enten*” (M; exist) indicating *madya-ngoko* (MN), which is a variant of the *madya* style (cf. Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 60).

On this point, there is an inconsistency in reference to the sociolinguistic meaning of W’s actions. The quantity of K decreases from high in (50)-(51) to infrequent in the rest of the fragment. Textually, the gradation indicates different evaluations of deference from high to low. The possible answer to the deviance is related to the previous simplified *basa* hypothesis; therefore, it is not peculiar to analyse it as an evaluation of changing social identity. W potentially does not understand the complex codification of formal politeness and grammatical meanings of BA (or other styles). When formal categorisations, such as Poedjosoedarmo constitutes a larger moral order, there are knowledge restrictions (e.g. acquisition) (cf. Subroto et al., 2008) of an individual moral order. Moreover, there is a possibility that she arbitrarily borrows M or K or honorific forms to express her deference. Regarding this fact, the *basa* does not reflect the gradation of social rank, but is the only correct way to express respect (cf. Smith-Hefner, 1988). As there is no evaluation of an improper linguistic style from H, there is agreement between them (which can also be established among participants in (A), (C) and (D)) that the intention of deference can be expressed through non-*ngoko* words in any quantity (one, two, etc) and in any lexical functions (subject, adverb, object, etc).

In addition to the asymmetric exchange to express a deference from one participant to the other, there is a regularity among research participants to use vocatives. Referring to *empan papan* (place consciousness) (see Figure 5) and kinship system (see Figure 6), vocatives may represent respect regarding one’s social status. The next section discusses the common vocatives used by Javanese in addition to how they reflect the evaluation of gender and (im)politeness.

### Vocatives

Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (2002, p. 41) define a vocative as a title, a name or a title, plus a name functioning to address someone. Heyd (2010, p. 334) suggests vocatives are “not directly incorporated into the sentence structure”. Structurally, Heyd (2010) argues that vocatives are not necessarily urgent in a sentence and purely pragmatic “add-ons”. Zwicky (1974, p. 796) implies that vocatives, at least in English, are “almost never neutral” to “express attitude, politeness, formality, status, intimacy, or a role relationship.” Despite its marginal function grammatically, an analysis of the evaluation of politeness in Javanese language should not neglect the existence of a vocative, as it appears in all Javanese language styles. Within Javanese

culture, there is a lesson of *mbasakke* from parents to their children. In this training, the parents teach their children to use appropriate styles along with vocatives. (see Chapter 2 for the discussion concerning Javanese titles).

Title given to				
Relationship	Males	Frequency	Females	Frequency
Grandparent	mbah; mbahe	6; 6	mbah; mbahe	18; 6
Parent	pak; bapak; pake	15; 36; 6	bu; ibu; bue	25; 62; 8
	ayah; yah	41; 15	mamah; mah	17; 14
	pa	1	mi (umi)	3
	abah	1	Low class: mbok,	0
	abi; bi	2; 1	mbokne	
Spouse (husband-wife)	pak; bapak	85; 8	bu; ibu	14; 4
	ayah; yah	12; 63	mamah; mah	13; 10
	pa; mas	30; 51	dik	10
	bah (abah); bi (abi)	4; 10	umi; mi	6; 3
Children	nak (anak)		nak (anak)	5 (M+F)
	cah		cah	52 (M+F)
Older sibling	mas; mase; kangmas	3; 1; 0	Mbak; mbakyu	17; 0
Sibling	None		High class: jeng	0
Younger sibling	Dhimas	0	dhiajeng	0
Parent's elder sibling	pak dhe	2	bu dhe	17
	low class: wo	0		
Parent's younger sibling	pak lek	3	bu lek	4
	om	12	low class: mbok lek	0
Terms of endearment for children				
Strong endearment	Ngger	0	ngger	0
Neutral	le (thole)	99	ndok (gendhok)	29
Endearing	gus (bagus), cah bagus	0	Nok (dhenok)	0
Elder children	Mas	35	mbak	17
Younger children	dik; adik		dik; adik	26; 18 (M+F)
Titles given to people who are unrelated				
Older or respected people	pak; bapake	260; 1	bu; ibu; ibue; bue	218; 5; 3; 3
Someone's parent (with or without someone's name)	pake; bapake	4; 13	ibue; bue	3; 13
			mamahe	1
			mbokne	2
Old person or grandparents' sibling	Mbah; mbahe		Mbah; mbahe	27 (M+F); 10 (M+F)
Kid, teenager	Cah, cah lanang		Cah, cah wedhok	69 (M+F)
Older or younger to express respect	Mas; mase	89; 13	bbak; mbake	189; 18
Younger	Dik		dik	4 (M+F)
Friendly, irrespective of rank	Om	5	tante	0
Derived from title of nobility	den, ndoro	0	den	0
Formal, distant and respectful	Tuan	0	Nyonya, nona or non (unmarried)	0
To Chinese adults	bah (babah)	0	nyah (nyonya)	0
Total		933		734
Number of words of the analysed utterances: 67485 words; M+F = male + female				

**Table 8: Javanese titles**

The way Javanese people treat vocatives is sensitive with regards to issues of gender and politeness. "The use of a name without a title is called *njangkar*" (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002, p. 41) except for when the conversants are actually in an intimate relationship. *Njangkar* relates closely to improper behaviour in giving appropriate respect. It is a term to refer to someone's attitude who does not wish to express a certain respect (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002, p. 44). Thus, it is evident then that titles are significant markers in Javanese gender and politeness.

Table (8) summarises titles unearthed by Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (2002, pp. 42-43), updated with the findings of this study, particularly relating to quantification. Some of the given titles are not familiar in current spoken Javanese language, such as *den*, *ndoro*, *tuan* or *nyonya*. The *priyayi* family commonly used these titles. *Gus* is a title for the son of a *kyai* (Islamic leader) at a *pesantren* (Islamic boarding school). The recorded data notes several vocatives, used regularly in family interactions, in current Javanese language, such as *pak*, *cah*, *ndok*, etc.

It should be noted that a few titles have more than one meaning. Pragmatically, "bapak" and its variants are titles for a highly-respected male, an older male, a father and a husband. "Ibu" and its variants are for a highly-respected female, an older female, a mother and a wife. "Mbak" and "mbake" are terms to address older female siblings and "mas" is for older female siblings. These terms are also applicable for older non-siblings. When older persons use them for younger persons, they are expressions of respect. Several wives also address their husbands using "mas", whereas "cah" and "le" are terms of endearment for kids. "(A)yah", "(a)bah" and "abi" are titles for male parents and husbands. Furthermore, "mamah" and its variants are titles for female parents and a wife. It is common for a wife and a husband to address each other using the same title used by their children. "Mbah(e)" is a term of address for grandparents or very old people. "Adik" is a title for younger siblings as well as younger non-siblings and some husbands address their wives in this title. "Budhe" and "pakde" are titles for females and male elder siblings of parents respectively. "Bulik" and "paklik" are for females and younger male siblings of parents respectively. "Budhe", "pakde", "Bulik", "paklik" are also applicable for middle-aged non-parent siblings.

The table reveals the significant role of titles in building social relationships. They provide the way for each member to express formality, familiarity and affection. The quantitative data and the moral sanction of *njangkar* represent a social expectation amplifying the existence of the titles. To perceive the roles of the titles in linguistic interactions regarding

Javanese gender and politeness, fragment (F) describes how a wife expresses a gradient of respect to her female colleagues and to her husband.

(F) D1.17-29 – appendices: 994-1022

65. W: *Ndek wingi iku tho mungkin bu Sadewo sms*  
On-N yesterday-N that-N PAR may-N Mrs. Sadewo text-ENG.
66. *ki mergone opo*  
PAR-N the reason-N what-N
67. *Bu Nakulo kan wong -e keru Bi.*  
Mrs. Nakulo PAR person-N the-N late-N Dad.
68. *Aku kan manut bareng -e Nakulo, tapi aku*  
1SG-N PAR follow-N together-N her-N Nakulo, but-BI 1SG-N  
*Yesterday Mrs. Sadewo might have sent a text. Do you know what the reason was?*  
*Mrs. Nakulo was late Dad. I was with Nakulo, but I ...*
69. H: *Lha Nakulo opo ono?*  
PAR Nakulo what-N exist-N  
*Did Nakulo have something you were looking for?*
70. W: *hah?*  
What-N?  
*What?*
71. H: *Ngon -e Nakulo opo ono?*  
Place-N her-N Nakulo what-N has-N?  
*Were you looking for something in Nakulo's house?*
72. W: *Ora. Ngon -e Nakulo kan Jupuk kudung, pesenan kudung.*  
No-N. Place-N her-N Nakulo PAR collect-N veil-N, size-N veil-N
73. *Lha aku wingi kan sak njaluk -mu*  
PAR 1SG-N yesterday-N PAR-N anything-N request-N your-N
74. *iso nompo tho*  
able-N accept-N PAR  
*No. I went to Nakulo's house to collect a veil, the one I ordered. Yesterday, I made Naura's size*
75. H: *Kowe pamit bu Sadewo?*  
1SG-N request for leaving-N Mrs. Sadewo?  
*Did you ask Mrs. Sadewo to leave?*
76. W: *Pamit. Pamit lah*  
request for leaving-N request for leaving-N PAR  
*I did it. Of course I did it*
77. H: *Terus?*  
Next-N?  
*What's next?*
78. W: *Yo wis, aku wis pamit*  
PAR already-N, 1SG-N already-N ask for leaving  
*Yes, I did. I asked to leave*
79. H: *lha ngopo urusan -e karo bu Nakulo*  
PAR what-N bussiness-N her-N with-N Mrs.Nakulo  
*So what is her business with Mrs. Nakulo?*
80. W: *Yo mbuh. Yo kan mikir -e bu Sadewo*  
PAR do not know-N. PAR PAR think-N her-N Mrs. Sadewo

81.           *kan mulih ndisik iki mesti*  
 PAR return-N early-N this-N must-N  
*I don't know. In Mrs. Sadewo's mind, leaving early must be...*
82. H:       *ora nyaman ngono?*  
 Not-NEG comfortable-BI like that-N  
*They weren't comfortable, were they?*
83. W:       *ho oh*  
 Yes-N  
 Yes

In the conversation, the participants are a wife (W) and a husband (H); meanwhile the in-absentia potential targets are Mrs. Sadewo and Mrs. Nakulo. The wife shares her worries to her husband in the N style. She produces an utterance (65) informing him that she has received a text message from Mrs. Sadewo. The utterance (66) assumes that she has interpreted the implicit reason behind the texts. The utterances (67) and (68) are premises, which lead to her hypothesis. Unfortunately, the husband interrupts (69) her before reaching the conclusion.

The crucial element of the gender and im/politeness evaluation at the beginning of the fragment is the inconsistent use of title toward the in-absentia referents. W addresses them with a title “bu” (lit. mother) or “Mrs” in (65) and (66). The emergence of the title in the next turns relate to evaluation of the social stance of the two in-absentia third parties. She misses the title for Mrs. Nakula in (68), but persists in using it for Mrs. Sadewo in the rest of the conversation. It suggests different deference behaviour from the participants intended for the two potential targets. Through the existence of the title, she assesses Mrs. Sadewo as having a higher a degree of deference than Mrs. Nakulo. Her higher intimacy with respect to Mrs. Nakulo than to Mrs. Sadewo gives her the authority to address Mrs. Nakulo with or without a title. In the next turn (67), there is another title “(a)bi” in the wife’s N style, intended for the husband. It displays her submission of deference to her husband. Some Muslim families use the Arabic words “abi” (father) and “umi” (mother) as terms of address between husband and wife, or from children to their parents. Through her utterance (67), which is the N style, she concurrently claims intimacy or equal gender relationships and the title “abi” expresses a sign of deference toward her husband. In other words, deference may emerge in the N style.

Returning to line (69), instead of assessing the primary topic of discussion, e.g. Mrs. Sadewo’s text, H is interested in discussing the role of Mrs. Nakulo. It is an unexpected remark. There is different expectancies between the wife and the husband. The wife expects a gradient of sympathy via the assessment of Mrs. Sadewo’s text although the husband begins his evaluation of Mrs. Nakulo. Additionally, it appears that there has been a historical relationship

between the wife and Mrs. Nakulo. Hence, H assumes that the wife leaving the meeting in Mrs. Sadewo's house early relates to the objectified historical network. As the husband has an individual interest in the network, he aligns with the historical network, rather than with the wife's expectancy. In the evaluation of social awareness, H aligns with W's assessment of deference. He omits the title for Mrs. Nakula, although he uses it in (79).

The "hah" (70) indicates an unexpected interruption orientated to shift the topic in line (69) and his wife has trouble in interpreting the husband's meaning. This particle indicates her surprise as well as "seeking an account for the state of affairs" (Haugh, 2013, p. 66). The husband, subsequently, clarifies the meaning of her question in (71) and obtains the answer from his wife in line (72).

In the next turns, there is a further shift in topic and they return to discuss Mrs. Sadewo's text. In (73), the husband meets the wife's expectancy (65) to realise the implicit meaning of Mrs. Sadewo's text. He evaluates the possibility of the wife's traits, which probably occasions an evaluation of inappropriateness on the side of Mrs. Sadewo. In the frame of becoming a guest in Javanese *tata krama*, it is appropriate to request the host's agreement to leave the meeting or at least inform the host of the intention to leave the meeting. Underlying this frame, H suggests that W does not inform the host that she is leaving (75). In response to the suggestion, there is a different tone between her utterances in (76) and (78). In her first answer (76), the tone is rather normal in pitch with a soft rise in intonation (') and "elongation of vowel" (:) in the second syllable of the first 'pami::t. The second "pamit" is normal in pitch; however, the last particle has a soft rise and longer vowel ('la::h). This intonation indicates the absence of inappropriate behaviour in her leaving. The husband's question (75) implies any accusations toward W's improper trait. Through his question, the husband suggests that if the wife does not inform Mrs. Sadewo that she is leaving, it is an improper action toward Mrs. Sadewo and hence, the background to her text. As the wife does not break the norm as a guest, the husband's turn (77) suggests that there should be nothing to worry about regarding the text. However, the wife keeps questioning it (80)-(81). There is an "idea pause", which is expressed in her last word "mesti::" having an elongated final vowel. She is stuck in her inability to acquire a proper term for what she wants to say. The husband subsequently gives an alternative possibility (82), which suggests to her that Mrs. Sadewo was not happy or not comfortable with her leaving.

The fragment explains that historical relationships affect the evaluations of vocatives regarding Javanese gender and (im)politeness. To see the roles of vocatives in Javanese culture, Table 8 lists various titles and illustrates the regularity of vocatives in Javanese linguistic

	First person	Second person	Third person
Ngoko	Aku	Kowe	Dheweke
Madya	-	Samang	-
Krama	Kulo	Sampeyan	Piyambakipun
Krama Inggel	Dalem, Kawulo, Abdi dalem	Penjenengan, sampeyan dalem, Panjenengan dalem, Ngarso dalem, Engkang sinuwun, Paduko, Paduko dalem	Panjenengane or panjenenganipun
English	I	You	He, She

**Table 9: Personal pronoun**

interactions. The research participants used the titles 1667 times in their 67,485 words. Vis-à-vis gender relationships, the wives used 8 variants of titles 263 times to address their husbands and received less (60 times) in return. It shows that the wives submit more deference to the husbands. Of course, the titles may function to express affection; however, Table 10 confirms the first inference. The table shows, on the one hand, greater frequency related to the occurrence of honorific *panjenengan* (KI; you) (62.9%) used by the Javanese wives to address their husbands, compared to *sampeyan* (K; you) (12.9%) and *kowe* (N; you) (22%) (for a detailed discussion, see Pronouns). In contrast, the husbands do not use *panjenengan* for their wives. In addition, KI indexes “speaker deference to (sometimes implied) referent” (Silverstein, 2003, p. 214). However, if we return to Table 7, we will find a different fact; most Javanese families speak in symmetric *ngoko*. It indicates a greater concern with modernity, equality and familiarity (Smith-Hefner, 2009). Concerning this point, even though most Javanese women expect familiarity in their familial relationship, they align with Javanese norms to express a degree of deference to their husbands. This means using either vocatives or honorific pronouns, or both in symmetric *ngoko* exchanges. The subsequent sections discuss pronouns to express either familiarity or deference between Javanese wives and their husbands.

### Pronouns

The Javanese language has a rather large number of pronouns. Table (9) provides a comprehensive landscape on the pronouns “I”, “You”, “She” and “He”. The table is taken from Robson (2014, p. 1) and has been amended using Poedjosoedarmo’s list of pronouns (1968, p. 55). Poedjosoedarmo states that *panjenengan* is an honorific for “any respected person”. *Sampeyan dalem*, *panjenengan dalem*, *ngarso dalem*, *engkang sinuwun* are vocatives for king. *Paduko*, *paduko dalem* are used only to address a great king or for God. “He” and “she” do not have gender equivalents in Javanese personal pronouns. The translations of “he” and “she” are

Pronoun	Gloss	Frequency
Aku (NG)	I	797
Kulo (KR)		76
Kowe (NG)	You	179
Sampeyan (KR)		26
Njenengan (KI)		121
Kamu (BI)		15
Dee	He/she	80

**Table 10: Pronoun I and You**

unisex, because the changes follow the changes to the vocabulary type (i.e. N, M, K or honorifics) and not changes to gender.

From the given pronoun, there are seven pronouns commonly used in Javanese recorded conversations that are summarised in Table (10). *Aku* is the most popular self-address. For the second singular person, the *Ngoko* word *kowe* is the most popular, whilst the least is *kamu*, which is originally Bahasa Indonesia.

#### *Kowe*

The uses of pronouns vary across gender and identity. Javanese husbands commonly address their wives using *kowe*; meanwhile, Javanese women have different terms of address for their husbands. Those who speak in *basa* use *panjenengan*, although they have three variants in N style, specifically *kowe*, *sampeyan* and *panjenengan*. Table (11) summarises the use of “you” between a Javanese wife and husband.

The following fragment (G) is an example of the applicability of *kowe*. Pronoun *kowe* (N; you) is an a *ngoko* word, which lexically means non-polite, informal and intimate relationships (see Table 2) between a speaker and a hearer in a symmetrical pattern regarding the N style. It can be the subject or object of a sentence. The possessive forms of *kowe* are *-mu* [NG; your] and *nggonmu* [NG; yours]. Some dialects have different forms, such as *-em* [N; your], *nggonem* [N; yours] and *wekmu* [N; yours].

Participants in the fragments (G) are discussing someone whom they know well. The person has just passed away. The wife begins the conversation by questioning the funeral process for the corpse (84)-(85). She hesitates on her knowledge about the resting place of the corpse. She speaks in the N style, which informs her claim for gender equality. In her research, Smith-Hefner (2009) established a hypothesis that there is a tendency among university students in Yogyakarta to favour the N style. The reason underlying it is that the N style represents a democratic ideology concerning gender relations. In other words, the N style has additional meanings to symbolise the struggle of gender equality.

Returning to the talk (86). In isolation, utterance (84)-(85) may bring ambiguity to the referent. It may refer to the potential targets (the corpse) or the direct addressee (the husband). Meanwhile, the wife discusses the plans for the corpse; the husband potentially understands it as the intention to discuss his future actions. The enquiry (86) could be interpreted as a struggle to seek clarity on this ambiguity. The linguistic behaviour of the wife also proves this expectation gap. In (84)-(85), the wife assumes that they share knowledge respecting the referent; hence, she omits it in her utterances. She topicalises her interest on the plan (“mengko rencanane” (the plan will be)), which follows a particle “lha”. In remark (87), she topicalises the concern of the husband (e.g. the corpse) and omits the existence of the plan, which is the common ground between them. At this stage, it is evident that the wife is the author who constructs the conversation to search for information on the corpse. In her footing, she intends to make the husband the recipient and the accounter who is responsible for the answer. In (88), the husband fulfils this role by providing the expected information. She then constructs another question in (89) and gets the response in (90).

(G) D1.146-153 – appendices: 1066-1076

84. W: *Lha mengko rencanan -e ning Dirojo*  
 PAR later-N plan-N the-N in-N Dirojo
85. *opo ning endi tho?*  
 what-N in-N where-N PAR?  
*Will the plan be in Dirojo or where will it be?*
86. H: *Piye Mah?*  
 how-N Mah (nickname)?  
*What did you say Mah?*
87. W: *Lha jenazah -e ning endi jare?*  
 PAR corpse-N the-N in-N where-N say-N  
*Where was the corpse?*
88. H: *Mou bengi jare ning Astina*  
 last-N night-N say-N in-N Astina  
*Someone told me that last night the corpse was in Astina*
89. W: *Lha kowe nganu no*  
 PAR 1SG-N what-N PAR  
*So, what will you do?*
90. H: *Nyolati wae*  
 Pray-N only-N  
*I will only pray for the corpse*

In this fragment, the conversants speak in symmetric *ngoko*. The use of a nickname (86) and pronoun *kowe* (89) represents more informality as well as familiarity in this family. However, in a different context regarding the conversation (Fragment (F) line (67), the wife uses a title (i.e. *Bi*; Dad) to address the husband. In the previous fragment, the title may be used to express a

Pronoun	Frequency		
	Kowe	sampeyan	Panjenengan (njenengan)
Pronoun “you” used by husband to address wife	20	1	-
Pronoun “you” used by wife to address husband	24	14	68

**Table 11: Pronoun “you” used by husband - wife**

degree of respect. The use of the title may reflect the evaluation of gender and (im)politeness of the wife to follow *empan papan* (place awareness) (see etiquette in Chapter 2). Within Javanese culture, a husband is the head of family; hence, he deserves respect from members of the family. Table 11 shows that most Javanese husbands uses *kowe* (N; you) to address their wives although none use honorific *panjenengan* (KI; you). The facts reflect public awareness that the husbands have a degree of superiority. This gender identity may affect the wife’s evaluation of (im)politeness to use the symmetric *ngoko* exchange, the *kowe* and the title. Table 11, which illustrates three variants of “you” used by the Javanese wives and Table 8, summarising variants of vocatives used by the husbands to address their wives, indicate different evaluations of gender and (im)politeness among Javanese families. In the next section, a wife, who also address her husband in the N speech level, uses *sampeyan* (K; you) instead of *kowe* (N; you) for her husband. The two words, semantically, have different degrees of deference. Hence, they indicate a different evaluation concerning the degree of gender, identity and respect.

#### *Sampeyan*

“Sampeyan” is another second singular pronoun that is used less than “kowe”, particularly in Surakarta. “Sampeyan” has been reported as applicable for *basa* in some areas of East Java (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002). A native speaker of the Javanese language from East Java stated that she received “sampeyan” from a young person. She subsequently realises that most residents in the young person’s region apply it to express deference. However, the recorded data finds scant evidence of the phenomena in Surakarta and demonstrates that it appears only in *ngoko* style. “Sampeyan” has some short forms, specifically *sampan*, *samang*, *mang* (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002). The Javanese Word List groups it as a K form of “you” (Poedjosoedarmo, 1969). The M form is *ndika* or *samang*. Furthermore, the Word List finds little evidence of *dika*, *samang*, *sampan* in daily interaction; hence, these terms will not emerge in

further discussion. Dialect Tegal of Javanese language uses *mang* or *mamang* differently. It is a term of address for *pak lik* (uncle or the younger male sibling of mother and father, or those who are socially associated as a younger male brother of the father and mother). They are applicable with or without a name to replace “kowe”. Additionally, uncle (*pak lik*) deserves to receive respect in the structure of a Javanese family.

With respect to the use of the N speech level, some families (especially wives) use “sampeyan” as a deference marker. Both husbands and wives in some families communicate in the N style, although the wives replace personal pronoun “kowe” with “sampeyan”. The second pronoun, which are K words lexically, indexes politeness and formality. The presence of the pronoun intensifies the *sungkan* gradient in intimate relationships. In this case, the wives feel *pakewuh* or *sungkan* (awkward) in addressing their husbands by way of *ngoko* personal pronouns.

The following conversation (H) gives the example of “sampeyan” in the N style. In the conversation, the husband and the wife were arguing about the photo they had of their sons when they were toddlers. They are disputing who was the oldest and who was the youngest in the photo.

(H) D18.224-232 – appendices: 1134-1152

91. H: *Iki ki adik*  
This-N this-N younger brother-N  
*This is the younger brother*
92. W: *Kakak*  
Elder brother-N  
*He is the older brother*
93. H: *Adik* [chuckle]  
Younger brother-N  
*He is the younger brother* [chuckle]
94. W: *Lho ngeyel. Ndi tak tontonke.*  
PAR stubborn-N. Where-N 1SG-N watch-N.
95. *Sampeyan kok ra apal-apal.*  
2SG-KR PAR not-N remember-N.
96. *Adik ki iki lho.*  
Younger brother-N this-N this-N PAR.
97. *Lho iki adik. Nyempluk ki, cempluk.*  
PAR this-N younger brother-N. Fat-N this-N, fat-N  
*You are stubborn. Let me see it. You don't remember. This is the younger brother. He is the younger brother. He was fat*
98. H: *Ning iki sing tengah adik gilo.*  
but-N this-N which-N middle-N younger brother-N here you are-N.
99. *Lha iki di- gekke ngendi iki?*  
PAR this-N PASS-N put-N where-N this-N?

- This is the younger brother in the middle. Where should I put this one?*
100. W: *Kekke tengah -e no, mang kekke tengah -e*  
Put-N middle-N the-N PAR, only-N put-N middle-N the-N  
*Put it in the middle. (You) can put it in the middle*
101. H: *Lha iki kembar telu ngono [laugh]*  
PAR this-N twin-N three-N like that-N  
*This is triplet [laugh]*
102. W: *He eh. Lha mang kekke tengah -e. Mang lebok -ke*  
Yes-N. PAR you-M put-N middle-N the-N. Only-N insert-N it-N  
*Yes. Just put it in the middle. Insert it*
103. H: *Lha iki di- arani ra kembar wong kelompok iki [laugh]*  
PAR this-N PASS-N say-N not-N twin-N but-N group-N this-N  
*The children in the photo cannot be called twins even though they look similar. They look like a group [laugh]*

The conversation is in the N symmetrical pattern. The participants identify the people in the photo differently. Each participant claims the truth pertaining to his/her meanings. In the beginning, the husband produces a truth claim while noting a specific person in the photo (91). Simply stating “kakak” (elder brother/sister) (92) against “adik” (younger brother/sister) (91), the wife assumes two meanings. First, the husband is wrong and second, she claims for her own truth. While producing similar behaviour to the wife (93), the chuckles following the truth claim express the husband’s assessment of disagreement in a jocular or non-serious way, rather than as an evaluation of improper traits. Concerning this point, the figures depicted in the talk are the potential targets in the photo; meanwhile, the chuckle indicates the absence of improper traits on the N style in addition to the truth claims. The repetitive claims of truth bring the wife to criticise her husband and she addresses her husband as “ngeyel” (N) (94). This term refers to the annoying manners of a person who continuously claims his/her truth. In another words, she criticises him for being an annoying person (based on her claim of truth).

In her next criticism (95), she uses the pronoun “sampeyan” to address the husband. She criticises her husband as a person who lacks a memory. The emergence of “sampeyan” is interesting in two ways. First, in her previous utterance (94), the wife omits the referent and only presents the action (i.e. ngeyel). It semantically means the emphasis is on the figure in the second criticism instead of the figure’s mental state. Second, the diction, i.e. “sampeyan” instead of *kowe*, sociolinguistically means submissions of deference. The default meaning of the N style is equality and intimacy. The existence of “sampeyan” designates the wife’s alignment with the moral order of *tata krama*. Even though she (along with the husband) agrees with the existence of the N style, she is *sungkan* not to express at least a minimal sign of respect for her husband. In any equality of gender roles, she considers that maintaining deference is appropriate at least

in the K pronoun. In the analysis of the participation orders, the criticism reveals rapid shifts in the figure from their children to the husband. Apart from her criticism, she herself continuously claims the truth condition regarding her meaning (96)-(97). The word “ning” (N; but) (98) designates the husband’s disagreement of the truth with the wife. Even though he defends the truth condition of his account, he does not intend to continue the dispute in relation to the claim of truth. He produces an interrogative utterance (99) to construct another topic of conversation.

Learning from the last two fragments, there is sufficient evidence to accentuate the role of identity and moral orders in im/politeness evaluations. Referring to Mills (2004), arguing the variability of im/politeness behaviour across class and gender, the terms positive and negative politeness remain broader classifications to categorise the variability. Even though the participants agree to express their positive politeness in the N style, they define the quality of intimacy differently. Different pronouns represent different variables of intimacy. Relying on the default meanings of the pronouns, the interpretation ends in intimacy but is unable to reveal the patterns underlying the different qualities of intimacy. Theories of identity in speech levels (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968), frame (Terkourafi, 2005) and moral orders (Kádár & Haugh, 2013) (e.g., *andhap asor* (Errington, 1988)) may be sufficient to describe the variables. Poedjosoedarmo, along with Errington, argue that perceived identity determines code choices in addition to the evaluation of im/politeness. Individuals are unique in the sense that they demonstrate different identities, which in turn create unique networks. This interrelationship occasions “the regularity of [the] co-occurrence[s]” (Terkourafi, 2005, p. 248), “unmarked behaviour” (Locher & Watts, 2005, p. 11), and “social practice” (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 73), which are then acknowledged as moral orders (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 67). Regarding the participants in the two fragments, even though they acknowledge cultural norms (e.g., *tata krama*, *andhap asor*, etc.), their historical networks create specific self-identifications, which in turn occasions different alignment gradients within the larger moral orders, in order to negotiate with their local norms. Different self-identifications lead to different pronouns.

#### *Panjenengan*

In gender relations, Javanese families’ interactions distribute personal pronouns “kowe”, “sampeyan” and *panjenengan* differently. Most Javanese husbands address their wives using “kowe” or titles in the N style when their wives use either N or M with them. Conversely, there are three variants vis-à-vis the second singular person pronoun used by Javanese wives to address their husbands in by way of the ngoko level. Javanese wives address their husbands using “kowe”, “sampeyan” or “panjenengan”. The last pronoun displays different behaviour

from “kowe” and “sampeyan”. The recorded conversations show that it can be distributed grammatically with N, M or K words, whereas the other two pronouns are distributed exclusively by the ngoko speech level.

“Panjenengan” has short-term “njenengan”, which is common in oral language. The following example reveals the applicability of “njenengan” in the N style. Given that it is an honorific KI, the differentiated lexical meaning of it distinguishes the quality of deference from the previous two N styles.

(I) D8.85-103 – appendices: 1374-1402

104. W: *Aku jane saiki blonjo -ne*  
1SG-N actually-N now-N expenditure-N my-N
105. *yo saiki yo sak, iprit,*  
PAR-N now-N PAR just-N, a little-N,
106. *paling yo mung limolas*  
at least-N PAR only-N fifteen-N
107. *kecuali yen beli ayam, lha kuwi mungkin bedo.*  
except-BI if-N buy-BI chicken-BI, PAR that-N maybe-N different-N.
108. *Buah yo saiki larang.*  
Fruit-BI PAR now-N expensive-N.
109. *Nggon -e Mbah Midi ora ono buah.*  
Place-N her-N Grandma Midi not-N exist-N fruit-BI.
110. *Mbak Sri kae rodo duwur blonjo -ne.*  
Elder sister Sri that-N rather-N high-N expenditure-N her-N.
111. *Aku dek wingi tuku*  
1SG-N on-N yesterday-N buy-N
112. *banyu sing tak kebaki sisan aku ngono*  
water-N which-N 1SG-N full-N at once-N 1SG-N like that-N
113. *paling engko yo di enggo terus*  
at least-N later-N PAR PASS-N use-N continually-N
114. *aku yo ngono. Kebak songolas setengah.*  
1SG-N PAR like that-N. Full-N nine-N half-N.
115. *Lha aku sing wira wiri yo aku dewe*  
PAR 1SG-N who-N commute-N PAR 1SG-N alone-N  
*I only spent a little on food around fiveteen, except if I bought chicken, it was different. Fruits are also expensive now. There were no fruits in grandma Midis. Miss Sri is rather more expensive. Yesterday I bought water, I filled it full because it will always be used. It was nineteen and half because I collected the water on my own*
116. H: *Engko? Sesuk?*  
Today-N? Tomorrow-N?  
*Today? Tomorrow?*
117. W: *Seminggu*  
A week-N  
*A week*
118. H: *He-eh*  
Yes-N  
*Yes*

119. W: *Lha terus suk Rebo, Rebo aku kan mulang.*  
PAR then-N next-N Wednesday, Wednesday 1SG-N PAR teach-N.
120. *Terus Kamis jjenengan ra eneng, yo wis lah*  
Then-N Thursday 1SG-KI not-N exist-N, PAR already-N PAR  
*Then next Wednesday. I will teach next Wednesday. Then on Thursday you will not be at home, so I will do it*
121. H: *Rebo aku yo ning MH*  
Wednesday 1SG-N PAR at-N MH  
*On Wednesday I will be at MH*
122. W: *Tapi sore?*  
But-N afternoon-N?  
*But will it be in the afternoon?*
123. H: *Ora awan yoan jam siji -nan.*  
not-N noon-N also-N time-N one-N approximately-N.
124. *Jam siji tekan kono*  
at-N one-N arrive-N there-N  
*No, it will be early afternoon, around one o'clock. I will arrive there at one*
125. W: *Lha terus **Njenengan** numpak opo?*  
PAR then-N 1SG-N ride-N what-N?  
*How will you get there?*
126. H: *Yo nggo mobil. Nggo mobil.*  
PAR use-N car-N. Use-N car-N.
127. *Engko jemput cah-cah bar kuwi tho*  
Later-N pick up-BI children-N after-N that-N PAR  
*I will drive the car. I will pick up the children after that*
128. W: *Terus Jumat kuwi aku arep mbalik ning anu*  
Then-N Friday that-N 1SG-N will-N return-N in-N what-N
129. *Dagangan -e pak Sena, mesakne aku.*  
merchandise-N his-N Mr. Sena, pity-N 1SG-N.
130. *Aku dewe yo gak minat. Janjin -e rong minggu.*  
1SG-N myself-N PAR not-N interest-N. Promise-N my-N two-N week-N.
131. *Rono dewe, ngidzino sopo aku engko.*  
go there-N alone-N, permit-N who 1SG-N later-N.
132. *Tekan Diraja numpak motor isuk ngono kui*  
arrive-N Diraja ride-N motorcycle-N morning-N like that-N that-N
133. *bar negeterno cah-cah langsung wae*  
after-N send-N children-N directly-N only-N  
*Then on Friday, I will return Mr. Rowan's merchandise. I feel sorry for him. I am not interested in it. My promise was for two weeks. I will go there alone, who will permit me then. I will ride my bike early in the morning to Diraja after I send the children to school*

The female participant (w) of the fragment (I) develops her talk in a way that depicts her three images of gender roles. First, she is a wife (104)-(115); under the dominant ideology of Javanese culture, a wife is the mistress of the household. The wife depicts her role as the figure who is accountable for the family's food supply. In anthropological research conducted by H. Geertz (1989 [1961]), Javanese women classify their gender roles as the figure who only

understands kitchen work (see introduction in Chapter 2); it is an expression of a humble manner rooted in *andhap asor*. This fragment elucidates the openness of a Javanese wife in describing her roles. Meanwhile, she is the holder of the family's private sectors; although she has two other responsibilities in public spaces. As the producer of the word "mulang" (N; teach) (119), she depicts her figure as a teacher. She constructs the talk (128)-(133) to describe the principal footing of her last social roles as a merchant. Even though dominant ideology expects Javanese women to inhabit private spaces as good wives and mothers, many studies have reported the ability of Javanese women to live in private and public areas concurrently (e.g. Brenner, 1995; Keeler, 1990; Srimulyani, 2012; Tickamyer & Kusujiarti, 2012).

She expresses her identity differently on pronouns "aku" (104; 111;112;114; 115; 119; 128; 130; 131) and "njenengan" (120; 125). The previous paragraph clearly assigns her footing as the producer, author, figure and principal of the conversation. As the author who constructs the conversations, she unconsciously expresses her dominant identity (i.e. a wife) via both pronouns. "Aku" is an N word, which is applicable in the N style expressing equal social identity or to address an inferior hearer. As the husband remarks in another N style, he aligns with his wife's claim of equality. "Njenengan" is an honorific word applicable in all types of speech levels, indicating respect and inferiority. Given that she produces honorific pronouns for the husband, semantically she depicts him as a highly-respected figure. The values of *empan papan*, *andhap asor* and *kurmat* (respect) (see Chapter 2) may be able to locate the gender roles in the participation footings. The first value means place consciousness, giving the producer along with the author accountability to evaluate his or her position in a conversation. "From the viewpoint of traditional Javanese belief, a person's place in the universe is predetermined" and the person should behave accordingly (Gunarwan, 2001, p. 175). Among the three gender roles, socio-culturally, the wife's position is the only network that gives her authority to act in a humble manner (*andhap asor*) vis-a-vis the male participant in the conversation. The dominant ideology expects Javanese women (particularly as wives) to submit more deference (Smith-Hefner, 1988); meanwhile the merchant world gives Javanese women images as rude and sarcastic people (Brenner, 1995). Additionally, the evaluation of place gives the wife responsibility to obey moral orders (e.g., *andhap asor*) in order to submit minimal signs of *kurmat* (respect) by producing pronoun "njenengan".

### **Conclusion**

The discussion indicates the relationship of participation order, historical relationship and moral order in the evaluation of gender and (im)politeness. Even though individual networks

potentially have contested local norms of interaction, cultural norms have a degree of influence in the individual's network. Despite stereotypical views of Javanese women as having lower spiritual potency and hence, lower social stance (see Chapter 2), the variants of code styles between Javanese husbands and wives signifies a contested evaluation of gender and politeness. They express their assessment of social roles in three ways: intimacy, intimacy with deference and deference. Javanese husbands and wives express their intimacy in the symmetrical N style. Confronting the stereotype of spiritual potency, this style designates the struggles associated with gender equality. The second type of relationship has the quality of intimacy; nonetheless, the wife increases the deference gradient through honorific or K pronouns. The last pattern of gender relationship is an asymmetric linguistic pattern where the wife submits her deference to husband in *basa* and receives the N speech level in return.

The next chapter will discuss power relations, expressed in familial interactions. It will not only analyse the type of power but also how conversants execute that power. The discussions of power within the Javanese family has indicated dichotomy of public and private spaces (see Chapter 2), which affect the expected behaviors of Javanese men and women. The next chapter will also address this issue, particularly how Javanese wives and husbands negotiate power in the two spheres.

## Chapter 4

### Gender, Im/politeness and Power Relations

#### *Introduction*

This chapter explores the relationship between gender roles, politeness and power reflected in formal aspects of relational networks between Javanese husbands and wives. Socioculturally, there is a dichotomy of power in Javanese culture, in which a husband inhabits public spaces and the wife is the proprietor of the household (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]; Handayani & Novianto, 2004; Newberry, 2013; Srimulyani, 2012; Zeitlin et al., 1995). Through anthropological approaches, researchers justify the domination of Javanese women in economic areas (Brenner, 1995; H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]); nevertheless, men who hold public areas are awarded respect (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]; Handayani & Novianto, 2004).

In the architecture of a Javanese house, men belong at the front of the house to meet guests (Newberry, 2013). This house structure symbolises public spaces for men. However, men's position does not grant privileges in relation to power, as factual power is in the hands of women (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]; Handayani & Novianto, 2004). Additionally, informality characterises women's power. They occupy the back of Javanese houses to serve food or snacks to guests and leave the house through the back door (Newberry, 2013). The back of a traditional Javanese house is usually the kitchen. H. Geertz's anecdotal data in the introduction of Chapter 2 (i.e. *lombok* and *tempe*) indicates the stereotype of the primary duty of Javanese women is as the homemaker, to serve food to all members of the family. These main responsibilities lead them to hold power over economic resources. "There are many husbands who have passively surrendered to their wives", they depend on their wives' judgment on financial matters (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]). Hence, it is hard for them to live without the presence of their wives (Handayani & Novianto, 2004, p. 123). In this type of relationship, men are the one to expose any family decisions, although women heavily influence the process to make decisions (Handayani & Novianto, 2004). Regarding politeness, several researchers indicate that Javanese culture expects women to display more deference to their husbands (Errington, 1982; H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]). Speech level, then, is one of the ways to express politeness (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002), particularly within family (Smith-Hefner, 1988) (see Chapter 3).

Power relations, negotiation and language are closely related. Discussions on negotiation theories regularly reveal the role of power in negotiations (e.g., Lawler & Yoon,

1995). “The exercise of power is assumed to occur in and around relationships, negotiating symmetrical and asymmetrical relationships between interactants” (Locher, 2004, p. 3). Moreover, communication is another valuable aspect of negotiation. Thompson, Peterson, & Kray (1995) placed communication as part of a constituent relationship of the social context of negotiation. Among available communication media, “face to face communication has the richest level of social presence” (Bazerman, Curhan, Moore, & Valley, 2000); hence, verbal language holds a vital role in power relations and negotiation. “First of all, it should be noted that language is one of the most obvious means through which power is exercised” (Locher, 2004, p. 34). “Language provides a conventional resource for influencing people’s attitudes and behaviour” (Ng & Bradac, 1993, p. 5). In the realm of social practices, conflict as a result of power exercise “can be softened by the display of politeness” (Locher, 2004, p. 1)

The Javanese language plays a crucial aspect in Javanese power relations. As discussed in Chapter 3, Javanese has speech levels, language stratifications that are predominantly to display appropriate respect among interactants. This aspect of politeness can also be cultivated for power reasons. In Chapter 3, it is obvious that some Javanese women use *basa* to address their husbands and they receive *ngoko* speech level in return from their husbands. In relation to power, “Javanese men [...] strive to cultivate politeness for the purpose of expressing their superior status and authority” (Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 535).

This chapter discusses power, which is reflected in linguistic interactions of Javanese families. The discussion focuses on types of power besides the role of Javanese language and norms in power relations. This chapter will also quantify regularity regarding power, gender and linguistic etiquettes.

### ***Power relations***

#### **Basic definition**

Power is a common term in all social aspects of human life, particularly in politics. Russell (1975, p. 26) defines power as “the production of intended effects”. Even though he uses it as a quantitative concept, he himself admits that there is no way to estimate who has more or less power. In their research, Ng & Bradac (1993, p. 3) use another term - “power to” in the same way that Russell uses power given. They divide the effect into a positive and negative sense. “In the positive sense, “power to” is the realisation of personal or collective goals”. In the negative sense, power is used to hinder someone else’s goal or achievement. The *power to* definition refers to persuasive uses of power, as they contrast it to the second type of power, specifically

*power over*. The second type of power relates to a “relational facet of power” in terms of “dominance and submission”.

“Relation” in this chapter refers to relational work, “the “work” individuals invest in negotiating relationship with others”(Locher & Watts, 2005, p. 10; 2008). The phrase “the work they invest” can be manifested in “the choices they make in interaction” and result in “identity construction” (Locher, 2013, p. 146). In two additional pieces of work, Locher & Watts define negotiating relationship as “the construction, maintenance, reproduction and transformation of interpersonal relationship among those engaged in social practice” (Locher, 2013; Locher & watts, 2008, p. 96).

At present, it is important to define power in interpersonal relationships. Fairclough (2001, p. 51) divides power as “power in” and “power behind” discourse. “Power in” refers to an exercise of power in the actual discourse (Locher, 2004, p. 35). Fairclough provides an example in the work of medical staff who exercise power over patients. Medical staff (particularly doctors) put “pressure on patients in many ways to occupy the subject position it lays down for patients, and so behave in certain constrained ways”. Meanwhile, power behind deals with “how relations of power shape and constitute the social orders of social institutions or societies” (Locher, 2004, p. 35). From Fairclough’s perspective, the doctors are not the parties who are free from power imposition. There is higher power among the medical institution or systems imposing on all of those involved (the medical staff as well as the patients). Thus, individuals within relational networks may negotiate power in actual discourse (power in), although they will be constrained by the system or institution underlying the interpersonal relationship (power behind).

In the context of this chapter, “power in” discourse emerges in recorded conversational data, as the result of the interactions of Javanese families. The patterns in these interactions, which are reflected through recurrent actions, should be rooted in “power behind” discourse, such as Javanese norms. Additionally, particular etiquette guides their relational network. Inwardly, the Javanese people are supposed to manage themselves to follow existing social norms. Outwardly, they should be able to behave (e.g. using Javanese language) appropriately in a proper context. The expected output from such etiquettes is a harmonious world. There are two principles that underlie all behaviours, specifically *rukun* (harmony) and *hormat* (respect). There is an expectation for Javanese people to behave in such a way to show respect to others and maintain harmony within society. The harmony principle guides those who have equal position, meanwhile, the respect principle leads those who have different social status, e.g.

higher and lower social status, older and younger, etc. in negotiating power (Endraswara, 2010, pp. 56-57) (for detail, see Chapter 2).

In the context of politeness, a different gradient of respect marks a different social status. The example of such respect is between a husband and a wife in a family. Traditional social strata in Javanese society tends to place women lower than men, even in an extreme case as a second social class (Handayani & Novianto, 2004) as they were less educated (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]). Conversely, men are the head of families and deserve to gain respect in their family. The use of language marks this fact. A Javanese wife should use a higher level of Javanese speech to address her husband, such as *basa antyo* (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 60). The husband may use *ngoko lugu* to address his wife. Even though both sub levels are part of the *ngoko* speech level, the wife should include *krama* and honorific words in her utterances. Meanwhile, the husband may exclusively use *ngoko* words. As discussed in Chapter 2, differentiated lexical meanings of *krama* include formal and polite aspects, while *ngoko* is non-formal and non-respect.

