

# Javanese Politeness Experience as Depicted in Its Speech Levels of the Transactional Communication

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## ABSTRACT

Javanese interactions are bound by politeness speech levels. *Ngoko*, the lowest form, reflects the interactions between close equals, or persons of higher status towards those of lower status, whereas *krama*, the highest form, is used to address elders or those of higher status. This study aimed to disclose communication politeness as expressed by Javanese users in the public place. Twelve participants were enlisted, among them seven males and five females. Data were recorded from a smartphone and transcribed orthographically to obtain natural data, while data analysis used the interpretative approach, aiming to identify and code the transcripts. The results showed that five females consistently communicated with the *krama* speech level when dealing with other parties, whilst one female conveyed her *ngoko* speech level. On the other hand, one participant out of seven accordingly engaged in the *krama* speech level, whilst the other six participants consistently employed *ngoko*. These politeness patterns advocated both the interlocutor and hearer's genuine interests and behavioral reflections within adaptable consequences, and expressed a sense of intimacy, respectfulness, functionality, and equality using various words, expressions, and meaningful talks that made up the existence of their social status. Females complimented others' appearances, whereas males focused on predominance to show a sense of familiarity. This study concludes that Javanese politeness levels naturally constitute users' daily speech habits that govern Javanese diglossia through their contextual adoption, adaptation, and reinterpretation.

**Keywords:** *daily expression; diglossia; Javanese speech levels; politeness; transactional communication*

## INTRODUCTION

Language activity begins at home (Çakır & Cengiz, 2016) and develops in societal circumstances. As a matter of accomplishing its activities and developments, language accomplishes the expression of the behavioral-branding identity among the users indicating the communication setting (LeBlanc, 2019) daily. For instance, Javanese has decorated the insightful account in the most refined politeness speech levels (Errington, 1998), such as *ngoko* (the lowest), *madya* (middle), and *krama* (the highest), in which these symbolize the certain group of ethnic identity (Wibawa & Nafalski, 2010). Javanese infers the existence

of speech levels based on the effects attributing the inside inhabitants (Shapiro, 1993). It converts the culture mirror on its language characteristics and identity (Sukarno, 2010), becomes well-recognized by its politeness (Cole & Ngee, 2008; Klok, 2015), and particularly refines dialect for the users (Errington, 1998; Nurani, 2015). However, its position syntactically determines to be more remarkable to address *ngoko* and *krama* politeness rather than to emphasize its morphological, phonological, and lexicographical perspectives (Brakel, 1969).

As a communication function, Javanese reflects

the habitual behavior among societal members, such as family, education, cultures, religions, and networking (Sutardjo, 2008). The Javanese politeness speech levels are honorably reflected between the interlocutor and the hearer when conveying the transactional (Dwiraharjo, 2001) communication. The Javanese functions and distinctions are conditionally engaged in people's arguments and relationships, so-called by power-relation. The power-relation will naturally depend on the existing familiarity, quality of closeness in relationships, and increased and decreased situation (Poejosoedarmo, 1968). It relies on the vertical class, such as *wong cilik* (commoners), *saudagar* (merchants), *priyayi* (aristocrats), and *ndara* (patrons), whilst the horizontal class relates to *wong abangan* (group of people who are more syncretic in adhering their nominal religion) and *santri* (religion scholars) (Kurniati & Mardikantoro, 2010).

The syntactics of the *ngoko* speech level brings about the seemingly fundamental repertoire of politeness functions in the relationships and social status among the users, such as when elders talk to younger people (Quinn, 2011). These relationships culturally address the viewpoint of relative's descent, so-called by *awu* (showing someone's social status of nobleness and its closeness in Javanese). Herein, *ngoko* can express spontaneity since the egalitarianism, honorifics (Thompson, 2016), sense of hierarchies (Nurani, 2015), and reputation and self-esteem (Sugini & Maryadi, 2014) support this speech level. In this respect, Padmosoekotjo (1981) regards that this condition reflects the use of the linguistic rules in the society, so-called by *unggah-ungguhing basa* (language politeness etiquette). This remarkable meaning leads to the Javanese politeness acceptances (Rahayu, 2014) within the ideologue and group variation (Halliday, 1970), the conceptualization of delivering messages, and selecting lexical items (Prebianca, 2014).

On the other hand, the *krama* speech level considers formal language communication protocols that emphasize the rationale and politeness considerations. *Krama* aims at addressing the group of people with honorable social status to obtain the admiration and respectfulness from others, whose social status are lower than the honorable ones (Quinn, 2011), such as their education, age, or social status (Sutardjo, 2008). This rigorous politeness and respectfulness are highly considered (Gooswit, 1994; Meel, 2011) among the societal members. The portrait of its politeness can accommodate the vocabulary standards dealing with the dialectal words, such as the word of you (*kowe*, in the lowest level) that can be converted into *panjenengan* (you, in the highest level) (Suwardji, 1981). In this respect, Javanese politeness addresses

expressions on self-awareness of cultures, ideas and emotions, social relationships (Saddhono & Rohmadi, 2014), and communication strategies (Sumekto & Setyawati, 2020). However, both the *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels attempt to identify the functions of people's daily communication in reflecting the different social contexts through the diglossic positions. Table 1 shows the depiction of Javanese politeness speech levels used in the transactional communications.

**Table 1.** Portrait of Javanese Speech Levels

<i>Ngoko</i>	<i>Krama inggil</i>	English
<i>Mbok</i>	Mbok	Mrs
<i>Padmi</i>	Padmi	Padmi
<i>arep</i>	badhe	will
<i>lunga</i>	tindak	go to
<i>pasar</i>	peken	the market
<i>adol</i>	sade	to sell
<i>wedhus</i>	Mendo	the goat

**Note:** *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels aim at disclosing communication politeness. Both speech levels reflect the different social contexts through the diglossic positions.

Experts emphasize the politeness etiquette to obtain the objectives and consequences politeness that impose its users (Eshghinejad & Moini, 2016) and engage in unequivocally interpretable expressions daily and distancing (Mills, 2003). So, politeness becomes the subject of the narration acquisition onto equal expressions conventionally. The tagline of "do not force", "offer choices", and "be collegial" will decorate the different communicative styles (Brown, 2015). In this respect, politeness refers to a kind of social behavior stipulated by societal norms and acknowledged by oral communication and gestures (Félix-Brasdefer, 2006). In practice, politeness means how to convey respect to others who speak with and to avoid offending others. Politeness also organizes and develops the concept of gender-based power-relations in enhancing the power balance to both genders (Olsson, 2009). Gender-based politeness may refer to a sex-based condition of delivering the experience to other social attributions, such as age, ethnicity, class, ambition, athleticism, and musicality (Keinpointner, 1997; Mills, 2003).

