Wacana Vol. 19 No. 1 (2018): 58-99

Polite vocabulary in the Javanese language of Surabaya

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Abstract

Surabaya and its surroundings are known for their peculiar dialect, which does not only exhibit very characteristic phonological and morphological features, but also has a politeness, honorific, and deferential system that has so far remained largely understudied. It is the aim of this paper to shed further light on the sociolinguistic situation of the Javanese dialect of the city of Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia with a focus on the polite vocabulary (Krama, Krama Andhap, and Krama Inggil). Although to the Central Javanese ear, speakers of Surabayan Javanese sound discourteous, they by no means are impolite. After a general introduction about the linguistic situation in Surabaya, a brief typological summary of politeness systems throughout the world is given, which helps debunk the persistent language myth that speakers of Surabayan Javanese are rude. This paper will show that the dialect rather exhibits a binary T-V distinction in politeness similar to that in French and German, as opposed to the strict speech level system as found in Central Javanese, Korean, and Japanese.

Keywords

Javanese; dialectology; linguistic etiquette; politeness; speech levels; Surabaya.

Introduction[1]

Those travelling from Indonesia's capital Jakarta to Surabaya would find that the city of Surabaya is the main hub for travel to East Java and onward to Bali or Lombok, with the busiest long-distance bus terminal in Indonesia, the

[1] I would like to thank Bernd Nothofer, Jost Gippert, Tom Hoogervorst, and the two anonymous reviewers for all their comments, input, and feedback on an earlier draft of this paper. I thank Amadea Trishna Dewi, Nurenzia Yannuar, Vitri Lestari, Ferry Christian, and Neza Safitri for supporting and helping me with Javanese during my research.

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Daniel Kraußе | DOI: 10.17510/wacana.v19i1.615.

biggest harbour, and the third biggest airport in the country. The Indonesian National Route 1 runs right through the centre of Surabaya and the Trans-Java toll road is planned to end in Surabaya upon completion. The population of Surabaya is a cosmopolitan mix of the original East Javanese people (*wong Jowo* or more specifically *arèk Suroboyo*), the neighbouring Madurese (*wong Meduro*), and those of Chinese decent (*wong Cino* or *singkèk*), who have settled in areas around Surabaya since the fifteenth century (Rafferty 1984: 250). The Arabs (*wong Arab*) have their own quarter called Ampèl, and Western foreigners (*londo*) now also find their way into the city.

Surabaya lies in the eastern periphery of the so-called centres of Javaneseness (*kejawèn*), Yogyakarta, and Solo. Although the Javanese variety of Banyuwangi is spoken a lot further to the east, it is often not classified as a dialect in the periphery, but rather as a distinct language called *boso Osing* with influences of Balinese.

While East Javanese has been under scientific research for about one hundred years, a surprisingly small number of scholars have focused on the dialect of Surabaya. Apart from very recent works by Tom Gunnar Hoogervorst and Kisyani-Laksono, the only available resources on this dialect are some short treatises and theses written in the Indonesian or Javanese language. These writings are not easily accessible as they are scattered among various university libraries throughout East Java. There is an urgent need to contribute to the recent interest in the dialect of Surabaya with a concentration on lexical and pragmatic aspects such as linguistic etiquette, style, and politeness, especially to debunk the popular misconception of Surabayans being impolite.

This paper contains excerpts of my unpublished master's thesis titled "A description of Surabayan Javanese with special reference to its linguistic etiquette" (Kraußе 2017) and is the result of my fieldwork in and around Surabaya from August 2014 to September 2015. A self-designed questionnaire, appointments with the local TV station JTV, YouTube videos, chats, interlinear glossing of the tentative corpus that arose during my fieldwork, as well as personal interviews with residents of Surabaya have helped me gain insight into the culture and the language of Indonesia's second biggest city. Findings that are offered in this paper have also been presented at the ISLOJ 5 in Bandung, in a sociolinguistics seminar in Leiden, and as an invited research presentation at the University of Frankfurt.

The spelling used for the Surabaya dialect in this paper is comprised of a scientific orthography and local conventions as found in the social media. Any /ɔ/ regardless of its position in the word is spelled "o", and any /a/ is spelled "a". So-called retroflex stops /ɖ/ and /ʈ/ that are in fact the alveolar counterparts of the dental stops /d̪/ and /t̪/ are indicated by *dh* and *th*, respectively.[2] For a discussion on various spellings of Surabayan Javanese throughout the history, see Kraußе (2017: 28-32).

[2] For a discussion on these stops in Surabayan Javanese, see Kisyani-Laksono (2004a: 183-184) and Kraußе (2017: 22-23).