Other terms which are helpful in describing the manifestations of power in different speech situations are *latent network* and *emergent network* (Locher, 2004, p. 28). Latent network relates to the potential relationship between interactants which is activated “when the need arises and the conditions are favourable, but otherwise remains dormant” (Watts, 1991, p. 155). When two persons meet each other for the first time, in the future, they will apply the latent network. The information in a latent network emerges in an emergent network. The final network is an observable network during actual ongoing interaction, which is “limited in duration to the period of time taken up by the interaction” (Watts, 1991, p. 155). Watts uses a “conversational floor”, which he borrows from conversational analysis, to refer to a situated context of conversation and “anchor” to refer to person’s domination. This distinction is a valuable resource to capture the dynamics of an ongoing conversation in which “interactants will carry over their status and power from one encounter to the next (Locher, 2004).

To discuss types of power, French & Raven (1959) propose five “bases of power” in interpersonal relationships: reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, referent power and expert power. “By the basis of power, we mean the relationship between [a social agent] O and [a person] P” (French & Raven, 1959, p. 155).

*Reward power* has its roots in the ability of O to reward. This power is “based on P’s perception that O has the ability to mediate rewards for him” (p. 155-156). The strength of this power depends on (1) P’s perception in respect to what extent O can mediate the reward for

him; (2) the competence of O to manage “positive valences” and to minimize “negative valences”; (3) P’s perception of the possibility that O can mediate the reward (p. 156).

*Coercive power* is based on “P’s perception that O has the ability to mediate punishment for him” (p. 156). While reward power depends on positive valence, coercive power corresponds to negative valence. Coercive power is effective because a compliant P avoids the punishment.

*Legitimate power* is “based on the perception by P that O has a legitimate right to prescribe behaviour for him” (p. 56). Legitimate power is the most complex type of power, which includes group norms (p. 158). One common basis for a person or a social agent to have *legitimate power* over another is cultural values; O has the legitimate power to prescribe behaviour for P because he meets characteristics which are specified by culture (p. 160). “Legitimate power of O/P is defined here as that power which stems from the internalised values in P, which dictate that O has a legitimate right to influence P and that P has an obligation to accept this influence” (p. 159). Following Linton (1945), French & Raven points out that norms could be universal for everyone in the culture, or specific for a certain position, or optional, which allow members of the culture to accept or reject it (see Chapter 2).

*Referent power* depends on the ability of O to attract P to become associated with him. “The referent power of O/P has its basis in the identification of P with O. By identification, we mean a feeling of oneness of P with O, a desire for such an identity” (French & Raven, 1959, p. 161). The magnitude of attractiveness of O/P affects the degree of referent power of O/P such that “[t]he stronger the identification of P with O the greater the referent power of O/P” (p. 162).

The final type of power, *expert power*, refers to “the knowledge or perception which P attributes to O within a given area” (French & Raven, 1959, p. 163). The degree of the knowledge or perception affects the strength of the expert power of O/P. Expert power is “based on the perception that O has some special knowledge or expertness” (p. 156).

After defining the nature of power and the type of power, it is useful to discuss how to exercise power in interpersonal relationships. Locher (2004, pp. 22-23), quoting Wartenberg (1990), proposes three types of power: force, coercion and influence. *Force* includes the physical action of a party in exercising power over other persons. Wartenberg proposes the following definition:

An exercise of power by agent A over agent B is an exercise of force, if and only if A physically keeps B from pursuing the action-alternative that B wishes to pursue, or causes a certain behaviour to apply to B that B would avoid if possible (Wartenberg, 1990, p. 93 in Locher, 2004, p. 22).

The next type of power is *coercive power*, which is more subtle than the first. Coercive power is not physical power, but is apparent through threats. Wartenberg (in Locher, 2004, p. 23) gives three prerequisites (if and only if) in order for A to be able to exercise coercive power over B. The first is “A has the ability to affect B in a significant way”. The second requirement is “A threatens to do so unless B acts in a certain way”. The last is “B accedes to A’s threat and alters his course of action”.

The third power, *influence*, is the most subtle. Under the first and the second power, B does the action under physical pressure from A or threat respectively. The result of influence power is that B behaves in “a fundamental manner”.

Agent A, influences another agent B, if and only if A communicatively interacts with B in such a way that, as a result, B alters his assessment of his action-environment in a fundamental manner (Wartenberg, 1990, p. 105 in Locher, 2004, p. 24).

Force, coercion or influence may occur in combination. Wartenberg suggests two forms of influence (Locher, 2004, p. 25) - cognitive and emotional manipulation. Agent A exercises cognitive manipulation when s/he influences agent B for his/her purposes, while s/he conceals this fact. In emotional manipulation, agent A influences B by appealing to B’s emotions. This strategy enables B to make a “fully rational decision”.

Power relations may not always result in an agreement; it may cause a dispute. Hence, power is closely related to negotiation. Greenhalgh and Chapman (1995) view negotiation as a way to respond to conflict. They distinguish negotiation from power. The first results in voluntary actions, while the later results in “compliance rather than commitments”. They define negotiation as the state of a particular settlement through interactive decision-making; meanwhile “power-induced outcomes are unilateral, rather than interactive decisions.” The unilateral end of Greenhalgh and Chapman’s power is similar to *force* or *coercive* power. In this state, there are enormous differences between negotiation and power. However, if we return to Wartenberg’s power, Greenhalgh and Chapman’s negotiation is similar to *influence* power. *Influence power*, on the one hand, uses communicative interaction to affect another agent. Greenhalgh and Chapman’s negotiation, in contrast, applies interactive decision making to come to a settlement. These two terms (i.e. communicative interaction and interactive decision making) may lead to voluntary actions. *Influence* power leads the participants to decide in a fully rational manner in communicative ways, what the negotiation literature might liken to an interactive decision. On this point, negotiation is similar to *influence* power.

Thompson et al. (1995, pp. 7-9) divide the social context of negotiation into four key social factors. They are negotiation parties, social knowledge and goals, social norms and communication. The first social factor is that of negotiation parties, comprising of a configuration of parties, negotiator relationships and constituent relationships, or third parties presented in the negotiation. The next social context is the social knowledge and goals or information that the participants have concerning others in the negotiation. In this context, Thomson et al. include a person's preference, alternatives for agreement and strategies. In the context of Javanese culture, Javanese husbands and wives commonly have a strong emotional bond (Zeitlin et al., 1995), particularly those who are in a religious affiliation. Collective interests as well as religious doctrines bind them. In terms of Eliade (1961), their world is not just profane, but also sacred. In such relationships, they may share a deep latent network that is valuable for their interrelationship. The depth of information knowledge about other parties may vary depending on the age of the latent network of relationship history before or after marriage. The next context is social norms - the most powerful control over human action (Bettenhausen, 1985, p. 350). "Social norms are the belief held by members of a particular culture, organisation, group or institution that define acceptable and unacceptable behaviour" (Thompson et al., 1995, p. 9). The last part of a social context of negotiation is communication by which husbands and wives, in this research, interact with each other in Javanese language. Linguistic etiquettes and other social norms may affect this interpersonal relationship.

### **Power in Javanese culture**

The concepts of power in the previous section are not able to answer the peculiarity of power in a specific culture. For instance, Javanese people's perspective on power relates closely to their view on the nature of space. Eliade (1961) differentiates the cosmos as sacred and profane, which distinguishes the world of religious and non-religious persons respectively. These two worlds result in two distinctive characteristics of power, which distinguish power in the Western world<sup>14</sup> and Javanese culture. The definition of power in the Western world follows the "secular conception of political power" (Anderson, 1972, p. 6), meanwhile, Javanese culture

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<sup>14</sup>The Western world is made up of numerous heterogeneous societies. Anderson (1972) does not discuss whether the heterogeneity affects the heterogeneous source of power. He links contemporary Western power to historical and philosophical perspectives. "The contemporary concept of power arose historically from the need to interpret politics in a secular world" (p.5). "The idea of the heterogeneous sources of power-came into full philosophic flower with Montesquieu and his successors of the Enlightenment. What one might call the "non-zero-sum" view of power probably did not arise until the Industrial Revolution. (These datings are of course no more than rough marking-points). Thus the "modern European concept" of power outlined here is essentially the culmination of a long process of intellectual evolution" (p.5; footnote).

	Modern European concept	Javanese concept
Nature of power	Abstract	Concrete
Source of power	Heterogeneous	Homogeneous
Accumulation of power	No inherent limits	Constant
Legitimacy	morally ambiguous	Unquestionable

**Table 12: Power in Western and Javanese world**  
(Anderson, 1972, pp. 4-8)

refers to spiritual potency (Keeler, 1990). Table 13 summarises the perspectives of power in these two worlds.

Anderson argues that, within the contemporary European concept, interpersonal relationships occasion abstractions of power. Power is a concept to describe patterns of social interaction; hence, it does not “exist.” As argued by Russell, power is a struggle to produce effects. Additionally, Anderson denotes that the existence of power emerges in a situation when “men appear to obey, willingly or unwillingly, the wishes of others.” Since it refers to interpersonal relationships, it has heterogeneous sources, such as wealth, weapons, social status, organisation, etc. Another consequence of the abstraction of power is that it does not have limits inherently; it may increase or decrease beyond time and place. For instance, social status is an acknowledgement of one’s quality in his/her social relationship; when he/she loses this quality, he/she suffers from the loss of the status as well as the power. Anderson argues that the heterogeneity of sources results in an enquiry into its legitimation.

Keeler (1990, p. 131) labels power as potency, and hence, Javanese culture includes spiritual potency in its description of social relationships. Javanese people believe in spiritual potency inhabiting and controlling their cosmos. Social relationships should result in a harmonious and balanced cosmos. Power in Java comprises of devalued coercive power and “a more subtle, immaterial authority” (Keeler, 1990, p. 131). In the quest for power in an orthodox world, a spiritual concept appears in the ascetic behaviour of “yogaistic practices and extreme asceticism” (Anderson, 1972, p. 8). The yogaistic practices, such as meditation, fasting, etc., enable the doer to have self-control and immaterial power to influence others. Spiritual potency reflects itself in a poised and “smooth” demeanour.

The movement of the capital city of the Javanese kingdom reflects the relationship between power and spiritual potency. The king of the Javanese kingdom, Pakubuwono II, moved the capital city from Kartasura to Solo in his struggle to establish his political power (Errington, 1988). He argued that he had performed ascetic practices to reach the decision; hence, he had the legitimate authority of spiritual potency (see Chapter 2 for details). Meanwhile, ascetic

practices relate to purity; impurity refers to “diffusion and disintegration”, which enables someone to lose his/her power (Anderson, 1972, p. 9). In the shadow puppet (*wayang*) stories, demons and giants may have enormous power to oppose gods and men. Anderson describes how their power diffuses because of their uncontrolled passions, the behaviours that lead them to defeat.

The existence of spiritual potency occasions the central view of the Javanese that power is concrete. Anderson (1972, p. 7) argues that power is not “a theoretical postulate but an existential reality”; it is “intangible, mysterious, and divine energy which animates the universe.” Every entity in the cosmos (i.e., animate or inanimate being) has power. In this conception, he indicates that power is homogenous and constant. It is of the same type or sources, and it neither expands nor contracts. The homogeneous source of power makes its legitimacy unquestionable. Anderson argues that, among the Javanese, it is meaningless to question the legitimacy of various sources of power - either wealth or other sources.

#### Power, (im)politeness and norms

The two different natures of power bring forth an idea that power is attached to local practices. The way power emerges in relational networks reflects the way members of the networks view their world. Power should manifest itself in various aspects of social interactions by way of actions or conversation. Let us use Javanese culture as the example. Javanese people who believe in sacred spaces construct power so that it includes divine power beyond the macrocosm. To absorb the energy, one should perform ascetic practices of self-control (Brenner, 1995; Keeler, 1990) in order to keep self and social equanimity (C. Geertz, 1960). In order to create such a peaceful and harmonious world (*tata tentrem*), Javanese people should behave according to proper order (*empan papan*) (Gunarwan, 2001; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 2002). These worldviews cause Javanese people to value highly *tepo sliro* (tolerance). This term means “to put o.s. in another’s place” (Robson & Wibisono, 2013, p. 737). Gunarwan (2001) considers it as a maxim in Javanese conversation. Under this maxim, a speaker should deliver speech in the way he/she expects another to deliver speech to him/her. For instance, if she/he expects refined utterances, she/he should speak in the same manner. The description reflects that power embeds in social practices; accordingly, it should follow the particular norms of society. Under such a construct, practices to produce peculiar effects (i.e. power) are open to moral evaluation (e.g. polite, refined, impolite, rude, sarcastic, etc.). Let us scrutinise the relation in fragment (A).

(A) D18. 5308-5316 – appendices: 1709-1727

1. W : *Yo wis no. Wis iki tak ados sik arep lungo*  
Okay-N finish-N this-N I-N take a bath-N first-N will-N leave-N  
*It's okay. I want to take a bath now, as I will leave soon*
2. H : *Arep jam piro olehmu lungo?*  
Will-N time-N what-N your-N leave-N  
*What time will you leave?*
3. W : *Iki arep diampiri.*  
This-N will\_N come-N
4. *Engko metune karo sampeyan bar maghrib nukokke cah cah*  
Later-N go out-N with-N you-K after-N maghrib-AR buy-N children-N  
*My friend will pick me up. I will go with you later after maghrib to buy something for children.*
5. H : *Maghrib maghrib metu, awake iki lho?*  
Maghrib-AR Maghrib-AR leave-N, we-N this-N PAR-N  
*Why are we leaving at maghrib?*
6. W : *Lha iki sisan ngarep sisan po piye?*  
PAR-N this-N outright-N afore-N outright-N how-N  
*What about leaving now?*
7. H : *Yo isin*  
PAR-N embarrassing-N  
*It is embarrassing*
8. W : *Kok isin tho?*  
Why-N embarrassing-N PAR-N
9. *Wong methuk mamah engko terus mbablas lungo ngono lho.*  
PAR-N pick up-N mom-BI later-N then-N directly-N go-N like that-N PAR-N  
*Why are you embarrassed? You pick me up and we will go.*
10. H : *Maghrib maghrib kui lho.*  
Maghrib-N maghrib-N that-N PAR-N
11. *Wong cerak mushola, maghrib metu*  
PAR-N near-N mushola-AR, maghrib-AR go out-N  
*It's exactly at maghrib, that's the problem. We live near the mosque and we leave at maghrib*
12. W : *Bar maghrib kok engko, piye?*  
After-N maghrib-AR PAR-N later-N, how-N
13. *Nek ora sesuk yo ra popo nek kesel*  
If-N not-N tomorrow-N PAR-N no-N okay-N if-N tired-N  
*It's exactly at maghrib, that's the problem. We live near mosque and we leave at maghrib*

The wife (W) is the author who constructs a plan to buy things for their children (4). She plans to go with her husband (4) after leaving with her friend ((1) and (3)). The husband questions the timing of her plan (5). It indicates that he opposes the given time. The disagreement creates a conflict of interest. The wife, then, negotiates the time (6).

“Maghrib” (5) is the source of the conflict. This term does not only refer to the time setting, it also entails social knowledge and goals as well as social norms (see the social context of negotiation in Section 2). “Maghrib” refers to the evening prayers Muslims perform by the end of sunrise, or around 6 pm in Central Java. The time setting may bring different interpretations between religious and non-religious persons. For Muslims, this time (in addition to the other four times they pray) is sacred, as it sanctifies their world through intense communication with their divine power beyond the cosmos. These times can affect and control believers; hence, these times have an inherent power within them. Both the husband and the wife share this knowledge. Because his house is near a mosque, it is embarrassing to go out at this specific time instead of going to pray. The people in the mosque may judge their leaving negatively. Thus, the utterance in line (5) is a moral evaluation toward the wife’s intention of power in line (4). Questioning the validity of the proposed time, the husband disagrees with the wife. Rooting in the larger moral order related to sanctified times, he negatively evaluates his wife’s intention.

The wife adapts the plan to accommodate his objective. She proposes another time (i.e. before “maghrib”) (6). The word “isin” (embarrassing) in the husband’s remark (7) indicates another negative assessment, besides a denial. The remark escalates the sense of conflict because of the ambiguity of the husband’s utterance. The wife’s account (8), which questions the word “isin”, reflects the ambiguous meaning of the word. On the one hand, the wife infers that he was embarrassed to go with her. The particle “wong” (9) is a discourse marker to relate her evaluation and reasons underlying the evaluation. The sentence following the particle reflects her disappointment; there is nothing wrong with going with his own wife. Conversely, the husband’s remark (10) clarifies the meaning of “isin”, which relates to the time setting. He once again resorts to the larger moral order (i.e. “maghrib”) to express his disagreement (11), as well as his negative evaluation. He intends to say that it is the leaving time that humiliates him; thus, leaving home at that time is an embarrassing action for the husband.

The wife’s remark (12) indicates two things. First, she withdraws her prior inference on “isin” and aligns with the husband’s meaning. Second, by once again offering a specific time after “maghrib”, she offers two alternatives to her original request. However, the question word “piye” (how) reduces the gradient effect. She intentionally offers an optional remark for the husband to accept or to reject the request. She even offers to cancel her proposal until tomorrow in (13). The final clause “nek kesel” (if you are tired) reflects her empathy with the potential physical condition of her husband. The proposal in (13) is closer to the Javanese value

of *tenggang roso* (tolerance). This value has the same meaning as *tepo sliro* (Gunarwan, 2001, p. 175). To act *tenggang roso*, one should be able to understand another's feelings, to have sympathy and empathy, even if it is for the sake of greater interests, one may defer his/her intention.

Briefly, power within relational networks works together with "power behind" (i.e. moral order) the relational networks. The example depicts that in the process of acquiring power, the negotiation comes along with moral orders (i.e. *maghrib* and *tenggang roso*), which occasions moral evaluations (e.g. polite, impolite, rude, etc.). These patterns enable an analysis of gender and (im)politeness, particularly in how men and women claim their power in linguistic interactions and in how evaluation of im/politeness affects power relations. In the following section, discussions concerning gender and (im)politeness focus on types of power and the existence of norms in power relations.

### *Gender, im/politeness and power relation*

Discussions of gender and power relations in Javanese culture tend to focus upon a struggle with respect to one gender attempting to control the other (Brenner, 1995; H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]; Keeler, 1990; Koentjaraningrat, 1985). Keeler (1990, p. 130) argues that those who qualify for "judiciousness, patience, self-control, deliberate speech, spiritual potency, a refined sensibility, insight, and mystical capacity" deserve to receive prestigious social status. These qualities, in some instances, discredit the social roles of women. It is an unbalanced gender race, because women hold the authority of the household and financial management (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]); however, these responsibilities do not qualify them for the social prestige requirements (Keeler, 1990). Spiritual potency derogates money matters (see Chapter 2), a view, which opposes the social responsibility of women (i.e. financial management (Brenner, 1995; Koentjaraningrat, 1985)). These qualities inhabit *allos* (refined) world, meanwhile women are regularly involved in *kasar* (non-refined) roles, such as markets and trading. The market is a place of *kasar* language and demeanour (Brenner, 1995). Keeler (1990) describes the women's world as gossiping to send and collect information for the sake of their family. Those worlds limit them when it comes to winning the race against men in spiritual potency; they are unable to claim prestige beyond men culturally. Within such a system, which works against the merit system, stereotypically men are the winners.

The portrait of women's prestige, which "fall far short of men" (Brenner, 1995, p. 25; 2012) does not reduce women's responsibility within the family. H. Geertz narrates the struggle of a wife to protect the dignity of her husband and family.

A rather illuminating example of a common type of marital relationship concerning money was provided by pak Wiro. Wiro was perhaps somewhat more ineffectual than most Javanese; he was amiable and passive and completely without an open expression of aggressiveness ... Before the war, he said, when he was working in another city, there was a good deal of gambling among the office workers, organised by Chinese. Wiro's friend tried to persuade him to take a fling, but he said no, he didn't have any money because he had to give his entire salary to his wife. Finally, one friend said, "I will take you to a Chinese I know, and he will lend you the money to begin on," and Wiro was caught. In the beginning, he won, but after some weeks, he found himself 100 rupiahs in debt, which was a great deal in those days. Characteristically, he did nothing; he simply stopped gambling and neither paid his debt ... Soon enough the Chinese came calling on his wife ... Being very much afraid that her husband would be arrested, she finally arranged to pay each of the five Chinese Rp. 5.00 a month, half to apply on the principal and half for interest. In order to get the money she went to work, cooking and selling rice snacks and also setting up a little cigarette-rolling shop in her house (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961], pp. 123-124).

The story demonstrates the gender and power relationship of a Javanese family around the 1960's (the year of the book's publication). The husband occupies a public space by working in an office, a prestigious job in that society. Meanwhile the wife inhabits informal economic sectors, such as selling merchandise at home. The private sectors do not mean she is absent when it comes to power relations. "The dimension of responsibility for major decisions of household management ranges from dominance by the wife" (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 125). As a result of the wife's dominance, she manages family decisions including financial matters (Handayani & Novianto, 2004, pp. 122-123). Most Javanese men depend on their wives in financial judgement and "the round of domestic work is all in the hand of the wife" (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961], pp. 124-126). The women's power entails huge responsibility in which the wife in the narration suffers from expropriating the accountability of her husband's debt. Despite women's responsibility, they are subject to negative stereotypes (e.g. "emotional, crude, uncontrolled, uncontrollable, and likely to be somewhat ill-bred" (Keeler, 1990, p. 130), which make them, traditionally, unable to achieve prestige beyond men.

Even though women live under the shadow of the stereotypes of gender relations, Keeler (1990, p. 129) notes that many Javanese women achieve considerable prestige and respect in their career and public relations. Many female participants of this research confirm Keeler's finding whereby they work in the public sector, e.g., as a teacher, lecturer, treasurer of a private company, etc. The data from Statistic Indonesia (Table 13) shows that there are no great differences regarding employment in public sectors (e.g. employee) among female and male workers. The data are from regions, which account for the coverage of this research.

Regency/Municipality		Sukoharjo	Karanganyar	Surakarta
Self employed	Male	57.534	45.251	33.994
	Female	46.489	37.516	25.963
Self-employed assisted by unpaid temporary employees	Male	27.168	47.086	3.481
	Female	8.768	12.470	1.828
Employer assisted by paid permanent employees	Male	11.463	8.712	6.267
	Female	4.182	3.233	2.700
Employee	Male	100.237	84.750	77.687
	Female	78.017	65.869	54.491
Casual worker	Male	33.689	40.047	10.266
	Female	15.078	17.940	3.797
Unpaid family worker	Male	5.049	12.029	1.872
	Female	21.442	46.730	5.738

**Table 13: Population of 15 years of age and over who are working by region and employment status of the main job**  
(Statistik, 2010b)

There has been a “fair degree of fluidity” (Keeler, 1990, p. 130) in occupations in which Javanese women have equal opportunities in their careers. During Dutch colonial rule, men were preferred for administrative officer roles. Even though Koentjaraningrat (1985, pp. 275-277) does not explicitly make distinctions in respect to gender roles, he refers to qualified “sons of administrative officials” and “sons of peasants” who were able to hold the jobs. Because the Dutch government included school qualifications in its bureaucracy reform, the word “son” indicates men had greater opportunities in education. In 2014, the gender distribution of civil servants in the Indonesian government in Central Java (the research setting) demonstrates near equality of opportunity for both genders. The gap is only 6.2 %, in which there are 53.1% male civil servants and 46.9% females (Statistik, 2016). The data also suggests a fluidity or equality in other sectors, e.g., education, which is a requirement for being a civil servant.

To see gender relations as well as the degree of gender fluidity in current Javanese families, the following fragment (B) depicts woman’s authority in private spaces, besides in the public sector. The picture does not mean to generalise Javanese families, although the conversation conforms to other data (compare Tables 13 and 14). Lines (14)-(18) notify legitimate power (French & Raven, 1959, p. 155), particularly the existence of norms in power relations. They also inform gender relations in Javanese culture, as well as the wife’s world of private spaces. Lines (20)-(28) communicate the responsibility of the wife outside private spheres.

(B.1) D.8 2760-2767 – appendices: 1483-1505

14. W: *Lha iki berarti ibu durung Bah? Empat lima puluh*  
PAR-N this-N mean-BI mom-N not yet-N dad-BI? Four-BI five-BI ten-BI  
*So, Mom has not been included Dad? Four hundred and fifty.*
15. H: *Belum, yo durung*  
Not yet-BI, yes-N not yet-N  
*No, not yet.*
16. W: *Sik sik!*  
Later-N later-N!  
*Wait a moment!*
17. H: *Yo aku tak ning anu sik ATM sik nak anu*  
PAR-N I-N will-N to-N what-N first-N ATM-BI first-N if-N what-N  
*So, I will go to the ATM first.*
18. W: *Yo sesuk ae*  
PAR-N tomorrow-N PAR-N  
*It's better to do it tomorrow morning*
19. H: *Heh?*  
What-N  
*What?*
20. W: *Ra kesusu.*  
No-N hurry-N

The first part of the fragment (14)-(20) shows the wife's role in managing household matters. The wife (W) is the author of financial management, meanwhile the husband is the target, as well as the accounter, the person who holds social responsibility for the wife's utterances. At the beginning of the fragment (line 14), the wife reminds the husband of his responsibility toward his mother in an indirect utterance; she uses an interrogative sentence to express her request. The interrogative utterance implies low power force, as it gives options for the husband to accept or to reject the request. Referring to the larger moral order, the wife demands the husband operate according to his social responsibility. In the dichotomy of public and private spaces (see Chapter 2), men, as the head of the household, are responsible for meeting the economic needs of the family. Women, as the ruler of the private area are accountable for household management in addition to financial matters. In general, Javanese men are not good with money and depend on their wives to manage it (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]).

The indirection in the wife's request (for the regularity of indirection in power relation, see Table 15) conforms to Javanese etiquettes (see Figure 5). The willingness of the husband to fulfil the wife's request (17) indicates his positive evaluation regarding how his wife negotiates her power. He positively evaluates the indirect request occasioning low power force. In Javanese culture, all information entails conflict (Keeler, 1990), and brings considerable risks. On this point, power management is required to minimise the conflict. There are popular wise words in

Javanese culture, *ngono yo ngono ning ojo ngono* (Padmodiningrat, 2014). The word “ngono” (like that) is a generic word, which may flexibly refer to many aspects of human behaviour. In the power relation, this aphorism may mean that someone may have the authority to execute power, but one should execute it properly in a humble manner. Any improper execution of power may result in conflict, which in turn disturbs social equanimity. This proverb relates closely to the moral order of *tepo sliro*. Any power execution should consider the serenity of another’s feelings. Power should not occasion *isin* (ashamed) to the other side.

Returning to the fragment, as the wife does not include the setting of time in her request (14), the husband intends to execute his social accountability at that very moment (17). The wife’s remarks in lines (18) and (20) fix the misunderstanding.

(B.2) D.8 2760-2767 – appendices: 1483-1505

21. *Jane arep tuku kain lho pak aku. Aku rasah dodol ae.*  
Actually-N will-N buy-N cloth-N PAR-N dad-N I-N. I-N not-N need-N sell-N PAR-N
22. *Tak pikir-pikir aku saiki okeh mulange dadine wis aku wis ora biyen.*  
I-N think-N I-N now-N many-N teach-N so-N already-N I-N already-N not-N past-N
23. *Soale opo wis aku nggarap gawean mulang kui*  
Because-N what-N already-N I-N do-N work-N teach-N that-N
24. *kethoke wis akeh ki Bah. Jane yo seneng malah,*  
look-N already-N many-N PAR-N dad-AR. Actually-N PAR-N happy-N really-N
25. *malah tak pikir-pikir opo jahite sing tak budal aku ngono.*  
Really-N I-N think-N what-N stitching-N will-N I-N finish-N I-N like that-N
26. *Wah nek wis metu ngono kesel tenan karo tekan omah*  
PAR-N if-N already-N go out-N like that-N tired-N really-N and-N arrive-N home-N
27. *wis blas ra niat jahit lho [chuckle]. Aku tak mulang.*  
Already-N at all-N not-N intend-N stitching-N PAR-N [chuckle]. I-N will-N teach-N  
*Don't be in such a hurry. Actually, I want to buy cloth Dad (a vocative for a husband). I think I don't want to sell anymore. I think I spend too much time teaching now, not like previously. I think there are many duties as a teacher Dad. Actually, I enjoy it, I think I will stop my job as a tailor. I was exhausted from all the work I did outside. When I arrived home, I did not have any intention to sew (laugh). Let me be a teacher.*
28. H: *Utamane mulang kui*  
Primary-N teach-N that-N  
*Teaching is the main job.*

The second part of the fragment (21) – (28) expresses the fluidity of public spaces. Now the wife is the author who constructs the course of her life. She claims her freedom to arrange her public figure. She decides to be a teacher in the final utterance of line (27) “Aku tak mulang” (I want to teach); she prefers to be a teacher instead of her other public roles. The interesting part is how she manages information to execute her power. In this discourse (regulated conversation), she presents many introductions (e.g., 21-23), even with laughter (27), before she

Patterns of power relations in Javanese families	
Utterance(s) or actions indicating:	Frequency
Wife in housework	45
Husband in house work	6
Reduction of imposition	25
Indirection	48
Directness	11
In between target (giving (un)related information to an intention gradually prior to stating the intention explicitly)	6
Communal interest	18
Circular talks	5

**Table 14: Utterances indicating power relation**

comes to her intention. This demeanour conforms to Keeler’s narration of the Javanese marriage proposal (1990). He describes the ways Javanese deliver their intention.

We made small talk for about half an hour. Eventually Pak Cerma broached the subject of marriage between Jarno and Marni, speaking in a refined style and with a light and even jocular tone that nevertheless teetered on the officious. Marni’s father, Pak Lasimin, responded that he was certainly very honoured by the proposal but that he would have to talk the matter over with the girl’s mother, and with Marni herself. We continued to speak of a variety of unrelated, and rather mild, topics for another hour, and then took our leave (Keeler, 1990, p. 135).

The conformity of a “beating around the bush” introduction reflects the Javanese frame of delivering their intention, particularly one that consists of considerable risk of “*isin*” (cf. Table 15). Conforming to the frame, lines (21)-(27) introduce longer reasons underlying her decision. It also indicates her awareness of the importance of consulting her husband in her major decision related to the public space (cf. H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]). It is the *tata krama* (etiquette) of a wife toward her husband. Some other fragments also reveal a wife’s similar behaviour toward her husband. The agreement of the husband (28) does not only approve the wife’s intention, it also reflects the alignment toward the fluidity of public spaces, which traditionally belongs to the husband.

It should be noted that increasing numbers of women in public sectors do not necessarily change the social role of women as the mistress of the household. Table 14 indicates the significant involvement of Javanese women in housework. Srimulyani (2012) provides an example of these multistranded roles. She explains that *nyai* (the wife of *kyai*, the leader of a traditional Islamic boarding school) must finish her responsibilities at home before undertaking any duties and/or appointments outside the home. This provides a picture of Javanese culture,

which does not give up the dichotomy of head of the family (men) and household work (women) despite its fluidity in the nature of public space. The inclusion of women in public space entails their responsibility in private spaces (household). In other words, those women who decide to be professional workers must not give up their responsibility as the mother of their children and the wife of their husband, which are typically related to household work.

Concerning power relations, fragment B used indirection to influence others using low power force. Table 14 suggests that indirection has the highest regularity in power relations. In the other words, it is the norm in power relations among Javanese people. This pattern is closer to *influence* power to affect others communicatively. Fragment (B), as well as Table 14 also suggest other ways to execute *influence* power, specifically reducing the imposition of power, expressing communal interest, circular talks, and in between target (revealing (a) fact(s) or information gradually, which is/are not the main intention, in order to reach the main target communicatively). In regard to other types of power, the next two fragments (C) and (D) give examples of the power bases within Javanese familial interaction.

Fragment (C) depicts gender roles of a dual career family in which both husband and wife occupy public spaces as a lecturer and a teacher respectively. Through his question (29), the husband (H) assigns a social role to his wife (W). The question presupposes two responsibilities; first, that cooking is not the social responsibility of man and second, the wife does not fulfil her responsibility to cook. Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 140) describes how Javanese men “usually take little interest in the day-to-day household routine”. The question (29) is not only a way to seek information; it is a social claim pertaining to gender roles. On the side of the counter (i.e. the wife), it clarifies her responsibility at home to serve food for her family. The negative (“ora” (N; not)) interrogative amplifies the gender role of the wife to cook. Referring to the second presupposition, the husband reminds her of her social accountability. The word “ora” decreases the enforcement quality of the gender role. The interrogative makes an indirect request to cook and the “ora” lowers the force of the request. It amplifies the gender role because it indicates repetition of the wife’s action; the husband notices that the wife does not undertake her routines (i.e. cooking); hence, he utters the negation of the routine (i.e. not cooking) to remind her.

(C) D8. 2745-2757 – appendices: 1453-1477

29. H: *Ora masak?*  
Not-N cook-N  
*Are you not cooking?*
30. W: *Masak opo?*

- Cook-N what-N  
*What should I cook?*
31. H: *Nasi goreng*  
Rice-BI fried-N  
*Fried rice*
32. W: *Ora masak nasi goreng wis telung dino*  
Not-N cook-N rice-BI fried-N already-N three-N day-N  
*I have not cooked fried rice for three days*
33. H: *Heh?*  
What-N  
*What?*
34. W: *Aku dek wingi wis tuku tempe, bayem wis tak pethiki*  
I-N yesterday-N already-N buy-N tempe-N, spinach-N already-N I-N cut-N  
*I bought tempe (soy bean cake) yesterday, I have cut spinach into smaller pieces.*
35. H: *Hmm*  
ehmm  
*what*
36. W: *Pe njangan bening*  
Will-N cook-N clear broth-N  
*I will cook "jangan bening".*
37. H: *Yo wis ra po-po*  
Alright-N okay-N  
*Okay, that's alright*
38. W: *Engko bue wae engko njenengan golek mangan*  
Later-N mom-N only-N later-N you-KI search for-N eat-N  
*You can go shopping later to buy some food for mom*
39. H: *Bue bayem yo ra po-po mangan*  
Mom-N spinach-N okay-N eat-N  
*Spinach is also okay for mom*
40. W: *Lha isuk-isuk bayem*  
PAR-N morning-N spinach-N  
*Is it okay to have spinach for breakfast?*
41. H: *Ra po-po*  
okay-N  
*It is okay*

The wife's remark (30) offers H the chance to suggest a dish. It also expresses her agreement to her husband's assessment of her gender roles (i.e. cooking). The next turns constitute a power negotiation between the head of the household (i.e. the husband) and the mistress of the household (i.e. the wife). In (29) and (31), the husband has authority to remind her to cook, as well as to request what to cook. In (32), the wife gives partial remarks. The husband asks her to cook fried rice at the time of speaking but she informs him that she did it three days ago. This statement implies that (1) she refuses to cook the fried rice and (2) cooking is her routine gender role. She does not only prepare food for the day (see line (36)), she also did it three days ago; which indicate repeated actions. The *heh* (what) (33) implies that the

husband does not completely understand the wife's meaning. Instead of explaining the meaning of her utterance (32), she negotiates what to cook with the husband ((34) and (36)). She knows that the husband wants fried rice but she has prepared other dishes (34). To reject the husband's request, she does not do it directly (for instance by saying "no"). She begins to negotiate the meal by informing him about what she has done (i.e. she has bought the fermented soybean (*tempe*) and what she is doing (i.e. she is preparing the spinach). The *hmm* in the husband's answer (35) may indicate that he is listening and fulfils his role as a ratified recipient. Finally, she notifies him that she will cook *jangan bening* (36); the spinach is cooked in a light and clear (*bening*) broth. The husband agrees with the wife's proposal (37).

Fragment (C) illustrates how the wife communicatively interacts with the husband to claim her power. It once more exhibits effective indirection to obtain *influence* power. She does not express her objection to the husband's request explicitly. She only provides information to help the husband build his rational decision.

While fragment (C) informs the role of the wife as the holder of household works, the "degree of fluidity" does not only occur in the public space, some or many Javanese husbands also occupy minor roles in household work (cf. Table 14). On a certain occasion, when necessary, husbands may also be involved in household needs, such as cooking, ironing, washing, or shopping in the market (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961], p. 123; Keeler, 1990). The recorded conversation (D) confirms such behaviours. The conversation will be divided into two sections (D.1) and (D.2).  
(D.1) D8. 2846-2868 – appendices: 1535-1552

42. H: *Pedes ra bu?*  
Spicy-N not-N mom-N  
*Is it spicy Mom?*
43. W: *Heh? Muantab*  
What-N great-BI  
*What? Great.*
44. H: *Heh?*  
What-N  
*What?*
45. W: *Pedes bianget*  
Spicy-N extremely-N  
*It's extremely hot*
46. H: *Pedes bianget?*  
Spicy-N extremely-N  
*Is it extremely hot?*
47. W: [not clear]
48. H: *Mosok bu?*  
Really-N mom-N  
*Are you sure Mom?*

49. W: Enak yo wok, nduk  
Delicious-N PAR-N vocative-N vocative-N  
*It's delicious, isn't it wok, nduk<sup>15</sup>?*
50. H: Biasane ra pedes  
Usually-N not-N spicy-N  
*It's not usually hot.*
51. W: [not clear] Kok mboten pedes. Pedes bianget.  
PAR-N not-K spicy-N. spicy-N extremely-N
52. Tapi yen oseng-osenge mboten pedes  
But-BI if-N name of food-N not-N spicy-N  
*[not clear] Is it not spicy? It is extremely hot. But the oseng-oseng (food) is not spicy.*

Lines (42)-(52) notifies that both husband and wife are having breakfast. The meal is extremely spicy. It is common in Javanese families and, in general, Indonesian families to have lots of chilies on their food. It is even common to have *sambal*, blended and crushed chilies, to accompany their food. In this fragment, the husband is the author who introduces the spicy food and his role in preparing the breakfast. As he is the one who buys the food from the nearest take away shop, he holds the principal of the spicy food. Line (48) expresses his shock and regret when he realises that the food does not meet his expectations (50).

(D.2) D8. 2846-2868 – appendices: 1555-1571

53. H: Hmm. Uantri. Aku antri telu  
Queue-N. I-N queue-N three-N  
*Ehmm. It was extremely crowded. I was number three in queue.*
54. W: Yah mene yo biasa jam enem, ngantri. Jam setengah enem niko  
Time-N now-N PAR-N usually-N hour-N six-N, queue-N. hour-N half-N six-N that-M  
*It's common at this hour, crowded. It's not crowded at 5.30 am.*
55. H: Ngantri telu. Teko wong siji, eh ndesel ik ning ngarepku.  
Queue-N three-N. come-N person-N one-N, PAR-N enter-N PAR-N in front of me-N
56. Aku yo meneng ae. Tapi bu Satriyo wis ngerti  
I-N PAR-N silence-N PAR-N. but-N Mrs.-N name already-N know-N  
*I was number three in the queue. There was one person arrived then, but s/he stood in front of me. I just kept silent, but Mrs. Satriyo knew it.*
57. W: Ngerti mesti mulane sopo ngono  
Know-N exactly-N beginning-N who-N like that-N  
*She usually knows who comes first.*
58. H: Ngerti dee  
Know-N she-N  
*She knew it*
59. W: Bu Satriyo mudeng  
Mrs.-N name understand-N  
*Mrs. Satriyo knew it*
60. H: Bar kui terus gugetan telu, wong papat opo wong limo  
After-N that-N then-N come-N three-N people-N four-N what-N person-N five-N  
*After me, there were three people then, four or five*

<sup>15</sup> “Wok” and “nduk” are vocative for a daughter.

61. W: *Niki antrine sinten, ngono biasane ngono. Kulo bu.*  
 This-M queue-N who-K like that-N usually-N like that-N. I-K Mrs.-N  
*Whose turn is it, It is usually like that. It's me mom.*

There is a changing of topic in (53), the shifting that obviously refers to the involvement of the husband in household matters. The particle “hmm” (53) introduces the shifting. It ends when he stops the discussion on spicy food and moves to the next topic related to obtaining the food. The word “uantri” is from the word “antri” (N; queue). The prefix “u-” boosts the quality of the queue. The next utterance (“aku antri telu”; I am number three in the queue) clarifies the quality of the “u-”. The pronoun “aku” (N; I) demonstrates the existence of the husband’s role at breakfast. It makes him the figure who brings the breakfast. As serving food is deemed to belong to the world of a wife (see fragment C), this utterance may also signify his acknowledgement toward the fluidity of private spaces. There is no objection on his side to participating in the private works. The wife’s remark (54) elucidates the degree of the husband’s involvement in the household world. The word “biasa” (N; usually) explains the existence of two entities. First, it explicitly modifies the last word “ngantri” (the verb form of “antri” or queue). Second, it implicitly refers to the wife’s habit. The word is valid when the producer experiences it in a shop queue. In other words, the wife regularly exists in the queue to get breakfast. Her historical existence in the shop gives her knowledge about the quality of the queue (i.e. the peak and low hours). Regarding gender roles, it informs her major roles and the marginal position of the husband in the household world. The regularity aligns her to larger moral orders, which gives the primary authority of the household to women. In the ensuing turns (55)-(61), the husband remains the figure when he makes Mrs. Satriyo (the shopkeeper) the co-figure or the potential target. When he introduces the role of Mrs. Satriyo (56), the wife confirms the quality of service provided by Mrs. Satriyo. Another “biasa + ne” (N; usually) in line (61) expresses the quality of knowledge the wife has. Again, this knowledge requires historical habitual actions; the action that accentuates her main roles of social responsibility when it comes to household works.

Referring to French and Raven (1959, pp. 158-163), power relations in the two fragments ((C) and (D)) are closely related to “legitimate”, “expert” and “referent” power. In fragment (C), the husband is the social agent of O and the wife is person P. The wife follows the Javanese value that, as a wife, she has an obligation to cook for her family. The internalised values give legitimate power to the husband to raise the question in (29), which implies a request to the wife to cook. Culturally, the value is “universal” for Javanese women (see Chapter 2). The wife, nonetheless expresses an obligation to accept it in line (30). However, the influence of the

legitimate power of the husband decreases when he requests fried rice (31). The wife negotiates what to cook using a statement in lines (32), (34), and (36). The statements imply her refusal to cook the fried rice. The implicitness (see Chapter 2) has a smooth and powerful influence on the husband. This type of utterance minimises the risk of the husband losing face. In utterance (36), “the opposing forces induced by another person or by P’s own needs [i.e. the wife] are stronger, then P [the wife] [...] locomotes in an opposite direction (i.e. O [the husband] does not have control over P[the wife])” (French & Raven, 1959, p. 151 emphasis added). The husband, then, agrees to accept the wife’s *influence* power (37).

There are two additional sources of legitimate power in fragment (C), which are rooted in Javanese culture. The first is the position of the husband as the head of family, who should be responsible for the welfare of the family. This position gives him legitimate power to interfere in the wife’s responsibility to a certain degree (e.g. ask her to cook). The second is the place of the wife as the holder of household work. The second source of power actually does not oppose the husband’s intervention. However, the second source of the legitimate power occasions derivative power. The responsibility as the holder of private areas creates the wife’s expertise in household works (e.g. cooking). H. Geertz (1989 [1961]) describes how Javanese women have responsibility for preparing and cooking food for the family, besides financial matters. The introduction of Chapter 2 (i.e. *Lombok* and *tempe*) reflects the expertise of Javanese women in the kitchen. As the two conversants negotiate power in the private sphere, in the context of the fragment, the expert power of the wife is stronger than the husband’s legitimate power (i.e. requesting fried rice). In other words, the legitimate power may give the husband power to remind the wife to cook but the wife has greater knowledge in deciding what to cook.

Another type of power, which potentially strengthen the wife’s influence on cooking (fragment (C)), is referent power. It may relate to family and marriage ties. As the husband in (C) is closely associated with the wife, his acceptance (37) could be intended “to maintain this relationship” (French & Raven, 1959, p. 161). Fragment (D) also indicates the existence of referent power in this family. The wife in (D) expresses the “feeling of oneness” by giving a compliment (49) even though she argues about the taste of the food, provided by the husband ((46), (51)). With regards to membership of the family and marital status, it does not mean to say that the effect of the membership and the status are the same for all Javanese families. The historical relationship between the couple or within a family may occasion different degrees of “oneness” from one couple or family to another. In case of the fragment (C), the combination of

the linguistic expressions (implicit utterances), the “expert” and “referent” power of the wife result in more pressure on the husband to agree with the wife.

The analysis of the two fragments using French and Ravens’ bases of power provide some significant information. *First*, a social agent may use several different types of power in a single action in order to produce a more powerful influence. *Second*, the internalised values relate the emergent network (or power in) to the latent networks (or power behind). Cultural values or group norms play significant roles in producing (an) intended influence(s) in a particular conversation. “Since legitimate power is based on P’s values, the source of the forces induced by O include both these internal values and O” (French & Raven, 1959, p. 161). *Third*, the internalised values (i.e. norms) are not only the source of legitimate power, they also govern how to obtain the power verbally or non-verbally. The example is the implicitness in (C), which reflects Javanese etiquette (see Table 5). Fourth, in relation to gender in Javanese culture, women, who are depicted as inferior (see Chapter 2), do not always have “high dependence on O” but they “may become independent” (French & Raven, 1959, p. 161). “Here, however, the degree of dependence is not related to the level of observability” (French & Raven, 1959, p. 161). The wife, depicted as a homemaker in (C), who culturally has a lower position than the husband (see Chapter 2), becomes independent and influences the husband (i.e. to accept her offer).