Some studies supported that both *ngoko* and *krama* politeness levels focused on multiple patterns of experiences addressing the communication functions in day-to-day interactions to admire others' position into

considerations since the Javanese language manifested the honorific system in terms of the social factors (Rahayu, 2014). Javanese language could not be separated from the cultural traits that associated with the users' willingness from neglecting their hidden feelings, conveying indirect opinions, advocating togetherness, showing humbleness, and respecting to others (Nadar, 2007) since a power-relation might also sign indirect Javanese's social strata consensus (Norwanto, 2016). Other studies proved that Javanese politeness speech levels disseminated women's higher politeness communication patterns that tended to show cooperation and indicated greater violations than men in binding relationships (Kaul & Kulkarni, 2010). Next, Eshghinejad and Moini (2016) reported that females were more likely than males to address positive politeness and mitigation strategies. Females tended to be polite with twice as many grateful responses as males' politeness experiences (Monsefi & Hadidi, 2015). Then, Garret & Williams (2003) socio-linguistically synchronized that people's linguistic behaviors might accommodate the cognitive and affective functions following the harmonious communication purposes.

This current study addresses the following research questions: How will the *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels constitute effective transactional communications among the interlocutors? How are the Javanese politeness boundaries used as the honorific language? Regarding those two research questions, this study aims at disclosing Javanese politeness in the transactional communications, as well as positioning the honorific of the *krama* and *ngoko* speech levels. This transactional communication also deals with the consequences of Javanese's social norms.

## METHODS

This study involved twelve participants; they were seven males and five females accordingly. The participants' ages predictably ranged from 20 to 57 years old. This study designed the qualitative descriptive method, from which data were recorded from some transactional communications undertaken at Beringharjo market center, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. Data source referred to twelve participants who addressed *krama* and *ngoko* speech levels establishing the directive actions about the contextual politeness in *ngoko* (the lowest) and *krama* (the highest) speech levels. Hence, this study investigated the empirical and unfolding interactions of interlocutors' daily transactional communications that reflected their various personal backgrounds. Regarding these politeness speech levels, this study matched the subject

of participants with the vendors, buyers and butcher, security guard, customer, biker, parking-attendant, college student, and labor.

Data collection dealt with the transcriptions that were recorded with the standard orthographic protocols (Le, 2013) to record how the participants addressed the transactional communications throughout the public area naturally and factually (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2009) in this study. This procedure examined the detailed description of events and contained all selective and relevant recordings. The recordings candidly used the smartphone to record interlocutors' transactions, expectations, and messages during the recording-observation protocols. In the recordings, some inappropriate mixed-Indonesian words that did not significantly contribute to the politeness speech levels were dropped and adjusted. However, the recordings concerned with the *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels which were practiced by twelve participants, produced oral-based transactions with each other to conduct the relevant significances.

The transactional communication data were transcribed orthographically to gain the natural data undertaken at the clothing blocks, food court, parking area, Beringharjo market gate, and meats station. Data collection was conducted in the second week of March to the third week of May 2018. This study qualitatively analyzed the participants' transactional communication purposes. The interpretive approach verified the overall length of seven male and five females' transactional communications. Data analysis synchronized the meaning of the *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels through the participants' oral expressions, generalized its meaningfulness naturally, and narrated the description and classification terms. The description dealt with the relevant and causal explanations approaching to the positivism. These contextualized the meanings and interpretations with the empirical contexts of the social relationships. Meanwhile, the classification addressed participants' social environments, individual, and collective behaviors when conveying the Javanese speech levels.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### *Ngoko* and *Krama* Vocabulary Speech Levels

These findings were descriptively six excerpts to address the pre-identification upon the pronounced *ngoko* dictions that were well-known as the lowest Javanese speech level. In this case, *ngoko* accommodated the mostly humble situation among friends and close relatives, where they

did not have any barriers to deal with their relationships and communications. People with higher social strata in society, such as merchants, noblemen, and patrons also used *ngoko* to address their transactional communications to group of people whose social strata were lower in the society, such as young people, subordinates, maidens, and servants. As the consequences of using this politeness level, Leech (2014) provided his maxim of generosity, modesty, and agreement, which granted to be the overall transactional communications. In conjunction with the *ngoko* speech level, some vocabularies from the excerpts were cited, as follows: *los setang* (do not lock); *iki* (this is); *mas* (boy); *karcise* (the ticket); *saiki* (now); *sisih wetan* (east); *nggon* (place); *antarane* (about); *wis* (already); *rampungan* (finish); *iyu iki* (that is right); *aku* (I); *arep* (will); *neng* (to); *loro* (two); *golek* (look for); *karo* (with); *pesenane* (ordered); *ngerti* (know); *ngendi kuwi* (where is it); *metu kene* (pass this way); *munggah* (go upstairs); *mbalik ngulon* (turn to the west); *panganan* (snacks); *kabeh* (all); *mengko* (later); *suwe* (take time), etc.

On the other hand, *krama* dictions brought about the highest politeness speech level in the relationships used in social situations. Regarding *krama* politeness, there were some vocabularies cited from the excerpts of transactional communications, as follows: *monggo* (please); *ngersake* (want); *nuwun sewu* (excuse me); *panjenengan* (you); *sadeyan* (sell); *werni* (color); *kagem* (for); *mboten* (no); *nggih* (yes); *kaliyan* (with); *tiyang sepuh* (adult); *sak niki* (now); *kathah* (much); *wonten* (stay); *pitados* (know); *kulo* (I); *padoske rumiyin* (looking for); *badhe* (will); *pasang* (pairs); *mbak* (Miss); *namung* (only); *kalih doso* (twenty); *niki* (this); *ngapunten* (sorry); *gadhahe* (have); *setunggal* (one); *ageng* (big); *sedoyo* (all); *monggo* (please); *tingali* (check); *rumiyin* (early); *matur nuwun sanged* (thank you very much); *pinten* (how much); *reginipun* (the prize); *setunggal lusin* (a dozen); *regine pinten* (how much is the price); *saget kirang* (discount); *dadosipun* (totalling); *sanesipun malih* (others); *artanipun* (the money); *sampun* (done), etc.

The findings described five females conveyed their transactional communications with *krama* level when dealing with the information, assistance, bargaining position, appreciation, gratitude, casual conversation, and lips service, whereas only one female spoke with her *ngoko* speech level. Conversely, one of seven males addressed using the *krama* speech level when communicating with the other parties, whereas other seven males consistently spoke the transactional communications with the *ngoko* speech level.