Classification of Javanese

Javanese is the most spoken regional language of Indonesia and with 69 million native speakers it outnumbers all other ethnic groups of the country. It is mainly spoken in Central and East Java, including the island of Madura and the northern and easternmost parts of West Java. Javanese belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. Due to the government-driven transmigration program in 1969 (*transmigrasi*) and the globalization in recent years, Javanese is now also spoken in West Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Papua, and to a smaller degree also in the Lesser Sunda Islands. Beyond Indonesia, Javanese is mainly found in Suriname, New Caledonia, Malaysia, and Singapore.

Within the Austronesian language family, Javanese including all its dialects forms the largest language community. Many attempts have been made to classify Javanese: The language map published by Esser (1938) lists a Malayo-Polynesian group (*Maleisch-Polynesische talen*) with a Javanese subgroup (*Java-groep*) including Sundanese, Javanese, and Madurese. Dyen (Dyen 1965) was the first scholar to attempt a detailed subgrouping of the Austronesian languages using lexicostatistical methods. He called one of the subgroups the Javo-Sumatra-Hesion, in which Javanese and Sundanese both made up their own branches, as opposed to the other two main branches of which one was the Malayic Hesion including Malay, Minangkabau, Kerinci, Madurese, and Achinese, and the other being the Lampungic Subfamily including Lampung and Kroë (the latter being considered a dialect of the Lampung language today). Nothofer (1975) attempted to reconstruct Dyen's proto-language of the Javo-Sumatra Hesion but named it Proto-Malayo-Javanic with Javanese as a separate primary branch, the others being the Malay, Madurese, and Sundanese branches. Blust (1981) rejected the inclusion of Javanese and Madurese into the Malayic branch, and instead added other languages such as Minangkabau, Iban, and Cham. Consequently, Nothofer (1985: 298) provided further evidence for his Malayo-Javanic branch, but also included Lampung and reasoned that Javanese was indeed different from the other languages of this group. A thorough summary of the various attempts at a classification of the Austronesian languages has been published by Malcolm Ross (1995). In his own classification, one of his 24 Austronesian language groups is Java-Bali-Sasak (Ross 1995: 74-78). Adelaar (2005a: 19-20) excluded Javanese from his proposed Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup and argued that it should be a separate branch of the West-Malayo-Polynesian language group. Evidence for this is presented in another paper (Adelaar 2005b). Adelaar's Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup, however, is rejected by Blust (2010: 90; 2013: 736). Until today, the classification of Javanese has been a matter of debate.

Javanese dialectology

Javanese is said to have three main dialects and many subdialects (Hadi 1971: 6-7; Hatley 1984: 6, 24). These three main dialects are Western Javanese, henceforth abbreviated WJ, Central Javanese, abbreviated CJ, and Eastern

Javanese, abbreviated EJ. CJ has been the basis of Standard Javanese, henceforth abbreviated StJ. I will use StJ to refer to the Javanese standard used in schools and schoolbooks, and CJ to refer to the dialect used in Central Java (see Figure 1). Each dialect group is referred to by the Javanese with various names: WJ is usually called *basa Jawa Kulonan* or colloquially *basa ngapak;*[3] CJ is named *basa Jawa Tengah* or colloquially *basa mbandhèk*[4] by WJ speakers and *basa Mataraman*[5] by some EJ speakers; EJ is named *basa Jawa Wétanan*[6] or *basa arèk'an*.[7] The map (see figure 1) shows the geographical distribution of the Javanese dialects.

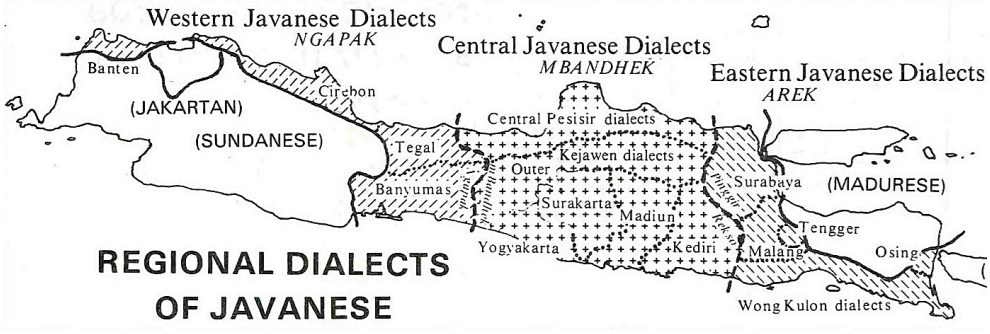

Figure 1. Map of Javanese dialects (Hatley 1984: 24).