The discussion concerning the two fragments (C) and (D) confirms the existence of Javanese norms, which place women as the mistress of household work, and its legitimate power on Javanese gender relationships. These fragments also provide valuable information that the authority shared in private spaces between a wife-husband varies among Javanese families. In (C), the husband has the legitimacy to deliver a proposal in household matters but the wife has the authority to reject it. His footing as the author of the request regarding food preference, indicates that the wife is the power holder of the food plan. In (D), the wife distributes her responsibility to her husband, though in a minor scale. Referring to the discussion of spiritual potency in which household works, market and money may degrade one’s mystical power, the husband agrees to downgrade the quality of his spiritual potency. Living in a woman’s world is embarrassing for some men. Additionally, a friend explained that her husband was unwilling to do household work. It may occasion an *isin* (embarrassing) state in his world. To provide the contested nature of gender roles, in the next fragment (E), the husband, who has better knowledge of cooking, sustains his wife’s authority in household work.

(E) D10. 3073-3096 – appendices: 1775-1797

62. W: *Enak rak mas anune bregedele?*  
Delicious-N not-N brother-N what-N name  
*What do you think mas (brother; a vocative for a husband)? Was the bregedel good?*
63. H: *Enak ra nek aku ning omah*  
Delicious-N PAR-N if-N I-N at-N home-N  
*It's good when I am at home.*
64. W: *Huu.*
65. *Cuma sing angel iki nggawene buletan buletan kui lho*  
Only-N which-N difficult-N this-N make-N roundness-BI that-N PAR-N
66. *lengkat kabeh nek tangan*  
sticky-N all-N on-N hand-N  
*Huu. It is just difficult to round them. They were sticky in hands.*
67. H: *Ho oh*  
Yes-N  
*You're right*
68. W: *Kan pas belum dikasih telur kui iso pulen ora lengket*  
PAR-N when-N not yet-BI was given-BI egg-BI that-N able-N fluffy-N not-N sticky-N  
*When I haven't mixed them with eggs, they were fluffier and not sticky*
69. H: *Aku ora tak ngonokke kok.*  
I-N not-N do-N like that-N PAR-N
70. *Dadi tak jemplungke ning sendok terus tak dorong goreng ngono ora terus*  
So-N I-N put-N on-N spoon-N then-N I-N push-BI fry-N like that-N not-N  
continue-N  
*I didn't do such thing. So, I put it in a spoon and fried it*
71. W: *Tak bundet-bundet suwe banget no*  
I-N round-N long-N very-N PAR-N  
*I took longer time to round them*
72. H: *Yen aku bulet-bulet ngono susah kelet ning tangan*  
If-N I-N round-BI like that-N difficult-N sticky-N on-N hand-N  
*it was difficult If I rounded them like that. Sticky on my hands*
73. W: *He eh lengket kabeh*  
Yes-N sticky-N all-N  
*Yes, they were all sticky*
74. H: *Nganggone sendok loro.*  
Use-N spoon-N two-N
75. *Sing siji nggo jikuk koyok wong dodol es tung-tung ngono kae lho*  
the-N one-N use-N take-N like-N person-N sell-N ice-N cream-N like-N that-N PAR-N  
N  
*I used two spoons. One was to scoop like an ice cream seller.*
76. W: *Ho oh yo suk neh ngono*  
Yes-N PAR-N next time-N again-N like that-N  
*Yes, I'll do that next time*

Fragment (E) is an abstract from a dual career family whereby the husband is a salesperson and the wife is a teacher. They are discussing “bregedel”, which is an Indonesian food made from potato, meat mince and eggs, and rounded just like a small hamburger. The first utterance (62) assumes that she has just cooked the bregedel; an action that confirms her

responsibility at home. Her question may indicate her lower degree of self-confidence. There are two possibilities here. First, it is the first time she has cooked bregedel, or at least she does not have adequate experience of cooking it. Second, she failed in previous trials. The second premise is closer in meaning to the husband's jocular remark (63). The word "nek" (N; if) provides the condition for the existence of "enak" (N; delicious). The prerequisite is the clause following "nek". The utterance has two meanings. First, the bregedel is good because it fulfils the requirement (i.e. he is at home). Second, he proposes the prerequisite because he experienced an inferior bregedel when he was not at home (i.e. during the process of cooking). The premises inform us that, as she works as a teacher, she is struggling to fulfil her responsibility in relation to household work (i.e. cooking). The "hu:~" in line (64) expresses the wife's disagreement regarding the prerequisite. Lines (65) and (66) underline the first inference that she does not have adequate knowledge of cooking bregedel and that she experiences obstacles in rounding it. The husband's remark (67) informs his adequate experience in cooking bregedel. Disagreeing with the wife's mode (69), he has his own technique in rounding it (70), (74) and (75).

The fragments (B), (C), (D) and (E) reflect negotiations of gender, politeness and power in private spheres. Chapter two describes the struggle of the dominant ideology to domesticate Javanese women. The result of domestication is the dichotomy of the public space and the private sector. Men are interested in matters outside homes and leave the home to the management of women. Despite its boundary spaces concerning household work, women enjoy freedom and authority in their gender roles (Brenner, 1995; Keeler, 1990).

I experienced living with farmers around twenty-thirty years ago in a small village in Central Java. For the landowner (e.g. my mother), the wife prepared meals for those who worked cultivating her land. The husband led and worked together with the workers. It was women workers who primarily planted the rice or "tandur" and were paid. Prior to tandur, men were responsible for ploughing the land. This anecdote informs us that, in rural areas, women have higher involvement in economic sectors. Historically, they have experience in public areas. Hence, it is not surprising when, in the emergent setting of conversation, women are able to negotiate their public spaces against the dominant ideology.

Many families involved in this research are dual career families. It means that they are able to negotiate men to share public spaces with them. The popular term for their involvement in public space is *wanita karir* (literally career women; professional) referring to their struggle to pursue their career or occupation outside the home. This term only refers to women who



**Picture 4: Rice planting or “tandur”**  
(Antara & Nugroho, 2015)

work in industrial and service sectors or government officials, commonly in urban areas. This term excludes women who work in the farming sectors. However, they have to pay for the achievement of the negotiation. Their involvement in public spaces does not eradicate the dominant ideological views on women as the mistress of the household (at least for the time being). Consequently, they must inhabit public and private spaces at once. Srimulyani (2012) states that household works do not limit their existence in a professional career. Compared to men, who do not have social responsibility regarding household works, they have a larger burden in gender roles. To reduce the burden, there is constant negotiation in private spaces. The involvement of men in household work in the fragments (C), (D) and (E) reflects the gender negotiation. There has been a struggle to invite men to inhabit the private area in familial networks. Nevertheless, Javanese women have negotiated to share their authority with men.

Fragment (C) offers an example of how the wife negotiates to distribute her authority in food preparation (38). This negotiation of authority in turn requires an evaluation of appropriateness. As, historically, men have been reluctant to occupy private sectors, the distribution of social responsibility of household works is not only a matter of power relations. There is possibly the risk of *isin* (embarrassing). Therefore, the role of politeness is to minimise

the risk. The fragments indicate that low power force utterances are preferable when executing power to others, even if it is possible in circular introductions. The following two fragments (F) and (G) reflect this frame.

(F) D19. 5792-5795 – appendices: 1841-1856

77. W: *Sesuk ki kowe mangkate jam setengah wolu, ra popo tho?*  
 Tomorrow-N PAR-N you-N leave-N hour-N half-N eight-N okay-N  
*Tomorrow you leave at 8.30 am, is that okay?*
78. H: *Heh?*  
 What-N  
*What?*
79. W: *Ngurusi Ontosena ki engko nek sesuk rewel tho?*  
 Take care-N name-N PAR-N later-N if-N tomorrow-N fussy-N PAR-N  
*Taking care of Ontosena if he is fussy*
80. H: *Yo sing penting terke rono sik lah*  
 PAR-N which-N important-N send-N there-N first-N PAR-N  
*Just send him there first. It's the most important thing.*
81. W: *Lha iyo. Ngenteni Srikandi tekan sekolahan sik ngono lho.*  
 PAR-N yes-N wait-N name until-N school-N first-N like that-N PAR-N
82. *Dadine kan ngurusi Srikandi, kowe ngurusi Ontosena*  
 So-N PAR-N take care-N name-N you-N take care-N name-N  
*Yes, it is. I'll send Srikandi to her school. So, I'll be with Srikandi, You will be with Ontoseno*
83. H: *Apane? aku?*  
 What-N I-N  
*What? Me?*
84. W: *He eh*  
 Yes-N  
*Yes, you are*
85. H: *aku yo wis telat. Wong jatahku senin ning Blambangan kok*  
 I-N PAR-N already-N late-N PAR-N my schedule-N Monday-N in-N name PAR-N  
*I will be late. I will be in Blambangan on Monday*

Fragment (F) is the example of a power relation characterised by a low power force and circular introduction (see Table 14 for regularity of the actions in the data). The wife (W) fails to execute her power to her husband (H). The wife intends to distribute her authority in household work to the addressee (e.g., the husband). Prior to this fragment (see appendices), the wife is the principal who is responsible for offering meals to her husband. Finding her husband has just finished his food, she shifts the footing to make the husband the target, who is responsible for their children's welfare ((80)-(81)). She proposes future action besides negotiating her power to her husband. She introduces her power to rearrange the husband's schedule for next day (77). The question tag decreases the power force of the utterance from definite to indefinite circumstances. It is undeniable that she wants her husband to leave the house at 8.30 tomorrow

morning. The question tag offers him adequate authority to dis/agree. She may root her actions in *andhap asor* and *tepo sliro* (see Chapter 2). Within the frame of moral order of *andhap asor*, it is preferable to denigrate one's quality over others. In this case, she does not only degrade the power force, she also aligns with *tepo sliro* to consider the trouble she may cause her husband if she imposes her power. The remark in line (78) indicates a request from the husband to give further explanation for her utterance. The utterance (77) is the introduction, which requires the target (i.e. the husband) to question the reason underlying the introduction. There is a circular way to come to the main intention (81). Lines (79) and (80) inform shared knowledge on a certain future action. The line (79) presumes that they have a son and she has had an uncomfortable emotional experience with her son. She intends to make him the holder of social responsibility to minimise the uncomfortable experience. In remark (80), the husband disagrees with her and returns the responsibility to her. She considers that the husband does not completely understand her utterance. She clarifies that her main intention is that the husband accompanies her son while she sends their daughter to school (81). He remarks (85) that his agenda the next day is visiting markets in Blambangan. His statement informs that he risks being late if he accepts the request. In other words, he rejects the proposal and hence, she fails to negotiate her power.

The conversation is in symmetric N style, which indicates intimacy and equality. The fluidity in linguistic style does not change the nature of gender roles as prescribed by larger cultural values. The "legitimate power" of the household work gives her authority to share her social responsibility in the children's education. As there is no evaluation of improper traits, both parties assess the negotiation process as proper. The failure of the negotiation does not lay in the inappropriate demeanours; rather there is a boundary for the husband to fulfil the wife's invitation.

Sharing the primary intention gradually is a way to express a low power force (offering an in between target before reaching the main target). The wife in (F) introduces a "surface" premise (77) that is not her main intention. The addressee is unable to conclude the invitation without questioning the surface premise. The question-answer of the surface premise leads to the main intention (81) gradually. Similar to (F), the wife in (G) has another circular way to accomplish her main targets. It seems that the producer who intends to be the author of a proposal of intention does not deliver a full disclosure of intention; rather she prefers to release the clarity of the intention gradually.

(G) D9. 3006-3008 – appendices: 1617-1635

86. W: *Sampeyan wis selo durung?*  
You-M already-N spare time-N not yet-N  
*Do you have spare time or not?*
87. H: *Yo nek saiki rung, suk Minggu paling. Ngopo tho?*  
PAR-N if-N now-N not yet-N next-N Sunday-N probably-N why-N PAR-N  
*Not now, maybe next Monday. What's wrong?*
88. W: *Kamare etan kethokke ora rapi tur kurang resik*  
The room-N east-N look-N not- tidy-N and-N less-N clean-N  
*It seems that the east room is not tidy and less clean.*
89. H: *Ra resik piye to? Opo?*  
Not-N clean-N how-N PAR-N what-N  
*What do you mean? What?*
90. W: *Lha aku ben dina lah nyaponi ra iso nyaponi,*  
PAR-N I-N every-N day-N PAR-N sweep-N not-N able-N sweep-N
91. *Ben dino kertase berantakan sampai ndi-ndi sampe ora bisa lewat,*  
everyday-N the paper-N messy-N until-BI anywhere-N until-N not-N able-N pass-N
92. *ora iso nyapu*  
not-N able-N sweep-N  
*I cannot sweep it out every day. Every day the papers are all over until I cannot walk. I cannot sweep it.*
93. H: *lha aku kan lagi mbiji micro teaching kan akeh tugase,*  
PAR-N I-N PAR-N process-N grading-N micro teaching-ENG PAR-N many-N work-N
94. *tugase RPP ne cah-cah kuwi lho. Dead line yo kudune dino iki*  
work-N the RPP-N children-N the-N PAR-N Deadline-ENG PAR-N should-N today-N  
Because I am assessing the papers for the micro teaching classes, they have many papers and their lesson plan assignments. The due date is today.
95. W: *yo mugo-mugo lak iki ko wis rampung*  
PAR-N hope-N PAR-N this-N later-N already-N finish-N
96. *suk minggu ndang iso resik-resik yo*  
next-N Sunday-N soon-N able-N clean-N PAR-N  
*I hope you can finish it today so next Monday you can clean it*
97. H: *yo, ewangi yo*  
Yes-N help-N PAR-N  
*All right, help me to clean it please.*

Uttering (86), the wife (W) manages herself as the producer and the author who proposes a power to drive her husband (H). The question is the in between target of the main interest (96). She systematically evaluates her husband's circumstances to execute her intention. At this point, the husband is the accounter who is responsible for the execution. At the beginning, she assesses when her husband is available. As the interpreter, the husband is only able to understand that she is searching for information respecting his agendas. There is an information gap or blank spot in the question (i.e. the purpose of the wife's question). He may assume that she is struggling to build a structured interview. He, then, develops his curiosity in his question (87). This circular way of expressing intention is like completing a puzzle and the target is the

one who is accountable for tailoring the puzzle. In (88), he receives another piece of the puzzle. Now the wife informs him of the conditions of one room in their house (88). It seems that this piece of the puzzle was unrelated to the first question (86). She makes a statement that a room in their house was not in a proper condition. However, she attempts to give, as much as possible, a positive impression. Compared to (91)-(92), this statement is ironic. The room is very messy. However, she uses *kethoke* (look like) instead of e.g. *pancen* (exactly). The subsequent dictions are *ora rapi* (not tidy) instead of messy and *kurang resik* (less clean) instead of dirty. As previously discussed (see Inward looking in Chapter 2), information in Javanese culture embeds social risk. The information in (90)-(92) is incredibly risky as these statements imply an accusation. She accuses that the papers in the room hinder her in doing her social responsibility (i.e. to sweep it). The papers, in fact, are not the main target of the accusation. The primary target is the person who is responsible for their presence in the room (for the discussion of implicitness, see section 3 in Chapter 2). There is the possibility to root this manner in *tepo sliro*. Without the presence of an agent, she keeps the person away from *isin* (embarrassed), occasioned by the accusation. Conversely, the intended person must also refer to *tepo sliro* not to deter her from conducting her responsibility. Consequently, the husband admits implicitly that he is responsible for the paper (93)-(94). This acknowledgement gives him responsibility to tidy them. Under this circumstance, he is in a lower bargaining position. Hence, he has no reasons to disagree with wife's intention. Finally, he gets every piece of the puzzle reflected in his agreement (97).

The circular systematic information share comprises flexibility to manage the negative effects of *isin* occasioned by power relations (see Table 5 for the regularity of the action). The producer is able to evaluate each stage systematically and hence, is able to choose the appropriate moment to release the main intention. Power should be executed systematically to hinder surprise and conflict among the relevant participants. The ensuing fragment (H) confirms circular ways to reach an intention, as well as to manage linguistic behaviour to negotiate power. This long conversation will be divided into four fragments ((H.1)-(H.4)) to make it easier to follow.

(H.1) D12.3694-3729 – appendices: 515-527

98. H: *Mengko ning nggone mbah putri?*  
 Later-N to-N place-N grandma-N  
*Will we go to grandmother's house?*
99. W: *Opo nggawak-nggawakke sayur? Iki snack. Oh iki lho*  
 What-N bring-N vegetable-N this-N snack PAR-N this-N PAR-N

100. *iki lho, wow. Masalah power steering apakah enake diganti*  
 this-N PAR-N wow-N Problem-BI powersteering-ENG what-BI better-N is replaced-N
101. *Setirane sik wae yo, daripada mikir mobil larang?*  
 The steering-N first-N only-N PAR-N than-N think-N car-N expensive-N  
*Should we take cooked vegetables? This is a snack. Look at this, wow. Talking about the power steering problem, should the steering wheel be replaced first then think about a car? it's expensive.*
102. H: *Larang piye wong duwe duit tuku kok larang*  
 Expensive-N how-N PAR-N have-N money-N buy-N PAR-N expensive-N  
*Why did you say that it's expensive while you have the money to buy it?*
103. W: *Lha nek mobil koyo nggone pak Ontosena kae piro?*  
 PAR-N if-N car-N like-N belong to-N Mr. name that-N how much-N  
*How much is a car like Mr. Ontosena's car?*
104. H: *Iki mbiyen ra seneng. Senengku ki tabrak-tabrakan ning ora notholi*  
 This-N past-N not-N happy-N my happy-N PAR-N collide-N but-N not-N peck-N  
*I didn't like them. What I like is that they collide into each other but they don't peck.*

The husband in line (98) is the author, as well as the producer who intends to make the wife (W) the figure or target who is responsible for the action. He asks his wife's plans in relation to visiting her mother. The term "mbah putri" (grandmother) does not refer to her grandmother but it refers to their children's grandmother. It is common among Javanese people to follow the address term used by their children for their grandmother (i.e. *mbah putri*). It is "mbasakke" (Errington, 1988); in the early stages of their children's lives, they pretend to be their children and use proper titles and codes for people in front of their children; for instance, they call their mother using *mbah putri* (grandmother). They expect the children to imitate them. This habit regularly affects them, even in the absence of their children. This frame informs that "mbah putri" refers to her mother. The remark (99) implicitly expresses her agreement besides her social responsibility. It is preferable for married women or men to take fruit or gifts when visiting friends or relatives. Hence, her intention to take meals frames her agreement to visit her mother. Both parties share the same understanding pertaining to her question (99). Her action, which gives a minimal sign of engagement in the visit, indicates it as a less favorable topic. She only proposes the fruit without any further discussion; she even switches to the snacks and eats them. She then intends to shift the footing in which she makes the husband the accounter (100), who holds social responsibility for her utterance. Additionally, she wants to discuss her car. She prefers to fix the power steering than buy a new car. Hence, she is the author, who constructs the new conversation. Her utterances (100)-(101) give the husband two responsibilities. First, her preference entails a request for the husband to conduct adequate action regarding the power steering. Second, the question and the word *enake* (better) reduce the power intended

for her husband. Even though she prefers to fix the power steering, the reduced intention invites the husband to share his ideas.

Instead of showing the expected agreement, the husband offers a cynical answer impressing the action of mocking. Attacking her assessment (i.e. a new car is expensive), he considers how his wife does not know the value of her money. The remark implies “negative assessments” (Haugh, 2013, p. 63) on the two alternatives offered by the wife. He thinks that the wife has enough money to have another car. The attack indicates that he prefers his wife’s alternative, which in turn reflects his disagreement to fix the power steering.

In (103), the wife “offers a defensive account” (Haugh, 2013, p. 64) by assessing the actual car price. Questioning her friend’s car, she intends to compare her money and the possibility of having a new car. Comparing the two entities, she is eager to verify the truth of her husband’s assessment. Considering there is no evaluation on the cynical remark, at least on the surface, she considers the criticism is in the range of acceptable values. Unfortunately, the husband shifts the potential target from the car to the birds’ behaviour. He expresses minimal signs of disengagement regarding the topic under discussion. There is the possibility that they are watching a flock of birds while discussing the car. The analysis on this remark may reach two possible probabilities: he does not know the price of the car or he is not interested in discussing the car. The wife struggles to return to the car through her jocular manner (105). She informs her experience in meeting her doctor, which in turn leads to the discussion about the car (125). Her conversation with her doctor is the reason underlying her decision to fix the power steering. Because of her health condition, her doctor suggests that she does not to do any hard work. However, it is heavy work for her to drive without the power steering. Finally, she agrees to have a new car (122). Her way to make up her mind confirms the circular introduction of the previous fragments. There is a tendency among Javanese people to express their intention at the end of utterances after circular or sometimes jocular introductions (cf. Keeler, 1990).

(H.2) D12.3694-3729 – appendices: 529-558

105. W: *[chuckle] Nek anu sih ngomong yo saya akhirnya kalau [chuckle] naik mobil*  
If-N what-N PAR-N talk-N PAR-N I-N finally-BI if-BI drive-N car-BI
106. *itu setirane berat yo saya naik motor pak. Lha motor*  
that-N the steering-N heavy-BI PAR-N I-N ride-BI motor-BI sir-N PAR-N motor-BI
107. *apa ndak malah gringgingen gini terus ngono kui.*  
what-BI not-BI become-N pins and needles-N like this-BI continue-BI like that-N  
*[chuckle] If I have to say that if [chuckle] the car is hard to drive, I will ride my  
motorcycle Sir. Don't you think that riding a motorcycle will give you pins and  
needles because you are constantly like this.*
108. H: *Kui ora ono istirahat kok*

- That-N not-N exist-N rest-N PAR-N  
*You don't have time to take a rest.*
109. W: *Soale jejer ku pasien jejerku iki mou operasine*  
 Because next to-N I-N patient-N next to me-N this ago-N the operation-N
110. *podo aku. Kui ora dinggo opo opo mung dinggo olah raga*  
 like-N me-N That-N not-N use-N nothing-N only-N use-N exercise-N
111. *ngene-ngene iki, terus dee malah bengkak ki po.*  
 like this-N this-N then-N he-N become-N swollen-N PAR-N what-N
112. *Jarene pak dokter itu karena kelenjar getah bening itu*  
 Said-N Mr. doctor that-BI because-BI lymph glands-BI that-N
113. *kan sebenarnya banyak yang putus karena dioperasi kemarin.*  
 PAR-N actually-BI many-BI which-BI off-BI because-BI operation-BI yesterday-N
114. *Dadine itu kan mengalir terus di tubuh,*  
 So-N that-N PAR-N stream-BI continue-BI in-BI body-BI
115. *dadi mereka cari alternatif baru dadi kenopo iki*  
 So-N they-BI look for-BI alternative-BI new-N so-BI why-N this-N
116. *kelekku mlentung. Jare pak dokter karena banyak lewat kono,*  
 my armpit-N swollen-N Say-N Mr. Doctor because-BI many-BI through-BI there-N
117. *dadi mlentung itu bukan kambuh. Coba nanti USG minta sama*  
 so-N swollen-N that-N not-N relapse-N try-BI later-BI USG-ENG ask-BI to-BI
118. *petugasnya yang bagian itu di USG. Dadine sing mulakkno mlentung*  
 the officer-N who-BI section-BI that-BI USG-ENG so-N which-N in fact-N swollen-N
119. *iki kok ganti-ganti bar kene terus kene. Dadine memang,*  
 this-N PAR-N change-N after-N here-N then-N here-N so-N certainly-BI
120. *lha itu sampai kapan pak nggak boleh berat-berat, ya selamanya*  
 PAR-N that-BI until-BI when-BI sir-BI not-BI allow-N heavy-BI PAR-BI forever-BI
121. *muni ngono, sing kiwo iki. Eeh jebule kaos kakiku kuwalek.*  
 say-N like that-N which-N left-N this-N PAR-N actually-N my shock-BI swapped-N
122. *Nek anu golek-golek yo*  
 If-N what-N look for-N PAR-N  
*A patient next to me also had an operation like mine. She didn't do anything, she only did some exercises like this, then she became swollen. The doctor said it's because many of the lymph glands were cut during the operation yesterday. So, they always worked down the body and tried to find new alternatives, that's why my armpit became swollen. The doctor said that they stream through that way, so the swelling didn't mean a relapse. You may ask USG to nurse later. That's way the swollen area moved from one side to another. So that's how it is. How long should I not work hard for? It's for good he said. Don't use the left side of your body to do hard work. Oh I swapped my shock. So, if it is like that, let's look for a car.*
123. H: *Nek kepeksone aku ora ngajani elek ora*  
 If-N forced-N I-N not-N hope-N bad-N not-N
124. *nek mami cacah duit sak mono ae awake dewe jatah yo iso.*  
 If-N mom-BI amount-N money-N that amount-N only-N we-N give-N PAR-N able-N
125. *Nek kepingin nyetir ra iso anu tenan, duitmu jupuken nggonen*  
 if-N want-N drive-N not-N able-N what-N sure-N your money-N withdraw-N use-N
126. *tuku montor menakno awakmu. Wong bagi hasil kok iso sesasi*  
 buy-N motor-N comfort-N your body-N PAR-N share-N PAR-N able-N monthly-N
127. *sak mene terus opo ra haram. Jenenge bagi hasil ki*  
 this amount-N continue-N what-N not-N haram-AR name-N share-N PAR-N

128. *persenan laba. Lha kui ajeg ngono opo labane ajek*  
 percentage-N profit-N PAR-N that-N steady-N like that-N what-N profit-N steady-N  
*If it is necessary but I don't expect something bad, we can give mom that amount*  
*of money. If you want to drive but you can't really do it. Withdraw your money to*  
*buy a car, make yourself comfortable. Why does profit sharing always give you a*  
*fixed amount every month? Don't you think it is forbidden? Profit sharing should*  
*give you the percentage of profit. You always get the fixed amount. Is the profit*  
*steady?*

The lines (123)-(128) seem unrelated to the discussion about a new car without understanding the historical background between them and the wife's mother. Referring to the background (the mother helps her to save her money in her bank (147)), the husband assumes that the mother may face some problems when the wife uses her money to buy a car. Referring to "nek mami cacah duit sak mono" (N; if mom requires that amount of money) (124) and the word "labane" (share) (128), it appears that her mother saves the money in an Islamic Bank and receives benefits from it. In financial matters, two terms relate to the benefits for a bank customer: interest and PLS (profit and loss sharing). "Under the PLS paradigm, the assets and liabilities of Islamic banks are integrated in the sense that borrowers share profits and losses with the banks, which in turn share profits and losses with the depositors" (Chong & Liu, 2009, p. 126). The husband understands that her mother will lose the benefit of the share. Through the word "awake dewe" (N; we) (124), the husband shares the responsibility for supporting her mother. It also expresses his empathy besides the "feeling of oneness" between them. He reassures his wife that there is no problem using her money for a car. In lines (125)-(126), the wife is the depicted character who holds the responsibility for her own health and comfort. The interesting analysis in this point is the use of the conditional "nek" (N; if) (125) followed by the proposal of power (126). Here, *nek* offers an option to the wife, and she does not have an obligation to accept it. The word *nek* (if) degrades the control of his power. It changes the nature of the power from an order to an offer. He convinces her that he controls the power for the sake of his wife (*menakno awakmu*; make yourself comfortable) (126). In other words, accepting the offer is better for her than fixing the power steering.

(H.3) D12.3694-3729 – appendices: 564-596

129. W: *Nek jarene mami kui bantuan ngono, sodaqahe pak An dadian [chuckle]*  
 If-N say-N mom-BI that-N help-N like that-N the charity-AR Mr. name so-N  
*Mom said that is a good deed, Mr. An's charity, so ... [chuckle]*
130. H: *Halah*  
 No-N  
*I don't believe it*
131. W: *Lha nek dijikuk engko mami piye? Diparingi ngono?*

- PAR-N if-N withdraw-N later-N mom-BI how-N is given-KI like that-N  
*If I withdraw the money, what about mom? Do I give her some?*
132. H: *Gari awake dewe no. Iki gur saran*  
 Only-N we-N PAR-N this-N only-N suggestion-N  
*It depends on us. This is only a suggestion.*
133. W: *Kan selama ini kan ra tak jipuk bagiane, satu juta*  
 PAR-BI so far-BI this-BI PAR-N not-N I-N withdraw-N the share-N one million-BI  
*I have not withdrawn my share so far; one million.*
134. H: *Satu juta?*  
 One-BI million-BI  
*One million?*
135. W: *He eh*  
 Yes-N  
*yes*
136. H: *Garek telung atus*  
 Only-N three-N hundred-N  
*There is only three hundred left*
137. W: *Sing diparengke aku rong atus, selama iki lho. Sing ndok emben*  
 Which-N is given-KI I-N two hundred-N so far-N PAR-N which-N a long time a go-N  
*The share given to me is two hundred so far. It was a long time a go.*
138. H: *Lha etung mu asline piro selawe yuto duit sak yahono sak yahene*  
 PAR-N count-N your-N actually-N how much-N 25 million-N money-N a long time-N  
*How much is actually your money? Twenty-five million for such a long time?*
139. W: *Selawe yuto seprono seprene*  
 25 million-N a long time-N  
 Twenty-five million for such a long time.
140. H: *Lha jare duitmu selawe yuto*  
 PAR-N say-N your money-N 25 million-N  
*You said your money is twenty-five million*
141. W: *He eh*  
 Yes-N  
*Yes*
142. H: *Lha entuk mu sesasine asline piro asline*  
 PAR-N gain-N you monthly-N originally-N how much-N originally-N  
*How much is actually your monthly share of the profit?*
143. W: *Jare mami satu juta ki, kok okeh yo*  
 Say-N mom-BI one million-N PAR-N, PAR-N much-N PAR-N  
*Mom said it is one million. Why is it so much?*
144. H: *Lho jare mu telung atus*  
 PAR-N say-N your-N three hundred-N  
*You said three hundred*
145. W: *Itungane piye aku ra patek mudeng. Yo coba tak matur mami*  
 Count-N how-N I-N not-N really-N understand-N PAR-N try-N I-N talk-KA mom-BI  
*How is it calculated? I don't really understand. I will try to ask mom.*

Fragment (E) of Chapter three has provided the participation footing description related to the lines (129)-(145). Regarding these lines, there are several important notes in the analysis of gender and power relations. First, the clause “iki gur saran” (N; this is only a suggestion) (132)

conforms to the line (125) to reduce the gradient of power in the struggle to control the intended power (see Table 14, reduction of imposition). This remark does not express his agreement or disagreement with the wife's proposal. The tentative remark (first utterance of (132)) includes the husband's intention to control the power. The word "awake dewe" (N; we) informs his intention to support the wife who decides the matter. The second clause in (132) returns the responsibility to his wife. In other words, he suppresses or hides his intention of power by offering responsibility to his wife. Second, line (146) informs the wife's authority concerning her own money. Javanese women hold power over the money they earn before marriage, in addition to their inheritance (H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]). This historical background makes clear one thing in this fragment; the wife is the holder of the original power and the husband negotiates the authority of her power.

Lines (152)-(158) conform to lines (123)-(128) concerning how to negotiate power. The husband criticises the wife's idea to fix the power steering. He points out the weaknesses of her proposal (e.g. *larang*; expensive) ((152)-(154)). He subsequently expresses his empathy in ((156) and (158)). Another way to gain power is by convincing the target (in this case the wife) that the benefit of his proposal belongs to the wife (155).

(H.4) D12.3694-3729 – appendices: 598-620

146. H: *Bingung nggolek dit, duwe dit ra mudeng yo kowe*  
Confused-N look for-N money-N have-N money-N not-N understand-N PAR-N you-N  
*It's difficult to get money. You have the money but you don't understand. It's you.*
147. W: *Soale nek ijek nek anu mami ngono kui aku yo ora pengen*  
Because-N if-N still-N in-N what-N mom-BI like that-N I-N PAR-N not-N want-N  
*Because if mom still keeps it, I don't want it*
148. H: *Nggone mbak Kunthi po ra jipuk*  
Belong to-N Ms. name what-N not-N collect-N  
*Did Mrs. Kunthi withdraw her money?*
149. W: *Yo wis mbiyen, dinggo tuku mobil kae*  
PAR-N already-N a long time ago-N use-N buy-N car-N that-N  
*She did. She used it to buy that car.*
150. H: *Lha kui doktere mou diomongke mami ngene*  
PAR-N that-N the doctor-N previously-N is said-N mom-BI like this-N  
*Tell mom what the doctor said.*
151. W: *Yo wis, tak telepon engko*  
Alright-N I-N phone-N later-N  
*Alright, I'll call mom*
152. H: *Ganti power steering ki regane yo larang,*  
Change-N power steering-ENG PAR-N price-N PAR-N expensive-N
153. *rung karuan kebenaran. Piro? limang jutanan. Limang jutanan yo rugi,*  
not-N certainly-N good-N how much-N five million-N five million-N PAR-N loss-N
154. *wong mobile wis kropos ngono. Po ra rugi le*

155. Because-N the car-N already-N porous-N like that-N what-N not-N loss-N PAR-N  
*ngganti? Nek aku saiki lebih condong mengutamakan penak awakmu kuwi.*  
 replace-N If-N I-N now-N more-N tend to-N prioritize-N comfort-N you-N that-N
156. *Yen ndisik yo sayang mobil kui sayang,*  
 If-N a long time ago-N PAR-N love-N car-BI that-N love-N
157. *nek saiki perlu didol yo didol tukar tambah,*  
 If-N now-N need-N spled-N PAR-N sold-N trade-in-N
158. *golekke sing power steering. Aku wong lanang ae kabotan.*  
 find-N which-N power steering-ENG I-N man-N PAR-N heavy-N  
*Replacing power steering is expensive, it's not always good. How much? It's around  
 five million. Five million is not worth it for a rotten car like that. Do you think it's  
 worth it? Now I tend to accentuate your comfort. Sometime ago, I liked the car, now  
 if we need to sell or trades-in, get another car with power steering. I myself as a  
 man also have difficulty driving it.*
159. W: *Tukar tambah ae yo? Kui saiki payu piro?*  
 Trade-in-N PAR-N PAR-N that-N now-N how much-N  
*Are trade-ins better? How much is the car if I sell it?*

Fragment (H) depicts the wife as the source of power who loses control of her authority through a series of negotiations. This fragment, once again, points to the existence of the “legitimate”, “referent”, and “expert” power. The wife has “legitimate” power to control her own money. Based on Javanese norms, the wife has legal right to own her property (see Chapter 2). The husband’s turn in line (146) expresses his acknowledgement of this legitimate power. The marital status between them occasions “referent” power and this status makes the husband “a person toward whom [the wife] is highly attracted” (French & Raven, 1959, p. 161). The “feeling of oneness” (French & Raven, 1959, p. 161) makes the wife consult her intention with the husband. The power, induced by the wife’s “legitimate” power, is unable to influence the husband, as he has more knowledge about the car (expert power). The fragment also informs four communicative ways to influence the recipient, specifically: criticising another, decreasing the gradient of imposition, expressing empathy and returning the benefit to another.

The case, where “expert” power has a stronger influence than “legitimate” power, also happens in the next fragment (I). This fragment provides a different context in gender, politeness and power relations. The wife is the author of the negotiation but she is not the source of the power. She negotiates with her husband, as the source of power, to distribute his authority to her.

(I.1) D8. 2666-2709 – appendices: 1249-1267

160. W: *Aku jane arep usul njenengan*  
 I-N actually-N want-N propose-N you-KI
161. *mbok beras kui dek misalkan kebanyakan dijual ngono*  
 PAR-N rice-N that-N example-N too much-N sell-N like that-N

162. *njenengan setuju ora?*  
You-KI agree-N not-N  
*Actually, I want to tell you my idea. Do you agree if I sell the extra rice?*
163. H: *Dijual? Maksute piye?*  
Sell-BI mean-N how-N  
*You want to sell the rice? What do you mean?*
164. W: *Tak tawakke konco ku ngono lho maksud ku sepuluh kilo untuk dijual,*  
I-N offer-N friend-N I-N like that-N PAR-N mean-N I-N ten-N kilo-N for-BI sell-BI  
165. *yang lima belas kita konsumsi sendiri.*  
Which-BI fifteen-BI we-BI consume-N self-N  
*I mean I want to offer it to my friend. Sell ten kilos and we consume the other fifteen kilos.*
166. H: *Yo terserah. Mosok beras dijual?*  
PAR-N up to you-N why-N rice-N sell-N  
*It's up to you. Why do you have to sell the rice?*
167. W: *Lha piye?*  
PAR-N how-N  
*So, how?*
168. H: *Yo terserah.*  
PAR-N up to you-N
169. *Maksute kan dinggo yen opo yen weruh ra sah dijual yo yen sisane*  
Mean-N PAR-N used-N if-N what-N if-N know-N don't-N sell-N PAR-N if-N extra-N  
*It's up to you. I mean the rice can be used if you say the extra rice should not be sold*
170. W: *Dikekno?*  
Give-N  
*Give it for free?*
171. H: *He eh*  
Yes-N  
*Yes*
172. W: *Lha okeh banget*  
PAR-N much-N very-N  
*But the extra is too much*

The wife (W) begins her footing as the author (160) who constructs a conversation about extra rice. Examining her arguments, delivered to her husband in the next turns, she is eager to sell the rice. However, she conveys her intention in low power force through the words *jane* (N; actually), *dek* (N; if), *misalkan* (N; for instance) and an offer of dis/agreement (160) – (162). The word *jane* expresses reluctance or hesitant feelings to propose something. The words *dek* and *misalkan* followed by *kebanyakan* (BI; too much) build a conditional utterance; her proposal will be valid if it fulfills the requirement (i.e. *kebanyakan*). She wants to reduce the imposition of power by giving an option that her idea may not be eligible. The proposal comprises risks in two ways. First, the rice belongs to her husband (213); her intention may upset the husband. Second, rice is the main course at mealtimes for Javanese or Indonesian people (in general, Asian). Hence, rice is the primary commodity in the daily trading of a Javanese family. The prudent

proposal, which is expressed by the words *jane, misalkan*, etc., may reflect the risk. In (163), the husband questions her proposal. He does not only seek information but also implicitly expresses his objection. The question may implicate negative evaluation of the wife's proposal. A further possible meaning is that the word *kebanyakan*, which modifies "dijual" (BI; to be sold), does not provide enough arguments for the husband to sell the rice. It means there is a disagreement in the questions (163). The word "kebanyakan" is a general quantifier that requires other detailed modifiers, such as in (164). She offers two quantifiers and a personal option to clarify the word "kebanyakan", along with premises underlying her proposal. She plans an arrangement to keep fifteen kilos to consume and sell the extra ten kilos to her friend. This arrangement reflects her proficiency in household works and her gender roles. It is impossible to make such quantifiers (e.g. she knows how much rice they need) without historical experiences in it. In such sophisticated knowledge, she has expert power to negotiate her proposal. This is different to the wife in (H) who does not have experience of car matters, which leads her to a restricted bargaining position; the wife in (I) holds power in the negotiation. Conversely, even though the husband in (I) is the owner of the power, according to the larger moral order of spiritual potency, he is supposed to leave the control of private matters to the wife. The first utterance in line (166) reflects it. However, he remains in doubt in the word "dijual" in the second utterance. It appears the first clause expresses his agreement toward the proposal; nevertheless, he expects changes in the arrangement, particularly in the term "dijual".

(I.2) D8. 2666-2709 – appendices: 1269-1294

173. H: *yen ra ngono, yo sithik ae sak cukupe.*  
If-N not-N like that-N PAR-N a little-N only-N PAR-N enough-N
174. *Yen siso dinggo bulan berikutnya,*  
If-N extra-N use-N month-N next-N
175. *maksute sebulan ra kudu entek ngono lho*  
mean-N one month-N not-N must-N finish-N like that-N PAR-N  
*If it's like that, give it some. I mean If it is possible, it can be used next month.*
176. W: *Hmm lha kan biasanya terus anu Bah, metu kuine ok*  
PAR-N PAR-N usually-BI then-N what-N Dad-AR emerge-N that thing-N PAR-N  
*Ehmm There is usually something on it Bah (vocative for husband).*
177. H: *Heh?*  
What-N  
*What?*
178. W: *Metu kuine ok. Nek pas entuk sing apik ora*  
Emerge-N the thing-N PAR-N if-N when-N get-N which-N good-N not-N  
*There was something. It will not be there If you get good rice*
179. H: *Yo ra po po*  
PAR-N not-N not okay-N  
*Yes, it's okay (you can sell it)*

180. W: *Maksud ku ngene lho*  
Mean-N I-N like this-N PAR-N
181. *Koyo mbak Srimpi iku kan jane dia mau sih nek segitu.*  
Like-N title&name that-N PAR-N actually-N she-N want-N PAR-N if-N that much-BI
182. *Pas kebenaran hargene mesti lebih ringan tho dibanding*  
Exactly-N truth-N price-N must-N more-BI light-BI PAR-N compare-N
183. *yang diluar. Diluar naik lho bah ini*  
which-BI outside-BI outside-BI increase-BI PAR-N dad-AR this-N  
*This is what I mean. A person such as Mrs. Srimpi actually wants to buy at that price. The price is cheaper than in the shop. The price is increasing in the shop now Bah.*
184. H: *He eh. Yo wis ra po-po nek ngono*  
Yes-N alright-N okay-N if-N like that-N  
*Alright. It's okay if it's like that*
185. W: *Misale dijual lapan lima.*  
Example-BI sell-BI eigh-BI five-BI
186. *Ngono ae wis gelem dee wong berase*  
Like that-N PAR-N already-N agree-N she-N because-N the rice-N
187. *yo lumayan. Wong kui sing segitu itu harganya itu,*  
PAR-N good-N Because-N that-N which-BI that-BI that-BI price-BI that-BI
188. *sing mbah Widi kui adol wolung ewu rong atus*  
who-N grandma name that-N sell-N eight-N thousand-N two-N hundred
189. *opo wolu setengah kui ki rupane uireng.*  
What-N eight-N half-N that-N PAR-N face-N very black-N
190. *Lima belas itu aja nanti masih bisa bantu kok bah*  
Five-BI thousand-BI that-BI only-BI later-BI still-N able-N help-N PAR-N dad-AR  
*For instance, the rice is sold at eighty-five. She wants to buy it because the rice is quite good. The price of the same quality rice, grandma Widi sold rice which is very black for eight thousand two hundred or eight and a half. If we sell fifteen, we can still help others.*
191. H: *Yo wis ra po-po nek ngono*  
Alright-N okay-N if-N like that-N  
*Alright if it's like that*
192. W: *Lha sithik banget ok, mben dino paling gur telung gelas ok.*  
PAR-N a little-N very-N PAR-N everyday-N around-N only-N three-N glass-N PAR-N
193. *Lha wis ning cah cah*  
PAR-N already-N in-N children-N  
*We use so little rice. Only three glasses everyday. It's already been in children*

In her remark (167), the wife demands his responsibility to provide an alternative proposal because he is the principal of the re-arrangement. This demand indicates her aim to defend her intention. Once again, in (166), the husband returns full authority to his wife (168), although he renegotiates it (169). He proposes not to sell (“ra sah dijual”) the extra. There is ambiguity in his account to keep the extra or spend it for charity. The wife paraphrases his intention (170) and the husband agrees with her (171). The wife intends to defend her account (172). Informing that the extra rice is too much for a donation, she insists in selling it. The husband re-evaluates his proposal to include the wife’s objection (173) while defending his account (174). The wife

persists in proposing her arrangement while expressing her knowledge quality in household matters. The things that the husband neglects in proposing his account is the existence of rice mites, which ruins the quality of the rice (178). Finally, the husband aligns with the wife's idea without any doubts (179). Through this remark, he hands his authority on the rice over to the wife.