## Contextual Interpretation Analyses

Regarding the Javanese speech levels, people tended to use *ngoko* when they found the situation equal, whilst *krama* was used to respect others' age, social status, and social distance both in formal and in non-formal circumstances. Nevertheless, most participants were potential to violate these cultural engagements when delivering the language politeness principles. All respondents' transactional communications were depicted in six excerpts (Excerpt 1 to 6). The excerpts performed both the *ngoko* (low) and *krama* (high) Javanese politeness speech levels based on the recordings. In this situation, respondents' options on performing the Javanese politeness levels are brought about the sociolinguistic proposition, just like, "who speaks what language to whom and when" (Fishman, 1975).

Excerpt 1 epitomized the transactional communication between the vendor and the buyer. The conversation used the *krama* speech level. On the other hand, some expressions in the *ngoko* speech level and Indonesian were dropped from the eligible excerpt since those expressions would not contribute to this analysis. In Excerpt 1, the vendor directly offered some clothes to the buyer. This situation attracted the opening talk from the buyer, "Nuwun sewu bu. Menapa panjenengan sadeyan seragam werni terang kagem latihan karawitan mboten, nggih?" ("Excuse me, Ma'am. Do you sell the scarlet uniform for playing karawitan music?") In the dialog, both the buyer and the vendor attempted to begin the transactional communication with the opening greetings to ask for the scarlet uniform from the buyer. Then, the vendor replied by pleasing and offering the buyer, "Monggo mbak... Badhe ngersake menapa?" ("Please have a look, Miss... Do you want to buy anything?") Referring to the direct offering above, it only took a few seconds to reply that the buyer accordingly asked for assistance from the vendor to look for her order. It became clearer when the vendor progressively reached up the conversation by establishing the matter of offering and assisting her buyer, "Kados pundi nggih mbak seragam kaliyan werni ingkang dikersaké?" ("What kind of uniform style and color do you want to buy, Miss?") After checking the uniforms shortly, the buyer asked again for the prize. Before the buyer bargained the price, the vendor directly deducted the price for her buyer. Hence, the fixed price was four hundred and sixty thousand rupiahs.

The conversation relied on the help required by the senior citizen who had lost her property inside the market blocks. However, some Indonesian expressions used in the conversations were eliminated (Excerpt 2).



### Excerpt 1

The transactional talk took place on the ground floor, Beringharjo market, dated 14<sup>th</sup> February 2018 at 10:30 a.m. The talk involved a female buyer and a 50s-year-old female cloth vendor.

**Vendor:** 'Monggo mbak. Badhe ngersake menapa?' ['Please have a look, Miss. Do you want to buy anything?']  
**Buyer:** 'Nuwun sewu, Bu. Menapa panjenengan sadayan seragam werni terang kagem latihan karawitan\* mboten, nggih?' ['Excuse me, Ma'am. Do you sell the scarlet uniform for playing karawitan music?']  
**Vendor:** 'Kados pundi nggih mbak seragam kaliyan werni ingkang dikersake?' ['What kind of uniform style and color do you want to buy, Miss?']  
**Buyer:** 'Seragam kagem tiyang sepuh ingkang sak niki dados contho kathah wonten tivi.

*Pitados mboten nggih, Bu?* ['The uniform used to be dressed up by adults as shown in TV recently. Do you it, Ma'am?']  
**Vendor:** 'Nggih, kulo padoske rumiyin. Badhe ngersake pinten, Mbak?' ['Very well, I will get them for you. How many pieces do you want to buy, Miss?']  
**Buyer:** 'Namung ajeng ngersake kalih dasa'. ['I only need to have twenty pieces'.]  
**Vendor:** 'Niki, Mbak, ngapunten kulo gadhahe namung setunggal ukuran mawon, L...ageng sedoyo. Monggo dipun tingali rumiyin'. ['Here it is, but unfortunately, I only have one size, the large ones. Please, serve yourself to check these uniforms'.]  
**Buyer:** 'Nggih, matur nuwn sanget. Kulo pirsani rumiyin nggih. Pinten reginipun sedoyo?' ['Yes, please. Thank you very much. Let me check

them. How much do the uniforms cost?']  
**Vendor:** 'Setunggal lusin kalih welas niki reginipun sekawanatus wolungdasa ewu, Mbak. Nggih reginipun saged kirang kalih dasa ewu. Dadosipun sekawanatus sewidak ewu'. ['Herein a dozen-twelve pieces. The price will be four hundred and eighty thousand rupiahs, Miss. But you will have a discount for twenty thousand rupiahs. So, the price will be four hundred and sixty thousand rupiahs.]  
**Vendor:** 'Sanesipun menapa malih, Mbak?' ['Anything else do you want to have it with you, Miss?']  
**Buyer:** 'Sampun, mboten'. Niki, Bu artanipun. Matur nuwun'. [No, that is all. Here is the money, Ma'am. Thank you'.]

P.s.: \*Karawitan is a Javanese traditional music that is played in groups.

**Note:** The conversation was conducted between a female buyer and a likely-fifty-year-old female cloth vendor at the ground floor, Beringharjo market, dated on 14th February 2018.

The situation confirmed to us that a female visitor, so-called by the senior citizen, who just had a problem, stepped to the security office at Beringharjo market to make a verbal report. The female visitor realized that she neglected her goods by putting them around the shops when looking for some batik clothes. Soon after losing her goods, she asked for a security guard to help her. Either the senior citizen or the security guard kept telling, listening, asking, clarifying, and replying as part of giving the solution. As depicted in Excerpt 2, the daily Javanese interaction tended to put the meaning of taking orders responding to the interpretable meanings. The excerpt was also recorded in the *krama* speech level, although some vocabulary used in the transactional talk referred to the *ngoko* speech level, those vocabularies were not enough to engage in *ngoko*.

In Excerpt 2, the senior citizen asked for help from the security guard. The result noted that in terms

of showing the main points in Excerpt 2, the senior citizen said, "Ngapunten mas, niki kulo nembe angsal alangan. Kulo wau kesupen gadhah blanja teras kulo tilar wonten sisih tengah kidul, caket kaliyan toko klambi anak." ("Excuse me, Sir. May I have your permission to report that I just had a problem? I truly neglect to put my goods at the south center block, close to the children's clothing shop.") The above sentences indicated the real situation where she really needed help. Neither the senior citizen nor the security guard showed lips service in their expression since the situation corresponded with the contingency response. Excerpt 2 showed that the security guard enthusiastically responded to the senior citizen who had a problem by replying, "Pripun, Bu. Panjenengan gadhah barang, teras kesupen ical wonten sisih tengah caket toko kalambi anak? Kinten-kinten jam pinten wau ical? Panjenengan tasih kemutan? Barangipun menapa nggih, Bu?" ("How may I help you, Ma'am? You have

## Excerpt 2

*The excerpt was recorded in front of Beringharjo market, dated 20<sup>th</sup> February 2018 at 11:40 a.m. that involved a security guard and senior woman citizen. The conversation relied on the loss of senior woman citizen's goods when she walked inside market.*

**Citizen:** 'Nyuwun pangapunten, Pak. Niki kulo nembe angsal alangan. Kuwo wau kesupen gadhah blanja teras kulo tilar wonten sisih tengah kidul, caket kaliyan toko klambi anak'. ['Excuse me, Sir. May I have your permission to report that I just had a problem? I just neglected to put my goods at the south center booth, it is closed to kids' clothes shop'.]

**Security:** 'Pripun, Bu. Panjenengan gadhah barang, teras kesupen ical wonten sisih tengah caket toko kalambi anak? Kinten-kinten jam pinten wau icale? Panjenengan tasih kemutan? Barangipun menapa nggih, Bu?' ['How may I help you, Ma'am? You have the goods, but it lost at the south center booth, closed to kids' clothes shop? What time probably did you lose your goods? Did you still remember? What kind of goods, Ma'am?']

**Citizen:** 'La nggih niku, kulo sak estu kesupen menawi gadhah tentengan plastik kantun wonten toko. Kulo niku ajeng pados batik, lajeng diparingi pilihan. Kulo nggih teras mirsani, mbok bilih wonten ingkang sreg. Bar niku kulo alihan mirsani toko sisih kiwo kulo, amargi toko setunggale mboten gadhah motif ingkang kleresan. Kedadosanipun ngeten, Pak'. ['Well, I really forgot if I brought a plastic of goods left at the shop. I wanted to get some batik clothes, and the vendor gave me some motifs. Then, I looked for some motives to get the suitable ones. After it, I stepped to another shop on my left side since the first shop

did not have any motifs I looked for. That was the chronology, Sir'.]

**Security:** 'Mekaten nggih, Bu. Panjenengan sampun nyuwun pirso kaliyan ingkang gadhah toko dereng utawi kaliyan tiyang sanes mbok bilih pitados barange panjenengan?' ['Oh, I see, Ma'am. Have you asked the vendor or somebody else who probably knows where your goods are?']

**Citizen:** 'Nggih sampun, Pak. Piyayi nipun sedoyo mboten mangertos kalih barang kulo. Mbok bilih nggih wau niku nembe rame sanget kahananipun. Pramilo kulo laporan dating pos saptam mriki. Sak estu kulo nyuwun tulung nggih mas. Barang kulo wau kinten-kinten pukul setengah kalih'. ['Yes, I have done, Sir. People do not know where my goods are. Perhaps the situation was very crowded at the moment. That is why, I make a verbal report to the security office. I really need your help, Sir. I lost my goods around one thirty p.m.']

**Security:** 'Nggih, Bu. Ingkang sabar rumiyin nggih. Sak meniko laporanipun panjenengan dipun proses, lajeng mangkeh kulo kaliyan rencang-rencang saptam nggih badhe pados informasi wonten toko sak sekitaripun kaliyan ngecek CCTV. Mugi-mugi mangke wonten perkembanganipun nggih, Bu. Niki kulo sampun nyerat nomer KTP kaliyan telpon panjenengan. Ngatos-atos, nderekaken nggih, Bu'. ['Yes, Ma'am. Please, be patient. Herein, I have been processing your verbal report, then my colleagues and I will be together searching for some information from the shop location and around, whilst checking for the CCTV recordings. I do hope, there will be good news soon, Ma'am. I already have your identity card image and phone number. Be careful and have a nice day, Ma'am'.]

**Citizen:** 'Nggih, Pak. Matur nuwun sanget sampun ditulungi'. ['Yes, Sir. Thank you very much for helping me'.]

**Note:** The conversation conveys to the loss of a senior female citizen's goods when she had a tour inside the market blocks, Beringhargo market with the security guard, dated 20th February 2018.

the goods, but it lost at the south center booth, closed to kids' clothes shop? What time probably did you lose your goods? Did you still remember? What kind of goods, Ma'am?") Then, the woman replied, "La nggih niku, kulo sak estu kesupen menawi gadhah tentengan plastik kantun wonten toko. Kulo niku ajeng pados batik, lajeng diparingi pilihan. Kulo nggih teras mirsani, mbok bilih wonten ingkang sreg. Bar niku kulo alihan mirsani toko sisih kiwo kulo, amargi toko setunggale mboten gadhah

motif ingkang kleresan. Kedadosanipun ngeten, Pak." ("Well, I really forgot if I brought a plastic of goods left at the shop. I wanted to get some batik clothes, and the vendor gave me some motifs. Then, I looked for some motives to get the suitable ones. After it, I stepped to another shop on my left side since the first shop did not have any motifs I looked for. That was the chronology, Sir.")

The complaint report ended when the woman



### Excerpt 3

*The conversation was recorded at the food court, 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, Beringharjo market dated 15<sup>th</sup> March 2018 at 12:52 p.m. between a female vendor and her female customer. This conversation dealt with food order at one of food stations.*

**Food vendor:** 'Monggo, Mbak. Badhe ngersake dahar?' ['Please, do you want to eat, Miss?']

**Female Customer:** 'Nggih, Bu. Maem mriki setunggal kaliyan nyuwun diasta kondur kalih. Setunggal sekulipun sekedhik mawon, paringi sayur terong, tempe goreng kalih, ayam bakar, kaliyan sambel. Setunggalipun malih sekule sedengan, paringi sayur pare, ulam nila pepes, tempe, tahu, kaliyan duduh semur sekedhik. Sampun niku mawon'. ['Yes, Ma'am. I want to order my lunch here and two packages for taking away, please. One menu for taking away is with a bit rice, seasoning eggplants, a two-fried tempeh,

grilled chicken, and chili sauce. Another menu is with a regular rice, stirred-fry bitter melon, spicy steamed tilapia, tempeh, and tofu with a bit curry dressing. That is all, please'.]