(I.3) D8. 2666-2709 – appendices: 1296-1329

193. H: *Maksute nek dijual wong cerak ngono ra po-po.*  
Mean-N if-N is sold-BI person-N near-N like that-N okay-N
194. *Maksute koncomu kan nggone Astina*  
Mean-N your friend-N PAR-N place-N name  
*I mean it's okay if you sell it to our neighbours. I mean your friends live in Astina*
195. W: *Kok Astina sih (chuckle)*  
PAR-N name PAR-N  
*Why is it Astina (chuckle)*
196. H: *Lha koncomu*  
PAR-N your friend-N  
*Your friends*
197. W: *Ora, konco pengajian maksudku*  
Not-N friend discussion-N my idea-N
198. *sing rodo kethok kurang ngono lho tetepo milih sing murah.*  
Who-N rather-N look-N less-N like that-N PAR-N still-N choose-N which-N cheap-N
199. *Dek wingi wae yo nganu Sembodro yo gelem,*  
Yesterday-N PAR-N PAR-N what-N name PAR-N want-N
200. *moh aku nek gur Sembodro*  
don't want-N I-N if-N only-N name
201. *mak aku pilih mbak Srimpi ae sing anake okeh aku ngono*  
? I-N choose-N Ms. name PAR-N whose-N child-N many-N I-N like that-N  
*No, I mean my friends who are in need. They will choose cheaper rice. Yesterday, Sembodro wanted the rice but I won't give it to her, as I prefer Mrs. Srimpi who has lots of children.*
202. H: *Ngono rak po-po*  
Like that-N okay-N  
*It's alright*
203. W: *Yo kan karo bantu sithik pak Dewo.*  
PAR-N PAR-N with-N help-N a little-N Mr. name
204. *Kacek ngono tho.*  
Different-N like that-N PAR-N
205. *Sing biasa saiki sangang ewu lho bah*  
Which-N usually-N now-N nine-N thousand-N PAR-N dad-AR  
*So we can also help Mr. Dewo. It's cheaper. The regular rice is nine thousand right now Bah.*
206. H: *He eh*  
Yes-N  
*Yes*
207. W: *Masih inget sing rego pitu enem kui?*  
Still-N remember-N which-N price-N seven-N six-N that-N

- Do you still remember the rice which is seven six?
208. H: *He eh*  
Yes-N  
Yes
209. W: *Podo, ora ngantek wolung ewu. Lha sing selawe go opo?*  
Same-N not-N until-N eigh-N thousand-N PAR-N which-N twenty five-N for what-N  
*The same rice, it's not more than eight thousand. So what will the twenty five be used for?*
210. H: *Heh? Ra ngerti aku. Yo wis ra po-po ngono dikekke mbak Tun*  
What-N not-N understand-N I-N okay-N like that-N is given-N Ms. name  
*What? I don't know. It's alright to give it to Mrs. Tun*
211. W: *Yo aku ngomong sik karo njenengan*  
PAR-N I-N talk-N first-N to-N you-KI
212. *wong kuwi wis duwekke njenengan wong sing anu njenengan*  
because-N that-N already-N belong to-N you-KI because-N who-N what-N you-KI  
*Yes, but I have to tell you because it's yours.*
213. H: *Yo*  
Yes-N  
Yes.

The critical point in power relations in Javanese culture is the attitudes in celebrating power acquisition. In fragment (H), the husband downgrades his power by returning the benefits and the principal of power to the wife. In fragment (I), the wife establishes her authority by conducting herself in a humble manner through her acknowledgement of the source of the power (212)-(213). To reach the acknowledgement and hence, confirm her true authority, she creates a conversation to re-confirm the husband's agreement in submitting his authority. The husband in (H) conducts a similar action to celebrate his power acquisition. He re-confirms the wife's full acceptance to eliminate possible risks of conflict through detailed claims on weaknesses and the strength of the options. The wife in (I) uses cognitive and emotional manipulation of *influence* power (see section 2 of this chapter); on the one hand, she glorifies her idea, whilst conversely, she includes the altruistic spirit of the husband. Her statement in line (180) expresses two things. First, she assumes there is a gradient of disappointment in respect to her husband. Second, she re-confirms the agreement of the husband. She considers that another detailed explanation is beneficial to establish her authority. In lines (181)-(183), she reveals the strength of her idea to sell the extra rice at a lower price, as well as weaken the husband's emotional state. She confirms that she does not benefit from selling the extra rice. Consequently, the husband re-confirms his agreement (190). In the subsequent step, she promotes the psychological state of the husband through the word *bisa bantu* (BI; is able to help) (190). She intends to accommodate the husband's intention to donate the rice. She suggests selling the rice at a low price to help others (182). Thus, she claims her alignment with



held in the lap”), they become silent (e.g., consonant without vowel). In power relations, if Javanese people are “overtly opposed or treated in ways they do not like, they resist the wishes of others”; conversely, “Javanese people, like Javanese consonant symbols, “die” – i.e., remain quiet, pliable, and amenable to one’s wishes – if they are “held in the lap,” that is, treated in extremely polite, refined ways” (Errington, 1988, p. 41). Other methods to conduct *mangku* to others are by way of pleasing and praising.

### *Conclusion*

The discussion indicates the role of cultural norms, i.e. the dichotomy of public and private domination, in the development of individual network norms. Although modern Javanese women have more access to public spheres, the gender roles as the holder of household works exists in the world of Javanese women.

Legitimate, referent, and expert power regularly affect power relations within Javanese families. The ways Javanese men and women negotiate power reflects *influence* power, which is rooted in Javanese etiquettes (see Figure 5). Conversants frequently positively evaluate implicitness, reducing power imposition, expressing empathy and sharing common goals in power relations.

The following chapter will discuss the existence of norms in criticism, in addition to how Javanese wives and husbands engage in criticism, while maintaining equanimity in their relationship.

## Chapter 5

### Criticism

#### *Introduction*

This chapter primarily deals with the patterns of conflictive relational networks. To describe Javanese gender and politeness, there should be a space devoted to “social actions” (Kádár & Haugh, 2013), which potentially leads to impoliteness. One of it is criticism, which may comprise verbal aggression, disagreement, etc. Kádár, Haugh, and Chang (2013, p. 343) consider verbal aggression “perceived impoliteness”, which potentially violates social norms (Grandey, 2004, p. 388; Yeh, 2015, p. 877), such as swearing, yelling, threats, condescending remarks and sarcasm (Boyd, 2002; Grandey, 2004; Harris & Reynolds, 2003; Yeh, 2015).

As far as I am concerned, several examples from previous research (e.g. Errington, 1988; C. Geertz, 1960; Koentjaraningrat, 1985) on how to apply Javanese values are characteristically positive valence behaviour - for instance, a compliment. “Valency is generally thought to be positive when it involves attraction and negative when it involves aversion” (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 62). To engage with *andhap asor*, Javanese tends to “turn aside a compliment” (Errington, 1988, pp. 38-39). For instance, to make a compliment on his or her new shirt, a Javanese humbles him/herself by rejecting the compliment and saying, for instance, that it is an old shirt. The discussion on Javanese compliments is by its very nature to maintain social relationships. However, discussions of Javanese values in social actions how they potentially lead leading to impoliteness evaluation has received less attention. My forthcoming discussions of criticism contribute toward addressing this imbalance.

This chapter focuses on mock impoliteness and laughter in criticism. These two themes suggest criticism characterised with aggressive utterances in a playful manner, which is not intended to ensure impoliteness. An anthropological study reported that a jocular tone is part of the linguistic strategy of the Javanese to maintain their relational network. Keeler captures this fact in his observation during a meeting regarding a marriage proposal (see Chapter 2): “Eventually Pak Cerma broached the subject of marriage between Jarno and Marni, speaking in a refined style, with a light and even *jocular tone*” (1990, p. 136 emphasis added). Within such a serious conversation, a jocular tone turns it into a light and friendly talk. Expressing serious business in a non-serious manner is a way to maintain the serenity of feelings of the two parties. Thus, studying mock impoliteness and laughter in criticism potentially reveals how Javanese people behave in response to an aggressive manner concerning Javanese norms.

### *Criticism, social action and moral order*

The words criticism, critics or critique is applicable in various parts of society or the academic world. These words are also extended to refer to certain domains, such as critical reading pedagogy (e.g. Busnardo & Bértoli Braga, 2001, p. 635), critical thinking or attitudes which refer to modern western society (Foucault, 2007, p. 42). It is subsequently essential to define criticism for the purpose of the discussion in this chapter. The Oxford Dictionary (Press, 2015) offers more practical definitions to distinguish criticism utterances from others. It defines criticism as “the expression of disapproval of someone or something on the basis of perceived faults or mistakes”.

Criticism does not simply comprise of a disagreement of perceived faults. Let us consider the following fragment (A). Both wife (W) and her husband (H) discuss managers for a school football team. The wife is the participant, who begins the conversation. She informs her decision to promote three old men to be managers of school football teams (1)-(2). The husband perceives it as a fault to employ old men to train young enthusiastic football players (3). The husband does not only cynically depict the not-co present third parties (i.e. the old men) as incapable persons; he also attacks the wife and assigns her as the figure of his criticism. As the wife is the party who holds responsibility for the existence of the old men, she understands that the husband intends to attack and evaluate her. She classifies it as disapproval based on her fault (at least from the perspective of the husband). As she evaluates her decision as proper, she defends her account in (4).

(A) D4.1644-1650 – appendices: 761-776

1. W: *Pak Satriyo. Pak Satriyo, Pak Heri kalian Pak Renggono.*  
Mr. name Mr. name Mr. name and-K Mr. name
2. *Ndek wingi Umi ngajokke*  
Yesterday-N mom-AR propose-N  
*Mr. Satriyo. Mr. Satriyo, Mr. Heri as well as Mr. Renggono. I proposed them yesterday*
3. H: *Tuwek tuwek dikon nangani ngono yo anu yoan ok*  
Old-N ask-N manage-N like that-N PAR-N what-N also-N PAR-N  
*Old men were asked to manage them, Can they, do it?*
4. W: *Lha wong niku mpun jatahe dewe-dewe kok*  
PAR-N because-N that-M already-M right-N their-N PAR-N  
*Because they have their own roles*
5. H: *Jatahe dewe-dewe, wong tuwek kon nangani bal-balan ngopo*  
Right-N their-N person-N old-N are asked-N manage-N football-N why-N  
*Their own roles. Why are old men asked to manage a football team?*
6. W: *Lha wong sak niki Colomadu kabeh yo wis sepuh-sepuh e*  
PAR-N because-N now-M name all-N PAR-N already-N old-K PAR-N

7. *peh ngono wong sing enom yo gur pinten kok,*  
besides-N that-N person-N who-N young-N PAR-N only-N how many-K PAR-N  
*Because now all football managers in Colomadu are old and there are only some young men.*
8. H : *Tinggal mlayu anak buahe malahan ngincer-ngincer*  
Leave-N run-N subordinate-N become-N watch-N  
*They may only be able to watch the players who leave them behind*
9. W: *Lha wong pak Heri niku sing anu niku kok*  
PAR-N because-N Mr. name that-M who-N what-N that-N PAR-N
10. *ngurusu sekolahan sepakbola ning Sukoharjo niku kok nggean kok.*  
Manage-N school-N football-N in-N Sukoharjo that-N PAR-N also-? PAR-N
11. *Pak Renggono sing Angkasa*  
Mr. name who-N name  
*Because Mr. Heri is the manager of the football school in Sukoharjo. Mr. Renggono is the manager of Angkasa.*

At this point, criticism is an evaluation of talks or actions which are “necessarily directed at something, some kind of information or object, and arises through particular types of meaning representation” (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 65). Kádár & Haugh argue that the participants may grasp meaning representation of criticism semantically (what is said) or pragmatically (what is implied). Criticism is not only disapproval based on perceived faults, it requires acknowledgement of both parties (e.g. sender and addressee) on the meaning of criticism, and moreover, occasions real world consequences. The wife’s disagreement (4) indicates her negative evaluation of her husband’s disapproval, which in turn expresses her acknowledgement of the husband’s utterance as criticism.

In the subsequent turns, the husband understands the wife’s stance as a defender, as well as producer of another criticism. The husband insists that his criticism is not a matter of dividing work; it is a matter of the (predicted) inability of old men to manage young players (5). The husband intends to defend his account in addition to constructing another criticism. In this case, a criticism reflexively occasions another criticism. Following the previous pattern, the wife concurrently defends and produces another criticism (6). Different to the husband, who expresses offensive criticism, the wife produces criticism implicitly, even in the refined code of *basa*. She continually offers the quality of the old men, rather than producing another cynical remark. Defending her account means attacking the truth condition of the husband’s premise implicitly. While the wife intensively defends her account through a series of reasons, the husband continuously attacks the age factor as the source of their weaknesses (6)-(9). The fact that the conversation is in an asymmetrical pattern informs that criticism in linguistic interaction

follows a particular norm of either in-group or society (for asymmetrical patterns, see Chapter 3).

Kadar & Haugh (2013, p. 65) provide another conversation between Lucy and Charlie as an example of appealing evaluation regarding norms. Lucy describes Charlie as a person who tends to talk loudly to express his excitement. Charlie Brown categorises Lucy's criticism as rude. Charlie's critique toward Lucy is rooted in larger moral order, seeing as he refers to common knowledge that there is "no one" else to criticise him like Lucy. He categorises others as not being rude; hence, Lucy is rude. He implicitly claims that his judgment is common, everyday knowledge where others also have such judgment. The example shows the existence of larger moral order in Charlie's criticism. Kadar & Haugh (2013, p. 269) define moral order as "the set of expected, background features of everyday scenes that members of a sociocultural group or relational network 'take for granted'" (see also Chapter 1), which may lead to moral evaluation (e.g. appropriate, inappropriate, rude, (im)polite, etc.).

Fragment (A) besides Kadar & Haugh's example informs us that criticism is not merely disapproval of perceived faults, but it is a form of social action. Kadar & Haugh (2013, p. 272) define three qualities to locate conversations or acts as social actions. They are mutually recognisable by the participants, intended to do something, and occasion real world consequences for participants, who are routinely held accountable. Both parties in the examples are definitely aware of the meaning of criticism in the utterances. Any intentions to defend one account (e.g., disagreement) or sending reflexively occasioned criticism are minimal signs in relation to mutually recognisable action. The criticism in fragment (A) occasions a real world consequence, such as disagreement. For the reason that criticism is a form of social action, it is subsequently easier to locate criticism in a politeness study. In this relationship scheme, the evaluative moment is a crucial point.

On the one hand, politeness involves evaluations which are occasioned by *social actions* and meanings that are recognisable through the fact they are practices in themselves. These evaluations also have the potential to reflexively occasion evaluative *social actions* and meanings. Specifically, *social actions* and meaning may themselves be occasioned by such evaluations. In contrast, politeness involves implicit appeals to the moral order, which is constituted through practices by which *social actions* and meanings are made identifiable as 'familiar scenes related to everyday affairs' and thus, open to moral evaluation (e.g. as good/bad, appropriate/inappropriate, polite/not polite, impolite/not impolite and soon) (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 73).

As a social action, criticism is the result of evaluations, which in turn possibly occasions reflexive social action and meaning. Any evaluations of criticism are rooted in moral orders (individual,

group or cultural). Hence, they occasion moral evaluation (e.g., im/polite, rude, sarcastic, etc.). Data obtained from research into Javanese families demonstrates that criticism involves mock impoliteness and laughter; two social actions, which may lead to offensive utterances in a playful manner.

### *Criticism, laughter, gender and (im)politeness*

In general people assume that they laugh at jokes or humour (Scott, Lavan, Chen, & McGettigan, 2014, p. 618). In playful talk, “it signals amusement and appreciation when something humorous is said” (Coates, 2007, p. 45). Laughter, however, has not only been discussed in relation to conversational humour (Coates, 2007) or conversational joking (Boxer & Cortés-Conde, 1997), although it may also appear in gender (Rees & Monrouxe, 2010; Reichenbach, 2015), politeness (Glenn, 2003, p. 123; Rees & Monrouxe, 2010, p. 3396), and criticism (Basu, 2007).

Boxer and Cortés-Conde (1997, p. 279) distinguish three humorous speech genres: teasing, joking about an absent other, and self-denigrating joking. *Teasing* is conversational joking or situational humour, which is directed at a recipient (either a ratified or unratified participant). Laughter in teasing is one of several contextualised cues to interpret the metamessage of the teasing (p. 279). *Joking about an absent other* is safer than teasing because the centre of the humour is not the participant of a conversation (p. 280). *Self-denigrating humour*, self-teasing or self-mockery (Reichenbach, 2015) are conversational jokes, which make the speaker the centre of the verbal jousting (p. 281). This type of humour may indicate that the speaker is someone who is approachable (Rees & Monrouxe, 2010, p. 3386).

Someone may express his or her humour offensively, or what Leech (1983, p. 144) terms ‘banter’. Leech argues that banter and irony are two ways of performing “mock impoliteness”. Banter that is superficially offensive implicitly expresses a way of being friendly to establish or maintain an intimate network. The intention of being polite in banter requires an implicature to understand the “true” and “polite” meaning behind the obvious “untrue” and “impolite” utterances (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012, p. 1100). Mock impoliteness requires two-step irony and banter principles to understand the implied meaning (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012, p. 1101). The irony principle raises an implicature that the sender’s utterance is obviously untrue. The second principle, banter, gives rise to the conclusion that the sender intends it to be polite.

Other ways to undertake mock impoliteness are by means of jocular mockery and jocular abuse (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012, p. 1104). The “non-serious or jocular frame” of banter is also part of the nature of jocular mockery, a part of teasing “where the speaker diminishes

something of relevance to someone present (either self or other) or a third party who is not co-present" (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012, p. 1105). The second part of mock impoliteness, jocular abuse, "casts the target into an undesirable category or as having undesirable attributes using a conventionally offensive expression" (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012, p. 1108) under a non-serious or jocular frame to insult the intended addressee. Quoting Hay (2012) and Allan & Burrige (2006), Haugh and Bousfield classify two types of jocular abuse: verbal insult and dysphemism. A verbal insult is "a remark that puts someone down, or ascribes a negative characteristic to them" (Hay, 2012 in Haugh & Bousfield, 2012). Dysphemism is "a word or phrase with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum and/or to the people being addressed or an overhearing audience" (Allan & Burrige, 2006 in Haugh & Bousfield, 2012).

Haugh & Bousfield (2012) classify four social actions as banter. The first is "joking around or jesting in a playful manner" (Grainger, 2004). The second is "a rapid exchange of humorous lines orientated toward a common theme, though aimed primarily at mutual entertainment rather than topical talk" (Norrick, 1993 in Haugh & Bousfield, 2012). "[T]easing or mocking a particular target" (Bousfield, 2008) is a third type of banter. The fourth type is "insulting others in a ritualised manner" (Labov, 1972 in Haugh & Bousfield, 2012). The remaining type of banter is "humorous self-denigration or self-teasing" (Boxer & Cortés-Conde, 1997).

Regarding gender, men and women potentially construct their masculine and feminine identity respectively via humour, through laughables and laughter (Rees & Monrouxe, 2010, p. 3386). Rees & Monrouxe discovered this tendency in a conversation among a male consultant, a male patient and female students when the patient teases the students with sexual humour. "The consultant's laughter in response to the patient's sexual teasing ... [degrades] the female students and [excludes] them from their 'male' world" (p. 3396). The issue of politeness also arises in this conversation. As the female students do not adopt "laughing along-while-resisting strategy" (Glenn, 2003, p. 123), they attempt to "subvert their subjugation by the men's power" and construct their feminine identities (Rees & Monrouxe, 2010, p. 3396). "Laughing along-while-resisting strategy" is a common "politeness tactic" (Rees & Monrouxe, 2010, p. 3396) adopted by women to express "a courteous response to sexual overtures by males" (Glenn, 2003, p. 123).

Laughter has also emerged in criticism, such as in the mid-seventeenth century in an English social movement, known as the Levellers (Basu, 2007). Basu argues that "levelling laughter is highlighted and juxtaposed against Puritan injunctions to mourning and objections

against humour” (p. 95). In the conversational fragments of this chapter, laughter appears several times in the social actions of criticism among participants.

The appearance patterns of laughter may vary in talks. In the environment of troubles-talk, Jefferson (1984, p. 358) notes three orders of laughter: “teller/recipient does not laugh”, “teller laughs/recipient laughs” and “teller does not laugh/recipient laughs”. In her Conversational analysis research, Holt (2016, p. 90) indicates three sequences related to laughter-response. *First*, “A turn with playful elements but no immediate laughter by speaker A”. *Second*, speaker B produces a response. *Third*, “[l]aughter from speaker A”.

Discussions regarding the various areas in addition to the various patterns of laughter inform us that it potentially has a contested meaning (Billig, 2005, p. 192). It does not only express a reaction to humour (Billig, 2005, p. 190; Coates, 2007, p. 44), but it may indicate “an important contextual cue” (Coates, 2007, p. 45) in establishing a participants’ meaning. It may express continued involvement as a ratified recipient in a conversation (Coates, 2007, p. 44). When laughter is followed by a compliment (e.g. “marvelous” (Kotthoff, 2000, p. 73)), it may function to produce rhetoric appreciation. Regarding aggressive words, laughter introduces a “conversationally problematic phrase”; “the laugh signals to the listener that the speaker is aware that the word might give offence” (Billig, 2005, p. 190). In her research pertaining to women in Bahrain, Reichenbach (2015, p. 525) discloses that laughter involves a degree of aggressiveness. Additionally, laughter may also have other contextual meanings, such as to mitigate the degree of strength and directness of complaint and request utterances and to express argumentative meaning (Billig, 2005, p. 192).

#### *Javanese criticism in the quantitative data*

As introduced at the beginning of this chapter, there has been scant research undertaken on Javanese impoliteness. One of the few is Gunarwan (2001), who conducted research into criticism. He relies on Brown & Levinson’s theory of politeness (1987) in categorising Javanese criticism, principally by means of quantitative research using survey questionnaires. The research configures five hierarchical strategies. They are (1) on record + negative politeness (most appropriate), (2) on record + positive politeness, (3) bald on record, (4) off record, and (5) act not performed (least appropriate).

Under Brown & Levinson’s terms, criticism, which is by nature potential disapproval, occasions face-threatening acts (FTAs). FTAs are “behaviours that run contrary to the face needs of senders and/or receivers” (Floyd & Erbert, 2004, p. 255). An FTA may result in ‘losing face’ or humiliate the intended person (Elias Colon, Perez-Quindeones, & Ferreira, 2001, p. 657). These

acts may violate negative face “the wish of each participant that his/her actions be unimpeded by others” (Zajdman, 1995, p. 325). To be on record when undertaking an act, a speaker must only provide “one unambiguously attributable intention with which witnesses would concur” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 68). Referring to the politeness strategies proposed by Brown & Levinson, Gunarwan argues that the most appropriate way to deliver critiques in Javanese culture is on record, plus negative politeness. He includes a few strategies in respect of these types of politeness: apology, questions and hedges.

On record, plus positive politeness is a second common strategy in delivering a critique among Javanese people. Positive politeness is a redress directed at one’s desire for acceptance or approval of at least some of his/her wishes from others (Brown & Levinson, 1987; Floyd & Erbert, 2004; Zajdman, 1995). Gunarwan finds three strategies, specifically seeking agreement, using in-group identification markers and giving reasons.

The following appropriate strategy, which is labelled bald on record, are any acts which are delivered “without redress, [and] involves undertaking it in the most direct, clear, unambiguous and concise way possible” (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 69). This strategy conforms with the conversational maxims of Grice (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 94). These maxims guide speakers to provide truthful information, which is no more or less than is required and the information should be relevant to the topic of discussion, be perspicuous, direct and straightforward (Brown & Levinson, 1987, p. 95; Hadi, 2013; Martinich, 1980). Gunarwan argues that there are several limitations with regards to using bald on record in Javanese culture.

Performing an act of criticising bald on record is considered least appropriate if the hearer (H) is more senior, the speaker (S) – hearer (H) relationship is not intimate and the setting is formal; conversely, it is considered most appropriate if H is less senior (or equal), the S-H relationship is intimate and the setting casual (Gunarwan, 2001, p. 183).

The fourth strategy of Javanese criticism is off record. Brown & Levinson (1987, p. 69) describe off record as an action, which has “more than one unambiguously attributable intention.” Within such action, ambiguity characterises the utterances where the sender “can not be held to have committed himself to one particular intent.” The sender does not commit to one meaning but expects that the hearer decides his or her stance. “[T]he meaning is negotiable to some degree”.

The next strategy is an act not performed. Gunarwan (2001) argues that it has the highest score in the computation of mean scores in the following social context:

[I]n general, not performing the act is considered most appropriate if H is more senior, S-H relationship is not intimate, and the setting is formal; conversely, it is considered least

appropriate if H is less senior (or equal), the S-H relationship is intimate and the setting casual (Gunarwan, 2001, p. 184).

Gunarwan (2001) also ascertains some Javanese values in the tendency of saving face among Javanese people. He says, "in general, Javanese still observe the maxim of respect, place consciousness and empathy" (p.184). He defines the maxim of respect in the Javanese language as using "language in such a way that the hearer knows that you respect him [in a way] he deserves" (p. 174). This maxim gives practical linguistic guides (sub maxim) (1) not to use a language which threatens a hearer's face and (2) choose appropriate speech levels which are appropriate for a hearer's status and standing. The maxim of place consciousness means 'know where you are'. The sub maxims suggest a speaker (1) select speech levels which are appropriate with his/her status and (2) to structure utterances and dictions in relations to social factors (the hearer, place, time, etc). The third is the maxim of empathy, which means 'don't do unto others as you don't want others to do unto you'. This maxim guides a speaker (1) to use language as he/she wishes others to use it to him/her and (2) not to use language which he/she does not want others to use when interacting with him/her.

The ways Gunarwan presents Javanese politeness remind us of Leech's politeness principles. There are several similarities between them, particularly on the maxim of respect and empathy. The first guide pertaining to the maxim of respect, to some extent, reflects the approbation maxim (Leech, 1983, p. 132). To "minimise dispraise of another" (approbation maxim) (Leech, 1983, p. 132) may indicate efforts to avoid threatening another's face (maxim of respect). The difference is that Gunarwan specifies the ways to perform the guide on Javanese norms, i.e. the hearer's status and standing. A further similarity is between Gunarwan's maxim of empathy and Leech's sympathy maxim. Ways to accomplish empathy reflect actions to "minimise antipathy" and "maximise sympathy" between the speaker and the hearer (Leech, 1983, p. 132).

In general, this research meets criticism directed at the first wave approach in which the definition of politeness reflects the speaker's meaning (cf. Terkourafi, 2005). The limitation of employing questionnaires to study criticism in this regard, is that they only present the imaginative world. The respondents receive a set of hypothetical contexts and imagine them. The researcher then asks them to write their criticism against hypothetical interlocutors, or not to express the intended criticism. I perceived it as written responses, as the researcher does not state that he records the criticism. He also states that he distributed 420 copies of the

questionnaires and only received 165 copies back; an indication that the results are in written form.

The prerequisites in the *bald on record* and *act not performed* indicate that Brown and Levinson's (1987) theories require local values in their applications. The theories are only applicable when they meet norms of a relational network. Concerning this point, the theories are only able to define how to be polite but not the phenomena of politeness (i.e. why do the participants behave politely). The prerequisites, then are insight extension of the theories based on local contexts. To be able to describe the phenomena of politeness, there should be reference to the contextual social norms. Within Javanese culture, social orders index social relationships, which in turn influences criticism, as depicted by Gunarwan. Referring to Figure 5 (Chapter 2), the social orders reflect *empan papan* (place consciousness) manifested in social etiquette, i.e. *tata krama*. The Javanese etiquette of *tata krama* (Errington, 1988, p. 34) is basically an evaluation of one's place within a historical network with others. To ensure proper conduct, each Javanese must raise two questions: 'who am I?' And, 'who are you to me?' (Errington, 1988). The answers to the questions define the social distance of the participants, which becomes the benchmark for further polite acts.

*Tata krama* guides how an individual should behave toward superiors and inferiors, including dress code, speech levels, tones, etc. Errington (1988, p. 37) describes this hierarchy in his narration of sitting arrangements in *priyayi's* house. He illustrates *tata krama* in *pendapa* ("a large, frequently quite spacious, pavilionesque construction with open sides") and the *dalem*, a room behind the *pendapa*.

Which seat will be used, and who will sit where, was traditionally calculated in terms of relative status of guest and host. The higher the status of the guest, the closer to the *dalem* they sit. A guest who is considerably superior to the host will sit in the seat closest to and facing away from the *dalem*, appropriating the role of the (figurative) head of the household he or she is actually visiting. If the host is of superior or roughly equal status with the guest – far more frequently the case, because it is typically the inferior's place to visit the superior, rather than reverse – he or she will sit either closest to and with his or her back to the *dalem*, or in one of the seats intermediately distant, facing the guest on a parallel with the wall of *dalem* (Errington, 1988, p. 37)

Current social actions preserve such conduct based on the evaluation of place hierarchy, for instance in formal meetings, i.e. *arisan RT*. *Arisan* is a social gathering where each member submits an amount of money. The sum of the collected money goes to a member who wins a draw. The member who wins the draw has to keep joining the next gathering and submits the same amount of money, although the member has no right to join the next draw. *RT* stands for

*rukun* (harmony) *tetangga* (neighbour) or closest in meaning to neighbourhood association. It is the lowest institution of the structural organisation of the Indonesian government. Even though the institution is the smallest government board, the leader is a volunteer. I include RT in the government board because requirements for government services, e.g. identity card or KTP, must receive a recommendation letter from the RT leader.

*Arisan RT* is a monthly routine neighbourhood gathering organised by RT to discuss social problems or disseminate information from the government. The host is one of the members, who take it in turn to host the gathering. Each member pays a sum of money submitted to the host to buy food and drink for the gathering. I have often participated in this sort of gathering. A master of ceremony, who is commonly the secretary of the RT leader, usually opens the meeting. He acts as the moderator of the meeting. In the opening session, he reads the agendas. Prior to the main agenda, a guest with a senior position in the government board is followed by someone from a lower level, and each gives a speech. In every speech, there is a statement of respect from the speaker delivered to the audience hierarchically. For instance, when the leader of *RT* gives a speech, firstly he humbly delivers his respect to the leader of village orally, which is followed by a statement of respect for the elders (*sesepuh*), and finally, to all the audience. In this example of *arisan RT*, *tata krama* (etiquette) is implicitly intended to preserve social order within society. The order of the speeches exhibits who is more powerful and who is inferior, as well as who are elders and who are younger.

### ***Mock impoliteness and laughter in criticism***

Different to previous research on the nature of the data, the following analysis presents a picture of criticism among Javanese families, particularly on laughter and mock impoliteness, based on natural recorded conversation. The sequential analyses produce detailed descriptions of the role of each participant in their production and reception footings. Moreover, the analyses are able to construct the evaluation process among the participants. The data is also quantified to see regularisation behaviours among the participants (see Table 15). The analysis determined criticism characterised with (1) openness, (2) verbal insult, which is not followed by laughter, (3) verbal insult followed by laughter, and (4) criticism having the pattern of verbal insult-respond-verbal insult-laughter.

### **Overtness and intimacy**

The analysis of im/politeness and gender evaluation begins with two types of criticism, specifically criticism aimed at direct addressees and participants who are not co-present in the emergent conversation. Table 15 indicates a different tendency in the first and the second

criticism. Javanese people tend to be more assertive (e.g. overt) in the second than the first. The most common ways to criticise the directed addressee are by way of jocular speech.

Fragment (A) indicates the two types of criticism. The husband concurrently criticises two parties: the figure (i.e. the wife), besides the non co-present potential targets (i.e. the football managers). As the wife is the principal who promotes Mr. Satriyo and Mr. Renggono as the football managers, criticising the potential targets means evaluating the wife's decision to choose them as the football managers. Javanese people commonly categorise criticism toward the in absentia potential targets (i.e. the football managers) as *ngrasani*. In other words, he concurrently criticises the figure (i.e. the wife) and *ngrasani*, the in absentia third parties. The two arrows of criticism and *ngrasani* occasion different moral evaluations. Meanwhile im/politeness gradients related to criticism depend on the participants' evaluation, Javanese values, morally, disfavour *ngrasani*. Talking about the in-absentia co-figure may refer to the positive quality of the person, but commonly it declares their negative valence behaviours. *Ngrasani* means "to talk about s.o. (behind their back) (Robson & Wibisono, 2013), which is usually "to speak ill of someone, to gossip about them" (C. Geertz, 1960, p. 239). In his book, Emha Ainun Najib ([1996] 2015, p. 285), a famous writer in Indonesia, criticises the dress code of Gus Dur (a charismatic Muslim leader in Indonesia), and remarks "*saya ngomong begini bukan berarti ngrasani Gus Dur*" (I do not mean to *ngrasani* Gus Dur using my words). Referring to Locher and Watts (2005, p. 11), Najib's statement denotes "negatively marked" behaviour (see Figure 1), which is potentially impolite, or violates the norms of *ngrasani* (e.g. *ngrasani* is an unfavourable social action). This sentence signals to the readers that his criticism might be eligible for *ngrasani*. He might also be aware that *ngrasani* is an unfavourable action, which potentially occasions negative evaluation.

In fragment (A), the husband disparages the wife overtly as well as uses verbal insults without laughter to describe the third parties negatively. The term overt or open has the opposite meaning to indirection discussed in Chapter 2. To express his disagreement, he not only questions the third parties' capabilities, he also mocks them using "tuwek-tuwek" (old men) (3) and "ngincer-ngincer" (8). The two words emphasise the predicted inability of the old men as football managers. The repeated word "tuwek-tuwek" is originally from the plural word "tuwa-tuwa" (N; old). The "tuwek-tuwek" gives the impression that they are very old. The word "ngincer-ngincer" means to look at with one eye closed. It is like a hunter's eyes when he is pointing his gun at an animal he is hunting. The utterance (8) is closer in meaning to dysphemism of mock impoliteness. The husband mocks the third parties as the managers, who are only able

The patterns of criticism in Javanese family	
utterance(s) or actions indicating:	Frequency
overt criticism	29
jocular criticism	40
indirect criticism	5
decreasing degree of criticism	18
overt ngrasani	77
indirect ngrasani	2
decreasing degree of ngrasani	15

**Table 15: Utterances indicating the patterns of criticism**

to look at the players who are leaving. The connotative meaning of the utterance is offensive, it attacks the third parties but the meaning is not necessarily true. The husband insults the old men but he does not mean to be impolite because it was only meant as “banter”. The wife’s remark (9)-(11), which explains the reasons underlying her decision instead of evaluating the sarcastic sentence, indicates she does not evaluate negatively (e.g. impolite) the utterance.

Fragment (B) is another example of *ngrasani*. The wife is the author of the conversation who introduces the in absentia potential target as the main image of her *ngrasani*. She criticises the unfair services given by a shop assistant as having a sadistic (“sadis”) manner ((13) and (31)) in two different ways. At the beginning, she criticises the third party without laughter; however, at the end, her disapproval is followed by laughter. In undertaking the criticism, she roots her assessment in larger moral orders when she states that the verbal aggression is for “dudu bakul” (non-reseller or end user) (12). This is a generic phrase, which refers to a group of people. In other words, she intends to say the members of the intended group perform the same evaluation as she does. “Bakul” is a buyer (or buyers) who resell their merchandise to end users. “Dudu bakul” means end customers who buy the merchandise for their own use. Suffix –ne (the) attached to “pelayanan” (service) (13) refers to the shop assistant who is the in-absentia potential target. Expressing implicitly the service quality only to “dudu bakul”, she intends to assess the shop assistant’s traits in relation to the “dudu bakul”. As the word sarcastic, in general, has a negative reference, she evaluates the shop assistant’s behaviour negatively. In terms of Javanese culture, the wife is the author of *ngrasani* and the target of the social action is the shop assistant. Different from fragment (A), the social action of *ngrasani* in fragment (B) only depicts the perceived faults of the potential target (third party) who is not co-present without any reference to the direct addressee.

(B) D25. 6984-6997 – appendices: 1903-1926

12. W: *Ngono kui tho engko nek sing tuku dudu bakul tho,*  
In that case-N PAR-N later-N if-N who-N buy-N not-N reseller-N PAR-N
13. *Pelayanane sadis kae.*  
The Service-N sadistic-BI that-N  
*In such cases if the buyers are not resellers, they get sadistic (sarcastic) services.*
14. H: *Opo iyo tho, bedo tho?*  
What-N yes-N PAR-N different-N PAR-N  
*Are you sure? Is it different?*
15. W: *Bedo, misale sing dinggo kulakan kui lho.*  
Different-N for instance-N which-N use-N buy-N that-N PAR-N
16. *Aku kan dek wingi tuku,*  
I-N PAR-N yesterday-N buy-N
17. *kan misale wani tuku telu tanpa berpikir panjang berarti kui*  
PAR-N for instance-N brave-N buy-N three-N without-N think-N long-N mean-N
18. *kan bakul tho. Aku kan tuku siji, Wah nek tuku telu*  
PAR-N buyer-N PAR-N I-N PAR-N buy-N one-N wow-N if-N buy-N three-N
19. *terus sing loro dinggo opo? Terus aku ngomong, loro yo mbak?*  
then-N which-N two-N use-N what-N then-N I-N say-N two-N PAR-N sister-N
20. *Minimal tiga, jare sing dodol.*  
Minimum-BI three-BI say-N the-N seller-N
21. *Ngono kui ki wis ra digape wisan.*  
In that case-N PAR-N finish-N ignore-N already-N
22. *Maksute awakke dewe wis ngenyang-ngenyang*  
Mean-N we-N already-N bargain-N
23. *ngono kui wis ra digagas yoan. Wis wegah melayani.*  
In that case-N already-N ignore-N also-N already-N not enthusiastic-N serve-N
24. *Kudune minimal setengah kodi.*  
Should-N minimum-BI ten  
*It's different, for instance wholesale. I went shopping yesterday, for instance, those who bought three without thinking any longer, they were resellers. I bought only one. If I bought three pieces, what are the two for? Then I said, is it okay to buy only two for my sister? At least three, the seller said. In such cases, they ignored me. I mean if we were trying to bargain, they also ignored us. They were not enthusiastic to serve anymore. The buyer should buy ten pieces.*
25. H: *Lha kowe dilayani apik*  
PAR-N you-N serve-N well-N  
*But you were served well*
26. W: *Yo ora gor aku thok. Pokoke angger bakul dilayani apik.*  
PAR-N not-N only-N I-N PAR-N mainly-N every-N buyer-N serve-N well-N
27. *Pelayanane apik ngono lho.*  
The service-N good-N like that-N PAR-N  
*It's not only me. Every reseller is served well. The service is good.*
28. H: *Lha angger wis kulino tuku kan yo apal tho?*  
PAR-N if-N already-N regular-N buy-N PAR-N PAR-N remember-N PAR-N  
*If you come often, they know you.*
29. W: *Dek mben pas awal-awal kae mbakke sing dodol ngomong,*

30. Previously-N at the beginning-N that-N the sister-N who-N sell-N say-N  
*mbake iki ki nek tuku gor telu telu thok.*  
 The sister-N this-N this-N if-N buy-N only-N three-N three-N only-N
31. *Sadis banget pokoke ngomonge (laughing).*  
 Sadistic-N very-N mainly-N say-N  
*At the beginning the seller said, this sister always buys three. The utterances were really sadistic (sarcastic) (laughing)*

The husband's remark (14) questions the validity of the criticism. He attacks the moral orders underlying the wife's moral evaluation. He assumes that all customers have a similar gradient concerning positive services. Even though Haugh and Kadar (2013) define moral orders as "taken for granted" values, between two interactants who believe in two different moral orders, one of them may question the other's moral order as in (14). By means of the word "bedo" (different) (15), the wife defends her account. While describing the definition of resellers and end buyers, she reconstructs the shop assistant – buyer interactions underlying her evaluation. She defines resellers as any buyers who buy at least three variants of a product type (17). Through her statement in lines (16) and (26), it is apparent that the wife is a reseller. There are two trading centres related to fabric and groceries in Surakarta (i.e. Klewer and Beteng markets). Resellers commonly purchase their merchandise in these two markets. The shops in these markets sell many styles of clothing. One type of clothing style consists of a range of sizes (e.g., small, medium, large) and colours. They commonly give a low price to resellers and a relatively higher price to end users. Buyers who make a bid to buy only one or two clothes do not get a good response ("ra digape") from the shopkeepers (18)-(21). In line (22) she uses "awake dewe" (N; we) expressing her intention to generalise her experience that other buyers also receive similar treatment. She intends to refer to the general phenomena as the larger moral order for her moral evaluation. The "awake dewe" includes the hearer. As the hearer is not a reseller, she invites him to imagine her world, a space whereby many buyers bargain for the merchandise. In other words, it is not only her individual experience, but also the experience of the community.

The husband's remark (25) which confirms the wife's good service, reflects his evaluation in two ways. First, he confirms that the wife is a reseller. Second, he disagrees with the wife's verbal aggression (i.e. when she criticises the shop assistant as having sarcastic utterances). Once again, the wife generalises the service for all buyers; all resellers receive good service (26). Contrasting this statement to (12), she intends to confirm her evaluation (i.e. "sadis" or sarcastic) (13) is only applicable to end buyers. Thus, she claims the truth of her negative evaluation.

In (28) the husband argues that the poor service is the direct cause of undefined identity by the shop assistants. He believes that regularity is the prerequisite for good service. Even though the wife does not give explicit confirmation, her remarks (29)-(31) indicate her agreement with the husband's premises. The wife introduces her utterance with an adverb "dek emben" (a long time ago) (29). It refers to her experience in having sarcastic service, even though she has bought the minimal requirement of three pieces. The adverb does not indicate constant conditions, and therefore, it does not refer to the present condition. By accentuating a particular state of time, rather than constant meaning, she intends to inform that she does not receive sarcastic service anymore. The term "kae" (N; that) modifying "awal-awal" (BI; at the beginning) indicates a starting point for a current action that inherently includes gradual actions to reach the current state. Specifically, she agrees that regularity is another aspect by which to receive improved services.

In (30), the wife provides a sample of verbal aggression, which leads her to a negative assessment. The word "mbake" (the elder sister) is a title given by the shop assistant for the wife. The determiner "iki (this) ki (this)" stresses the existence of the figure (i.e. "mbake"). It informs us that evaluation following the words is only for the figure. The adverb "nek" (every time) indicates a recurrent action of "tuku" (to buy). The word "gor" (only) + repetition of "telu" (three) + particle "thok" concurrently emphasises the verb "tuku" and the quantity "telu". It means that "tuku" and "telu" are recurrent actions; every time she visits the shop, she always buys only three pieces. As the nature of shops is to expect the customer to buy more, the wife's habit is an action that the shop assistant dislikes. For the wife, the over-emphasis occasions unpleasant feelings, which leads to its evaluation as verbal aggression (31). The laughter at the end of the sentence (31), after the wife reemphasises the sarcastic service, may reflect what Reichenbach (2015, p. 520) terms "reinterpreting an uncomfortable situation as a humorous one". Discussing the incident might evoke the unpleasant feeling. The laughter potentially indicates an effort to distance her from experiencing the feeling of discomfort once again.

Two fragments ((A) and (B)) demonstrate how a Javanese husband and wife overtly criticize the third party in-absentia. These two conversations represent the higher number of overtness in criticism, displayed by Table 15. Regarding Javanese etiquette (see Figure 5), overtness does not align with an implicit pattern, which is applicable to sustain emotional equanimity. The openness and verbal insult in criticism reminds us of behaviours, which are against spiritual potency (see Chapter 2). This ideology suggests that the Javanese control their acts and utterances in order to create emotional peace individually and collectively. Thus, in

terms of Javanese norms, verbal aggression (e.g. sarcasm) should occasion a negatively valent evaluation (e.g. impolite, bad manner, etc.). However, the participants in the two relational networks (e.g. fragments A and B) do not indicate such negative moral evaluation. The man and woman participants in (A) and (B) use verbal insult respectively to frame the third parties negatively. The absence of the negative evaluation is reflected by the ways they respond to the criticism. Both the wife (A) and the husband (B) do not evaluate the overtness and verbal insult of the criticism, rather they express their disagreement toward the reasons underlying the criticism. The wife in fragment A consistently rejects the physical age as the factor to promote football managers. She does not disapprove of the way the husband expresses his disagreement. Moreover, in fragment B, the husband does not evaluate the sarcastic word (e.g. *sadis*) intended for the shop assistant. The ways in which they respond to the criticism point to the acceptability of overtness and verbal insult in criticism. In relation to gender, the two fragments indicate that either men or women can potentially express their disparagement toward the third party overtly.

The identity of the ratified and unratified participants may explain the absence of the negative evaluation. Koentjaraningrat (1985) argues that in Javanese culture, the relational networks of the two fragments (i.e. family) are characterised by “*tresna*” (love) (p. 140); an exceptionally close relationship, whom the members “[know] very well, and to whom [they] will always be good” (p. 250). Such a relationship builds trust, which allows the members to share information openly. As we have discussed in Chapter two, the information regarding Javanese culture may occasion social disturbance, the existence of the criticised person besides the direct addressee plays a vital role in the overtness of criticism. On the one hand, the not co-present criticised person makes the disparagement safer from social conflict. Disparaging the addressee overtly may cause feelings of discomfort and, hence, may endanger their social relationship. Conversely, the ratified addressee, who is in a close relationship, gives the producer of the criticism the grounds to express his or her words overtly. Criticising the third party in front of a person, who does not have a historical relationship that can be trusted, may create an unsecured relationship, because the hearer may report it to the criticised third party. In other words, overtness and verbal insult in criticism indicate an intimate relationship between the present participants of a conversation. As a comparison, the following fragment (C) involves a wife (W), her husband (H), and her father-in-law (F). Whilst, intimacy and love symbolise the relationship between the wife and the husband, the fragment indicates that the woman has respect for her father-in-law. Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 248) argues that, in Javanese culture, “*aji*” or respect

includes the feeling that the intended person is superior. Having such a relationship, the woman criticises a non co-present person reluctantly (32-33).