**Food vendor:** 'Dipun tenggo rumiyin nggih. Monggo niki sampun, mbak. Sedoyo dados sekawan dasa kalih ewu gangsalatus rupiah. Tambahan sanesipun wonten mboten?' ['Yes, please. Wait for minutes. Here they are, Miss. It is forty-two thousand five hundred rupiah for all. Anything else do you want to order?']

**Female Customer:** 'Sampun cekap, bu. Niki artanipun.' ['That is enough, Ma'am. Here is the money'.]

**Food vendor:** 'Nggih, mbak. Artanipun sèket ewu kaliyan niki konduripun pitung ewu gangsalatus rupiah, monggo'. ['Yes, Miss. Your money is fifty thousand rupiah and this is the change for seven thousand five hundred rupiahs, please'.]

**Female Customer:** 'Nggih, bu. Matur nuwun, pareng'. ['Yes, Ma'am. Thank you, see you.']

**Note:** The conversation was recorded between a female food vendor and her female customer at the 2nd floor, Beringharjo market, dated on 15th March 2018.

### Excerpt 4

*The conversation was recorded between a male biker and a male parking attendant. The biker wanted to park his motorbike at the parking area at Beringharjo market and the parking attendant was gently eager to help the biker parked. The conversation was recorded on 21<sup>st</sup> march 2018 at 15:05 p.m.*

**Parking attendant:** 'Hooop. Los setang wae yo, mas. Iki mas karcise. Beringharjo? Beringharjo tutup jam sanga mbengi saiki. Tapi sing sisih wetan nggon kerajinan kae tutup antarane jam limo wis do rampungan... Tutup'. ['Hooop. Please, do not lock the steer. Here is the parking ticket, Sir. Beringharjo? Beringharjo will now open till nine p.m. But, the east wing of handicraft booths will close at five p.m.']

**Male Biker:** 'Nuwun, mas. Iyo iki aku arep nang lantai loro golek kripik tahu karo kacang pesane ibuku. Ngerti mas, sisih ngendi kuwi sing nggo dodolon?' ['Thank you, Sir. Yes, I am going to the second floor looking for crispy tofu and peanut for my mother. Do you know where are the booths selling those snacks?']

**Parking attendant:** 'Iki mas, metu kene wae mase. Nemu tangga, munggah, mbalik ngulon, wis nggon kono kuwi panganan kabeh'. ['Here is the way to go there. You will find the second floor, go upstairs, turn back to the west, then you will see all snacks there'.]

**Male Biker:** 'Iyo mas. Matur nuwun. Iki parkire tutup tekan jam piro?' ['Yes, Sir. Thank you. What time will this parking area close?']

**Parking attendant:** 'Tekan jam enem mengko, mas. Aku isih suwe iki. Yo wis ndereke'. ['Parking area will close at 6 p.m. I am still available for longer here. Very well, see you around.']

**Note:** The conversation was recorded between a male biker and a male parking attendant at the parking area, Beringharjo market, dated on 21st March 2018.

conveyed her gratitude to the security guard. In response to the security guard's assistance (Excerpt 2), the politeness can be congruent with the relevance between

automatization and routinization when the word of thank you is frequently used (Held, 1992). "Nggih, Pak. Matur nuwun sanget sampun ditulungi." ("Yes, Sir. Thank you

### Excerpt 5

The conversation was happened on the 2<sup>nd</sup> floor, Beringharjo market dated 5<sup>th</sup> April 2018 at 12:52 p.m. This conversation involved a **young man** and a **meat butcher**. Both parties dealt with the transaction (bargaining and paying for the meat prize).

**Young man:** 'Pak, daging sapi saiki regane sekilo piro? Iki sing bagian tenderloin?' ['Sir, how much does this beef price now per kilo? Is it tenderloin?']

**Meat butcher:** 'Kabeh daging sapi regane padha mas, saiki satus rongpuluh ewu rupiah sak kilo'. ['Meat price is flat now, Sir. It is hundred and twenty thousand rupiahs per kilo'.]

**Young man:** 'Wis rega pas, Pak. Iso mudhun ora regane? Aku meh arep tuku sekilo setengah wae'. ['Is the price fixed, Sir? Can I have discount from you? I just want to buy one and half kilos'.]

**Meat butcher:** 'Wis pas iki mas regane. Wis suwe regane semono. Piye sido sing bagian endi?' ['The price had been fixed for long time. So, which part of this meat do you want to get?']

**Young man:** 'Yo wis, Pak. Sing iki wae, tenderloin. Iki duit satus seket ewu'. ['Very well, Sir. I want this one, tenderloin. Here is the money for hundred and fifty thousand rupiahs'.]

**Meat butcher:** 'Iki yo mas jujule, telungpuluh ewu. Maturnuwun.' ['Here is the change for thirty thousand rupiahs. Thank you'.]

**Note:** The conversation was recorded between the young man and the meat butcher in the butchery block, 2nd floor of Beringharjo market, dated on 5th April 2018.

very much for helping me.") This study demonstrated the indirect acceptance of having assistance by the senior citizen. The request necessarily showed the real assistance that might reduce a statement of saying *nggih* (yes) or taking "acceptance" that corresponded with the elaborating talks, like the senior citizen consistently delved into the earnest assistance from the security guard.

Excerpt 3 confirmed that the customer had a request to have her lunch taken away. Although for the first time, the food vendor offered the customer the meal by asking, "Monggo, Mbak. Badhe ngersake dahar?" ("Please, do you want to eat, Miss?") The customer replied, "Nggih, Bu. Maem mriki setunggal kaliyan nyuwun diasta kondur kalih. Setunggal sekulipun sekedhik mawon, paringi sayur terong, tempe goreng kalih, ayam bakar, kaliyan sambel. Setunggalipun malih sekule sedengan, paringi sayur pare, ulam nila pepes, tempe, tahu, kaliyan duduh semur sekedhik. Sampun niku mawon." ("Yes, Ma'am. I want to order my lunch here and two packages for taking away, please. One menu for taking away is with a bit rice, seasoning eggplants, a two-fried tempeh, grilled chicken, and chili sauce. Another menu is with a regular rice, stirred-fry bitter melon, spicy steamed tilapia, tempeh, and tofu with a bit curry dressing. That is all, please.") The vendor responded to the customer's expectation when the *krama* speech level aimed to construct the chronological event. Further, this conversation finally ended with the allowance or acceptance between both parties.

Excerpt 4 took an opportunity of handling the

request and information that was shown to the parking attendant and the male biker. The parking attendant felt familiar to greet the male biker with the *ngoko* speech level to show the closeness of a relationship between the customer (biker) and him, in which the conditional position was available to convey *ngoko* in a certain position. This speech level commonly occurred or was used by some people with their various backgrounds, such as parking attendant, night guards, drivers, and cleaning servants. In the excerpt, the parking attendant started greeting the male biker with, "Hooop. Los setang wae yo, mas. Iki mas karcise. Beringharjo? Beringharjo tutup jam sanga mbengi saiki. Tapi sing sisih wetan nggon kerajinan kae tutup antarane jam limo wis do rampungan... Tutup." ("Hooop. Please, do not lock the steer. Here is the parking ticket, Sir. Beringharjo? Beringharjo will now open till nine p.m. But, the east wing of handicraft booths will close at five p.m.") In this part, the word of "Hooop" (Stop) referred to order the biker or driver stop driving since as the biker had already been in the parking area. Then, the parking attendant said again, "Los setang wae yo, mas. Iki mas karcise." ("Please, do not lock the steer. Here is the parking ticket, Sir.") This expression showed that the male biker was asked not to lock his bike steer, and he gave the parking ticket to the biker. Then, the parking attendant showed his hospitality again by exclaiming, "Beringharjo?" (the market name). The parking attendant's exclamation negated to a particular moment that happened in the parking area. Next, the words "Beringharjo tutup jam 9 saiki" ("Beringharjo will



### Excerpt 6:

This conversation was recorded at the corridor of clothes (batik), 1<sup>st</sup> floor, Beringharjo market block, dated 17<sup>th</sup> March 2018 at 10: 21 a.m. The interlocutors' subject were two men who became friends and dealt with spending time together for purchasing some batik\* at the block. The dialogue was fully dominated by these two men without involving from the vendor.

**First Man:** 'Cuacané dino iki penak banget sajak'e yo, dinggo mlaku-mlaku.' ['This is the sunny day to take a walk.']

**Second Man:** 'Bener, kowe. Oh yo, aku dadi kelingan nek suk setu kudu wes kirim dagangan ning Papua. Dadi dino iki pas wayahe tak nggo kulakan batik ning pasar Beringharjo.' ['You are right. Oh I see... I finally remind myself that I shall send the package to Papua tomorrow. Today is the time to retail batik again in Beringharjo market.']

**First Man:** 'Wah, pas iki wektune. Tak kancani, yo? Aku gek nganggur iki. Ngerti dhéwe to, gaweanku sepi.' ['Well, this is the right time. May I accompany you? I just finished doing with my job. You know, my job is not so tired.']

**Second Man:** 'Seneng aku nek mbok kancani, lumayan isoh nggawakké blanjanku, hehehehe...' [I will be happy if you accompany me. You can help me bring my stuff, hehehehe.] (laughing expression)]

**First Man:** 'Iyo, ra masalah.' ['Sure, no problem.']

**Second Man:** 'Nek piturutmu batik-batik iki pas opo ora dinggo bapak-bapak sing wis umuré 60 tahunan?' ['Do you think that these batiks are suitable with the sixties old men?']

**First Man:** 'Piturutku kenomen modelé. Iki pasé dinggo bocah enom ya, karo warnané cerah.' ['I think these models are too light. They suit for young men with the scarlet color.']

**Second Man:** 'Yo, aku manut kowe wae. Cubo tak cek'ke meneh. Bener iki, pesenane bapak'é kui. Aku njaluk model sing koyo iki.' ['Sure, I follow you. Let me check again. Well, these motives match with the old men. I will take these models.']

**First Man:** 'Ohh, tak pikir batik'e ini arep dinehke anak'é, nek ora yo mantuné sing isih enom kae.' ['Ohh, I think the batiks will be gifted for his young sons or sons-in-law.']

**Second Man:** 'Ngonu yo iso. Wis ditukokké sing podo pesenane wae lakwis.' ['I think so. Well, I will take these batiks relating to the old man's orders.']

P.s.: Batik\* was an originally traditional worn-cloth by Indonesians in both casual and formal occasions. It was hand-made or copped-stamp from either drawing dots or lines as the designed patterns.

**Note:** The conversation was recorded at the block of clothes (Batik), 1<sup>st</sup> floor, Beringharjo market, dated on 17<sup>th</sup> March 2018.

now open till 9 p.m.") referred to the information given by the parking attendant. However, two supporting words of tutup (close) and jam (time) referred to Indonesian, but those words were not eliminated in the *ngoko* speech level since they had substantial meaning and usage in this transactional communication.

Excerpt 5 outlined another transactional communication that involved a young man and a male butcher. Both parties used *ngoko* in conveying their transaction. Some Indonesian words that appeared in the conversation were eliminated. As documented in Excerpt 5, the young man dropped to buy the meat at the butcher station. He directly asked for the meat prize and started bargaining with the butcher. The conversation began when the young man bargained, "Pak, daging sapi saiki regane sekilo piro? Iki sing bagian tenderloin?" ("Sir, how much does this beef price now per kilo? Is it tenderloin?") In part of the first dialog, the young man directly bargained to get a meat discount from the

butcher. But he understood that the price was fixed, so the young man agreed to pay for the meat. However, the expression confirmed through the young man's question and negation, "Wis rega pas, Pak. Iso mudhun ora regane? Aku meh arep tuku sekilo setengah wae." ("Is the price fixed, Sir? Can I get a discount from you? I just want to buy one and a half kilos.") But the butcher replied again, "Wis pas iki mas regane. Wis suwe regane semono. Piye siso sing bagian endi?" ("The price had been fixed for a long time. So, which part of this meat do you want to get?") The bargaining negotiation dealt with the fixed price of hundred and twenty thousand rupiahs per kilo. The young man finally exclaimed, "Yo wis, Pak. Sing iki wae, tenderloin. Iki duité satus seket ewu." ("Very well, Sir. I want this one, tenderloin. Here is the money for hundred and fifty thousand rupiahs.") This positive politeness demonstrated an equal position in the *ngoko* speech level consistently by both parties.

Excerpt 6 corresponded with two males who

became friends. They spent time together to buy some batik clothes at the Beringharjo market station. Whilst heading to the Beringharjo, both adult men conveyed *ngoko* speech level to express their talks. It showed a sense of closeness that aimed at revealing the positive manner of producing the transactional communications. This part could be analyzed through their familiarity in *ngoko* speech level (e.g., casual conversation) with, “Cuacane dino iki penak banget sajake yo, dinggo mlaku-mlaku.” (“Let us take a walk. It is a sunny day.”) This greeting generally happened among close friends or relatives addressed in the meantime of their leisure time on a sunny day. The second man replied, “Bener, kowe. Oh yo, aku dadi kelingan nek suk setu kudu wes kirim dagangan ning Papua. Dadi dino iki pas wayahe tak nggo kulakan batik ning pasar Beringharjo.” (“You are right. Oh, I see... I remind myself that I shall send my package to Papua tomorrow. Today is the time to retail batik again in Beringharjo market.”) This reply also reflected the incidental response upon the first greetings. However, formal and strict greetings were avoidable. For instance, the word of *kowe* (you, in lowest level) that was recorded in the excerpt related to the closeness and equal social status used in *ngoko* speech level by two males.