(C) D2. 443-447 – appendices: 200-208

32. W : *Ndisik nek anu yo kethoke yo pak Haryo kui*  
 Previously-N if-N what-N PAR-N look-N PAR-N title&name that-N
33. *yo terlalu membela anak-anak pondok dadine yo (chuckle)*  
 PAR-N too-BI defend-BI children-BI house-N so-N PAR-N  
*Previously if there was something, it seems that Mr. Haryo overly defended the orphaned children, so (chuckle)*
34. F: *Ho oh yo nganti rame mbek sopo ngono yo*  
 Yes-N PAR-N until-N argue-N with who-N like that-N PAR-N  
*Yes, until he argued with someone*
35. W : *Lha nggih.*  
 PAR-N yes-K
36. *Jenenge kan kesalahan itu kudu didelok sik sing salah sinten.*  
 Name-N PAR-N mistake-N that-N should-N see-N first-N who-N wrong-N who-K
37. *Ning dereng-dereng wis pokoke wis mbelo cah pondok sik*  
 But-N not yet-K already-N mainly-N already defend-N child-N house-N first-N
38. *kan ngoten pak Haryo niko sikape.*  
 PAR-N like that-M Mr. name that-M the attitude-N
39. *Koyo Heri barang niko kan ngaten niko ndek mben niko*  
 Like-N name also-N that-M PAR-N like that-M that-M in the past-N that-M  
*Yes, It's true. A mistake should be examined carefully to see who is wrong. But he said pokoke<sup>16</sup> and defended the orphaned children, it was the attitude of Mr. Haryo. It was just like Heri did sometime ago*

In the conversation, W disapproves of Haryo's action, which she perceives as a fault (32)-(33). The word *kethoke* (seem) softens the gradient of the wife's criticism. This word is able to reduce the offensive degree of the utterances. This word implicitly requires others to confirm or evaluate her criticism. The ratified addressee should not take it for granted but, rather, make it an object of evaluation. Any approvals make her criticism common ground and therefore, point to shared real-world consequences with others. The relationship context among the wife, the father-in-law (F) and Haryo may give the reason for using the word. The title *pak* (Mr) before Haryo indicates that she respects him. As a comparison, she does not give any titles before Heri (39). The absence of a title for Heri probably indicates two things: he is younger or a friend. The social identity of Mr. Haryo as a respected person, in addition to the existence of the father-in-law, as a highly respected person restrains her from expressing her criticism overtly. In line (33), rather than continuing her criticism, she stops evaluating Mr. Haryo and then chuckles. The

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<sup>16</sup>*Pokoke* is a term which is used to start or mark an argument when the speaker does not want to listen to other people's reasons or arguments.

particle “yo:::” suspends her criticism and lets others interpret her meaning. The chuckle decreases the tense of her disapproval. It also makes her approachable in the sense that she will be available to listen to the opinions of others.

The father’s agreement (“ho oh”; yes (34)) increases the gradient of negative evaluation toward Mr. Haryo. The alignment gives the woman a confidence to continue her evaluation. The father’s agreement gives W moral support to continue (35) the restrained criticism in (33). In her utterance, the word “nggih” (yes), which is *krama*, indicates her respect and the superiority of F. To express her criticism of Mr. Haryo, she has general values that a mistake should be the responsibility of the doer (36). She assesses that Mr. Haryo has violated the larger moral order (37) because he does not undertake a prudent evaluation based on the moral orders given and thus, she evaluates him negatively (38).

Fragment (C) proves that the existence of participants potentially influences ways to deliver criticism. Showing respect through refined speech and tones is a crucial aspect of politeness within Javanese culture to those who are in high rank and older (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 54). The asymmetric pattern of *basa* and *ngoko*, the chuckle, and reluctant criticism may represent “more elaborate [...] behavioral patterns” (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 54) to express more politeness.

Fragment (B) is the opposite to fragment (C). The conversation (B) is more informally categorised with “kasar” (crude) tone, “It is loud, rough and rapid, and it involves greater extremes of intonation” (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 55). Thus, mock impoliteness, such as in (B), represents informality which is applicable when addressing someone with whom the speaker is very familiar. Thus, mock impoliteness in criticism may function not only to reflect but also to maintain the intimate relationship.

In the next fragments, the participants reflect the functions through laughter and self-teasing or self-mockery. The responses indicate that the criticised person evaluates the offensive criticism as humour instead of aggressive behaviour. The absence of the evaluation of impoliteness may mean that the offensive criticism does not break the norms of the relational network. To understand the implicature of offensive utterances as being friendly (Leech, 1983, p. 144), the participants potentially refer to a latent network within their relational work (Watts, 2003, p. 153). It could be “[f]orms of recurrent schematic behaviour which follow patterns associated with relating – primarily understandings of politeness, besides humour” or “conventional” (Kádár & Mills, 2013, pp. 143-144). Locher and Watts (2005) argue that such relational work may have a social function to maintain the harmony of a group or society. Thus,

regularised criticism symbolised by verbal insult, laughter and self-teasing, potentially reconfirms and strengthens the social binding of the participants.

### Mock impoliteness and laughter

The previous, as well as the next fragments verify the recurrent actions of criticism. It means that society has shared the relational network's (e.g. family's) conventionalised criticism. In other words, mock impoliteness and laughter are two crucial parts of criticism among Javanese people having an intimate relationship. The response of such criticism could be serious (the addressee does not use jocular speech) or be delivered in a jocular tone. The following conversation (fragment (C)) reflects a pattern of mock impoliteness – laughter – serious tone.

Fragment (D) is about a wife who constructs a conversation to propose a request to her husband, a request that leads to the social action of criticism in the subsequent turns. The fragment starts with a discussion respecting her husband's next meeting in his workplace.

(D) D.4. 1434-1444 – appendices: 664-686

40. W: *Lha meeting e suk kapan njenengan*  
PAR-N meeting-ENG the-N when-N you-KI  
*When will you have the meeting?*
41. H: *Meeting e akhir bulan*  
Meeting-ENG the-N end-BI month-BI  
*The meeting is on the end of month*
42. W: *Nginep mboten?*  
Stay overnight-N no-K  
*Will you stay there overnight?*
43. H: *Ora ngerti, wong jadwal rung nggenah thik*  
Not-N understand-N because-N the schedule-N not yet-N clear-N PAR-N  
*I don't know, I haven't got the schedule.*
44. W: *Yo ojo nginep*  
PAR-N don't-N stay overnight-N  
*Please don't stay there overnight*
45. H: *Heh?*  
What-N  
*What?*
46. W: *Ampun sare kono no*  
Don't-M stay overnight-KI there-N PAR-N  
*Please don't stay overnight there*
47. H : *Meeting suwen-suwen ngopo koyo meeting nasional wae*  
Meeting-ENG long time-N why-N like-N meeting-ENG national-N only-N  
*Why? Should I have a long meeting just like the national meeting?*
48. W : *Lha biasane nek meeting ning perusahaan sing riyen ngoten njenengan*  
PAR-N usually-N if-N meeting-ENG in-N company-N previous-M like that-N you-KI  
*You usually had such a meeting at the previous company*
49. H : *Nginep, nyanyi po piye?*  
Stay overnight-N sing-N what-N how-N

*Staying overnight, is it to sing?*

50. W : *(chuckle) lha sing perusahaan riyen mesti tiga hari, dua hari*  
PAR-N the company-N previous-M must-N three-BI day-BI two-BI day-BI  
*(Chuckle). It is usually three days. It was two days at the previous company*
51. H : *Kui rak meeting ning BCD. Sing anyar yo ora anu*  
That-N PAR-N meeting-ENG in-N name the new one-N PAR-N not-N what-N  
*It was the meeting in BCD. The meetings in the new company are not like the old one.*

At the beginning of the fragment, she questions the time of the meeting. It seems that the question is similar to participants in Chapter four, who gradually inform their main intention. She uses it to gather adequate information before she expresses her main intention (44). The inference comes from the fact that she raises another question on a new entity that embeds within the meeting. She assumes that her husband will stay overnight at the meeting place. In search of the answer, she raises an enquiry in line (42). Unfortunately, the remark does not meet her expectation. The husband could not give a specific answer (43). Actually, she would prefer it if her husband does not stay overnight at the meeting location (44). Her utterance, which is in N style, implies a request.

The husband remarks in a very short particle with a raising intonation at the end (45). The “heh” in such intonation is closer in meaning to the English “what?” or “pardon?”. The wife evaluates it in two steps. First, the husband may not fully understand her intention. Second, it may reflect an evaluation of the inappropriateness of her request, in addition to the N style. The second evaluation arises because, if he only has the first evaluation, the wife may repeat her intention in the same manner as in (44). In fact, she refines her repetition of the intention from the N style (44) to *basa* style (45). She changes the word “nginep” (N; stay overnight) with the honorific “sare” (KI; sleep). She also adds the M word “ampun” (don’t). In her request (46), the common requirement to stay overnight is more than a one-day meeting, and consequently, she assumes that the husband will have a long meeting.

The husband remarks in jocular mockery (47). He is joking around with his wife by comparing the meeting with a national meeting. He assumes there is mutual knowledge between them and even in larger moral orders that, in general, a national meeting frequently takes longer to finish. The success of the assumption is the requirement to generate the relationship between the answer and the request. The failure to attend to the common ground knowledge leads to a false interpretation of the implicit meaning of the remark. As the analyst, I assume that a national meeting invites many employers representing many branches of the company and thus, it must take considerable time to complete. In this turn, the question word

“ngopo” (N; why) negates the modified word “suwen-suwen” (N; long time), besides the wife’s assumption about the next company gathering (i.e. he will have several days meeting). The next word “koyo” (N; like; as) likens the modifier “suwen-suwen” to national meetings and hence, denies the validity of the modifier for the immediate meeting. Specifically, he intends to say the next meeting does not take a long time to finish. Rather than simply fulfil the wife’s request, the husband criticises the wife’s assumption. As he does not have a national meeting, relating the wife’s assumption to a national meeting is a mockery. Attacking how she reaches the conclusion underpinning her request, the husband’s answer does not indicate an evaluation of impoliteness. It is closer to mock impoliteness.

The wife defends her account on (48). The word “biasane” (N; usually) assumes continual actions and the phrase “sing riyen” (previously) indicates past habit. She roots her assumption on the habit of the husband in the previous meetings. The word “ngoten” (K; like that) modifies “panjenengan” (KI; you) depicting the doer of the habit (e.g., the husband). Attacking the past habit of the husband, she defends the truth conditions of her request, as well as criticising the husband’s premises.

Whilst it is clear that the husband does not plan to stay overnight, he insists that the wife’s request does not make sense (49). He remarks in a jocular attitude, using a mocking tone. He assumes and believes the others have the same assumption that “nyanyi” (N; to sing) relates to “nginep” (N; stay overnight). The analyst guesses that “nyanyi” and “nginep” relate to a singing contest hosted by some TV broadcasters. The TV hosts usually require the contestants to stay in the given house until they are eliminated from the contest. By comparing a company meeting with a singing contest, he expresses his sense of humour. He also mocks the wife as the one who is not able to distinguish between a company meeting and a singing contest.

Up to this point, the first jocular mockery (47) receives a response that is in a serious tone. The stern remark potentially occasions another jocular mockery (49) (see also fragment (E)). The second mockery increases the gradient of jocular intention related to the speaker. The laughter (i.e. chuckle) before the wife’s utterance (50) indicates the successful evaluation of the humour, along with the banter. In responding to the offensive utterances, laughter may mean considering the jesting as playful manners. The friendly response indicates evaluation of (im)politeness; she considers the husband’s criticism is performed in an acceptable manner.

Following Jefferson (1984), laughter in criticism may be from a teller or a recipient. Our discussion in the previous section informs that laughter by the speaker follows three sequence patterns: playful speech – response – laughter (Holt, 2016). Whilst the previous fragment (D)

shows laughter as part of the criticised recipient's response, the next fragments follow Holt's sequence laughter. The jocular impoliteness may receive a serious response or jocular mockery, followed by laughter. On the one hand, the jocular mockery might be jocular mockery or jocular abuse. In contrast, there is a tendency that the successful evaluation of jocular impoliteness (e.g. friendly) occasion a self-teasing response. The laughter by the teller may accentuate the teller's jocular intention instead of offensive behaviour.

The recipient (H) in fragment (E) fails to understand the wife's humour intention immediately. Even though there is no evaluation of impoliteness, he considers her teasing to be serious instead of a jocular question. Based on the fragments, the speaker expresses his or her jocular intention of teasing, verbal insult or other aggressive behaviour via repetition and laughter. As in (E), the wife teases the husband two times before the husband understands the playful manner of the wife. The inference arises as the husband's response changes from a serious tone to self-teasing.

(E) D2. 804-810 – appendices: 477-493

52. W: *Opo iso diwoco kui?*  
What-N can-N read-N that-N  
*Is that readable?*
53. H: *Heh!*  
What-N
54. *Lha iki aku dewe mengko nek ono mahasiswa sing anu*  
PAR-N this-N I-N my self-N later-N if-N there is-N student-N who-N what-N
55. *pak kok nilai saya kok jelek.*  
Sir-N PAR-N grade-BI my-BI PAR-N bad-N
56. *Lha ini tak tunjukkan daripada aku moco mbaleni meneh.*  
PAR-N this-BI I-N show-BI than-BI I-N read-N repeat-N again-N
57. *Mending tak tandani.*  
Better-N I-N sign-N
58. *Lha wong kene judule studi kasus ning BMT Rama*  
PAR-N PAR-N here-N title-N study-BI case-BI in-N name
59. *kok ning jerone di beberapa BMT*  
PAR-N inside-N in-BI some-BI name  
*What! This note is only for me when students complain about their grades. It will be better for me to show it than to reread all their papers. It's better for me to make notes on it. How could it be? The title is a case study of Rama Bank but in the paper, she says it is in some banks.*
60. W: *Tulisane kok koyo resep dokter*  
The writing-N PAR-N like-N prescription-N doctor-N  
*Your hand writing is like a doctor's prescription.*
61. H: *Hmm*  
*Hmm*
62. W: *(chuckle)*
63. H: *Aku berkali-kali dilokke wong*

- I-N several times-BI am criticized-N people-N  
*Many people told me that*  
 64. W: *Arep dadi dokter ra sido kui*  
 Want-N become-N doctor-N fail-N that-N  
*You failed to be a doctor, didn't you?*

The wife (W) is the author of the conversation (E) who constructs criticism intended for her husband. She negatively evaluates her husband's (H) handwriting, which takes considerable effort for her to read (52). As the question does not present the subject who does the reading, she exaggerates the readers to include anybody. It is evident that she insults something of relevance to her husband in performing jocular mockery. Because it is impossible for the writer (i.e. the husband) to be unable to read his own handwriting, and the wife is possibly aware of it, her criticism is definitely part of a non-serious or jocular frame. Within a society in which the feeling of "isin" (shame) drives linguistic behaviours, such as Javanese (C. Geertz, 1960), insulting others is definitely unfavourable as it threatens their "isin" state. According to Koentjaraningrat (1985), "isin" may not be present in the relationship categorised as "tresna" (love), i.e. family. Jocular mockery, then, is a social action to index intimacy among participants.

The "heh" remark (99) expresses sudden astonishment. As this remark is in a lower tone, the husband receives a lower gradient surprise. There are two possibilities causing the surprise: it is not clear whether he does not expect the incoming stimulus or he disagrees with the content of the question. His response (54)-(59) informs that he only succeeds in interpreting the textual criticism, but fails to understand the implicature of the jocular mockery. The utterance "Iha iki aku dewe" (it is only for me) (54) expresses his intention of self-defence, i.e. he is able to read it and does not expect others to read it. Through a series of proposals in lines (54)-(59), he evaluates the question as a serious criticism, instead of teasing in a playful manner. There are no dictions or tone indicating an evaluation of impoliteness in this disagreement.

W's ensuing utterance (106), which continues to attack H after his serious remark and her chuckle (62) indicates her intention of jocular mockery. Rather than expressing an appreciation of the husband's remarks, she returns to tease the unreadable handwriting (60). She assigns negative categorisation to him. She equates the handwriting with a doctor's handwriting. There is a joke among Javanese to frame unreadable hand writing as a doctor's prescription. This is "a conventionally offensive expression within a non-serious or jocular frame" (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012, p. 1108). The way doctors write their prescriptions (at least in Java or in Indonesia) becomes a byword for unreadable handwriting because their patients are commonly unable to read the prescriptions. Associating doctors' handwriting with anyone's

unreadable handwriting indicates a negative valence evaluation of the writing jocularly. In responding to the wife's verbal insult, the husband does not provide another serious reason, rather he teases himself by exaggerating the wife's mockery (63).

The recipients in the following fragment (F), also have the same pattern in responding to mock impoliteness. The two fragments indicate a tendency to use self-teasing by agreeing and exaggerating the fact given by the speaker as an alternative remark to respond to such criticism. The way of expressing agreement toward personal abuse or mockery reminds us of the Javanese norm of *andhap asor* (see Chapter 2). Whilst Errington (1988) categorises rejecting a compliment as a proper attitude to meet *andhap asor*, accepting jocular mockery or jocular abuse has the same implicit meaning as rejecting a compliment. Both of the social acts reflect self-denigration, which is an essential factor of being polite in *andhap asor*. Agreeing the negative images reflects a humble manner and exaggerating the facts expresses a non-serious response.

(F) D6. 2248-2255 – appendices: 1989-2000

65. (Yawn). *Rebo berarti ning Yogja nek sehat. Nek ra kesel*  
 Wednesday-N mean-N to-N name-N if-N healthy-N if-N not-N tired-N  
*(Yawn). I will go to Yogja Wednesday if I am healthy. If I am not tired.*
66. W: *Nek sehat kok penang-pening ndak ndino ki piye*  
 If-N healthy-N PAR-N headache-N everyday-N PAR-N how-N  
 (short pause)
67. *Konsentrasi sedino sing masuk angine ...*  
 Concentrate-N one day-N which-N a type of sick-N  
*If you are healthy, why did you say that you get headaches every day? You are only able to concentrate for one day before you get sick for ...*
68. H: *Limang dino*  
 Five-N day-N  
*Five days*
69. W: *Limang dino. Opo kurang gizi kali? (chuckle)*  
 Five-N day-N what-N lack-N nutrition-N maybe-N
70. *digizeni ngono lho. Mik susu!*  
 Get nutrition-N like that-N PAR-N drink-N milk-N  
*Five days. Are you malnourished? (chuckle) Get some high nutrition food. Drink milk!*
71. H: *Ra tahu*  
 Never-N  
*I never drink it*

In fragment (F), the husband plans to go to another city the following Wednesday (65). The precondition “nek sehat” (if I am healthy) and “nek ra kesel” (if I am not tired) could be indicative of wish statements (like god willing statements). The wife's utterance (66) indicates his immediate physical condition, and that he is unwell and tired respectively at the time of

speaking. She teases his health sarcastically. While quoting the precondition “nek sehat” (if he is in good health), the wife questions the husband’s complaint of a headache. The stress on “nek penak” (if he is in good health) and “penang-pening” (headache) sounds sarcastic, because she paralyzes an expectation regarding getting a well health. The diction on “penang-pening” gives a unique and jocular tone related to the shift between “a” and “i”. The word “penang” itself does not have meaning without the occurrence of “pening” (headache). “Penang” is actually the repetition of “pening” to express a recurrent condition. The last phrase (i.e. “ki piye” (how is it) with an increasing tone at the end) expresses the intention of teasing. She questions the reason underlying his expectation because he gets a headache every day.

In general, it is impolite to mock the health of someone who is in an unhealthy condition. However, the husband does not consider it as impolite, but evaluates it as banter. His remark in (68) indicates this evaluation. After questioning the husband’s health, she attacks his work rhythm, whereby he is only able to work one day before becoming sick again. Before she finishes her utterance (67), the husband interrupts it with his humorous self-denigration (68) and he admits his poor health. It seems the wife is thinking of the proper word to end her teasing (67), but the husband interrupts by uttering the terrible fact about his health (68). He says the fact without anger in a slow tone. He teases himself as an unhealthy person. The wife repeats the husband’s word (115) in a jocular and slow tone “li:mang dino:”. The elongation of vowels reflects her intention to stress the husband’s terrible days. She even categorizes him as a person who is in a malnutrition state. The chuckle confirms that she intends to do banter in her utterance before and after it.

### *Conclusion*

A jocular tone may appear in a context in which the participants expect serious traits, for instance in Keller’s narration of a marriage proposal (see Chapter 2). The jocular tone in this context is closer to what Keller calls a “warm broth” of conversation. A Jocular manner is also effective to deliver criticism. This social action could be in joking around, teasing, verbal insult or other aggressive utterances. This overt and offensive utterance in a playful manner tends to emerge among participants who are in an intimate relationship, without considering gender status. It means that either male or female participants potentially express this mock impoliteness. This jocular behaviour is commonly associated with social action to build and maintain intimacy (Haugh & Bousfield, 2012), instead of being offensive. Moreover, there is a tendency that laughter follows mock impoliteness to express jocular intention.

The ensuing chapter will discuss the roles of identity and norms in a conversation. The roles will be presented in a figure of communication process. Identity and norms are two critical factors affecting how a speaker or a recipient expresses his or her intention to formulate his or her response respectively.

## Chapter 6

### Aspects of (Im)politeness Evaluations

#### *Introduction*

The previous discussion on linguistic (im)politeness consistently indicates relations between formal aspects, intention, identity and moral orders in (im)politeness evaluation. In these aspects, gender is part of social identities together with other social roles, e.g. a leader, a father, etc. In Figure 5, *empan papan* (place consciousness) leads to identities assessment of self and others, which occasions proper use of speech levels. The example of this etiquette is in language levels in the Javanese kinship system (Figure 7). Before expressing his or her intention in forms of utterances or actions, a sender (S) or a speaker should consider his or her positions, e.g. senior, younger, inferior, etc. in order to choose appropriate speech levels in a particular context. The recipient (R) or the hearer interprets the utterances by consulting the moral orders (e.g. *empan papan*) in order to understand the meaning underlying the use of the particular speech level. These processes reveal two levels of evaluation: concrete utterances, which may carry semantic meanings and abstract entities (e.g. intention, identity and moral orders), which may inform metalanguage meanings. To see how these processes lead to gender and (im)politeness evaluations, the following sections place them in a figure and discuss them in detail.

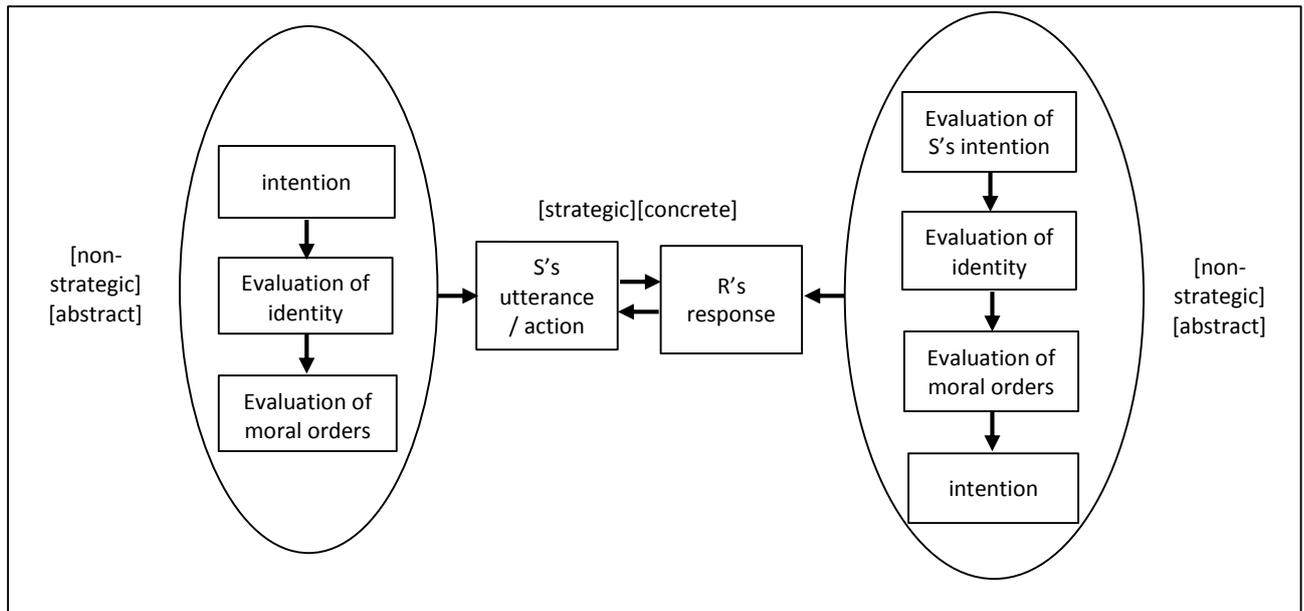
#### *Gender and (im)politeness in relational network*

The discussions in Chapter 2 – 5 demonstrate that gender, in regard to (im)politeness evaluation, is not only related to social identities which are passively constructed by the main ideology of their culture but it can also dynamically negotiate the ideology and construct in-group conventions. Several researchers use the principal ideology to evaluate the (im)politeness of men or women. Keenan (1974) categorises women in Madagascar as a group who oppose the ideology of non-confrontational norms (Smith-Hefner, 1988, p. 536), whilst Holmes (1995) uses the politeness patterns of white middle class New Zealanders to describe politeness norms as a whole (Mills, 2004, p. 174). Mills (2004) distinguishes two different norms regarding two diverse classes in the United Kingdom. On the one hand, middle class white women value highly negative politeness behaviour (e.g. deference and apologising) reflecting the main ideology of British culture. In contrast, working class people tend to engage in more positive politeness characterised by swearing more, as well as talking more loudly and more directly (p. 173). She argues that judgements directed at the second class are impolite because they do not qualify for

politeness in Britain, which is associated with 'civility', 'courtesy', 'good manners', 'good breeding' and 'a good upbringing' (p. 176). The examples show how the principal ideologies of politeness construct the norms of group interaction.

The cases of Javanese women, who use different speech levels for different social contexts (see Chapter 3), indicate a contested evaluation of (im)politeness. Mills (2004, p. 171) do not suggest that one type of politeness is only appropriate for each group but rather suggest that (im)politeness evaluation depends on "how one locates oneself in relation to class, gender and race". The dissimilarity among Javanese women in using speech levels to address their husband displays how they evaluate their social status in their networks and build norms of interaction between them. Different historical interactions among distinct networks potentially occasion different norms of interactions in addition to different evaluations of (im)politeness. Haugh (2013, p. 61) proposes a "tripartite framework", which does not only refer to the evaluations of sender (S) and recipient (R) but also historical interactions, which may affect the evaluation. They are expressive politeness<sup>1</sup>, classificatory politeness<sup>1</sup> and interactional achievement. Haugh (2007, p. 306) defines politeness<sup>1</sup> as "politeness encoded in speech, for instance, where the speaker aims at 'polite' behaviour". Classificatory politeness<sup>1</sup> refers to "politeness used as a categorisational tool; it covers hearers' judgements (in actual interaction) of other people's interactional behaviour as 'polite' or 'impolite' (Eelen, 2001, p. 35)". In order to acquire a better understanding of (im)politeness on the ways in which perception of politeness emerges in interaction, Haugh adds another category to politeness<sup>1</sup>, specifically "interactionally achieved politeness<sup>1</sup>". Referring to Arundale (2005, p. 59), he describes the final part of the tripartite framework as relating to "each participant's cognitive processes in interpreting and designing", which "are responsive to prior, current, or potential contributions the other participants make to the stream of interaction".

The interactional achievement may also include complex historical binding between individuals and their culture as well as group norms. Javanese language may reflect the existence of the binding in conversations. Within relational networks among Javanese people, social status dictates the use of speech levels. Errington (1985) reported dissimilar speech levels between two different generations of Javanese *priyayi* (gentry) families. "[T]he large majority of conservative *priyayi* [gentry] wives ... speak to their husband in *ngoko* with deferentials ... their own mothers spoke to their husbands in *krama* with deferentials" (p. 58; emphasis added). The examples reveal how the wives' evaluation of their networks, in regard to Javanese culture, affect their speech styles. On the one hand, the second families reflect a stronger relationship



**Figure 10: Aspects of (im)politeness evaluation**

with conservative norms (e.g. the wives should submit more deference (Smith-Hefner, 1988)). Conversely, the first families build their own group convention against the main ideology of Javanese culture. They prove that members of society may follow perceived cultural norms or construct relational network norms. They potentially use the same or different norms in interactions with members of other groups within or outside society. Figure 10 locates the identity and norms of interaction in the evaluation of (im)politeness.

### **Communication process**

The figure has two layers, specifically the cognitive process or “[non-strategic][abstract]” (Fukushima, 2004, p. 366) and physical entities or “[strategic][concrete]” (Fukushima, 2004, p. 366). The strategic aspects (i.e. action, utterance and response besides the attached non-linguistic behaviour of the utterance and linguistic response) are the reflections of the deep structure of mental processes. In other words, the sender or speaker undergoes a cognitive process first (consciously or unconsciously) prior to the utterance or action. To project his/her intention, the speaker should evaluate conversants’ identities and consult the norms of interaction. Japanese honorific words may reflect it. Ide (1989, p. 227) points out that to say “[t]he professor read this”, the Japanese sentence (1) “*sense-wa kore-o oyomi-ni-natta*” is appropriate instead of (2) “*sense-wa-kore-o yonda*”. The reason underlying this linguistic behaviour is that a professor (*sense*) is an honourable person and deserves to receive honorific words *oyomi-ni-natta* (read; oyomi-REF; ni-nat-HON; ta-PAST). The idea is referring to “social

convention<sup>17</sup>” (Ide, 1989, p. 227), the strategic utterance or action or response provides information on the cognitive processes prior to the concrete entities. The appropriateness of *oyomi-ni-natta* (read; honorific) instead of *yonda* (read), as the result of evaluation of identity, in which norms expect the speaker to express deference to the professor with an honorific (Hasegawa, 2012, p. 245). By way of this process, the intention to express polite manners follows the hypothesis that the first sentence is politer than the second expression. For the hearer to contribute to the conversation, he/she interprets the speaker’s utterance or action. He/she understands the polite intention of the speaker as he/she works under the same social convention. He/she, subsequently, formulates his/her response in more or less the same way as the speaker’s cognitive process in producing his/her utterance or action.

The failure to come to the same norms (i.e. between etic or outsider perspectives) potentially occasions misunderstanding in the evaluation of im/politeness. Chang and Haugh (2011, p. 420) and Kádár and Haugh (2013, p. 97) give an example in which the (Australian) English culture, represented by Wayne, has a different way to express apology compared to Joyce (Chinese). They talk on the phone. Before the phone conversation, Wayne could not keep his promise to come for dinner with Joyce’s family. In the conversation, Wayne only apologises once and does not attempt any further apology. Based on her cultural norms, it is sufficiently polite. However, Joyce evaluates it as impolite. Within her culture, Wayne should repeatedly state his apology, in order to express his sincerity (*chengyi*). This example indicates that both conversants root their interpretation of appropriateness in norms. Misunderstanding within this communication relies on self-identity (i.e. Wayne as an Australian and Joyce as a Chinese) tied with particular norms.

Based on such processes, Figure (10) involves identity and norms in the cognitive process of interaction. To see the validity of this figure, let us examine the following fragment (A). In this fragment, W (a daughter-in-law or a wife) switches from asymmetric patterns when she is in conversation with her father-in-law (F) to symmetric patterns to address her husband (H). The analysis exposes the ways the speakers and hearers generate (im)politeness evaluation

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<sup>17</sup> Ide argues that this Japanese politeness relates to *wakimae* (discernment). Kádár and Mills (2013) revisit discernment to include convention and ritual. “Relationally constructive conventions and rituals cover linguistic practices which form or maintain relationships through interaction ... Forms of recurrent schematic behaviour which follow patterns associated with relating – primarily understandings of politeness, as well as humour – can be defined as ‘conventional’. A conventional practice which is adopted by a social network, which takes on imitative mimetic functions, becomes a ritual (i.e., every ritual is conventionalised but not every convention is ritualised)” (Kádár & Mills, 2013, pp. 143-144).

embedded in an utterance or action and the position of im/politeness in interaction achievement.

(A) D2 266-271 – appendices: 415-427

1. F: *Pite dilebokke ora iki?*  
Bicycle-N bring in-N not-N this-N  
*Will you bring in the bicycle?*
2. W: *Nggih, riyen*  
Yes-K, a moment-?  
*Yes, I will do it in a moment*  
(short pause)
3. W: *Eh miris yo ditekak. Loro lho ditekak*  
PAR-N scary-N PAR-N strangle-N painful-N PAR-N strangle  
*Being strangled was horrible, wasn't it? Being strangled is painful.*
4. H: *Lha iyo kudune yo anu kok cah metu ngono kui eneng*  
PAR-N PAR-N should-N PAR-N what-N PAR-N child-N exit-N like that-N there is-N  
5. *gurune ngawasi terus ngono*  
the teacher-N watch-N continue-N like that-N  
*Of course, when the students left the class, there should be teachers watching them.*
6. W: *lha ning nek wong okeh ngono arepe ngawasi yo piye.*  
PAR-N but-N if-N people-N many-N like that-N want-N watch-N PAR-N how-N  
7. *Mosok diawasi siji-siji*  
Should-N watch-N one by one-N  
*However, if there are so many students, how do you watch them? Should the teacher watch them one by one?*
8. H: *Kudune nek ono cah gelut kan*  
Supposedly-N if-N there is-N child-N fight-N PAR-N  
*Supposedly, if there are children fighting*

This fragment has two parts: linguistic interaction between a father (F) and his daughter-in-law (W) ((1)-(2)) and between a wife (W) and her husband (H) ((3-8)). The wife or the daughter-in-law is the same person who changes her identity in relation to two different hearers. In this conversation, the father visits his son's house (H), who is in a conversation with his wife and his children. Prior to leaving the house, he reminds his son and daughter-in-law to bring in their bicycle (1). He hides the directive intention with a question. In general, there is a tendency among Javanese to express their feelings and meaning (*roso*) indirectly (C. Geertz, 1960; Gunarwan, 2001, p. 185). C. Geertz (1960, p. 244) describes this tendency as "to look north and hit south" (see Chapter 2). The word "ora" (not) with raising intonation on the end syllable contributes to making interrogative sentences. The absence of the tone transforms the sentence into an imperative. Superficially, it gives options to the direct addressees. However, many cases of burglary make the question a command for the "accounter[s]" (Haugh, 2013, p. 62) (i.e. his son and his daughter-in-law). The verb "dilebokke", which is passive form of bring in, makes it

easier to read the directive intention. The remark “nggih” (K; yes) on line (2) reflects a successful understanding of the indirect intention. The “nggih” carries meaning in two ways. *First*, the differentiated lexical meaning of the word indicates an agreement. Second, it reflects respect. This word is a *krama* variant of *yo* (N; yes). The sociolinguistic meaning of “nggih” displays a different seniority in social stances; the sender acknowledges her lower position vis-à-vis the hearer. Within the social context, linguistic etiquette expects the lower to express her respect with *basa*. The second word of the remark, “riyen” (M; ahead), reflects the hearer’s independence. As the word postpones the execution of the father’s directive intention, it reduces the father’s control toward the hearer.

An additional fact is that the two words are non-*ngoko* words. It forms an asymmetric pattern interaction; the father speaks in *ngoko* and gets *basa* in return. Linguistically, there are two possible answers: first, using symmetric *ngoko* style (i.e. *yo*, *mengko*) or second, using *basa* as in (2). The fact that W answers in the second style reflects a particular intention. Examining the rest of the conversation, in which she speaks in *ngoko* to her husband, the social identity of the father-in-law and the husband should underlie her linguistic behaviours. Referring to the Javanese kinship system (see Chapter 2), they have different seniority. A father is one-step higher than the ego (i.e. the daughter-in-law); while a husband is in the same line together with the ego (i.e. the wife). This system expects her to demonstrate more respect to the father than the husband. It justifies her moral obligation to use *basa* to the father and optional *basa* to the husband.

In other words, her intention to express gradient agreement toward the father’s directive intention should consider place awareness (e.g. social identity, seniority, etc.). The appropriate linguistic pattern for the addressee should conform to norms of interaction. At this point, the speaker (i.e. the daughter-in-law) should have assessed the moral evaluation (e.g. polite, impolite, rude, appropriate, etc.) of her answer before the production of the utterance or action. The response, subsequently reflects her intention of agreement with her father’s directive meaning and her intention of respect as well. From this flow of thought, we could describe the father’s *ngoko* utterance as the result of his evaluation of identity, in addition to moral orders. As the formal aspects do not indicate negative valence evaluation, the father, as the “ratified addressee”, and the husband, as the “side participant”, assess the women as having proper conduct. This linguistic interaction indicates that successful interaction does not only have the ability to infer the intention embedded in an utterance or action (e.g. directive, agreement, etc.) but also has moral meaning underlying the concrete utterance or action.

In the second part (3-8), the wife proceeds with the discussion of bullying. The particle “eh” (3) serves as a discourse marker to change the previous topic and start a conversation as well as to recall the topic discussed previously together with the father (see Appendices). The particle “yo (yes)” invites the ratified addressee (i.e. the husband) to respond to her utterance. The word “miris” (N; fearful) posits her in a position to oppose the bullying. The word “miris” indicates a feeling of disfavour.

The second sentence indicates her empathy toward the victim. The particle “lho” stresses the prior word “loro” (N; painful). Unexpectedly, the husband’s remark (4-5) does not pay considerable attention to the wife’s empathy; rather he prefers to posit the teachers as the “accounters who (explicitly or tacitly) hold the principal responsible” (Haugh, 2013, p. 62) for the bullying. The particles “lha iyo (of course)” reflects his alignment to the wife. It expresses his gradient of appreciation, even though he does not intend to make it the focus of conversation.

The particles have another function to show the cohesion between his preference topics (i.e. the teacher) and the wife’s empathy. The word “kudune” (should) introduces his preference for the theme following the word. The word also informs us that he regrets the lack of supervision from the teacher. In other words, he has a positive evaluation of the wife’s utterances. However, he negatively assesses the absence of the teacher among the students’ playtime. The “lha iyo” has another function of expressing his positive evaluation of the wife’s empathy. However, these particles together with other words do not reflect any evaluation of the wife’s linguistic style (i.e. the *ngoko* style does not occasion negative assessment).

As discussed in previous paragraphs, the wife shifts from *basa* (for the father) to *ngoko* (for the husband). The shifting is “unnoticed” or “unmarked” (Locher & Watts, 2005, p. 11). The shifting should not be a coincidental action, but it purposefully follows a particular social pattern. This shifting reflects the changing from deference to familiar. She assesses the identities of the two recipients differently. She evaluates the father vertically (i.e. superior) characterised with “*aji*” (respect) (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, pp. 250-251). However, she views the husband as horizontally categorised with “*tresna*” (love) (1985, pp. 250-251).

Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 250) argues that the vertical and horizontal assessment occasions different meanings. The first sight conveys awkward feelings (*pakewuh*) represented in *basa*. The second perspective leads to “unconditional love” and familiarity, reflected in the *ngoko* speech level. On this point, we can infer that the emergence of *ngoko* is the result of a process linking intention, identity and norms. The unmarked nature in this conversation indicates “positively marked” behaviour in which the husband perceives the wife’s empathy and

*ngoko* besides her cognitive reference to norms as “polite/politic/appropriate” (Locher & Watts, 2005, p. 12). Quantitative data supports this positive evaluation of *ngoko*. From the six recordings of this family in different settings, both husband and wife consistently use *ngoko*. The absence of negative evaluation on the *ngoko* in the recordings indicates unmarked and recurrent actions. In other words, *ngoko* has become the norm of interaction between them.

The next turns reveal disagreement between the wife and the husband. In line 6, the wife begins her utterance with particle “lha”. Similar to the husband in line 4 as the introduction for reasoning, the wife’s “lha” introduces her argument regarding the bullying. The word “ning” (but) following the particle indicates her opposite idea. She ends the sentence with “piye” (how), which increases her disagreement with her husband. She questions the ways of supervising the students. She does not state her disagreement with her husband explicitly, but the “ning – piye” reflects her support for the teacher. The exclamation of disbelief “*mosok*” at the beginning of the second sentence (7) increases the degree of disagreement with the husband. She exaggerates the husband’s idea by assuming that the teachers should supervise the students one by one. The “*mosok*” reflects her disagreement that such supervision is unacceptable. The wife criticises the way the husband attacks the teacher. The husband thinks that the teacher should be responsible for the bullying but the wife disagrees with his opinion.

In the following line (8), the husband defends her account. He begins his remark with “*kudune*” (supposedly, necessarily) indicating his assumption of an ideal condition. He intends to specify the nature of supervision in a particular case (e.g. fighting). The husband uses “*kudune*” twice ((4) and (8)). Starting sentences with this word, he assumes that the public acknowledges his ideas. In other words, he intends to root his assumptions in larger moral orders or norms. As the sentence in line (8) following this word attacks the teachers who are not co-present, he does not intend to discredit his wife personally. Hence, there is no evaluation of impoliteness concerning the wife.

The fragment indicates the existence of identity and moral orders or norms in the process of presenting intention in utterances or actions. To identify the sender’s intention, the recipient reaches the understanding of the intended meaning in two ways. First, the hearer interprets the meaning and the degree of im/politeness delivered by the speaker by means of the speaker’s utterance or action. Second, he/she might conform to norms through the regularity of action in the network.

## *Intention*

Pragmatics views intention as the key assumption in understanding human interactions. A significant amount of pragmatic theories have described speaker intention and hearer interpretation (e.g. Arundale, 2008, 2012; Haugh, 2008, 2012, 2013; Haugh & Jaszczolt, 2012; Levinson, 1983). Scholars commonly discuss intention in communication processes. Haugh (2008, pp. 201-202) argues, “If the intentions attributed by the hearers are roughly the same as those expressed by the speaker, then communication is considered to have been successful”. Basically, intention originates from a Latin term, which means “aiming in a certain direction, directing thoughts to something, with the analogy of drawing a bow at a target, it has been used to name the property of minds of having content, *aboutness*, being *about* something” (Haugh & Jaszczolt, 2012, p. 88). Intention, subsequently has attracted discussions within medieval philosophy, ordinary language philosophy (mid-1950’s) and formal semantic analysis (Haugh, 2009, p. 92; Haugh & Jaszczolt, 2012, p. 87). Based on Grice’s intention (1957), Levinson’s (1983, p. 16) reformulation of intention is extensively used (Arundale, 2008, p. 234).

*S meant – nn* [non-naturally] *z* by uttering *U* if and only if:

- (i) *S* intended *U* to cause some effect *z* in recipient *H*
- (ii) *S* intended (i) to be achieved simply by recognising that intention (i) (in Arundale, 2008, p. 234; Levinson, 1983, p. 16)

Furthermore, Levinson describes how successful communication (“being achieved”) involves a recognition of complex intention. “[T]he ‘sender’s’ communicative intention becomes mutual knowledge to a ‘sender’ (*S*) and ‘receiver’ (*H*), i.e. *S* knows that *H* knows that *S* knows that *H* knows (and so on ad infinitum) that *S* has this particular intention”. Arundale (2008, p. 235) disparages Grice’s intention as it primarily depends on the speaker’s reflexive intention rather than on causal intention. Apart from the meaning of intention in the wide areas (for detail see Haugh & Jaszczolt (2012)), I agree to use Haugh’s folk definition as “displays through interaction of what participants take to be the underlying aim, agenda or “project” of others (as well as themselves)” (2013, p. 53) in this paper.

As the abstract nature of intention, recognising one’s aim requires metalanguage, which potentially involve linguistic properties (e.g. utterances, prosody, etc.) and social contexts (e.g. historical relational networks, norms, etc.). As in fragment (B), the wife’s intention to tease the husband (10) is interpreted as aggressive criticism (13). The immediate negative evaluation on the first word introduced by the wife reflects latent network between them on “rebana”. The husband might have experienced an unhappy incident in relation to rebana in their past

relational networks. To see the relation among intention, linguistic properties and social context, sequential analysis of the fragment might be helpful.

(B) D.4. 1438-1444 – appendices: 686-697

9. H : *Kui rak meeting ning BCD. Sing anyar yo ora anu*  
That-N the-N meeting-ENG in-N name the-N new-N PAR-N not-N what-N  
*It was the meeting in BCD. The new one is different*
10. W : *Meeting rebana yo diitung?*  
Meeting-ENG name PAR-N count-N  
*Will you count the rebana meeting?*
11. H : *Meeting dewek-dewek*  
Meeting-N alone-N  
*Having the meeting alone*
12. W : *Lha iyo meetinge rebana*  
PAR-N yes-N the meeting-ENG name  
*You're correct, it is the rebana meeting*
13. H : *Kowe ngopo nlesik-nlesik?*  
You-N why-N investigate-N  
*Why did you investigate me?*
14. W : *Yo maksute ora nyipeng ora sare kono ngono*  
PAR-N mean-N not-N stay overnight-KI not sleep-KI there-N like that-N  
*kan mengko ndak ning omah dewe karo anake.*  
PAR-N later-N become-N at-N home-N alone-N with-N the child-N
16. *Mengko anake sing nggoleki*  
Later-N the child-N who-N look for-N  
*I mean you don't stay overnight there as I will be at home only with your son. Your son will look for you.*

There has been a change in respect regarding the topic of discussion from “nginep” (see fragment (D) of Chapter 5) to the “rebana” meeting (10). Kartomi (2012, p. 52) describes rebana as a frame drum, commonly known as *adok*, *rapano* or *rapa'i* in Minangkabau (West Sumatra, Indonesia). Rebana is “a set of frame drums, extensively recognised throughout the archipelago as Islamic musical instruments” (Paetzold & Mason, 2016, p. 295). A rebana regularly has metal jingles in its wooden frame. Several rebana musicians commonly play the instrument together in a group to produce harmonious orchestral sounds of drum and jingles.

In the husband’s utterance (9), the word “anu:” indicates an unfinished utterance. This word is applicable to give a break when there is a disruption of an idea, while the speaker struggles to ascertain the intended meaning. The wife interrupts the break while teasing her husband (10) in a low tone. The higher pitch is only on the word rebana, indicating the primary point of her intention. The wife uses N style to deliver her criticism. The word “diitung” (to be counted) indicates that rebana is not part of the meeting in BCD (9). Introducing the unrelated

topic (i.e. rebana), which potentially causes an unpleasant feeling to the main theme, replicates the intention of teasing. The feeling of unhappiness can be seen in line (13).

At the end of her utterance (10), the husband formulates the disrupted idea concerning the nature of the meeting in the new company and expresses it jocularly. He terms the meeting “dewek-dewek” (individually). This word is taken from the Tegal (Banyumasan) dialect of the Javanese language. The common word in the dialect Surakarta is “dewe-dewe”. As the Tegal dialect has unique tones and variants, some comedians use it as a source of humour in television shows. As the husband is not a native speaker of the dialect of Tegal, he intends to insert humour in his description of the meeting.

The wife considers that her intention (i.e. rebana) does not receive an adequate response; she repeats the rebana in a low intonation (12). The tense of the discussion increases dramatically. After a short pause, the husband remarks in rapid and high tones (13). It starts with a lower pitch in “kowe” (N; you) followed by a high tone for “ngopo” (N; why) rapidly. The subsequent intonation of the word “nlesik-nlesik” (N; investigate) is in a lower tone compared to “ngopo”, similar to “kowe”, although slower. Higher speed and tone, followed by the “nlesik-nlesik” reflect an evaluation of unfavourable manners related to the wife’s utterance. Nadeu and Prieto (2011, p. 841) argue that “increasing the pitch range of the final part of the utterance tone resulted in a decrease of perceived politeness”. Laplante and Ambady (2003, p. 438) established a fact in their experiment that for questions, “negative tone shifted perceptions toward lesser politeness”. “[E]valuations of politeness do not reside only in what people say. They are more often than not embodied in prosody, facial expressions, gestures and the like” (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, pp. 59-60). The word “nlesik-nlesik”, nevertheless, indicates an unpleasant historical network of a rebana meeting between them.

The wife successfully understands the husband’s intention to express an evaluation of impoliteness. In responding to the emotional question, the wife responds in a rather low and flat tone. She repairs the conversation. She immediately stops the discussion on rebana and returns to her previous request (see fragment (D) in Chapter 5), and she even inserts a few honorific words (e.g., “nyipeng” (KI; stay overnight) and “sare” (KI; sleep). The changing of interest indicates two concurrent evaluations. First, she evaluates her husband as being in a state of anger. Second, since the anger is in response to her previous utterance, she understands the husband evaluates her as having improper traits.

## *Identity*

Mills (2011, p. 41) argues that discursive theorists reject “pre-formed identities/roles which influence their choice of politeness and impoliteness routines.” Furthermore, she believes that interaction builds identities. (Im)politeness is the tool to construct individual identities. In other words, (im)politeness is the cause, and the identity is the effect. Smith-Hefner’s (1988, p. 535) finding regarding Javanese gender and politeness may describe this pattern. She argues that “it is Javanese men who strive to cultivate politeness for the purpose of expressing their superior status and authority”. Thus, politeness is the tool for Javanese men to build their identities.

However, fragment A in this chapter indicates opposing facts. It is not the asymmetric pattern, which constructs their social identity (i.e. husband and wife). However, the identity is the reason underlying the linguistic pattern. It is a tripartite conversation using two different speech styles in two types of politeness. The wife uses a symmetrical N style with the husband to express less deference between them. She switches to *basa* to reply to the father’s speeches. The existence of the father-in-law triggers the *basa*. Referring to kinship systems in Chapter two, a father is a social entity who deserves to receive respect. Based on this norm, she reflects her deference with the *basa* style. Thus, it is reasonable to infer that the father’s and the husband’s identities cause the shift from *basa* to *ngoko* style respectively. The identities are the cause and the styles (i.e. *basa* and *ngoko*) are the effect.

Terkourafi (2005, p. 250) argues that habit builds politeness and frame is the implementation of the Bourdieuan habitus. Utterances or actions are polite “because they are regular”(2005, p. 248). She (2005, p. 250) does not deny that there is a point of “no pre-established habit”. Under the absence of identity, the speaker will follow his/her assumptions concerning the recognisable intentions of the hearer. She argues that the assumptions do not present “reason in a vacuum”, but the speaker refers to familiar societal rationality.

Javanese tends to agree with familiar societal rationality. “Societal rationality is a necessary pre-condition of individual rationality, not an optional add-on. Societal rationality lays out before us the options, and individual rationality chooses among them” (Terkourafi, 2005, p. 250). Poedjosoedarmo (1968) argues that identification of the participants’ social standing is the prerequisite for the appropriate use of Javanese language. An elderly Javanese gentlemen who was the participant in Errington’s research (1988, p. 11) states “whenever two people meet they should ask themselves: ‘Who is this person? Who am I? What is this person to me’”. The conversants use these questions to locate their social stances in proper social construct in order

to produce proper speech levels. The fact that individual identities determine the applicability of speech levels, identity constructs (im)politeness evaluations.

Mill's idea that (im)politeness constructs one's identity sounds logical when the hearers and analysts assess formal aspects without considering norms and historical networks among participants. The wife's *basa* to her father-in-law in example A semantically defines her inferiority. Thus, *basa* superficially reflects her identity. However, the inference that she constructs *basa* because of her evaluation regarding the social identity of the father-in-law is more accurate in two ways. First, there have been established cultural norms, e.g., sons or daughters or youngsters should submit their respect to their parents or elders (cf. H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]). The norm becomes forceful, as Islam as the largest religion in Central Java (96.7%) and Yogyakarta (91.9%) (Statistik, 2010a) lays down the same principles. There is a Hadeeth (the second source of Muslim behaviour after the Qur'an) stating that the most highly respected person who anyone should honour is his/her mother, and the next person is still your mother, thirdly it is your mother, and the fourth is your father. Parents are the most respected people and mothers have three higher steps in honour than fathers. *Basa* is the polite tool for Javanese sons, daughters, or youngsters to express their understanding of the norms. Second, from the beginning of her intention to marry the man, the wife has constructed her identity based on these norms. The evaluation of social identity as a lower status than her father-in-law constructs the politeness patterns in her linguistic interactions. Of course, the ways to express respect because of the pre-existing norms vary from one network to another. Smith-Hefner and other ethnographic researchers reveal, "Javanese women are required to be more polite within the family where they receive less polite speech and offer more". In fact, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 of this research expose various politeness expressions across Javanese families.

There are two ways to construct identity, top down and bottom up. The norms underlying top down identification are relatively more stable than bottom up. They may change but not as rapidly as the second. The relational network between daughter and father-in-law in the final example exemplify top down identity. It is culturally predefined identities, which are commonly general in nature. Other cultures also recognise such social constructs, for instance the Balinese. Balinese norms construct social structure in the caste system, specifically Brahmana, Satria, Wesya and Sudra (Belo, 1936, p. 12). Thus, members of each social group should behave accordingly.

In Javanese, even though its culture has silent identification and grouping among individuals, it distinguishes an identity vacuum in the network. It is bottom up construction of

identity; individuals develop identities via historical networks among them, starting from unfamiliarity. The identity development, nonetheless, affects the proper assessment of linguistic styles. Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 249 emphasis and translation added) admits this vacuum or zero point, which he defines as a space occupied by the feeling of *ajrih* (fear); the feeling of Javanese people when “they do not know what the other person will do to them.” It is an unfamiliar space with strange people or beings. Javanese people are afraid of this space, as “it is a paralysed stunned feeling of not knowing what to do toward someone who may harm, hurt, or cause one to feel *isin* (ashame)” (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 249 emphasis and translation added). Under this unfamiliar space, there is a familiar societal rationality. The identification as strangers occasions evaluation of politeness to use *madya* [middle] style to address each other (Oakes, 2009).

Participants, subsequently, develop their identities through interaction. Their behaviour (linguistic or non-linguistically) may change across time based on the development of identity awareness between them. The nature of identity, then, influences the degree of politeness. Koentjaraningrat argues that the feeling of *ajrih* may move (1) vertically or (2) horizontally. *First*, the superiority identification of one toward another illustrates a vertical relationship in which the feeling of *sungkan* (awkward) and *aji* (respect) govern this network. *Second*, egalitarian networks build horizontal relationships. Positive valence evaluations of this relationship gradually occasion the feeling of *remen* (like) and *tresna* (love). An evaluation of relational networks does not always move positively but negative tendency may emerge in this process. Negative valence evaluation occasions the feeling of *getting* (dislike) or *sengit* (hate). Identity developed through interactions affects the expressions of politeness between the participants. On the one hand, a vertical relationship results in deference symbolised by asymmetric linguistic patterns. Conversely, the participants have less or even no deference in horizontal networks characterised by symmetric *ngoko* style.

The conversation B of Chapter 5 gives the example of this continuum evaluation of identity occasion the changing of politeness behaviour. In the beginning of the relationship between the shop assistants and the buyers, they classify the identity of the number of clothes they buy, which then results in the grouping of *bakul* (market seller) and *dudu bakul* (non-market seller or end user). The identities affect the service the buyers receive. The shop assistants typically serve them in a friendly or “sarcastic” manner (other shop assistants in different shops may behave differently). Occasionally, the shop assistants treat *bakul* who buy a limited number of clothes “sarcastically”. Regularity of purchasing clothes in the shop develops familiarity

between them and hence, guarantees friendly treatment. The identity of the buyer changes from a stranger to a friend. The wife in fragment B of Chapter 5 narrated that she got sarcastic utterances at the beginning of her contact with the shop assistants. However, she received friendly service from the shop assistants when she became familiar with them. On this point, it is clear that interactions may develop one's identity in a network, and the identity affects linguistic norms.

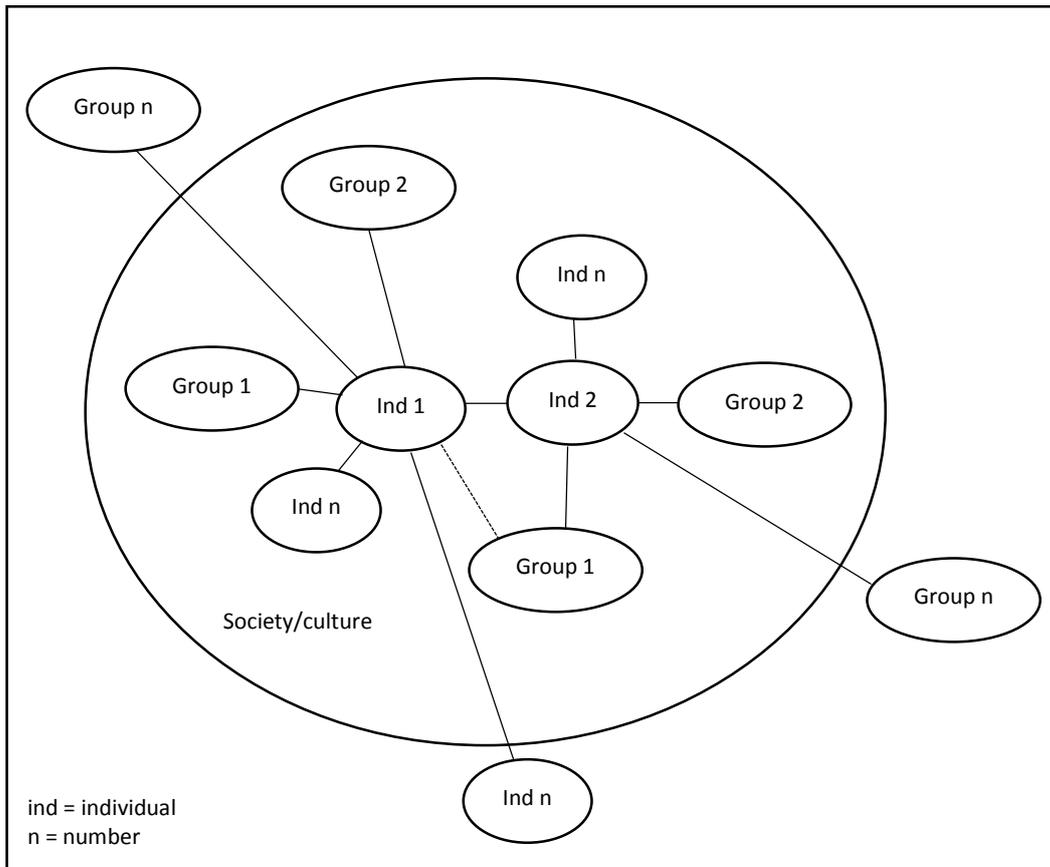
The last example expresses that a network (individual, group, society) has its own way to identify unfamiliarity and assigns particular norms on it. In the theory of identity, Simon (2004) points out that identity is cognitive and social in nature (Spencer-Oatey, 2007, p. 642). These two identities relate to an individual in his or her social networks. "On the one hand, people form cognitive representations of who they are that are relatively stable and enduring. On the other hand, they also construct and negotiate their identities through social interaction" (2007, p. 642). In other words, "the self is an outcome of the reflexive cognitive activity of role taking during cooperative social activity" (Simon, 2004, p. 21). Furthermore, Simon argues that in order to be meaningful, individual reflexively views his or her identity from others' point of view or "mind and self". On this point, individuals and their interpersonal relationships relate to society. On the one side, Simon reveals that society has structures, which are capable of constructing social interaction as well as mind and self. On the other side, he states that social interaction (the space in which the individuals respond to the others' expectation) recreates society.

In these exceedingly dynamic networks, individuals may play separate roles in individuals' relationships, group networks or society according to the responses of different expectations in different networks. Their roles are one of their identities<sup>18</sup>, and they save them cognitively in order to reactivate them in future social interactions. As they have recorded their identity, it requires less cost to index a particular identity in particular networks. This structure may be applicable to understand the smooth shifting between N style and *basa* in fragment (A) of this chapter. As the participants have understood their social identities in a network, they easily recall the identity.

Let us place individuals in social networks (Figure [11](#)). Individuals interact with each other and construct individual networks. They may create a bound unit (e.g. marriage), close network (e.g. friend), or distance network (e.g. acquaintance). Dashes represent the last network. The individuals may also be members of one or many groups, in addition to members

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<sup>18</sup>With respect to Javanese people, their identities do not only depend on their roles (e.g., mother, wife, etc.) but also other aspects (e.g. seniority) (see Chapter 2).



**Figure 11: Social networks**

of society (network beyond groups). The social interactions are not restricted to one culture. They may enter inter-cultural relationships with members of other cultures (e.g., individual (ind) 1 with ind n and group n).

Within each interaction, the individuals may have similar or distinctive roles in all networks and preserve them as well as the norms of the networks. In fragment (A), the man and the woman create a bound relationship assigning them the identity as a husband and a wife respectively. The larger network with the old man attributes identity as a son for the man and daughter-in-law for the woman. Three of them are members of Javanese culture, which identifies them as Javanese. In general, Javanese norms govern their conversations, for instance *andhap asor* of humble manners. This moral order also guides the relationship between the husband and the wife.

Other gender expectations for women to be more polite (cf. Smith-Hefner, 1988) are also applicable for the couple. One of many manifestations of the norms is speech levels. However, “individuals in the population behave according to their own strategies, which defines how an individual acts when engaging with another individual in the social dilemma game”

(Chalub et al., 2006, p. 234). The husband and wife have long recorded (emotionally) historical networks, which enables them to develop strategies to implement the norms. They acknowledge that the *ngoko* style is appropriate to develop proper linguistic behaviour between them. They have also saved (emotionally) how to play their identities in relationship with the old man. Three of them acknowledge that an asymmetrical pattern is appropriate for the couple to be humble in front of the old man, in which they use *basa* and receive N style in return. When three of them meet together in a conversation, they do not need to develop new identities among them, but reactivate the recorded self-image. On this point, the couple is able to shift from individual moral order to cultural moral orders, as they have predefined evaluations of identity. As a result, they are able to smoothly position N style and *basa* in the proper place.

### Moral orders

As we discussed in Chapter 1, moral orders are a set of social expectancies underlying people's behaviours. Politeness is evaluations of social action and meanings in the moral orders. There are three key words that identify the critical role of the moral order in how people interpret utterances or act as polite, impolite, etc. *First*, politeness involves utterances or actions, which meet "positive evaluative beliefs related to specific behaviours in particular social contexts" (Culpeper, 2012, p. 428). For instance, within Javanese culture, the use of speech levels in a family, traditionally, should reflect the expected degree of respect described in the Javanese kinship system (Figure 7, Chapter 2). In this relational network, seniority determines the degree of deference along with the level of refined language.

*Second*, "members can hold both themselves and others *accountable* to the moral orders of this particular relational network" (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 94). W's and H's linguistic behaviour, who use two distinct speech levels in example (A) reveals the "activation of that attitude [i.e. the asymmetrical pattern] by those particular-in-context-behaviours [e.g. linguistic norms of Javanese kinship system]" (Culpeper, 2012, p. 428). Both participants follow *empan papan* (place awareness) (see Figure 5) to meet the expected manners between a daughter and a father-in-law. Other data in Chapter 3 indicate the distribution of moral orders across relational networks. Furthermore, the different linguistic behaviours of Javanese women in familial networks denote that the evaluative beliefs are dispersed to different degrees across groups, local communities, and moreover, societal or cultural groups (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 94).

*Third*, the beliefs have recourse to "potential descriptions" (Culpeper, 2012, p. 428) or "(im)politeness evaluators: descriptor or metalanguage used by the members to conceptualise

their social world” (Kádár & Haugh, 2013, p. 94). I will use “alus” or “alos” and “kasar” as the descriptors in Javanese culture. Several books use them to describe high and low. Koentjaraningrat (1985, p. 446) applies the two terms for Javanese symbolic systems and Errington (1985, pp. 102, 105, 113) uses them to distinguish high (e.g. *krama*) and low (ngoko) speech styles respectively. Poedjosoedarmo (1968, p. 54) relates a polite speaking tone with the first and crude tone with the second. C. Geertz (1960, p. 232) defines, on the one hand, “alus” as “pure, refined, polished, polite, exquisite, ethereal, subtle, civilised and smooth”. Conversely, “kasar” is merely the opposite: “impolite, rough, uncivilised; a badly played piece of music, a stupid joke, a cheap piece of cloth”. Thus, the woman in fragment (A) uses “alus” language (e.g. *krama*) to express respect in addition to a polite attitude toward the father-in-law.

In Figure 10, the reason why moral orders come second after identity is that identity in a particular network defines which norms are appropriate in appropriate interaction. Participants in a definite network have commonly built a particular identity; even participants in a new emergent network have defined their stances as strangers. As in Figure 11, individuals may have different identities in different networks. As each network potentially has different expectations, each identity may behave differently in distinct relational networks in order to meet the moral order of the networks. Within social practices in Javanese culture (and probably in other societies or networks), for instance, norms frame in/appropriateness of conduct among identities of the same or different qualities of social stances, in order to occasion positive or negative moral evaluations. For instance, the identity of the woman in fragment (A) as a daughter-in-law leads her to use a *krama* word with the aim of meeting the norms of interactions between them.

### *Conclusion*

This chapter does not only introduce the aspects affecting (im)politeness evaluation but also how the participants accomplish an inference that one’s utterances or actions are proper, polite, rude, impolite, etc. (Im)politeness is participants’ agenda reflected through their formal aspects (e.g. utterances). There are various possible ways to express the agenda. The participants may evaluate their identities and consult moral orders to project their intentions properly in appropriate relational networks.

## Chapter 7

### Conclusion

#### *Introduction*

This thesis aims to find the patterns of Javanese gender and politeness reflected in linguistic familial interaction. Javanese language has sophisticated speech levels, which primarily rule politeness across social classes and gender. Speech levels guide each person in a conversation to use appropriate language based on their social status and gender. Under such an ideal construct, it appears easier to locate (im)politeness as an ability to use proper language in a proper social context, such as when a commoner speaks in *basa* to a *priyayi* (gentry). However, there has been social changes in Java, which affects the use of Javanese language among *priyayi* families (Errington, 1985, p. 52) besides commoners. Among *priyayi* elites, after a medical school, which used Dutch as the language of instruction, opened in Java around 1875, many young *priyayi* could not speak “good Javanese” (p. 53). Among modern Javanese students, Smith-Hefner (2009, p. 70) reports that only 19% of female university student respondents use *krama/madya* with their parents (in comparison to 42% of male students). Compared to Figure 7, which expects sons or daughters to express respect to their parents, female students express more intimacy (*ngoko*) instead of deference (*krama/madya*). The speech levels and these changes, nevertheless, make Javanese language a rich source of gender and politeness studies, particularly in relation to norms in daily conversation. In describing Javanese gender and politeness, this thesis has focused upon on formal aspects, power relations, criticism, and factors affecting (im)politeness evaluation.

This chapter will discuss the thesis findings pertaining to speech levels used by Javanese wives and husbands, gender and politeness in power relations and criticism, as well as the position of moral orders in the evaluation of gender and (im)politeness. It will also discuss the contribution of this thesis to third wave politeness theories and, finally, document some recommendations for future research.

#### *Findings of the research*

The findings on the speech levels suggest that women’s language of the same class, regarding politeness, are potentially heterogeneous. The data shows that most Javanese men converse in homogeneous *ngoko* to address their wives, while Javanese women have different patterns when using speech levels. Additionally, 76.9% of the female participants address their husbands in *ngoko* (symmetric pattern), while only 23% of them use *basa* (asymmetric pattern).

Even though Javanese culture expects women to express more politeness in familial interaction, these findings do not suggest that most of the Javanese women are rude or less polite, reflected in the use of *ngoko*. The analysis illustrates the absence of negative evaluations concerning these linguistic patterns. These patterns inform higher intimacy instead of the expected deference among middle class families in Surakarta. To conform with the norms, they formally express minimal signs of respect by using honorific pronouns and titles. Javanese middle class women demonstrate that they can negotiate the cultural norms for specific purposes of familial interactions. The facts from Javanese language suggest, therefore, that politeness evaluation is diverse among members of a particular class and gender.

(Im)politeness evaluation does not only distinctly operate in gender, class, group, or social status within society but also in social actions. Different social actions (e.g. request and criticism) potentially lead to distinct ways of men and women expressing their politeness. My findings in respect to power relations and criticism allude to this, for example. Regarding power relations, the linguistic interaction among Javanese families reflects legitimate, expert, and referent power (cf. French & Raven, 1959). Additionally, some common social actions in power relations are requesting, ordering and suggestion. Table 14 demonstrates that indirection is the most common way to perform the actions. This linguistic behaviour (i.e. indirection) agrees with Javanese norms (see Figure 5). However, criticism has a different pattern pertaining to cultural norms. There is a tendency for Javanese husbands and wives to criticise each other and third parties overtly in jocular manners. These attitudes display disagreement with the indirection norm. However, criticism in these ways does not occasion negative evaluation (e.g. impolite, rude, etc.) among husbands and wives. The two different attitudes toward cultural norms suggest that cultural norms are distributed differently in social actions in relation to a particular relational network.

The findings consistently inform four aspects in the jointly produced (im)politeness evaluation by sender and recipient. They are intention, social identities (e.g. gender, social status, etc.), moral orders, and utterances. Trudgill (1972, p. 180) considers age, education and social class as variables, which affect women's and men's language. It means (im)politeness evaluation of formal forms includes personal besides social identities. Javanese culture reflects the significance of identities in the etiquette of *empan papan* (place awareness). Identity awareness together with linguistic etiquettes and other norms (e.g. *andhap ashor* (humble manner), indirection, etc.) play critical roles in the production of utterances and actions. Thus, to express an intention in utterances and/or actions, one should consider other aspects of

(im)politeness evaluation, specifically identities and those social expectations or moral orders, such as *andhap ashor* (humble manner) and indirection in Javanese culture. For the recipients or hearers who are only able to observe the utterances or action, they should consult with moral orders, which are reflected in “[f]orms of recurrent schematic behaviour” (Kádár & Mills, 2013, p. 144) or cultural/social/group conventions to understand the speaker’s intentions.

The findings are obtained from a large corpus of data on Javanese linguistic interactions. The focus on familial interactions provide exceedingly limited data on the involvement of third parties in the wives-husbands’ linguistic interactions. It means that this study was unable to compare politeness evaluation inside and outside familial networks. A further weakness relating to the data is that it tends to capture predominantly positive evaluative behaviours (polite, proper, etc.) and thus does not provide adequate impolite conversations to analyse in detail, with a view to establishing potential norms or rituals.

### *Third wave theories*

The findings of the research prove that norms indeed exist in the evaluation of (im)politeness. Whilst second wave theoretical researchers tend to reject norms in politeness evaluations, this thesis shows the relationship among cultural, group and localised norms within relational networks in evaluating actions and meanings. The norms are not only reflected by way of quantified regular actions (e.g. frame analysis) (Terkourafi, 2005) but also can be traced through living etiquettes existing in relational networks. Kádár and Haugh (2013, pp. 94-95) propose that “sets of expectancies are *reflexively layered*”. Thus, the first layer comprises localised norms, a set of expectancies to evaluate actions and meanings, which are formed through individuals’ history of interactions with others. Kadar and Haugh suggest that the second layer includes group-based norms that are “shared across identifiable communities of practice, organisational cultures, or indeed any social group recognised as such by members”. The third layer is cultural norms, which are represented in supra-local or societal conventions. The findings reveal that deviation toward cultural norms do not necessarily occasion negative evaluation (e.g. impolite, rude, etc.) in contextual relational network interactions. Relational networks within a society accommodate differently and contextually, based upon cultural, group and localised expectations.

In regard to gender, several studies from certain areas commonly portray the politeness of women and men from either cultural or group norms. From the perspective of cultural expectancies, Brown (1980, p. 111) and Trudgill (1972, p. 180) conclude from studies undertaken from the 1920’s-1960’s that women typically hypercorrect their language, and moreover,

produce more standard and prestigious linguistic forms. Trudgill (1972, p. 182) tested the inference from American English in Britain and ascertained that “sex differentiation ... also occurs in urban British English”. Holmes (1995, p. 1) argues that women are more polite than men; a hypothesis which is based on white middle class society (Mills, 2004, p. 174). The use of a single frame like Holmes to analyse gender and politeness may be susceptible to criticism. Keenan (1974, p. 137) describes Malagasy women as “norm-breakers” as they violate non-confrontational norms. Mills (2004, p. 174) argues that evaluating women’s politeness in respect to various relational networks based on a cultural norm may produce a stereotypical image of women. The description of women’s language should be expanded to include class or social status. Mills (2004) signifies that the language patterns of middle class women and the working class in Britain is different. They express negative and positive politeness respectively (p. 175). Hatley and Brenner catch different images of *priyayi* and commoner women in Java. On the one hand, the norms of noble courts traditionally expect Javanese women to be “graceful, modest and refined, but also fragile and dependent ... [They] were/are associated with dignity of manner, refinement of speech, and skill in courtly artistic pursuit” (Hatley, 1990, p. 181). Conversely, traders who were/are commonly non-*priyayi* women, “can be seen slapping each other on the arm in gestures of friendliness, shouting and laughing boisterously” (Brenner, 1995, p. 27). The findings on the use of speech levels thus expands the idea that politeness is different across gender and class (Mills, 2004). The findings suggest that women’s language is different, even in the same social class. Moreover, studies on gender and politeness should not frame women in cultural or group norms. They are not passive members who passively accept the frame, rather they actively negotiate and adapt the norms for contextual purposes in their relational networks.

### ***Suggestions for future research***

The findings imply two possible further studies in gender and (im)politeness. *First*, evaluations of (im)politeness, which are potentially different in distinct social actions within a relational network, suggest a need for studies which compare how actions and meanings are evaluated across social actions, or in different social contexts within a particular relational network. Several researchers have focused their studies on a single social action within a relational network, such as humour in the workplace (Holmes & Schnurr, 2005), or general (im)politeness descriptions of a relational networks, for instance (im)politeness in courts (Archer, 2011; Johnson & Clifford, 2011; Tracy, 2011). Comparing social actions within a

relational network may explain how cultural, group, and localised norms operate within a relational network.

*Second*, with regards to Javanese gender and (im)politeness, there should be further research focusing on how women, particularly Javanese women, express impolite utterances and actions, in addition to evaluating impolite actions and meanings inside and outside familial networks. Previous researchers on Javanese families (e.g. H. Geertz, 1989 [1961]; Koentjaraningrat, 1985) commonly describe cultural norms underlying the politeness behaviour of Javanese families. There has been limited studies on women's language and actions reflecting impolite attitudes and evaluations.

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## Appendices

Note: *H: Husband; W; wife; F: grandfather; C: child*

- 1 D2  
2 R2 140105 002  
3 H and W accompanied children who were doing homework)  
4 W : Nggonamu piknik kok ora dino setu e Haidar? Biasane nek sekolah liyane piknik do  
5 setu kok nggonamu minggu dewe.  
6 *Why does Your school not plan a picnic on Saturday Haidar? Other schools usually*  
7 *have a picnic on Saturday, why will your school do it on Sunday?*  
8 H&W : minggu rame banget no  
9 *It will be so crowded on Sunday.*  
10 H : setu jane yo wis rame banget  
11 *Actually, it is usually crowded on Saturday*  
12 W : ho-oh  
13 *yes*  
14 C4 : Lha wong ning Malioborone awan  
15 *It will be on daylight in Malioboro*  
16 H : perhitungane piye kui. Kui kan nek setu kui mengko minggune garek lerene  
17 *How is the logic of the plan? If it will be on Saturday, the students will have time to*  
18 *take a rest on Sunday*  
19 W : Lha iyo kok malah senen, minggu piknik senen prei  
20 *Yes, why will it be on Monday, the picnic will be on Sunday dan the school will be off*  
21 *on Monday*  
22 H : senen prei, piye kui?  
23 *The school will be closed on Monday, how is it?*  
24 W : kan setu, setu kan biasane sekolah setengah hari thok ngono lho, dadi ora buwang  
25 pelajaran akeh  
26 *If it is on Saturday, the school is usually only half a day, so the students will not leave*  
27 *more classes*  
28 H : wis mepet  
29 *The day will come soon*  
30 F : Haidar .. (Kakek memanggil dari luar rumah)  
31 *Haidar ... (granpa was calling outside)*  
32 C4 : dalem  
33 *Yes, I am*  
34 H : dalem yo moro  
35 *If you answer it, come to him*  
36 (C4 opened the door)  
37 F : kaget ki ngopo wong diceluk sik kok kaget  
38 *Why were you so surprise? I called you.*  
39 C4 : Lha darakku ijek ning kono kui  
40 *I think you were still there*  
41 (granpa was laughing)  
42 F : kancamu mou jare anu tho  
43 *Did your friend do something?*

44 C4 : nekak  
45 *He strangled*  
46 F : lha iyo, Amir  
47 *Yes, he did. Was he Amir?*  
48 C4 : Amir  
49 *Amir*  
50 F : Ngopo  
51 *Why did he do that?*  
52 C4 : kecripatan es  
53 *His friend unintentionally splashed him with ice*  
54 W : sopo, nekak sopo?  
55 *Who strangled and to whom?*  
56 C4 : Valen  
57 *Valen*  
58 F : Sopo  
59 *Who was he?*  
60 C4 : Valen  
61 *Valen*  
62 W : cah wedhok?  
63 *A girl?*  
64 C4 : lanang  
65 *A boy*  
66 W : podo cah pondoke?  
67 *Were they from orphanage house?*  
68 C4 : Ora  
69 *No*  
70 F : udu, ling nekak ki cah pondok. Jane ndisik apik ndik emben ki saiki  
71 *No, the doer was from Orphanage house. Actually, he was a very good boy*  
72 C4 : saiki nakal  
73 *Now he is a naughty boy.*  
74 F : anu  
75 ?? (it is difficult to find the translation)  
76 C4 : ditekak ngasi raine abang  
77 *He was strangled until his face turned red*  
78 F : Gurune meneng ae, gurune ora ..  
79 *Didn't the teacher do something?*  
80 C4 : ora, ora menangi, digowo langsung ring rumah sakit  
81 *They did not see it, he was sent to hospital.*  
82 F : Ora diseneni ngono kui  
83 *Wasn't he scolded?*  
84 C4 : Mbuh ora ngerti  
85 *I don't know*  
86 H : Nganti digowo ning rumah sakit? MasaAllah  
87 *He was sent to hospital? Oh my God.*  
88 F : semaput ngono kok  
89 *He was unconscious*  
90 W : semaput?  
91 *Unconscious?*  
92 C4 : ditekak sepuluh menit dewe

93                    *He was strangled 10 minutes*

94    F & W    : Ya Allah

95                    *Oh my God*

96    F             : Podo ora ngelekké kancane

97                    *Did his friends remind him?*

98    W             : Lha kok koncone do meneng wae

99                    *Why did the friends do nothing?*

100   H             : Kowe podo ora ngelekké tho?

101                    *Why didn't you warn him?*

102   C4            : Lha anu anu koncone Tony arep wis len wis len menengo tak tekak dewe

103                    *His friend tony reminded him but he would be strangled too*

104   F             : oh

105                    *oh*

106   H             : Amir sing endi tho?

107                    *Who is Amir?*

108   F             : bocahe bagus kui lho

109                    *The child is handsome*

110   C4            : sing kae lho sing ndonga terus kae lho. Sing seko ..

111                    *The one who always pray*

112   F             : jane bocahe pinter yo ano

113                    *Actually the child is smart*

114   W             : Anu yo, cah pondok ki malah kokean problem yo (ketawa kecil)

115                    *I think, the children from orphanage house have many problems (chuckle)*

116   F             : aku dikandani Een iki mou

117                    *Een told me*

118   W             : Een?

119                    *Een?*

120   F             : ho-oh

121                    *Yes, she did.*

122   W             : oh. Lha kok ngerti mbak Endahe?

123                    *Oh, why did she know it?*

124   F             : lha yo ngerti

125                    *Of course she knew it*

126   H             : Ndidike do piye ustade kui

127                    *How did the teacher teach him?*

128   F             : Lha gurune kurang anu yae. Mung diiseni

129                    *The teacher might be less in doing something. They only taught cognitively*

130   H             : Padahal pinter Amir

131                    *Amir was smart boy*

132   F             : Amir i sopan banget bocahe.

133                    *Amir was very polite*

134   H             : Lha nggih

135                    *Yes, he was*

136   F             : Mung perkoro adus waktu rodo anu jare

137                    *Just because there was a problem in taking a bath*

138   C4            : kan mergo antri

139                    *Because they were in queue*

140   F             : he

141                    *what*

142 C4 : Aduse antri  
143 *They should be in queue to take a bath*  
144 W : Lha Valen kui cah ngendi Mar?  
145 *Where was Valen from?*  
146 C4 : Alengka  
147 W : Alengka?  
148 F : anake sopo yo?  
149 *Who is the parent?*  
150 H : Dadi masalah kui mengko  
151 *It will be a problem*  
152 W : kok nganti semaput ya  
153 *He was unconscious*  
154 H : nggih ampun kulo (ketawa kecil)  
155 *It was not me (chuckle)*  
156 F : carane anu ojo kokean dari berita kui lho, engko dadi nek engko diundang rapat  
157 nduwe bahan ngono lho. Amir kui ndisik anu lho, terus akhir-akhir iki terus anu  
158 meneng ngono lho. Ndisik angger ruh aku rak mesti marani ngejak salaman. Tak  
159 tekoni Syid kae anu frustrasi, ibune kawin meneh ngono lho. Dadi frustrasi. Kawin neh  
160 gondrong ngono jare bojone sing saiki  
161 *Do not get too much from news, when there is a meeting, there will be something to*  
162 *discuss. Amir was a good boy, but he became so quiet lately. When I met him, he*  
163 *always came and shake my hand. I asked Syid, he was frustrated, the mother has just*  
164 *got married. So he was frustrated. She married a man with long hair.*  
165 H : wong anu bar shalat mesti ndonga suwe  
166 *He prayed for a long time*  
167 F : heh  
168 *What?*  
169 H : angger bar shalat ndongane suwe  
170 *He usually prayed for a long time*  
171 F : lha iyo perubahane rak anu sak jane. Rak gelem muleh malahan  
172 *Actually, he has changed. He did not want to go home*  
173 H : telung puluh limo kota kabupaten. Sopo mou Fafa opo Haidar  
174 *35 cities, who did ask me, Fafa or Haidar*  
175 W : Haidar  
176 (pause)  
177 W : Ngono kui kudue gurune yo lapor ning pondok  
178 *The teacher should write a report to the orphanage house*  
179 F : lha iyo maksudku  
180 *That's what I mean*  
181 C4 : terus mou wis di ...  
182 *So, it has been ...*  
183 F : wis dilaporke  
184 *It has been informed*  
185 C4 : laporke mas Heri  
186 *It has been informed to brother heri*  
187 F : Ojo mas Heri. Mas Heri saiki tugase kan ora ning kantor. Yo direkture no  
188 *Don't inform it to heri. Brother Heri has another job in the office. It should be to the*  
189 *director.*  
190 H : digowo ning rumah sakit,

- 191            *He was sent to hospital*
- 192    W        : ndisik ...
- 193            *Sometimes a go ...*
- 194    H        : sing nggowo ning rumah sakit sekolahan?
- 195            *Did the school send him to hospital?*
- 196    F        : sing ngeterke sopo?
- 197            *Who sent him?*
- 198    C4        :mbuh
- 199            *I don't know*
- 200    W        : Ndisik nek anu yo kethoke yo pak Haryo kui yo terlalu membela anak-anak pondok
- 201            *dadine yo (chuckle)*
- 202            *Previously if there was something, it seems that Mr. Haryo overly defended the*
- 203            *orphanage children, so (chuckle)*
- 204    F        : Ho oh yo nganti rame mbek sopo ngono yo
- 205            *Yes, until he argued with someone*
- 206    W        : Lha nggih. Jenenge kan kesalahan itu kan kudu didelok sik sing salah sinten. Ning
- 207            *dereng-dereng wis pokoke wis mbelo cah pondok sik kan ngoten pak Haryo niko*
- 208            *sikape. Koyo Heri barang niko kan ngaten niko ndek mben niko.*
- 209            *Yes, It's true. A mistake should be examined previously who is wrong. But he*
- 210            *said pokoke <sup>19</sup> and defended the orphanage children, it was the attitude of Mr.*
- 211            *Haryo. It was just like what Heri did sometimes ago*
- 212    H        : anak MI opo
- 213            *Do you mean MI students?*
- 214    W        : terus ndang ndang lawang mesjid rusak sing ngrusakke cah MI di (ketawa kecil) nesu-
- 215            *nesu koyo ngono kok yo anu men*
- 216            *Then when MI students broke the Masjid's door (chuckle), he was so angry like that*
- 217    (pause)
- 218    C4        : Lha wis muleh urung?
- 219            *Has he returned home?*
- 220    F        : lha sing ning rumah sakit wis muleh durung? Wis muleh?
- 221            *So the child who was in hospital, has he returned home?*
- 222    W        : langsung digowo muleh? Lha kecipatane piye jane?
- 223            *He has been home? How was he splashed?*
- 224    C4        : Gur kuwi ora sengaja guwak es kenek munir kecipratan banyu sithik
- 225            *He unintentionally splashed him with a few water when he threw away an ice*
- 226    W        : Hmm
- 227            *ehm*
- 228    C4        : Nesu
- 229            *angry*
- 230    H        : Kui pas istirahat ngono tho?
- 231            *Was it on break season?*
- 232    C4        : pas arep sholat.
- 233            *Just before they went to pray*
- 234    W        : berarti ning ngisor. ho-oh Wis ning ngisor?
- 235            *So were they in downstairs?*
- 236    F        : karo kowe tak celuk mou? Kae mou wis?

<sup>19</sup>*Pokoke* is a term which is used to start or mark an argument when the speaker does not want to listen other reasons or arguments from others.

237            *Did he do it before I called you,*  
238 C4        : mou urung  
239            *Not yet*  
240 F         : urung?  
241            *Not yet?*  
242 C4        : urung ngerti aku. Aku ngertine wis nangis ning ngarepe kene  
243            *I don't know. What I knew, he has been crying in front of this place*  
244 ...  
245  
246 F         : sing kondo Een iki mou. Aku yo ruh cah nangis nanging biasa ono le nangis aku terus  
247            biasa  
248            *Een told me. I think there was no problem, it was just a crying child*  
249 W         : nek cah emosi ngono kui nekake kan yo mestine banter yo. Tur yen sepuluh menitan  
250            yo suwe lho kui  
251            *When a child is in anger, he should strangle hardly.*  
252 F         : padahal diajari beladiri diri beladiri barang bahaya ngono kui  
253            *They got martial art lesson, it is dangerous*  
254 C4        : padahal cah pondok sing saiki wis SMP ora nakal-nakal lho ora diajari beladiri  
255            *The orphanage children who are now in Junior high school are not naughty*  
256 F         : ora nakal?  
257            *Are they not naughty?*  
258 C4        : he-eh  
259            *yes*  
260 W         : nek cah smp ki malah wis mapan mungkin Mar  
261            *The junior high school students may have been growing up.*  
262 C4        : ora ket biyen ora nakal kok  
263            *No, they have not been naughty since they were in elementary school*  
264 W         : saiki berarti cah anyar-anyar ho-oh?  
265            *Now, they were new children?*  
266 C4        : he-eh. Mergo diajari beladiri kui  
267            *Yes, because they have been taught martial art*  
268 H         : diajari beladiri ning ora dibekali mentale  
269            *They have learnt martial art without learning how to behave mentally*  
270 F         : beladiri kudu mental kok  
271            *Martial art is a mental learning*  
272 W         : tur yo ustade barang yo ganti tho bedo karo sing ndek mben yo Yah?  
273            *And the teacher has been replaced?*  
274 H         : he-eh  
275            *yes*  
276 F         : ustade anyar ora ngerti  
277            *I don't know if the teachers are new*  
278 W         : Lha nggih kan mestine coro anune ndidike barang mpun benten tho mestine  
279            *Yes, the might have different teaching techniques from the previous teachers.*  
280 F         : mestine ora dikenalke mestine (pause) direkture barang ganti  
281            *It is not supposed to be introduced. The director has been replaced.*  
282 W         : oh direkture pun ganti tho?  
283            *Oh! The director has been replaced?*  
284 H         : ganti, Bima wis ora ning kono  
285            *He has been replaced! Bima has already gone.*

- 286 F : Bima jare rame, rame karo sopo tho?  
 287 *Someone said that Bima was in conflict. With whom was he in conflict?*
- 288 H : duko  
 289 *I don't know*
- 290 F : mbek Arjuna opo mbek sopo tho?  
 291 *Was he in conflict with Arjuna or some one else?*
- 292 H : oh asale rame?  
 293 *Oh there was a conflict previously?*
- 294 F : opo mbek sopo ngono  
 295 *Or he might be in conflict with someone else*
- 296 H : saiki ngontrak enten mriku tho?  
 297 *Now does he rent a house over there?*
- 298 F : ning nggone mbah Semar? Nganti seprene tho.  
 299 *Is he in mbah Semar's house? Up to now?*
- 300 (unclear conversation)
- 301 W : berarti yo ijek ning sekitar ning gonilan kene?  
 302 *It means he remains around Alengka?*
- 303 H : Lha ngontrake ning kono kok  
 304 *He lives there*
- 305 W : Lha kerjane ngendi?  
 306 *So where does he work?*
- 307 F : ngarepe .. cedake margono kono, nggone sopo kae  
 308 *In front of ... near Gatot's house, whose house is that?*
- 309 H : Ngontrake nggone .. mbak anu iki lho sopo sing mbak ..  
 310 *He rents the house from mbak<sup>20</sup>... Do you know who she is?*
- 311 W : Mbak Kunti  
 312 *Is it mbak Kunti?*
- 313 H : Kulone mbak Kunti  
 314 *West of Mbak Kunti's house*
- 315 W : Mbak Arimbi?  
 316 *Is it mbak Arimbi?*
- 317 H : He-eh  
 318 *Yes*
- 319 W : hem  
 320 *Ehm*
- 321 H : sing omah madep ngalor kae  
 322 *The house which leads to the north*
- 323 F : yo wis ra tahu pethuk. mbiyen kondo pengen ning nggonake ora sido terus sopo kae  
 324 ono sing crito nanti saat arip kesana kan tahu sebabnya  
 325 *I haven't met him anymore. Previously he told me he wanted to come to my house but*  
 326 *he did not come. Who was the person? There was someone who told me that I will*  
 327 *find out the reason when Bima comes*
- 328 H : memang anu Ramadhan niko nggih nate ngomong kaleh kulo pengen ketemu kaleh kulo  
 329 ndilalah enten acara terus  
 330 *Indeed in Ramadhan (name of a month in the Islamic calender) he told me he wanted*  
 331 *to see me. Unfortunately, there were always other agendas.*

---

<sup>20</sup>*Mbak* is a vocative for elder sister but the use can be extended not just to a sibling but also to a non-sibling.