## DISCUSSION

This discussion attempts to confirm the Javanese politeness that corresponds in its speech levels. Some relevant theories will be contextually cited to address those politeness issues. Javanese speech levels reflect the communication transactions and linguistics contexts in accordance with the *krama* (the highest) and *ngoko* (the lowest) levels. Both communication transactions and linguistics contexts address interactions among interlocutors and hearers. As a matter of this politeness issue, Sukarno (2018) identifies a sense of politeness as the request’s delivery that involves interlocutor(s) and hearer(s). They intend to convey the appropriate politeness speech levels deriving from their social relationships indirectly and/or direct requests addressed in Javanese contexts. Although the status of Javanese society strongly relates to the social structures, this incidentally creates and maintains inequality around the societal members. For example, people socially living in the lower social strata and unfamiliar social relationships with others will adaptably understand the position of their social structures when being engaged in the *krama* speech level in communications. This situation distinguishes a group of societal members who are willing to respect others and to accommodate the harmony and togetherness

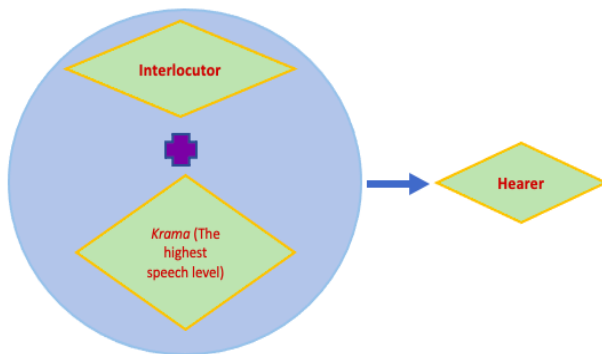
with others whose social status is higher. In a particular reason, they distinguish an appropriateness of using courtesy calls with *ngoko* (*aku, kowe* = I, you) and *krama* (*kulo, panjenengan* = I, you) level to rigorously admire the prominence of communication in Javanese politeness system (Nadar, 2007). Another experience of practicing both *ngoko* and *krama* constitute the politeness indicator of *nggih* (please) as the affirmative decision, in which this shall be in imperatives and directives, and negative-force decrease. In this respect, its meaningfulness is considerably more polite if *nggih* (please) is pronounced in a rising tone (Leech, 2014).

In the context of using the transactional communication, *krama* culturally tends to be addressed more sophisticated and formal rather than the *ngoko* speech level. In practice, *krama* functionally used to be applicable in semi-ceremonial occasions and conditionally bound its social norm since *krama* has a smaller corpus than *ngoko* with the minor differentiated angle of meanings. If people have a good command of *krama*, they will frequently attract some admiration and compliments. However, as a noticeable speech level, *krama* is unarguably circles of Javanese rhetoric, social interaction, humor, and emotions—sadness, anger, and love (Quinn, 2011). Further, local community members practice Javanese as part of their regular communications since this helps the members respond to some inquiries towards their ethnic identity backgrounds (Andriyanti, 2019). Consequently, Javanese is understandable to be the most profound marker of its identity, which challengingly resists from the number of decreased roles (Nurani, 2015) through the portrait of daily communication. In relevance with Javanese identity, Sukarno (2015) points out Javanese verbal communication to be interpretable based on socio-cultural backgrounds. Hence, Javanese politeness strategies cannot be parted from its values, such as: *andhap asor* (to be humble, whilst exalting others) and *tanggap ing sasmita* (compassing the symbolic meanings).

This honorific expression empirically originates communication contexts with the admirable persons in the community linkage. It is contingently epitomized through some utterances, using both vocabularies (lexical dimensions) and morphologies in the switching parts of speech (Rahayu, 2014), although another perspective of Javanese culturally still used to occupy the monotonous, feudalistic society of the former royalty (Klok, 2019), but it accommodates the distinct speech levels that modifies the distinct speech codes reflecting flimsily different propriety (Poedjosoedarmo, 2017) towards the egalitarian and democratic society (Klok, 2019). In this respect, the

lexical existence at the *krama* speech level shows users' accessibility of taking places, times, and situations spoken with others. The acceptance is recognized by the daily productivity of delivering courteousness, the existence of cooperation and harmonization, and politeness gradation in the norm of Javanese politeness.

Figure 1. The Existence of Krama's Lexicon Linkage



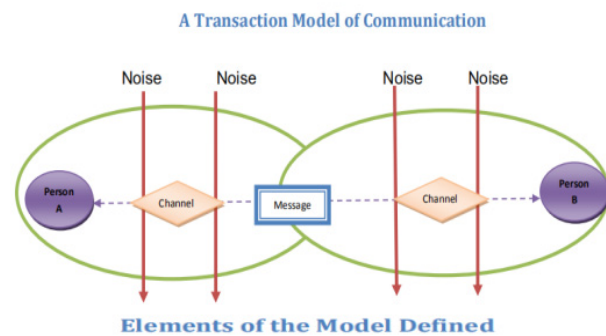
**Note:** This lexical existence of *krama* speech level engages interlocutor together with *krama* (the highest speech level) to accommodate hearer's purposes in terms of cooperation and harmonization, and politeness gradation.

As found in Excerpts 4, 5, and 6, the use of *ngoko* tends to eliminate the formality between interlocutor and hearer. In this regard, positive politeness addresses to characterize intimacy and lessens a formal situation (Iskandar & Patak, 2018). The speech level represents the importance of its applicability in daily conversation since this transactional communication was usually used by the grassroots or commoners. Javanese interprets the direct actions when *ngoko* was conditionally used (Excerpt 4). In this discussion, excerpt 4 mitigates the senior citizen who accidentally lost her goods in the venue and the hearers' standing position as the security guard conveys few comments of sorrow and empathy, whilst helping the old woman. In this case, people's age factors influence the frequency and type of politeness, and sometimes indicates the conversational breakdowns among the users in multiple generations. They are usually engaged in the similar politeness ways to shape the reality (Alabdali, 2019) since any language function views dynamics, flexibility, and conditionally subjects to change (Litosseliti, 2006) through its harmonious relationships.