332 F : wis metu kae kondo arep mrene. Anu diganti tho mas Izat? Iyo diganti. Rak yo  
333 pilihanmu dewe tho ustad Bima ki. Mou mimpin poondok ning lamongan kono jarene  
334 *He has gone, he told me to come here. Brother Izat replaced him. Yes, he has been*  
335 *replaced. You choosed teacher Bima, didn't you? Someone told me that he was a*  
336 *school head master in Lamongan.*

337 H : termasuk sabar niko  
338 *He was so patient*

339 F : heh  
340 *What?*

341 H : sabar. Sabar telaten  
342 *He was a patient teacher*

343 ....  
344

345 F : (pause sebentar) Nana mou kok tibo dijorokne koncone mou  
346 *(pause) Nana felt down, did her friend push her down?*

347 W : ten sekolahan  
348 *Was it at school?*

349 F : he-eh ning rodo nangis kae, kesenggol opo piye. Kancane cah lanang jenenge Fafa  
350 ngono lho sing nakal  
351 *Yes, she was crying, her friend pushed her. Her friend, Fafa, was a naughty boy*

352 W & F : (ketawa kecil)  
353 *(Chuckle)*

354 H : Fafa?  
355 *Fafa?*

356 F : kancane Kiki kethoke  
357 *He is Kiki's friend*

358 H : angkatane Kiki po ra?  
359 *Is he from Kiki's class?*

360 W : mbuh kethoke ra enek.  
361 *I don't know, he is not from Kiki's class*

362 F : ra eneng?  
363 *He is not there?*

364 W : Mungkin nggih cah play group  
365 *He might be from play group class*

366 F : do penekan anjlog-anjlogan ngono lho dijorokke. Yo ra sah anjlog-anjlogan yen  
367 dolanan. Ning yo cah cilik  
368 *He pushed her when they were playing. They should not jump from higher place.*  
369 *That's children's world*

370 W : ndek mben ngantos onten sing operasi barang kok  
371 *There was a time when a kid got an operation*

372 F : yo tibo kui?  
373 *Did he felt down*

374 W : nggih. Tibo nopo kejepit lawang tho iko  
375 *Yes. Did he felt down or pinched at a door?*

376 F : karepe arep diperiksakke ora gelem. Mbengok-mbengok ning iki mou ijek  
377 *Someone suggested him to visit a doctor but he rejected. He is crying now.*

378 W : ning yo jenenge bocah yo ngono kae (ketawa kecil)  
379 *That's children's behavior (chuckle)*

380 F : lha wong adike ning njero kelon, adike ora wedi. (ketawa kecil) Lha wong cah  
381 semono. Opo sirahe Adi mbun-mbunane rak isih obah-obah kae tho. Lha kui arep  
382 dipijeti anu, aku aduh mak tratap ngono aku (ketawa kecil) tak seneni tenan nek kui,  
383 seprene mbek aku, dibengoki ngono ra gagas. (pause sebentar) Karepe seneng yo  
384 ning mbun-mbun e wah mesakne. Ngantuk tho dean. Wis maen rung kowe mas yo?  
385 *The younger sister was sleeping at home, the younger sister was not scared. (chuckle).*  
386 *That's a child in her age. Adi's head was still fragile. The mom wanted to massage the*  
387 *head, I was so scared (chuckle) I scolded her, up to now with me, the mom did not*  
388 *answer my greeting. (pause). She had a good intention but it was a bay's head. Are*  
389 *you sleepy. Have you got your meal brother?*

390 C4 : empun  
391 *I did*

392 F : menang endi Za mas Zaza ning Bandung mou?  
393 *Who won the football game Zaza?*

394 C3 & C4 : Menang Persib  
395 *Persib won the game*

396 F : he  
397 yes

398 C3 : bandung, bandung loro siji  
399 *Bandung, Bandung won 2-1*

400 F : loro siji?  
401 *2-1?*

402 C3 : he-eh  
403 yes

404 F : yo wis  
405 *Ok*

406 W : Lawane ngendi?  
407 *What was the away team?*

408 H : persita  
409 *Persita*

410 C4 : Persita  
411 *Persita*

412

413 (Grandpa is leaving the house)

414

415 F : Pite dilebokke ora iki?  
416 *[will you] bring in the bicycle?*

417 W : Nggih, riyen  
418 *Yes, [I will do it] in a moment*

419 (short pause)

420 W : Eh miris yo ditekak. Loro lho ditekak  
421 *Being strangled was horrible, wasn't it? Being strangled is painful.*

422 H : Lha iyo kudune yo anu kok cah metu ngono kui eneng gurune ngawasi terus ngono  
423 *Of course, when the students left the class, there should be teachers watching them.*

424 W : lha ning nek wong okeh ngono arepe ngawasi yo piye. Mosok diawasi siji-siji  
425 *However, if there are many students, how to watch them? Should [the teacher] watch*  
426 *[them] one by one?*

427 H : Kudune nek ono cah gelut kan  
428 *Supposedly, if there are children fighting*

429

430 C4 : iso mati he-eh yah?  
431 I could he die dad?

432 H : yo iso no  
433 *Of course*

434 C4 : lha ngopo?  
435 *Why?*

436 H : lha kan ra iso bernafas  
437 *He could not take a breathe*  
438

439 D2

440 W : Si Yaya kae ning malang kae jare melu bidik misi tho kae?  
441 *Does Yaya get scholarship to go to University in Malang?*

442 H : Hem  
443 *Hmmm*

444 W : Kok iso yo?  
445 *How could she get it?*

446 H : Yo kui anune yo UN ne  
447 *That's because of the UN*

448 W : Hem  
449 *Hmm*

450 H : Tergantung UN ne  
451 *It depends on the UN*

452 W : Ora jenenge nek nek memang di survey, disurvey kan  
453 *No, if there was a survey, she should have been observed, shouldn't she?*

454 H : lha iyoo ra disurvey berarti  
455 *So, it means there was no survey*

456 W : omahe kan ora masuk  
457 *The house should not eligible for the scholarship*

458 W&H : berarti ora disurvey;  
459 *So, there was no survey*

460 W : Ora masuk kategori  
461 *She should not be elligible*

462 H : Ora disurvey  
463 *There was no survey*

464 W : Mungkin gur anu yae keterangan surat ngono yae, he-eh?  
465 *There might be a letter of refference*

466 H : Hem. Bapake nyambut gawene opo ra jelas tho memang  
467 *Hmm. The father's occupation is not clear*

468 W : Bapake jhl (tertawa kecil)  
469 *The father is a jhl (chuckle)*

470 H : Lha iyo. Kerjane opo kan ra kethok  
471 *So, the occupation is not to clear*

472 W : Pekerjaan jhl (tertawa kecil)  
473 *The occupation is jhl (chuckle)*

474 H : Yo saiki yo nunggu apotek kui  
475 *Now he works in a pharmacy*  
476 (pause)

477 W : Opo iso diwoco kui?

478 *Is that readable?*

479 H : Heh! Lha iki aku dewe mengko nek ono mahasiswa sing anu pak kok nilai saya kok jelek.  
480 Lha ini tak tunjukkan daripada aku moco mbaleni meneh. Mending tak tandani. Lha  
481 wong kene judule studi kasus ning BMT Rama kok ning jerone di beberapa BMT  
482 *What! This note is only for me when students complain about their grades. It will be*  
483 *better for me to show it than I have to reread all their papers. It's better for me to sign*  
484 *it. How could it be, the title is case study in Rama Bank but in the paper she says it is in*  
485 *some banks.*

486 W : Tulisane kok koyo resep dokter  
487 *Your hand writing is like a doctor's prescription.*

488 H : Hmm  
489 *Hmm*

490 W : *(chuckle)*

491 H : Aku berkali-kali dilokke wong  
492 *Many people told me like that*

493 W : Arep dadi dokter ra sido kui  
494 *You failed to be a doctor, wasn't you?*

495 (pause)

496 W : Pak Maman kae s tigane tahun piro  
497 *Mr. Maman has attended PhD for three years*

498 H : Heh  
499 *what*

500 W : Sik pak Maman tho kae? Sing bareng kae kethoke Amir kae. Tak Tekoni dee,  
501 njenengan tekan mbak ngono. Heh macet mbak. Aku arep mundur ra oleh  
502 *Wait a second, is he Mr. Maman? The one who was with Amir. I asked him, has you*  
503 *arrived there sister. What? it was traffic jam. They did not allow me to quit.*

504

505 D12

506 140319 001

507 W : njenengan pora kecegatan?  
508 *Didn't you meet police inspection?*

509 H : ora ki. Jam loro mungkin  
510 *No, I didn't. It might be at 2 PM*

511 W : ket esuk kui kok. Ning jebres mou aku mangkat ki wis eneng, muleh eneng meneh. Yo  
512 ra terus tapi wira wiri  
513 *They have done it since early in the morning. I found them in Jebres when I was leaving*  
514 *and when I was returning home. They did not do it all day long but they were there.*

515 H : Mengko ning nggone mbah putri?  
516 *Will we go to grandmother's house?*

517 W : Opo nggawak-nggawakke sayur? Iki snack. Oh iki lho iki lho, wow.  
518 Masalah power steering apakah enake diganti setirane sik wae yo daripada mikir mobil  
519 larang?  
520 *Should we bring cooked vegetable? This is snack. Look at this, wow. Talking about power*  
521 *steering problem, should the steering wheel be replaced first than think about a car?*  
522 *it's expensive.*

523 H : Larang piye wong duwe duit tuku kok larang  
524 *Why did you say it's expensive while You have the money to buy it.*

525 W : Lha nek mobil koyo nggone pak Ontosena kae piro?

526 *How much is a car like Mr. Ontosena's car?*

527 H :Iki mbiyen ra seneng. Senengku ki tabrak-tabrakan ning ora notholi  
528 *I didn't like them. What I like they crash each other but they don't peck.*

529 W : [chuckle] Nek anu sih ngomong yo saya akhirnya kalau [chuckle] naik mobil itu setirane  
530 berat yo saya naik motor pak. Lha motor itu apa ndak malah gringgengen gini terus  
531 ngono kui.  
532 *[chuckle] If I have to say that if [chuckle] the car is hard to drive, I ride my motorcycle*  
533 *Sir. Don't you think that riding a motorcycle will make you pins and needles because*  
534 *you constantly like this.*

535 H :Kui ora ono istirahat kok  
536 *You don't have a time to take a rest.*

537 W : Soale jejerku pasien jejerku iki mou operasine podo aku. Kui ora dinggo opo opo mung  
538 dinggo olah raga ngene ngene iki terus dee malah bengkak ki po. Jarene pak dokter itu  
539 karena kelenjar getah bening itu kan sebenarnya banyak yang putus karena dioperasi  
540 kemarin. Dadine itu kan mengalir terus di tubuh, dadi mereka cari laternatif baru dadi  
541 kenopo iki kelekku mlentung. Jare pak dokter karena banyak lewat kono dadi mlentung  
542 itu bukan kambuh. Coba nanti USG minta sama petugasnya yang bagian itu di USG.  
543 Dadine sing mulakkno mlentung iki kok ganti ganti bar kene terus kene. Dadine  
544 memang, lha itu sampai kapan pak nggak boleh berat berat, ya selamanya muni ngono,  
545 sing kiwo iki. Eeh jebule kaos kakiku kuwalek. Nek anu golek golek yo  
546 *A patient next to me also has an operation like mine. She didn't do anything, she only*  
547 *did an exercise like this, she got swollen. The doctor said because there were many*  
548 *lymph glands which were cut on the operation yesterday. So they always streamed*  
549 *down the body, they tried to find new alternatives, that's why my armpit got swollen.*  
550 *The doctor said that they strean through that way, so the swollen didn't mean relapse.*  
551 *You may ask USG to nurse later. That's way the swollen area moved from one to another*  
552 *side. So that's why it is, how long I can't work hard, it's for good he said, the left side.*  
553 *Oh my shock are swapped. So if it is like that, let's look for a car.*

554 H :Nek kepeksone aku ora ngajani elek ora nek mami cacah duit sak mono ae awake dewe  
555 jatah yo iso, insyaAllah. Nek kepingin nyetir ra iso anu tenan duitmu jupuken nggonen  
556 tuku montor menakno awakmu. Wong bagi hasil kok iso sesasi sak mene terus opo  
557 ngono kui ra haram. Sing jenenge bagi hasil ki persenan laba. Lha kui ajeg ngono opo  
558 labane ajek  
559 *If it is necessary but I don't expect something bad, we can give Mom that amount of*  
560 *money. If you want to drive but you can't really do it, withdraw your money to buy a*  
561 *car, make yourself comfortable. Why does the profit sharing always give you the fixed*  
562 *amount every month, don't you think it is forbidden? Profit sharing should give you the*  
563 *percentage of profit. You always get the fixed amount, is the profit steady?*

564 W :Nek jarene mami kui bantuan ngono, sodaqahe pak An dadian [chuckle]  
565 *Mom said that is a good deed, the charity of Mr.An [chuckle]*

566 H :Halah  
567 *I don't believe it*

568 W : Lha nek dijkuk engko mami piye? Diparingi ngono?  
569 *If the money is withdrawn, how is Mom? Should I give her some money?*

570 H : Gari awake dewe no. Iki gur saran  
571 *It depends on us. This is only a suggestion*

572 W : Kan selama ini kan ra tak jipuk tho bagiane, satu juta  
573 *I did not collect my share one million, so far.*

574 H : Satu juta?

575            *One million?*

576    W        : He eh

577            *yes*

578    H        : Garek telung atus

579            *There is only three hundred left*

580    W        : Sing diparengke aku rong atus, selama iki lho. Sing ndok emben

581            *Mom only gave me two hundred all this time*

582    H        : Lha etungmu asline piro selawe yuto duit sak yahono sak yahene

583            *How much is actually your money, twenty-five million for such a long time?*

584    W        : Selawe yuto seprono seprene

585            *Twenty-five million for such a long time.*

586    H        : Lha jare duitmu selawe yuto

587            *You said your money is twenty-five million*

588    W        : He eh

589            *yes*

590    H        : Lha entukmu sesasine asline piro asline

591            *How much is actually your profit sharing monthly?*

592    W        : Jare mami satu juta ki, kok okeh yo

593            *Mom said it is one million, why is it so much?*

594    H        : Lho jaremu telung atus

595            *You said three hundred*

596    W        : Itungane piye tho aku kok yo ra patek mudeng tho. Yo coba tak matur mami

597            *How is the calculation, I don't really understand. I will try to ask Mom.*

598    H        : Bingung nggolek dit, duwe dit kok ra mudeng yo kowe kuwi

599            *It's difficult to get money, you have the money but you don't understand. It's you.*

600    W        : Soale nek ijek nek anu mami ngono kui aku yo ora pengen

601            *Because if Mom still keeps it, I don't want it*

602    H        : Nggone mbak Kunthi po ra jipuk

603            *Did Mrs. Kunthi withdraw her money?*

604    W        : Yo wis mbiyen, dinggo tuku mobil kae

605            *She did, she used it to buy a car.*

606    H        : Lha kui doktere mou diomongke mami ngene

607            *Tell Mom what the doctor said.*

608    W        : Yo wis, tak telepon engko

609            *Alright, I'll call Mom*

610    H        : Ganti power steering ki regane yo larang, rung karuan kebeneran. Piro? limang jutanan.

611            *Limang jutanan yo rugi wong mobile wis kropos ngono. Po ra rugi le ngganti? Nek aku*

612            *saiki lebih condong mengutamakan penak awakmu kuwi. Yen ndisik yo sayang mobil*

613            *kui sayang, nek saiki perlu didol yo didol tukar tambah, golekke sing power steering.*

614            *Aku wong lanang ae kabotan.*

615            *Replacing the power steering is expensive, it's not always good. How much? It's around*

616            *five million. Five million is not worthy for a porous car like that. Don't you think it's not*

617            *worthy? Now I tend to accentuate your comfort. Some times ago, I like the car, now if*

618            *we need to sell or trades-in, get another car with power steering. I myself as a man also*

619            *get difficulty to drive it.*

620    W        : Tukar tambah ae yo? Kui saiki payu piro?

621            *Are trade-ins better? How much is the car if I sell it?*

622 H : keadaane ngono kui yo paling rong puluh. Didol rong puluh ndisik telung yuto  
623 setengah telu likur wis ngenggo telung tahun yo cucuk wong keadaane bobrok  
624 *Looking at the car, it should be around twenty. If we sell it twenty, it was three and*  
625 *half million but we have used it for three years, it is worthy because the car is in*  
626 *terrible condition.*

627 W : terus tukune koyo nggone mbak Qan kae?  
628 *Then, we buy a car like sister Qan's car?*

629 H : telu limo yo apik. (pause sebentar).  
630 *Thirty-five will get a good car.*

631  
632 D4  
633 140212 001

634 W : pak Anto wou telpon ngopo yah?  
635 *Why did Mr. Anto call you dad?*

636 H : telpon yo ngomong kon nggawe program  
637 *She asked me to make a program*

638 W : program bulanan nopo program nopo?  
639 *Is it monthly program or what program?*

640 H : program tahunan semester satu semester dua  
641 *It is annual program for first and second semester*

642 W : Bulanan?  
643 *Is it monthly?*

644 H : Yo  
645 *Yes*

646 W : Lha ndik siang kok ra ngendikan sisan pas mriki  
647 *Why didn't he tell you this afternoon when he was here?*

648 H : Yo lali. Mosok wong urip ra enthuk lali  
649 *He forgot it. Do you think that human being could not forget something!*

650 W : Lha maksute ten mriki suwene koyok ngono thik mosok yo lali  
651 *I mean he was here for such a long time and he forgot it*

652 H : Wong urip sing dipikir okeh kok lali ra enthuk, koyo malaikat wae  
653 *Human being has many things to think, why they could not forget something like an*  
654 *angel.*

655 W : Yo enthuk mawon ok. Ning kethoke jik anu kok nggean. Lha njenengan mpun damel  
656 dereng?  
657 *Of course he could. Have made the program?*

658 H : Lagek tak gae esuk, suk digawe  
659 *I will make it tomorrow.*

660 W : Lha mboten anu tho, ditumpuk sesuk meeting niku tho?  
661 *Will you submit it in the next meeting?*

662 H : Jumat ae klumpokke kok  
663 *I will submit it next Friday*

664 W : Lha meetinge suk kapan njenengan  
665 *When will you have the meeting?*

666 H : Meetinge akhir bulan  
667 *The meeting is on the end of month*

668 W : Nginep mboten?  
669 *Will you stay overnight there?*

670 H : Ora ngerti, wong jadwale rung nggenah thik

671 *I don't know, I haven't got the schedule.*

672 W : Yo ojo nginep

673 *Please don't stay overnight there*

674 H : Heh?

675 *What?*

676 W : Ampun sare kono no

677 *Please don't stay overnight there*

678 H : Meeting suwen-suwen ngopo koyo meeting nasional wae

679 *Why should I have long meeting just like national meeting.*

680 W : Lha biasane nek meeting ning perusahaan sing riyen ngoten ok njenengan

681 *You usually have such meeting in the previous company*

682 H : Nginep, nyanyi po piye?

683 *Staying overnight, is it to sing?*

684 W : (chuckle) lha sing perusahaan riyen mesti tiga hari, dua hari

685 *(chuckle) it is usually three days, two days in the previous company*

686 H : Kui rak meeting ning BCD. Sing anyar yo ora anu

687 *It was the meeting in BCD. The new one is different*

688 W : Meeting rebana yo diitung?

689 *Will you count the meeting of rebana?*

690 H : Meeting dewek-dewek

691 *Having meeting alone*

692 W : Lha iyo meetinge rebana

693 *You're correct, it is rebana meeting*

694 H : Kowe ngopo nlesik-nlesik?

695 *Why did you investigate me?*

696 W : Yo maksute ora nyipeng ora sare kono ngono kan mengko ndak ning omah dewe karo

697 anake. Mengko anake sing nggoleki

698 *I mean you don't stay overnight there as I will be at home only with your son. Your son*

699 *will look for you.*

700 H : Mbahe yo ono ok

701 *Grandma is at home*

702 W : Nek enek do tukaran, nek ra enten digoleki

703 *If you are at home, you will have a quarrel with your son, but you are not at home,*

704 *your son will look for you.*

705 H : Jukokno nduwur anu le?

706 *Could you get me that thing son?*

707 W : Mas ayah minta tolong niku lho

708 *Brother, dad asks you favour to get that.*

709 H : Nggon cerak tivi iku lho

710 *It is near the tv*

711 C : Engko balekke lo yah

712 *Please return it later dad.*

713 W : Nggih engko dibalekke ayah

714 *Of course your dad will return it.*

715

716 140212 004

717

718 W : Sore jam pinten yah njenengan?

719 *What time will you go to bed dad?*

720 H : Sik tho, arep ngopo?  
721 *Wait a moment, is there something important?*  
722 W : Umi tak bobok sik nggih, ngantuk ik  
723 *Mom will go to bed first, I am so sleepy.*  
724 H : Turuo  
725 *Go to bed*  
726 W : Lha ra mungkin rampung-rampung njenengan  
727 *You haven't finished your work after a while*  
728 H : Turuo sik ngrampungke iki  
729 *Go to bed first, I will finish it.*  
730 W : Sesuk mlebet enjing aku marai. Sesuk ngeterke  
731 *I will go to work early tomorrow.*  
732 H : Lha iyo yen ngantuk turuo sik  
733 *If you are sleepy, go to bed.*  
734 W : Ngeterke cah popda enjing enjing  
735 *I will send Popda participants early in the morning*  
736 H : Nyang endi?  
737 *Where will you go?*  
738 W : Enjing enjing jik seleksi bal balan sing niku lho SD Muh setunggal kalah SD negerine  
739 setunggal sing nggowo Umi kabeh sesuk  
740 *Tomorrow morning, I have to select football players in SD Muh one and state SD one.*  
741 H : Seleksine neng endi?  
742 *Where will you do it?*  
743 W : Ten SD negeri tohudan. Wong ndek wingi jarene mpun rampung jarene jano ijek  
744 mbuwak neh tigo po piro  
745 *At SD Negeri Tohudan. They said they have finished it but there is still three players*  
746 *who have to leave the team*  
747 H : Heh?  
748 *what*  
749 W : Sanjange mpun rampung malah jek mbuwak neh po piye aku ra mudeng  
750 *They said they have finished it, but actually there are three players to drop*  
751 H : Sing ngguwak neh ki opo  
752 *Why they did it?*  
753 W : Sanjange ok. Wong papele dewe-dewe  
754 *That's what they said. The committee is different*  
755 H : Piye?  
756 *What?*  
757 W : Panpele piyambak-piyambak.  
758 *The committee is different*  
759  
760 140212 005  
761 W: Pak Satriyo. Pak Satriyo, Pak Heri kalia Pak Renggono. Ndek wingi Umi ngajokke  
762 *Mr. Satriyo. Mr. Satriyo, Mr. Heri as well as Mr. Renggono. Yesterday I proposed them*  
763 H : Tuwek tuwek dikon nangani ngono yo anu yoan ok  
764 *Old men were asked to manage them, could they do it?*  
765 W: Lha wong niku mpun jatahe dewe-dewe kok  
766 *Because they have their own roles*  
767 H : Jatahe dewe-dewe, wong tuwek kon nangani bal-balan ngopo  
768 *Their own roles, why are the old men asked to manage football team*

- 769 W: Lha wong sak niki Colomadu kabeh yo wis sepuh-sepuh e peh ngono wong sing enom  
770 yo gur pinten kok, gur beberapa thok nggean  
771 *Because now all football managers in Colomadu are old and there are only some young*  
772 *men.*
- 773 H : Tinggal mlayu anak buahe malahan ngincer-ngincer  
774 *They may only be able to watch the players who leave them behind*
- 775 W: Lha wong pak Heri niku sing anu niku kok ngurusi sekolahan sepakbola ning Sukoharjo  
776 niku kok nggean kok. Pak Renggono sing Angkasa  
777 *Because Mr. Heri is the manager of football school in Sukoharjo. Mr. Renggono is the*  
778 *manager of Angkasa.*
- 779 H : balbalan sukoharjo sopo  
780 *Who is the manager in Sukoharjo*
- 781 W : Pak Satriyo niku e nggowo SMP siji sma siji e tekan semarang tekan jakarta kok  
782 *Mr. Satriyo brought SMP one to Semarang and Jakarta*
- 783 H : SMA siji sukoharjo?  
784 *Was it SMA one Sukoharjo?*
- 785 W : Kartosuro. Kartosuro SMP setunggal kartosuro yo nan  
786 *It was Kartosuro. It was SMP one Kartosuro*
- 787 H : Lha wonge guru colomadu  
788 *He is a teacher in Colomadu*
- 789
- 790 140212 003
- 791 W : niki dipasang sesuk esuk yo  
792 *Will you use it tomorrow?*
- 793 H : Apane  
794 *What?*
- 795 W : Yo niki opo  
796 *Of course, what it this?*
- 797 C : plastik tho  
798 *Is this plastic?*
- 799 W : Plastikipun  
800 *The plastic*
- 801 H : Suk kapan  
802 *I will use it later*
- 803 W : Silate mpun mboten landep mbok tumbas sing anyar meneh koyok biasane kae tho.  
804 Iki kandeke nggih podo sing pertama niko yah  
805 *The cutter is not sharp, why don't you buy a new one like the previous cutter? Does it*  
806 *have the same thickness as the first plastic dad?*
- 807 H : Podo  
808 *Yes, they do.*
- 809 W : Kok katingale ulet sing iki  
810 *It seems that this plastic is stronger*
- 811 C : lha iki urung tak pidah ok  
812 *I haven't moved it*
- 813 W : lha sing ndek wingi sret sret penak banget. Niki rak kethok angel men  
814 *It was so easy to cut yesterday. It is very hard today.*
- 815 H : lha lapisane okeh kok. Wingi gur telu  
816 *It has many layers. There were only three layers' yesterday.*
- 817 W : Lha niki pinten

- 818            *How many layers is it now?*
- 819    H        : Iki limo po piro
- 820            *It has five or more*
- 821    W        : Oh. Pantesan silete wis ra landep ngono kok. Iki berarti dikekke ten ngandap kacang
- 822            *ngono yah; sing sebelahe*
- 823            *Oh. That's why it is so hard even though the cutter is very sharp. So, it will be placed*
- 824            *under the nut dad; the next one.*
- 825    H        : Didokok ning nduwur lemah tho
- 826            *I will put it on the ground*
- 827    C        : delapan lapisan
- 828            *It has eight layers.*
- 829    W        : Anu tho nopo? Sing sebelah kidul sing nggon anu nopo ora diparingi timun neh?
- 830            *What is it? Will you not plant cucumber on the southern side?*
- 831    H        : Yo enek timun enek pare enek kacang
- 832            *There are cucumbers, pare, beans.*
- 833    W        : Timune enten?
- 834            *Are there cucumbers?*
- 835    H        : Enek lombok enek wis
- 836            *There were chillis*
- 837    W        : Polowijo
- 838            *There are many vegetables*
- 839    H        : Lombok
- 840            *There are chillies*
- 841    W        : Gantiane ning nggone berastagi malahan pindah ning mbolon
- 842            *The Berastagi moves to Mbolon*
- 843    H        : Berastagi oh
- 844            *Berastagi*
- 845    W        : Berastagine wis keno sinabung ok. Lebih anu melih tho nggean. Thik elik sing niki? Ra
- 846            *podo. Awas tho mas. Mboten podo yah. Nggen sebelah mriki mawon nekuk kok.*
- 847            *The Berastagi got the effect of Sinabung mountain's explosion. Why is this not good? It*
- 848            *does not have the same size. Be careful brother. This is different dad. This side has*
- 849            *been folded.*
- 850    H        : Yo dadi digoleki sing podo
- 851            *Yes, find the same size!*
- 852    W        : Njenengan ndadak kandel-kandel eram kok biasane larang
- 853            *Why did you buy the thick one? It is usually expensive.*
- 854    H        : Ben cepet kok
- 855            *It is faster to do*
- 856    W        : Cepet ning malah mboten podo lho. Malah mboten podo kabeh
- 857            *It is faster but they do not have the same size*
- 858    H        : Ben
- 859            *No problem*
- 860    W        : Jarake pinten meteran tho yah?
- 861            *How many meters are they dad?*
- 862    H        : Seket
- 863            *They are 50*
- 864    W        : Oh, setengah meteran kabeh tho. Lha nek sing pojok ngoten niku nopo pas po yah?
- 865            *Oh, they are a half meter. What about these corners, do they have proper size dad?*
- 866    H        : Iso wae

867            *Yes they are*

868    W        : Heh?

869            *what*

870    H        : Iso

871            *Yes they are*

872    W        : Saget tho?

873            *So you can use them*

874    H        : Iso

875            *Yes I can*

876    W        : Maksud nopo nggih mpun pas jarake skeet

877            *I mean are they 50?*

878    H        : Yo podo jenenge iki wis diawali kok. Wis ngene iki yo seket dadine

879            *Of course they are. They are 50*

880    W        : Dadi king pertama mou mpun njenengan ukur ngono tho

881            *So you have measured them from the beginning?*

882    H        : Uwis, jenenge ..

883            *Of course*

884    W        : Oh. Ora tekan ngandap tho. Biasane tekan ngandap. Dadine rodok anu, ra iso dianu.

885            *Niki mou*

886            *Oh. They do not reach the below side. so you can not do what. What was it?*

887            *sing tumbas nggone sopo? Sodik meleh tho?*

888            *Where did you buy it? Did you get it from Arjuna's shop again?*

889    H        : Yo

890            *Yes*

891    W        : Njenengan bar keng mriko neh ok?

892            *Have you already been there again?*

893    H        : Rak. Pas kapan kae, suwe

894            *No. I am not sure of the time exactly. It was a long time ago*

895    W        : Ndek nopo?

896            *When did you go there?*

897    H        : Wis suwe kok

898            *It was a long time ago*

899    W        : Pas ndek wingi tindak ning semarang kae berarti mpun

900            *Did you buy it before you went to Semarang?*

901    H        : Uwis no

902            *Of course*

903    W        : Tak kirain rak yo sisane sing gek emben niko. Jebule tumbas anyar neh. Ngoten niki

904            *pinten yah regane sak menten?*

905            *I think it was the old one. In fact, you have the new one. How much are they*

906    H        : Sekilone telung puluh siji

907            *It is thirty-one per kilo*

908    W        : Oh kilonan tho. Tak kirain rak yo panjang metere pinten

909            *Oh, they were sold per kilo, I think they were per meter.*

910

911    D14

912    140404 001

913    W        : pak? Bapak? Bapak? (pause) pak? bapak teng pundi tho?

914            *Dad? Daddy? Dad? (pause) dad? Where are you, dad?*

915    H        : wis ayo ning omah omah selak udan

916 *Let's get inside. It will rain soon.*

917 C1 : (bernyanyi) hujan gerimis  
918 *(singing) it is shower*

919 H : (bernyanyi) eh hujan gerimis aja  
920 *(singing) it is shower again*

921 C1 : (bernyanyi) mati dimakan cacing  
922 *(singing) they are death eaten by worm*

923 W : pak? bajune sing pundi tak gosoke sisan mriki? Cepakke sisan. Bapak?  
924 *Dad? Which shirt to iron? Please give it to me. Daddy?*

925 H : dalem  
926 *Yes, I am*

927 W : bajune sing pundi pilihan  
928 *Which shirt to iron?*

929 H : opo bu?  
930 *What did you say mom?*

931 W : bajune sing pundi sing ajeng di betho? Tak gosoke sisan engko garek nyangking  
932 *Which shirt will you bring? Bring it later so I can iron it*

933 H : sing kantong kae wae ki. Sing benike copot wis dipasang durung?  
934 *The shirt with the pocket is better. The button was dislodged. Has it been put on or not yet?*

935 W : dereng no.  
936 *Not yet!*

937 H : ijek cementel tho, kancinge?  
938 *Is the button still hanging on the shirt?*

939 W : Ora enek kok mpun.  
940 *It's not there*

941 H : copot ning kono ilang  
942 *It was dislodged. It has gone!*

943 W : mboten enten. Nek enek ning mesin cuci kan mestine enek, ora enek kok. Ayo sing  
944 nduwur dewe kuwi lho pak, dijipuk wae po piye?  
945 *There is no button. If it was in washer, it should be there. It was not there. Come on,*  
946 *the button which is on top, should it be taken out?*

947 H : iyo dipindah  
948 *Yes, move it!*

949 W : bapak no aku nggosok kok  
950 *It should be you Dad. I am ironing.*

951 C1 : opone sing opo tho bu?  
952 *What is it mom?*

953 W : kancinge bajune bapak itu lho  
954 *Dad's shirt looses its button*

955 C1 : Hah?  
956 *What?*

957 W : lepas  
958 *It's gone*

959

960

961 D1

962 Rec 4 – 140205 002

963 Meal time-breakfast

964

965 W : mangkat jam piro Bi?  
966 *When will you go dad?*  
967 H : setengah sepuluh  
968 *I will go at 9.30*  
969 W : hah  
970 *What?*  
971 H : setengah sepuluh  
972 *9.30*  
973 (pause)  
974 H : dik.. dik..dik  
975 *Little sister ... little sister ... little sister*  
976 W : sudah disetrika  
977 *They have been ironed*  
978 C : ndak  
979 *No!*  
980 H : piye tho  
981 *How is it?*  
982 (pause)  
983 W : dek wingi, dek wingi sing ngirimi barang kae tho bi, wingi ki rayape disemprot nggon  
984 rayap.  
985 *Yesterday, te person who send the package dad, the termits were sprayed yesterday.*  
986 H : kotak opo  
987 *What box is it?*  
988 W : karaoke (pause) Jane ngganggu ra tho mas? Tak ngonokke tho. Yo kalau sama  
989 tumbuhannya sih ndak ngganggu bu tapi nanti anu kalau ada kayu-kayu itu  
990 didalamnya itu ada kayu nanti lama-lama pohonnya itu juga bisa datangnya  
991 *It was karaoke box (pause) will they cause a trouble brother? I asked them. If it is with*  
992 *the plants, there will be no problem but if there are woods inside, they will come*  
993 (pause)  
994 W : ndek wingi iku tho mungkin bu Imron sms, bu Sabit kan wonge keru Bi. (pause) aku kan  
995 manut bareng Sabit, tapi aku  
996 *Yesterday Mrs. Sadewo might have sent a text. Do you know what the reason was? Mrs.*  
997 *Nakulo was late Dad. I was with Nakulo, but I .....*  
998 H : Lha Sabit opo ono?  
999 *Did Nakulo have something you were looking for?*  
1000 W : hah  
1001 *What?*  
1002 H : Nggone Sabit opo ono?  
1003 *Were you looking for something in Nakulo's house?*  
1004 W : ora, nggone Sabit kan Jupuk kudung, ukuran kudung. Lha aku wingi kan nggawe sak  
1005 ukuran Naura tho  
1006 *No. I went to Nakulo's house to collect a veil, the one I ordered. Yesterday, I made*  
1007 *Naura's size*  
1008 H : Kowe pamit bu Imron?  
1009 *Did you ask Mrs. Sadewo to leave?*  
1010 W : pamit. Pamit lah  
1011 *I did it. Of course, I did it*  
1012 H : terus  
1013 *What's next?*

1014 W : yo wis aku wis pamit  
1015 *Yes, I did. I asked to leave*  
1016 H : lha ngopo urusane karo bu Sabit  
1017 *So what is her business with Mrs. Nakulo?*  
1018 W : yo mbuh yo kan mikire bu Imron kan mulih ndisik iki mesti  
1019 *I don't know. In Mrs. Sadewo's mind, leaving early must be....*  
1020 H : ora nyaman ngono  
1021 *They weren't comfortable, were they?*  
1022 W :ho-oh  
1023 *Yes*  
1024 (talking with children – unclear conversation)  
1025 W : Anu .. enake digawe. Indomaret ning sebelaha warung  
1026 *What ... it is better to make. Indomaret is in the next shop*  
1027 H : opo kui  
1028 *What is that?*  
1029 W : martabake  
1030 *That is Martabak*  
1031 H : martabak opo ...  
1032 *Is it Martabak or ...*  
1033 W : martabake  
1034 *It is Martabak*  
1035 H : sing nggo ndog?  
1036 *Is it with eegs?*  
1037 W : nggak, yo biasa lah. mungkin rasane enake rung pas  
1038 *No, it is the regular one. The taste may not be good.*  
1039  
1040 Rec.8-140207-001  
1041 H : udane guede  
1042 *It was heavy raining*  
1043 W : opo iyo  
1044 *Is it?*  
1045 H : soko sing etan  
1046 *It was from eastern side.*  
1047 W : etan tho oh tak kiro ning kene  
1048 *You mean it was in the east, I think it was here*  
1049 H : ora etan, mudun  
1050 *No, it was in in the eastern side*  
1051 (pause)  
1052 H : urung tak pepe mendung  
1053 *I haven't dried in the sun; it was cloudy*  
1054 W : Hooh mou aku ning kono yo klethik ok  
1055 *Yes, it was drizzle there*  
1056 H : ragu-ragu aku  
1057 *I was in doubt*  
1058 W : ora mbok pepe ning njero kono!  
1059 *Why didn'y you dry them inside there!*  
1060 H : wis ora srengengene ok  
1061 *There was no sun shine.*  
1062 (pause)

1063 H : (singing)  
1064 (pause)  
1065 (Unclear conversation)  
1066 W : lha mengko rencanane ning Dirojo opo ning endi tho?  
1067 *Will the plan be in Dirojo or where will it be?*  
1068 H : piye Mah?  
1069 *What did you say Mah (nick name)?*  
1070 W : lha jenazahe ning endi jare?  
1071 *Where was the corpse?*  
1072 H : Mou bengi jare ning Astina  
1073 *Someone told me that last night the corpse was in Astina*  
1074 W : lha kowe nganu no  
1075 *So, what will you do?*  
1076 H : Nyolati wae  
1077 *I will only pray for the corpse*  
1078 W : perlu disolati opo ora ngono kui  
1079 *Should we pray for him?*  
1080 H : Ngakune Islam. Makane ngomong karo keluargane yen mati ndang teko ndang cepet.  
1081 Saurane ngono, tapi yen dibalekno karo keluargane munine tertulis opo ora.  
1082 *He said he was a Muslim. So, he said to his family to return home as soon as possible*  
1083 *when he died. That's what I heard, but when we asked to his family, they said whether*  
1084 *it was written or not.*  
1085  
1086 D18  
1087 Z0000003  
1088 Sambil nonton tivi  
1089 W : sampeyan engko piye iki rencanane?  
1090 *What is your plan today?*  
1091 H : rencana, rencana wae  
1092 *You are always asking about the plan*  
1093 W : iki omongan kene lho wong di kandani engko ben dang rampung nek dino iki wis  
1094 rampung, wis ra urusan  
1095 *Let's discuss about it, if we finish it today, there will be no more problem*  
1096 H : golek dit  
1097 *I plan to look for money.*  
1098 W : kuwi bagus potone pas umur piro kuwi?  
1099 *That is Bagus's photo, how old he was?*  
1100 H : kuwi jamane rong tahun  
1101 *When he was two years' old*  
1102 W : sing nggawe mas Toto kae tho?  
1103 *Was it brother Toto who take the picture?*  
1104 H : he eh  
1105 *Yes, it is*  
1106 W : nek cilik kethok cilik ngono kok, saiki mblegendung koyo ngono  
1107 *He was skinny when he was a kid, now he is overweight.*  
1108 H : arep tak ganti nggone adine. Iki adi opo kakak tho iki  
1109 *I will replace it with his younger brother's photo*  
1110 W : genah kakak ngono kok ra apal. Wong karo anake dewe lali  
1111 *It is the older brother, why didn't remember your own son?*

1112 H : nyat ora tak apal apal  
1113 *I didn't*  
1114 W : (sambil menguap). Kakak rak menthis, nek adike ra blongor  
1115 (yawning) The elder brother is smaller; the younger brother is taller.  
1116 H : ha ning poto ning senenge potone dipasang ning kamare  
1117 *He puts the photo in his room.*  
1118 W : kakak tho?  
1119 *Is it the elder brother?*  
1120 H : Riri karo Dede  
1121 *It is Riri and Dede*  
1122 W : iki mou wis obo. Pokoke aku pulang wis ada sepeda. Lha ngopo? Arep tak nggo  
1123 pramuka. Tak anyari  
1124 *He has just said, there should be a bicycle when I return home. Why? I will use the new*  
1125 *bike for boy scout*  
1126 H : lha sepedane ngopo?  
1127 *What's wrong with his bike?*  
1128 W : wis bosan.  
1129 *He does not like it anymore*  
1130 H : koyo wong sugih  
1131 *He is just like a rich man*  
1132 ...  
1133  
1134 H : iki ki adik  
1135 *This is the younger brother*  
1136 W : kakak  
1137 *He is the older brother*  
1138 H : adik (ketawa kecil)  
1139 *He is the younger brother [chuckle]*  
1140 W : lho ngeyel (sambil mneguap). Ndi tak tontonke. Sampeyan kok ra apal apal. Adik ki iki  
1141 lho. Lho iki adik. Nyempluk ki, cempluk.  
1142 *You are stubborn. Let me see it. You don't remember. This is the younger brother. He is*  
1143 *the younger brother. He was fat*  
1144 H : ning iki sing tengah adik gilo. Lha iki digekke ngendi iki  
1145 *This is the younger brother in the middle. Where should I put this one?*  
1146 W : kekke tengahe no, mang kekke tengahe  
1147 *Put it in the middle. (You) can put it in the middle*  
1148 H : lha iki kembar telu ngono(ketawa)  
1149 *This is the triplet [laugh]*  
1150 W : he eh. Lha mang kekke tengahe. Mang lebokke!  
1151 *Yes. Just put it in the middle. Insert it!*  
1152 H : lha iki diarani ra kembar wong kelompok iki (ketawa)  
1153 *The children in the photo cannot be called twins even though they look similar. They*  
1154 *look like a group [laugh]*  
1155 W : ra po po malah apik. Anake pak Nado telu, kembar kabeh. Goto wingi ngabari nek  
1156 sragamku wis dadi kok. Durung tak jupuk. Mou bengi arep pengajian wis dandan hah  
1157 arep dandan males, padahal ibu ibu wis do nunggu nunggu, wanti wanti. Engko adik  
1158 anu ki jare arep pentas drum band ning endi ngono  
1159 *It is okay, it looks good. Mr. Nado has three children, triplet. Goto informed me*  
1160 *yesterday that he has finished my uniform. I haven't collected it. Last night, I will go to*

1161 *a meeting, I was so lazy to dress up even though many ladies have waited for me. The*  
 1162 *younger brother will have drum band performance somewhere.*  
 1163  
 1164 D 8  
 1165 140304 001  
 1166 H : Nyoh, dokoken rekening sisan  
 1167 *Here you are, deposit it in the bank account.*  
 1168 W : Dadekno siji wae  
 1169 *So, deposit it in one account.*  
 1170 H : nyoh  
 1171 *Here you are*  
 1172 W : Lha Oca bah?  
 1173 *What about Ocha, dad?*  
 1174 H : yo wis kuwi. Wong aku wingi transfer lali njaluk print. Jupuken  
 1175 *It was there. I forgot to print the receipt when I send the money. Get it!*  
 1176 W : yo  
 1177 *Yes, I will*  
 1178 H : wis bar  
 1179 *Is that everything?*  
 1180 W : mei mei. Mei ndok daftar ijek limang atus piro ngono  
 1181 *Mei Mei. Mei has to pay 500*  
 1182 H : yo  
 1183 *Ok*  
 1184 W : entuk iki. Dua ratus lima ratus, tiga ratus tiga puluh dua, piro yo. empat ratus  
 1185 delapan puluh Sembilan  
 1186 *I got it. 200, 332, how much is it? 489.*  
 1187 H : cah siji opo cah loro  
 1188 *Is it for one or two kids?*  
 1189 W : heh?  
 1190 *What?*  
 1191 H : cah siji opo loro  
 1192 *It is for aone or two kids?*  
 1193 W : loro  
 1194 *It is for two*  
 1195 H : wis kono gek ndang (pause sebentar). Iki aku bulan kemarin, pebruari kan sasine rodo  
 1196 tanggale gur piro wolulikur.  
 1197 *So do it soon (pause) Last month, Pebruary was only 28 days.*  
 1198 W : malah ngono iku ra diitung.  
 1199 *Forget it. They did not count it.*  
 1200 H : maksute maret luweh okeh ngono lho  
 1201 *I mean March I should earn more*  
 1202 W : nggak kok Bah uang makan itu sebulan segitu ok gak menurut harinya. Tapi mbuh yo.  
 1203 Tapi awake dewe lagi iki  
 1204 *I don't think so dad, meal allowance is not counted daily. But I don't know. But we*  
 1205 *have just got this month.*  
 1206 H : biasane sih  
 1207 *It usually like that*  
 1208 W : sebulan segitu dadi pokoke mau, mau tiga puluh satu mau dua puluh delapan  
 1209 *So it is counted monthly, no matter it is 30 or 28 days*

1210 H : kethoke per hari jarene. Sehari limo skeet  
1211 *I think it is daily, fifty per day.*  
1212 W : oh ngono tho. Yo wis gawe lima ratusan  
1213 *Oh, I see. So it is around 500*  
1214 H : hem  
1215 ehm  
1216 W : (unclear)  
1217 (pause)  
1218 W : iki sopo iki?  
1219 *For whom is it?*  
1220 H : Eko  
1221 *Eko*  
1222 W : Bulan pebruari ndek ingi?  
1223 *Was it for Pebruary?*  
1224 H : he eh  
1225 *yes*  
1226 W : kuwi iku anu lho durung dicatet neng kono lho?  
1227 *It hasn't been noted it there*  
1228 H : lha iyo durung enek  
1229 *No, It hasn't*  
1230 W : durung ning kono  
1231 *It has not been written there*  
1232 H : engko nek pas tilik  
1233 *Later when we visit them*  
1234 W : Wis iki nggo Chaca? Mundak e Bah. Mundak telung atus. (ketawa kecil) Iki nek dianu  
1235 iso, recehe ra eneng. Selawe dipas ngono lho. Engko telu skeet  
1236 *Is it for Cacha? It increases 300 (chuckle). There is no coins. Let's make it 25. It will be*  
1237 *350.*  
1238 H : he-eh (unclear) kabeh piro?  
1239 *Yes (unclear) how much are they?*  
1240 W : (unclear) siji, loro, telu, papat, limo, enem, pitu, wolu, songo, sepuluh. yo bener, sak  
1241 yuto rong atus.  
1242 *(unclear) 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. Yes it is one million two hundred*  
1243 H : he eh  
1244 *Yes it is*  
1245 W : dek ingi tak itung langsung yo hampir segitu kan jupuk spp thok  
1246 *It was also in the amount Last month for tuition fee*  
1247 H : yo yo yo wis  
1248 *Ok, no problem*  
1249 W: Aku jane arep usul njenengan, mbok beras kui dek misalkan kebanyakan dijual ngono  
1250 njenengan setuju ora?  
1251 *Actually I want to tell you my idea, do you agree or not if I sell the extra rice?*  
1252 H: Dijual? Maksute piye?  
1253 *You want to sell the rice? What do you mean?*  
1254 W: Tak tawakke koncoku ngono lho maksutku sepuluh kilo untuk dijual, yang lima belas kita  
1255 konsumsi sendiri.  
1256 *I mean I want to offer it to my friend, ten kilos to sell, we consume the other fifteen kilos.*  
1257 H: Yo terserah. Mosok beras dijual?  
1258 *Up to you. Why the rice should be sold?*

1259 W: Lha piye?  
1260 *So, how?*

1261 H: Yo terserah. Maksute kan dinggo yen opo yen weruh yo ra sah dijual yo yen sisane  
1262 *Up to you. I mean the rice can be used if what if you see the extra rice should not be sold*

1263 W: Dikekno?  
1264 *Give it for free?*

1265 H: He eh  
1266 *yes*

1267 W: Lha okeh banget  
1268 *But the extra is too much*

1269 H: yen ra ngono, yo sithik ae sak cukupe. Yen siso dinggo bulan berikutnya, maksute  
1270 sebulan ra kudu entek ngono lho  
1271 *I mean If it's like that, give it some. If it is possible, it can be used next month*

1272 W: Hmm lha kan biasanya terus anu kok Bah, metu kuine ok  
1273 *It is usually there was something on it Bah (vocative for husband).*

1274 H: Heh?  
1275 *What?*

1276 W: Metu kuine ok. Nek pas entuk sing apik ora, nek pas entuk sing anu yo  
1277 *There was something. There will be no such thing If you get good rice, if you don't ...*

1278 H: Yo ra po po  
1279 *Yes, it's okay (you can sell it)*

1280 W: Maksutku ngene lho. Koyo mbak Srimpi iku kan jane dia mau sih nek segitu. Pas kebeneran  
1281 hargene mesti lebih ringan tho dibanding yang diluar. Diluar naik lho bah ini  
1282 *What I mean is like this. The person such as Mrs. Srimpi actually wants to buy in that*  
1283 *price. The price is cheaper than in the shop. The price is raising in the shop now dad.*

1284 H: He eh. Yo wis ra popo nek ngono  
1285 *Alright. It's okay if it's like that*

1286 W: Misale dijual lapan lima. Ngono ae wis gelem dee wong berase yo lumayan. Wong kui  
1287 sing segitu itu harganya itu, sing mbah Widi kui adol wolung ewu rong atus opo wolu  
1288 setengah kui ki rupane uireng. Lima belas itu aja nanti masih bisa bantu kok bah  
1289 *For instance, the rice is sold eight five. She wants to buy it because the rice is quite good.*  
1290 *The price of the same quality rice, grandma Widi sold rice which is very black eight*  
1291 *thousand two hundred or eight and a half. If we sell fifteen, we still can help others.*

1292 H: Yo wis ra po po nek ngono  
1293 *Alright if it's like that*

1294 W: Lha sithik banget ok, mban dino paling gur telung gelas ok. Lha wis ning cah cah  
1295 *We use so little rice, everyday is only three glasses. It's already been in kids*

1296 H: Maksute nek dijual wong cerak ngono ra po po. Maksute koncomu kan nggone Astina  
1297 *I mean it's okay if you sell it to our neighbouring people. I mean your friends live in*  
1298 *Gumpang*

1299 W: Kok Astina sih (chuckle)  
1300 *Why is it in Astina (chuckle)*

1301 H: Lha koncomu  
1302 *Your friends are there*

1303 W: Ora, konco pengajian maksutku sing rodo kethok kurang ngono lho tetepo milih sing  
1304 murah. Dek wingi wae yo nganu Sembodro yo gelem, moh aku nek gur Sembodro, mak  
1305 aku pilih mbak Srimpi ae sing anake okeh aku ngono

1306 *No, I mean my friends who are in needy, they will choose a cheaper rice. Yesterday*  
1307 *Sembodro wanted the rice but I won't give it to her, I prefer Mrs. Srimpi who has many*  
1308 *children.*

1309 H: Ngono rak po po  
1310 *It's alright*

1311 W: Yo kan karo bantu sithik pak Dewo. Kacek ngono tho. Sing biasa saiki sangang ewu lho  
1312 bah  
1313 *So we can also help Mr. Dewo. It's cheaper. The regular rice is nine thousand right now*  
1314 *Bah.*

1315 H: He eh  
1316 Yes

1317 W: Masih inget sing rego pitu enem kui?  
1318 *Do you still remember the rice which is seven six?*

1319 H: He eh  
1320 yes

1321 W: Podo, ora ngantek wolung ewu. Lha sing selawe go opo?  
1322 *The same rice, it's not more than eight thousand. So what will the twenty five be used*  
1323 *for?*

1324 H: Heh? Ra ngerti aku. Yo wis ra po po ngono dikekke mbak Tun  
1325 *What? I don't know. It's alright to give it to Mrs. Tun*

1326 W: Yo aku ngomong sik karo njenengan wong kuwi kan wis duwekke njenengan wong sing  
1327 anu njenengan  
1328 *Yes, but I have to tell you because it's yours.*

1329 H: Yo  
1330 Yes.

1331 W : yo nek aku mending nganu tek ganti ngono tapi kan maksutku disalurkan kemana ben  
1332 nganu  
1333 *For me, it is better to change it but I mean to give it to someone else*

1334 H : bulan depan, ganti bulan ganti  
1335 *Next month, we change the rice every new month*

1336 W : he eh. Cepet lho bah. Soale opo engko terus ono thothore ngono kae. Soale kan sok  
1337 sok lembab bah nek nggon sing nggon ngono kan ora. Sing dek wingi ae, sing bulan  
1338 kemari akhire tak kekno mbak Dani kan akhir akhir kui rupane wis maleh. Karena aku  
1339 nempatkannya kan mepet tembok  
1340 *Yes, it is. It is so quick dad. Because there will be thothore (a small insect). Because it is*  
1341 *moist dad, but it won't moist if you have the box. Last month, I gave it to sister dani*  
1342 *because the colour changed. Because I kept it near the wall*

1343 H : heh  
1344 *what*

1345 W :dadi lembab mungkin ngono. Tak kekno mbak Dani karo mbak Sarni  
1346 *It became moist. I gave it to sister Dani and Sarni*

1347 H : he eh  
1348 yes

1349 W : karepku nek anu iso sesasi entek ngono lho. Lha nek nggone ora ngono kui sing ngono  
1350 kae mungkin iso opo kae sing jenenge rice box. Ora sah nganggo ngono kae mbok wis  
1351 kekno tonggone malah genah nek aku ngono lho. Mboh bue, bue terutama nek po po.  
1352 Mbak ida yo kabotan duit semono yo okeh

1353 *I want to finish it in a month. If it is in the proper place, what is it called? Rice box, it*  
1354 *won't be like that. We don't need the box, give the extra to our neighbours. It could be*  
1355 *particularly Mom. Sister Ida could not buy in the amount of the extras.*

1356 H : he eh  
1357 *Yes, it is.*

1358 W : lha iyo sing limo nggo ibu, terus sepuluh awake dewe cukup lho, wong sithik banget  
1359 ok maeme ok  
1360 *So, the five k.g. is for mom, then ten k.g. is enough for us, we don't eat much*

1361 H : iyo, wong cah cah wis ning sekolah  
1362 *Yes, because the children have attended the school*

1363 W : kan maeme ning sekolahan. Lha aku wis sedino dikurangi okeh lho ngliwet telung  
1364 telung gelas ngono ki wis anu, arep ora tak tuku wong eman-eman mending mbok wis  
1365 didol maksute konco konco sing gelem, mesti enek sing gelem  
1366 *They have got lunch at school. I have reduced the rice only three glasses, it better to*  
1367 *give it to friends who want it, there must be someone who wants it.*

1368 H : he eh cah cah gur maeme gur esuk  
1369 *Yes, the children only get breakfast at home*

1370 W : Lha iyo  
1371 *Yes, it is.*

1372 H : karo sore thok  
1373 *And they also get dinner at home.*

1374 W : aku jane saiki blonjone yo saiki yo sak iprit paling yo mung limo las kecuali yen beli  
1375 ayam lha kuwi mungkin bedo. Buah yo saiki larang nggone mbah midi ora ono buah.  
1376 Mmbak sri kae rodo duwur blanjane. Aku dek wingi tuku banyu sing tak kebaki sisan  
1377 aku ngono paling engko yo dienggo terus aku yo ngono. Kebak songolas setengah. Lha  
1378 aku sing wira wiri yo aku dewe  
1379 *I only spent a little on food around fiveteen, except if I bought chicken, it was different.*  
1380 *Fruits are also expensive now. There were no fruits in grandma Midis. Miss Sri is*  
1381 *rather more expensive. Yesterday I bought water, I filled it full because it will always*  
1382 *be used. It was nineteen and half because I collected the water on my own*

1383 H : engko, sesuk Today?  
1384 *Tomorrow?*

1385 W : seminggu  
1386 *A week*

1387 H :he-eh  
1388 *Yes*

1389 W : lha terus suk rebo, rebo aku kan mulang, terus kemis njenengan ra eneng, yo wis lah  
1390 *Then next Wednesday, I will teach next Wednesday. Then on Thursday you will not be*  
1391 *at home, so I will do it*

1392 H : rebo aku yo ning MH  
1393 *On Wednesday I will be at MH*

1394 W :tapi sore  
1395 *But will it be in the afternoon?*

1396 H : Ora awan yo an jam sijinan.jam siji tekan kono  
1397 *No, it will be early afternoon, around one o'clock. I will arrive there at one*

1398 W : lha terus njenengan numpak opo?  
1399 *How will you get there?*

1400 H : yo nggo mobil. Nggo mobil, Engko jemput cah cah bar kuwi tho  
1401 *I will drive the car. I will pick up the children after that*

1402 W : terus jumat kuwi aku arep mbalik ning anu dagangane pak Rowan, mesakne aku. Aku  
1403 dewe yo gak minat. Janjine rong minggu. Rono dewe ngidzino sopo aku engko. Tekan  
1404 Diraja numpak motor isuk ngono kui bar negeterno cah cah, langsung wae  
1405 *Then on Friday, I will return Mr. Rowan's merchandise. I feel sorry for him. I am not*  
1406 *interested in it. My promise was for two weeks. I will go there alone, who will permit*  
1407 *me then. I will ride my bike early in the morning to Diraja after I send the children to*  
1408 *school*

1409 H : adoh lha piye.  
1410 *How is it? It is too far*

1411 W : Lha nek ra ndang dibalekke yo ra penak e. Nunggu njenengan yo kesuwen aku. Aku  
1412 gak menak e bah nek ning kono suwe suwe  
1413 *If I don't return them as soon as possible, it will not be good. It will take time to wait*  
1414 *you. I don't feel comfortable dad if I have to be there longer.*

1415 H : yo iyo  
1416 *Yes, it is*

1417 W : lha nek mbah Wowo rene lha bedo urusane. Lha karepku aku tak rono sik ngono lho.  
1418 Ndek mben aku malah tahu tekan anu lho bah karo koncoku, ning sing mboncengne  
1419 koncoku. Tekan ... ngendi pak kuwi sing nggon MMA kui opo  
1420 *It will different if grandpa Wowo come here. I mean let me go there. I was somewhere*  
1421 *with my friend. It was ... where was it, which is near MMA?*

1422 H : nonongan  
1423 *Was it nonongan?*

1424 W : malah pemukiman wong wong Arab kui opo jenenge?  
1425 *It was in Arabian housing, what is it?*

1426 H : ngendi, sar kliwon  
1427 *Was it Kliwon market?*

1428 W : ha tekan sar kliwon. Kan ngluwihi kuwi  
1429 *Yes, it was Kliwon market. It was farer.*

1430 H : hmm  
1431 *ehmm*

1432 W : ning karo konco. Mey bangun nduk setengah enem  
1433 *It was with my friend. Mey, wake up. It is 5.30 PM*  
1434 (pause)

1435 H : yo ra po po. Oh pak Ro kae rene pas anu kok yo pas karo  
1436 Ok. Did Mr. Ro was here with someone?

1437 W : he eh  
1438 *Yes, he was*

1439 H : ngeterke sopo kui  
1440 *He accompanied someone*

1441 W : Tony  
1442 *Tony*

1443 H : Tony ok yo. Ora maksute ora niat rene ngeterke dagangan ora  
1444 *It was Tony. I mean he didn't sent the merchandises.*

1445 W : heh  
1446 *yes*

1447 H : yo ra po po. Mengko rebo aku ning MH, kemis ning karang pandan, jumat pagi  
1448 kethoke aku muleh. Ono acara rapat. Setune rono meneh  
1449 *It is okay. I will be at MH on Wednesday, in Karangpandan at Thursday, I will return*  
1450 *home on Friday. There will be a meeting. I will go there again on Saturday.*

1451 (pause)

1452

1453 H: Ora masak?

1454 *Don't you cook?*

1455 W: Masak opo?

1456 *What should I cook?*

1457 H: Nasi goreng

1458 *Fried rice*

1459 W: Ora masak nasi goreng wis telung dino

1460 *I have not cook fried rice for three days*

1461 H: Heh?

1462 *What?*

1463 W: Aku dek wingi wis tuku tempe, bayem wis tak pethiki

1464 *I bought tempe (soy bean cake) yesterday, I have cut spinach into smaller pieces.*

1465 H: Hmm

1466 *hmm*

1467 W: Pe njangan bening

1468 *I will cook "jangan bening".*

1469 H: Yo wis ra po po

1470 *Okay, that's alright*

1471 W: Engko bue wae engko njenengan golek mangan

1472 *You may go for shopping to buy some food for Mom later*

1473 H: Bue bayem yo ra po po mangan

1474 *Spinach for Mom is also okay*

1475 W: Lha isuk-isuk bayem

1476 *Is it okay to have spinach for breakfast*

1477 H: Ra po po

1478 *It is okay*

1479 W : May sholat may

1480 *May, wake up and pray!*

1481 H :ayo mbak may bangun, sholat nduk may

1482 *Come on elder sister, wake up and pray*

1483 W: Lha iki berarti ibu durung Bah? Empat lima puluh

1484 *So, Mom has not been included Dad? Four hundred and fifty.*

1485 H: Belum, yo durung

1486 *No, not yet.*

1487 W: Sik sik!

1488 *Wait a moment!*

1489 H: Yo aku tak ning anu sik ATM sik nak anu

1490 *So I will go to ATM first.*

1491 W: Yo sesuk ae

1492 *It's better to do it tomorrow morning*

1493 H: Heh?

1494 *What?*

1495 W: Ra kesusu. Jane arep tuku kain lho pak aku. Aku ra sah dodol ae aku. Tak pikir-pikir aku

1496 saiki okeh mulange dadine wis aku wis ora biyen. Soale opo wis aku nggarap gawean

1497 mulang kui kethoke wis akeh ki Bah. Jane yo seneng malah, malah tak piker-pikir opo

1498 jahite sing tak budal aku ngono. Wah nek wis metu ngono kesel tenan karo tekan omah  
1499 wis blas ra niat jahit lho [chuckle]. Aku tak mulang.  
1500 *Don't be in such a hurry. Actually I want to buy cloth Dad (a vocative for a husband). I*  
1501 *think I don't want to be a seller anymore. I think I spend much time on teaching now,*  
1502 *not like previously. I think there are many duties as a teacher Dad. Actually I enjoy it, I*  
1503 *think I will stop my job as a taylor. Huft when I was out, it was exhausted. When I arrived*  
1504 *home, I did not have any intention to sew (laugh). Let me be a teacher.*  
1505 H: Utamane mulang kui  
1506 *Teaching is the main job.*  
1507 W :mulane misal njenengan tuku kui bah tuku dari sido misale yo, kui paling yo gur tak  
1508 brukne ning kene, maksute baju baju kui tetep gak po po ning kan istilahe ora ora  
1509 nyambut gawe abot ngono lho gur nunggu ngono thok maksute disambi ning kene,  
1510 ora nganggo ning ngarepan mbok ning kene wong ra do wis ngerti wong pengajian  
1511 dek wingi do moro rene. Ning kudu tetep baju iku tetep jalan tapi jahit yo sedikit. Nek  
1512 baju iki yo gur tak brokne ning kono ae ora usah di anu ora sah gawe gedhe wae,  
1513 mengko nek gedhe digolekki wong ternyata ra eneng, lha aku heh nek seloso wis anu  
1514 genahe seloso rebo  
1515 *So, if you buy the merchandises, I will just put them here, I maen there will no problem*  
1516 *with the shirts, I will not work hard, I will wait here not in the front, they have already*  
1517 *known about it and come here. I will still sell the shirt but I will reduce the sewing. I*  
1518 *will put the shirts there, I don't sew them on my own, when it grows bigger, I couldn't*  
1519 *find some workers, I have other activities on Tuesday and Wednesday.*  
1520  
1521 140306 001  
1522 C2 : nggk suka  
1523 *I don't like it*  
1524 W : nggk suka?  
1525 *You don't like it?*  
1526 H : nggk suka itu?  
1527 *You don't like that?*  
1528 W : ini lho sing koyok sop iku lho  
1529 *This is like soup.*  
1530 H : he eh ada telornya itu. Ada telornya ada ininya. Sudah makan belum? Nambah gak  
1531 Cha?  
1532 *Yes, there is an egg inside. There is an egg and this. Have you got your meal? Get more*  
1533 *Cha?*  
1534 (pause)  
1535 H :Pedes ra bu?  
1536 *Is it spicy Mom?*  
1537 W :Heh? Muantab  
1538 *What? Great.*  
1539 H :Heh?  
1540 *What?*  
1541 W :Pedes bianget  
1542 *It is extremely hot*  
1543 H :Pedes bianget?  
1544 *Is it extremely hot?*  
1545 W :[unclear]  
1546 H :Mosok bu?

1547            *Are you sure Mom?*  
1548    W        :Enak yo wok, nduk  
1549            *It is delicious, isn't it wok, nduk<sup>21</sup>?*  
1550    H        :Biasane ra pedes  
1551            *It is usually not hot.*  
1552    W        :[unclear] Kok mboten pedes. Pedes bianget. Tapi yen oseng-osenge mboten pedes  
1553            *[unclear] Is it not spicy? It is extremely hot. But the oseng-oseng (name of food) is not*  
1554            *spicy.*  
1555    H        :Hmm. Uantri. Aku antri telu  
1556            *Hmm. It was extremely crowded. I was in queue number three.*  
1557    W        :Yah mene yo biasa jam enem, ngantri. Jam setengah enem niko lha  
1558            *It's common in this hour, crowded. It's not crowded at 5.30 am.*  
1559    H        :Ngantri telu. Teko wong siji, eh ndesel ik ning ngarepku. Aku yo meneng ae. Tapi bu  
1560            Satriyo wis ngerti  
1561            *I was number three in queue. There was one person arrived then, but s/he stood in front*  
1562            *of me. I just kept silence, but Mrs. Satriyo knew it.*  
1563    W        :Ngerti mesti mulane sopo ngono  
1564            *She usually knows who come first.*  
1565    H        :Ngerti dee  
1566            *She knew it*  
1567    W        :Bu Satriyo mudeng  
1568            *Mrs. Satriyo recognises it*  
1569    H        :Bar kui terus gugetan telu, wong papat opo wong limo  
1570            *After me, there were three persons then, four or five*  
1571    W        :Niki antrine sinten, ngono biasane ngono. Kulo bu. Mbok aku lungguh ngono kui sing  
1572            anu do maju maju.  
1573            *Whose turn is it, It is usually like it. It's me. Even though I was sitting, the others came*  
1574            *forward.*  
1575    H        :ho oh opo ngono yo wis ngerti yo  
1576            *Yes, it was. It might be like that, she knew it*  
1577    C1        : ho oh ada ndognya ok  
1578            *Yes, there is an egg*  
1579    W        :enek ndog nduk pancenan ok  
1580            *Of course, there is an egg my little dear.*  
1581    H        : pernah mbiyen nesu karo sing tuwo kae (ketawa kecil) sampeyan le ndesel ndesel  
1582            ngono  
1583            *She was angry with an old man (chuckle) why don't you in queue!*  
1584    W        : tapi yo pengine dicepetke pak. Nek wis tekan kono pengine cepet  
1585            *But anyone wants to get quick services*  
1586    H        : iyo  
1587            yes  
1588    W        : mbak Lili opo meneh, wuah antrine luar biasa  
1589            *It would be worse in sister Lili's shop, the queue was incredible*  
1590    H        : nggone mbak Lili yo okeh yo antri  
1591            *There was many people who were in queue in sister YLili?*  
1592    W        : he eh  
1593            yes

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<sup>21</sup> “Wok” and “nduk” are vocative for a daughter.

1594 H : yo podo jane mbak Lili mbak sopo kui  
1595 *Yes, it is the same between sister Lili and who is it?*  
1596 W : mbak Titi kan esuk, mbak Lili ki justru antrene siang setengah pitu ngono  
1597 *Sister Titi is in the morning, there will be long queue in sister Lili at 6.30 a.m.*  
1598 H : pedes ma, pedes ma  
1599 *It is spicy mom*  
1600 W : heh tapi enak lho  
1601 *What? but it is delicious*  
1602 H : cepet naik, siap naik, mbak ocha siap?  
1603 *Get in the car quickly, are ready to get in? are you ready sister Ocha?*  
1604 C1 : sebentar  
1605 *Wait a second!*  
1606 W : bapak mlebet sik ae nek anu. iki lagi maem  
1607 *Dad get in the car first. She is having breakfast*  
1608 H : yo. (tidak jelas)  
1609 *Ok (unclear)*  
1610  
1611 D.9  
1612 140312 009  
1613 W : mas mas  
1614 *Brother, brother*  
1615 H : opo?  
1616 *What?*  
1617 W : Sampeyan wis selo durung?  
1618 *Do you have spare time or not?*  
1619 H : Yo nek saiki rung, suk Minggu paling. Ngopo tho?  
1620 *Not now, maybe next Monday. What's wrong?*  
1621 W : Kamare etan kethokke ora rapi tur kurang resik  
1622 *It seems that the east room is not tidy and less clean.*  
1623 H : Ra resik piye to? Opo?  
1624 *What do you mean? What?*  
1625 W : Lha aku ben dina lah nyaponi ra iso nyaponi, ben dino kertase berantakan sampe ndi-  
1626 ndi sampe ora bisa lewat, ora iso nyapu  
1627 *Every day I cannot sweep it out, every day the papers is everywhere until I cannot walk,*  
1628 *I cannot sweep it.*  
1629 H : lha aku kan lagi mbiji mata kuliah micro teaching kan akeh tugase, tugase RPP Ne cah-  
1630 cah kuwi lho. Dead line yo kudune dino iki mengko  
1631 *Because I am assessing the papers of micro teaching classes, they have many papers,*  
1632 *their lesson plan assignments. The deadline to finish it is today.*  
1633 W : yo mugo-mugo lak iki ko wis rampung, suk minggu ndang iso resik-resik yo  
1634 *I hope you can finish it today so next Monday you can clean it*  
1635 H : yo, ewangi yo  
1636 *All right, help me to clean it please.*  
1637 W : insyaallah  
1638 *I promise (may God permit me to do it)*  
1639 H : yo  
1640 *yes*  
1641

1642 D.18  
1643 Z0000002  
1644 W : sesuk njenengan neng boyolali jam piro pak? Kemise wae yo?  
1645 *What time will you go to Boyolali dad? Will it be next Thursday?*  
1646 H : ora  
1647 *No*  
1648 W : sirku tak jak rono ndang ben klakon ngono lho pak  
1649 *I plan to go there with you to finish it*  
1650 H : hem  
1651 *ehmm*  
1652 W : males sampeyan?  
1653 *Is it not comfortable for you?*  
1654 H : kesel  
1655 *I am so tired*  
1656 W : kesel. Berarti sesuk rutene gur ning sukoharjo thok terus awake dewe ndang leye  
1657 leye ning omah. Lha kemis sido ning boyolali?  
1658 *You're tired. So, tomorrow we will only go to Sukoharjo and return home. Will we go to*  
1659 *Boyolali on Thursday?*  
1660 H : nang boyolali ngopo?  
1661 *Why we should go to Boyolali?*  
1662 W : ngeterke duit no. Heh?  
1663 *To send the money. What do you think?*  
1664 H : kono do rene  
1665 *Let them collect it here*  
1666 W : podo rene? Ho oh yo wong kono sing arep dimodali kok, mosok kene sing rono yo?  
1667 Mbak Mawar kon prei sik ngono?  
1668 *Let them come here? Yes, because they need the money, why we should go there?*  
1669 *What about asking sister Mawar to have a leave?*  
1670 H : lha wis prei durung dee?  
1671 *Has she resigned from her job?*  
1672 W : durung ki. Durung pamitan kok. Ijek lagi rasan rasan  
1673 *Not yet. He hasn't said good bye. She is planning it.*  
1674 H : lagi rasan rasan? Jenenge wis jelas metu lagi dikei  
1675 *She is planning it? Give it when she has resigned!*  
1676 W : lha iyo  
1677 *yes*  
1678 H : mbut gawe ning kono yo do durung eneng iso.  
1679 *They could not do it while they are working there*  
1680 W : jane sing mletik gaweyan malah Mawar yo?  
1681 *Actually, Mawar is a hard worker*  
1682 H : lho sing pinter Mawar kok. Liyane yo arep ngopo (ketawa kecil)  
1683 *Mawar is smart. What the others will do (chuckle)*  
1684 W : do ting klumbruk yo. Ning Mawar cekeli mang yuto sik po yo cukup?  
1685 *They do not hard workers. Is it enough to give Mawar 5 million?*  
1686 H : yo dicukup cukupke jenenge modal sithik  
1687 *She must use it properly, it is small money*  
1688 W : niat dewe anu yo karo mbiyen ndak dewe di opo silah silih silah silih yo wis enek  
1689 itungane ngono pak yo?  
1690 *We intend to do something because they just borrow some money.*

1691 H : he eh  
1692 yes  
1693 W : sing pas jaman ngingu bebek barang kae yo wis ono itungane ngono lho  
1694 *When they had duck farm, there should be counted like that*  
1695 H : nek ning anu hariane nedek yo ngingu petelur kui  
1696 *If they want to earn daily, it is good to raise ducks for the eggs.*  
1697 W : lha regane piro? Aspan kon nggoleki piye?  
1698 *How much is it? What about asking Aspan to look for them?*  
1699 H : wolung puluh ngono kok.  
1700 *It is 80*  
1701 W : wolong puluh nek tuku satus bebek wolung yuto. Lha pakane?  
1702 *80, if we buy a hundred ducks, it is 8 million, what about the food?*  
1703 H : lha pakane yen aspan sobo pasar yo akeh  
1704 *Let Aspan go to the market, there are a lot there.*  
1705 W : lha pilih bebek opo ikan lele?  
1706 *which one is better? Ducks or cat fish?*  
1707 H : yo disekarep sing nglakoni kok  
1708 *Let them choose!*  
1709 W : Yo wis no. Wis iki tak ados sik arep lungo  
1710 *It is okay. I want to take a bath now, I will leave*  
1711 H : Arep jam piro olehmu lungo?  
1712 *What time when will you leave?*  
1713 W : Iki arep diampiri. Engko metune karo sampeyan bar maghrib nukokke cah cah  
1714 *My friend will pick me up. I will go with you later after maghrib to buy something for*  
1715 *children.*  
1716 H : Maghrib maghrib metu, awake iki lho?  
1717 *Why are we leaving at maghrib?*  
1718 W : Lha iki sisan ngarep sisan po piye?  
1719 *What about leaving now?*  
1720 H : Yo isin  
1721 *It is embarrassing*  
1722 W : Kok isin tho? Wong methuk mamah engko terus mbablas lungo ngono lho.  
1723 *Why are you embarrassed? You pick me up and we go.*  
1724 H : Maghrib maghrib kui lho. Wong cerak mushola, maghrib metu  
1725 *It is exactly at maghrib, that's the problem. We live near mosque and we leave at*  
1726 *maghrib*  
1727 W : Bar maghrib kok engko, piye? Nek ora sesuk yo ra popo nek kesel  
1728 *We will leave after maghrib, what do you think? If you are tired, we'd better go*  
1729 *tomorrow.*  
1730 H : sesuk ki wektune jam piro? Sedino e ra ono wektune ngono kok  
1731 *What time will it be tomorrow? I won't have time tomorrow.*  
1732 W : sirku engko bar maghrib kae ning carefour terus nukokke cah cah sepatu muleh,  
1733 ngono lho. Kan yo singkat thok. Carefour kan paling gur tuku sabun, rinso, opo  
1734 seperlune kuwi terus muleh.  
1735 *I plan to go to Carefour after Maghrib to buy the children shoes and then return home.*  
1736 *It will not take longer time. We will only buy soap, Rinso, and just what we need and*  
1737 *return home.*  
1738 H : sepatu tukune ngendi?  
1739 *Where will you buy the shoes?*

1740 W : hah?  
1741 *What?*  
1742 H : sing arep mbok tukokke sepatu sopo?  
1743 *For whom will you buy the shoes?*  
1744 W : yo adik kakak Satryo no. Nek kakak jaluk podo sing ungu kuwi  
1745 *The shoes are for little and elder brother Satryo. The elder brother wants to have the*  
1746 *purple.*  
1747 H : ungu endi?  
1748 *Which purple shoes are they?*  
1749 W : sing adik ditukokke ning pajang kuwi. Ning iki engko tukokno ning famous kabeh wae.  
1750 Jarene tuku sepatu san?  
1751 *The one, which you bought in Pajang. But let's get them all in famous. You said you*  
1752 *want to buy another shoes?*  
1753 H : nek ungu nggo sekolah po yo oleh?  
1754 *Can he use it for school?*  
1755 W : nyatane yo orak dilokke ngono kok nganggo kuwi  
1756 *In fact, there was no warning from the school*  
1757 H : ra tertib kuwi  
1758 *It did not follow the rules*  
1759 W : wis lah tak siap siap sik. ndang cepet singkat ndang tak muleh  
1760 *Ok, let me get ready. Let's get it quick and return home.*  
1761  
1762 D10  
1763 W : nggak ada ora air dingin ki?  
1764 *Don't you have cold water?*  
1765 H : yo di cool ke. Ice grade ki ora air dingin  
1766 *Makes it cold. Ice grade is not cold water.*  
1767 W : wis dingin tho?  
1768 *Has it already been cold?*  
1769 H : yo ora. Nek jenenge banyu putih dingin lha terus piye?  
1770 *No, it hasn't. If it is fresh cold water, so what is it?*  
1771 W :oh iya  
1772 *Yes, it is*  
1773 H :lho kui. Aduhhhh  
1774 *It is there. Ow*  
1775 W: Enak rak mas anune bregedele?  
1776 *What do you think mas (brother; a vocative for a husband)? Was the bregedel good?*  
1777 H: Enak ra nek aku ning omah  
1778 *It is good when I am at home.*  
1779 W: Huu. Cuma sing angel iki nggawene-buletan buletan kui lho, lengkat kabeh nek tangan  
1780 *Huu. It is just difficult to round them. They were sticky in hands.*  
1781 H: Ho oh  
1782 *You're right*  
1783 W: Kan pas belum dikasih telur kui kan iso pulen ora lengket  
1784 *When I haven't mixed with eggs, they were fluffier and not sticky*  
1785 H: Aku ora tak ngonokke kok. Dadi tak jemplungke ning sendok terus tak dorong goreng  
1786 ngono ora terus  
1787 *I didn't do such thing. So, I put it in a spoon and fried it*  
1788 W: Tak bundet-bundet suwe banget no

1789 *I took longer time to round them*

1790 H: Yen aku bulet-bulet ngono susah kelet ning tangan

1791 *If I rounded like that, it was difficult, sticky on hands*

1792 W: He eh lengket kabeh

1793 *Yes, they were all sticky*

1794 H: Nganggone sendok loro. Sing siji nggo jikuk koyok wong dodol es tung-tung ngono kae

1795 lho

1796 *I used two spoons. The one was to scoop like an ice cream seller.*

1797 W: Ho oh yo suk neh ngono

1798 *Yes, I'll do that next time*

1799 H : aku ngono kui

1800 *That's what I did.*

1801 W :ora kasinen? Ora nggo uyah lho

1802 *Is it too salty? I did not use salt*

1803 H : masako tapi ..

1804 *Yiu used Masako but ..*

1805 W :sithik dan dan dikit berarti gak gak doyan garam

1806 *It was a little and and it means the food did not need much salt*

1807 H :kadang kentange. Tergantung kentange maksudku. Kentange sithik sitik ora

1808 *Sometime it is the potato. I mean It depend on the potato. Did you use a little potato?*

1809 W :he eh

1810 *Yes, I did*

1811 H : takeran, yen anu semene semene ora. Kentang paling susah kok (pause agak lama).

1812 Sesuk aku ngganteni ning sukoharjo

1813 *Measure it, if it is in this amount, the salt is in this amount or not. Potato is the most*

1814 *difficult one. (pause). Tomorrow I will wait in Sukoharjo*

1815

1816 D.19

1817 140420 001

1818

1819 They were watching TV

1820

1821 W : kowe ra maem mas?

1822 *Have you got your meal brother?*

1823 H : maemo sik. Sih wareg aku

1824 *You could have your meal first. I am still full*

1825 W : mou maem opo?

1826 *What did you eat?*

1827 H : karo mou tho?

1828 *What did I eat?*

1829 W : mi

1830 *Was it noodle?*

1831 H : ora. Segu goreng mou

1832 *No, it was fried noodle*

1833 W : maem karo opo?

1834 *What was the topping of the fried rice?*

1835 H : ndas bandeng

1836 *It was the head of bandeng fish*

1837 W : opo rak awan iki mou  
1838 *Did you eat it for lunch?*  
1839 H : yo esuk  
1840 *Yes, it was this morning.*  
1841 W: Sesuk ki kowe mangkate jam setengah wolu, ra popo tho?  
1842 *Tomorrow you leave at 8.30 am, is that okay?*  
1843 H: Heh?  
1844 *What?*  
1845 W: Ngurusi Ontosena ki engko nek sesuk rewel tho?  
1846 *Taking care of Ontosena if he is fussy*  
1847 H: Yo sing penting terke rono sik lah  
1848 *Just send him there first; it is the most important thing.*  
1849 W: Lha iyo. Ngenteni Srikandi tekan sekolahan sik ngono lho. Dadine kan ngurusi Srikandi,  
1850 kowe ngurusi Ontosena  
1851 *Yes, it is. I'll send Srikandi to her school. So, I'll be with Srikandi, you are with Ontosena*  
1852 H: Apane? aku?  
1853 *What? Me?*  
1854 W: He eh  
1855 *Yes, you are*  
1856 H: aku yo wis telat. Wong jatahku senin ning Blambangan kok  
1857 *I will have been late. My schedule on Monday will be in Blambangan*  
1858 W : yo wis sedino iki thok ngono?  
1859 *Could you only do it today please!*  
1860 H : yo tutup pasare  
1861 *The market will have been closed.*  
1862 W : tutup?  
1863 *Closed?*  
1864 H : ho oh  
1865 *yes*  
1866 W : lha mangkat jam piro kowe?  
1867 *What time will you leave?*  
1868 H : hah, yo tutup. Paling yo jam pitu punjul sithik  
1869 *What, it will have been closed. It will be around at 7 a.m.*  
1870 W : kan mlebone setengah wolu Sasa?  
1871 *Sasa will go to school at 7.30 a.m.*  
1872 H : iyo. Aku nek ko kene setengah wolu ko kantor setengah songo. Dinggo nyiap nyiapke.  
1873 *Yes, she is. If I have to leave at 7.30 from home, I will leave my office at 8.30. I will*  
1874 *need time to prepare anything.*  
1875  
1876 D.25  
1877 H : yen modal satus yuto ki entuk opo?  
1878 *What will you get with 100 million?*  
1879 W : heh, satus yuto ki opo ora entuk sak toko. Lha nek ning jakarta ki opo entuk tuku  
1880 Telu-telu.  
1881 *What? you can not get merchandises to full your shop with 100 million. If you buy*  
1882 *them in Jakarta, will they let you buy only three?*  
1883 H : anu tho, kuwi mengko gor pesen sek opo piye?  
1884 *What is it, will you order fisrt?*

- 1885 W : kan ngene yah, aku tuku iki-iki, misale nggonaku tho di paketke, mengko  
1886 Ngomong karo tokone kon maketke, ngono. Lha koyo ning klewer yo podo  
1887 Ngono kuwi yoan. Nek aku ngerti podo tuku sak bagor-bagor kae.  
1888 *It will be like this dad, I will buy this and that, for instance I want them to send mine, so*  
1889 *tell them to send it. It will also like that in Klewer. What I knew was they bought*  
1890 *merchandises in many boxes.*
- 1891 H : klewer ki berarti wonge sugih-sugih yo?  
1892 *So, the sellers in Klewer are rich persons?*
- 1893 W : sugih-sugih mangsane.  
1894 *They are rich, what do you think?*
- 1895 H : podo iso nganti bertahan suwe-suwe ngono kae.  
1896 *They could survive in a long time.*
- 1897 W : yen iso bertahan suwe berarti sugih.  
1898 *If they could survive, it means they are rich*
- 1899 H : lha kae kan sing pojok-pojook barang kan ketoke jarang ono sing tuku tapi iso  
1900 Bertahan, sing mlebu parkiran kae lho.  
1901 *It seems that only a few people buy the merchandises in the corners but they could*  
1902 *survive, which are in the park area.*
- 1903 W: Ngono kui tho engko nek sing tuku dudu bakul tho, pelayanane sadis kae.  
1904 *In such cases if the buyers are not resellers, they got sadistic services.*
- 1905 H : Opo iyo tho, bedo tho?  
1906 *Are you sure? Is it different?*
- 1907 W: Bedo, misale sing dinggo kulakan kui lho. Aku kan dek wingi tuku, kan misale wani tuku  
1908 telu tanpa berpikir panjang berarti kui kan bakul tho. Aku kan tuku siji, Wah nek tuku  
1909 telu terus sing loro dinggo opo? Terus aku ngomong, loro yo mbak? Minimal tiga, jare  
1910 sing dodol. Ngono kui ki wis ra digape wisan. Maksute awakke dewe wis ngenyang-  
1911 ngenyang ngono kui wis ra digagas yoan. Wis wegah melayani ngono lho. Kudune  
1912 minimal setengah kodi.  
1913 *It's different, for instance a wholesale. I went shopping yesterday, for instance those*  
1914 *who bought three without thinking any longer, they were resellers. I bought only one,*  
1915 *if I bought three pieces, what are the two for? Then I said, is it okay to buy only two my*  
1916 *sister? At least three, the seller said. In such case, they ignored me. I mean if we were*  
1917 *trying to bargain, they also ignored us. They were not enthusiastic to serve anymore.*  
1918 *The buyer should buy ten pieces.*
- 1919 H : Lha kowe dilayani apik  
1920 *But you were served well*
- 1921 W: Yo ora gor aku thok. Pokoke angger bakul dilayani apik. Pelayanane apik ngono lho.  
1922 *It's not only me. Every reseller is served well. The service is good.*
- 1923 H : Lha angger wis kulino tuku kan yo apal tho?  
1924 *If you often come, they will know you.*
- 1925 W: Dek mben pas awal-awal kae mbakke sing dodol ngomong, mbake iki ki nek tuku gor  
1926 telu-telu thok. Sadis banget pokoke ngomonge (laughing).  
1927 *At the beginning the seller said, this sister always buys three. The utterances were really*  
1928 *sadistic. (laughing)*
- 1929 H : klambine ora mbok pasang ning patung? Kui podo kabeh tho modele?  
1930 *Don't you display the shirts on the mannequin? Do they have the same model?*
- 1931 W : iyo, iki patunge didokok kene ae yo?  
1932 *Yes, I do, is it good to place the mannequin here?*

- 1933 H : lha ketok peteng ra?  
1934 *Do you think it looks dark?*
- 1935 W : yo ora, opo ketok peteng tho? Opo neng kene?  
1936 *No, it doesn't. does it look dark? Is it good here?*
- 1937 H : iyo, nek ning kene kan ketok coklat.  
1938 *Yes, it looks brown in here*
- 1939 W : he eh yo.  
1940 *Yes, it is*
- 1941
- 1942 D.6
- 1943 H : ibu sopo tho?  
1944 *Who is she?*
- 1945 W : Ibu Jarwo  
1946 *She is Mrs. Jarwo*
- 1947 H : Anune kuwi  
1948 *Is it that thing?*
- 1949 W : Etan  
1950 *It is eastern side*
- 1951 H : Anake anu  
1952 *Does she the daughter of someone?*
- 1953 W : Etan nggon mobil mekah  
1954 *It is eastern side of Mekah car*
- 1955 H : Hmm  
1956 *ehmm*
- 1957 W : Dodol anyaran ok  
1958 *She has a new take away shop*
- 1959 H : Dodolane opo? Jenang lemu karo opo?  
1960 p *What does she sell? She sells Pouridge and what else?*
- 1961 W : Jenang lemu karo gudeg sambel goreng, pare, iwak karo tahu telur. Nek yah mene  
1962 antri akeh.  
1963 *She sells pouridge and gudeg sambel goring, pare, fishes and eggs. There will a long*  
1964 *queue in this hour.*
- 1965 H : Engko nek bar isya rodo sepi  
1966 *It will be quiet after Isya*
- 1967 H : Bar ngisyak kita wis makan  
1968 *We have already had our dinner after Isya*
- 1969 W : Yo anak anake wis mangan. Anak loro sate ae?  
1970 *Has the children got their meal? Is it okay to have satay for the two children?*
- 1971 H : Yo keno  
1972 *No problem*
- 1973 W : Ayame nggo sesuk. Besuk pagi  
1974 *The chicken is for tomorrow morning*
- 1975 H : Do jeleh ora sate terus. Terus ora tho?  
1976 *Will they get bored eating satay? Do they always have stay?*
- 1977 W : Ndek wingi yo ora (pause sebentar). esuk esuk aku mangkat esuk. insyaAllah ngelesi.  
1978 Iki cah cah do mangkat ora. Lha mou lali ora tak elingke  
1979 *They did not have satay yesterday (pause). I will leave early tomorrow. I will have*  
1980 *extra classes. Did the children go? I forgot to remind them*
- 1981 H : Ra mangkat

1982            *No, they didn't*

1983    W        : Heh?

1984            *What?*

1985    H        : Ra mangkat. Bocah kok

1986            *No, they didn't. That's children's behaviour*

1987    W        : Suk senen wis mid semester

1988            *There will be mid term test next monday*

1989    H :        (yawn). Rebo berarti ning yogja nek sehat. Nek ra kesel

1990            *(yawn). I will go to Yogja Wednesday if I am healthy. If I am not tired.*

1991    W:        Nek sehat kok penang-pening ndak ndino ki piye (short pause) Konsentrasi sedino sing

1992            masuk angine

1993            *If you were healthy, why did you say that you got headache every day? (pause) You work*

1994            *only for one day but you are sick for ...*

1995    H :        Limang dino

1996            *Five days*

1997    W:        Limang dino. Opo kurang gizi kali? (*chuckle*) digizeni ngono lho. Mik susu!

1998            *Five days. Are you in malnutrition condition? (chuckle) Get high nutrition food. Drink*

1999            *milk!*

2000    H :        Ra tahu

2001            *I never drink it*

2002    W        : lha sediani ngono ok? Opo ra enek?

2003            *I have bought the milk? Do you think we don't have any?*

2004    H        : Siji thok jian. Jik ono siji. Aku titip jahe pak Fafa tak kon nukokno telung botol

2005            *There is only one. I asked Mr. Fafa to buy three bottles for me*

2006    W        : Waduh

2007            *wow*

2008    H        : Sing siji takkon ndokokne, sing siji taruh kampus (ketawa kecil)

2009            *I kept one in the campus*