People address the politeness strategies to get rid of the accordant relationships, which may be available in any resilient situation, and shall not contain the intrinsic links between the sociological and cultural determinants

towards gender contributions (Shum, 2008). In this respect, the transactional model is the most well-known model referring to the transactional Javanese language which involves five factors, namely: interlocutor, hearer, communication channels, noises, and experience contributions. On the other hand, the positive impact of this transactional communication represents significant progress under the diction, structure, fluency, politeness, pronunciation, and interaction (Julio & Contreras, 2018) when being communicated. Figure 2 begins with how this cyclical model represents communication in the contextual availability (Communication model fact sheet: What is the purpose of a visual model, 2020).

Figure 2. The Availability of Transactional Communication among Javanese



**Note:** The transactional communication begins with the cyclical model that addresses its contextual availability among interlocutor, hearer, communication channels, noises, and experience contributions.

In relevance with the transactional conversation as recorded in Excerpts 4, 5, and 6, Chambers and Trudgill (2004) concisely determine the common use of *ngoko* as the crummy, low social status, inelegant language delivery, and common peasantry in the daily groups' lacking in prestige. In this study, males tend to communicate with any assurance to affirm their volition (Eliaspoh, 1987), although sometimes they do not concisely think of using it (Cieurria & Altamimi, 2014). Males' speech level is hierarchically considered to be higher and consequently tends to use the utterances (Stodůlková, 2013). Excerpts 4, 5, and 6 record the volitions among males when they address the *ngoko* speech level for the transactional communication consistently. However, norms and values affect the grade of males' utterance demands (Brown, 2015), when they communicate in *ngoko*. These behavioral aspects regard how *ngoko* users bring them from granting towards the linguistic function



with some conditional reasons. To be polite in Javanese culture, the users need to match courteousness when dealing with social relationships, supposition creation, and using agentless passive construction (Sukarno, 2018). Herein, the politeness attempts to formulate a system that facilitates and maintains users' interaction through the minimal potential conflicts and confrontations to adhere to harmonious relations. In this case, the politeness levels are empirically clustered by the maxim of politeness or impoliteness, conditional politeness relevance, adjustable kinesics and voice, self-steadiness, communication aims, contextual relevance, and politeness' initial symbols. Of these habitual viewpoints, Pinto (2011) thinks the directness of communication that potentially conveys a mutual understanding among the users that leads to a sign of sincerity or trustfulness.

On the other hand, the Javanese language is also well-known as the diglossic system since the daily contextual use accomplishes its politeness boundaries. According to Alshafi (2016), the substantial feature of Ferguson's diglossia definition is related to the complementary nature of two varieties of involvement. The use of each variety leads to the different communicative purposes, and conveys the remarkably stable types of sociolinguistic situations. Herein, two varieties are engaged in a high (H) variety and low (L) variety. H variety is more prestigious and delivers informal purposes, such as writing religious texts and education. Conversely, the L variety is spoken for informal purposes towards the household verbal interaction. The fundamental two distinct varieties of the same language provide the high (H) and the low (L) levels, although only one of the varieties can be accordingly applicable with the small margin of overlap. The importance of applying the appropriate variety in the right situation can hardly be overrated (Ferguson, 1959/1972; Stępkowska, 2012). The power relation analysis reflects a higher agreement with the indirect Javanese norm, such as intention, identity, moral values, and utterances (Norwanto, 2016). The original characteristics are equally viewed to the functional distributions in society (Kyriakou, 2019) and offer usefulness to bridge language ideological attitudes (Daniëls, 2018).

Javanese diglossia also constitutes females' performed appearance and linguistic behavior. Mills (2003) points out that females' perspectives of positive politeness show a matter of power difference to gain behaviorism in other situations. Females will potentially talk more formally and more politely. Politeness becomes their concern relating to the behavioral values and enforcement of manners. The femininity matter arbitrarily

associates with the self-abolishment, negligibility, sensitiveness, collegiality, and courteousness. In the perspectives of Javanese diglossia, females tend to talk with a hesitant tone even though they have self-confidence (Ciurria & Altamimi, 2014) and show a great eagerness to emphasize their kinship with others (Eliasoph, 1987). These perspectives mean that women maintain the relationships-focused and talk more in non-formal relaxed contexts and deliver ideas in more supportive ways (Stodůlková, 2013). Other diglossic issues confirm that femininity still varies and switches its behaviors dictatorially constituting females' self-effacement, friendliness, weakness, vulnerability, and politeness. Their norms step ahead to a better interaction relating to linguistic behaviors and improve interpersonal relations (Mills, 2003). Nevertheless, gender-affected discrepancies in linguistic use are not handled solely as divergent variants representing hand-in-hand (Wodak, 2015).

This study constitutes a portrait of communication models that contributes to the speech levels experienced in Javanese society, although the use of these *krama* and *ngoko* speech levels seem to be conditional among the users. These communication models empirically occur since the participants still pronounce few Indonesian words or blend words in both *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels, which lead to overlapping usage in their courteously transactional communications. These inappropriate words will be biased in data collection if the participants frequently use the number of either Indonesian, *ngoko*, or *krama* words in today's transactional communication. However, the interviews with male and female respondents are not available in data collection. This phenomena will possibly depict another research limitation. Hence, this politeness courteousness conditionally influences male and female participants although the existing polarization appears in daily communication.

## CONCLUSIONS

The *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels, respectively known as the lowest and highest levels of the Javanese language, aim to shape respectfulness among people when dealing with daily transactional communications. Substantially, the politeness speech levels modify some words, sentences, expressions, and meanings to shift the social strata existences and to determine users' self-reliance. This politeness authorizes users in addressing the purposes of conversations. As the findings showed, female respondents mostly conveyed their transactional

communication using the *krama* speech level, with only one female addressing her *ngoko* speech level accordingly. This acknowledges the positions of *ngoko* and *krama* in being contextually reflected either in formal or informal conditions. Females' courteousness conveys more politeness compared with males' politeness. Females, more significantly, employ their politeness on the affective level, rather than referentially in speech use. They eagerly compliment someone's appearance, whereas males focus on predominance. On the other hand, either males or females practice *ngoko* and *krama* speech levels in accordance with matters of conditional politeness (e.g., the use of subordination upon their social status, accordingly). The Javanese speech levels naturally bring about the genuine terms of addressing people's expressions and the language's diglossia par excellence remains in contextual adoption, adaptation, and reinterpretation.

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