Ogloblin (2005: 591) reclassified the main dialect groups into two main

[3] This is the colloquial, rather mocking, term used by the CJ and EJ because the interrogative particle *apa* 'what' is pronounced like [ʔapaʔ] in WJ, whereas in CJ and EJ it is [ʔɔpɔ]. The prefix *ng-* is the agent voice marker for verbs. Thus, the designation *basa ngapak* means something like '*apak*-ing language'.

[4] The word *bandhèk* has no correspondence in English and is difficult to translate. Various dictionaries give these explanations: "*êngg[on-ênggonan], k[rama-]n[goko], ngucapake têmbung Jawa kang aswara a diucapake miring*" 'regional, high and low level, pronouncing a Javanese word of which the vowel sound a is pronounced in a slanting way' (Poerwadarminta, Hardjasoedarma, and Poedjasoedira 1939: 28); "*mengutjapkan A (kata Djawa) dengan A bunji miring*" 'pronouncing the A (in Javanese words) with a slant sound' (Prawiroatmodjo 1957: 27); "*gewestelijk: het Javaans uitspreken met de å-klank (tegenover de a-klank in Z[uid-]W[est] Midden-Java)*" 'regional: the Javanese variant that is spoken with the å sound, as opposed to the a sound in Southwest Central Java' (Van Albada and Pigeaud 2007: 41). The prefixed *m-* is the agent voice marker here.

[5] The term *Mataram(an)* refers to the Mataram Kingdom (1587-1755), which encompassed all of Central Java and parts of East Java in its Golden Age, but in 1755 was divided into the Surakarta Sultanate under Paku Buwono III and the Yogyakarta Sultanate under Hamengku Buwono I according to the Treaty of Giyanti. People of these two cities are considered to speak the most refined CJ variety today.

[6] This term could be translated as 'easterly Javanese language'.

[7] This designation has been applied to the language of East Java because of the ubiquitous use of the term *arèk* 'child, kid, person' instead of the StJ term *bocah* 'child,' sometimes even replacing *(u)wong* 'person'. This word is probably derived from polite StJ *laré* 'child', compare *larèk* 'child' in the Tuban dialect (Hoogervorst 2008: 84, fn. 83). A translation of *basa arèk'an* could be '*arèk*-ish language'.

branches: the phonologically archaic western group and the central-eastern group with the change from [a] to [ɔ] for final /a/. Conners (2008: 26) named these two branches of Javanese "Central" (including WJ and CJ) and "Eastern" (only EJ).

My own research has shown that speakers of EJ do not understand WJ of Banten at all. Also, they have difficulties in understanding the WJ Tegal dialect, while CJ is familiar and comprehensible to them. Kisyani-Laksono (2004a: 11) presented similar findings. Unless the EJ speaker grew up using polite Krama[8] vocabulary, he or she would not be able to follow a high-Javanese conversation from CJ, though. While both the EJ Tengger dialect as well as Osing are generally understood by speakers of Surabayan Javanese (henceforth abbreviated SuJ), some isoglosses[9] not found in other parts of EJ may slow down the comprehension. Even though Malang Javanese is virtually the same as SuJ and other EJ varieties around it, its reverse speech variant (called *osob Ngalam*, *boso Walik'an* or *boso Kiwalan*)[10] is only understood by those who grew up in Malang society. Very few of those words have also found their way into SuJ, for example *èbès* 'father' from dialectal Javanese *sèbèh* 'id' (Yannuar, Iragiliati, and Zen 2017: 115), and *wóles* 'relaxed' from English *slow* (Espree-Conaway 2013: 2).

The overview of the Javanese vernaculars in Figure 2 is from Kraußе (2017: 8). Note that the terms Western Javanese, Central Javanese, and Eastern Javanese do not refer to the political boundaries of West Java, Central Java, and East Java but to phonological and morphological differences between these dialects.

Some of the dialects are difficult to classify: Tenggerese, for example, is spoken in the Tengger highlands surrounded by EJ; while much of its vocabulary is borrowed from EJ, it is phonologically closer to CJ and WJ. This is because the Tenggerese dialect originated from Central Java and now constitutes a CJ speech enclave within the EJ dialect area. The Madiun dialect chain is spoken in East Java but classified as CJ. The East Javanese regencies Situbondo and Bondowoso are predominantly Madurese with only a very small number of Javanese speakers and are not listed in the classification above.

[8] The designation Krama is attested in OJ as *krama* 'conduct, behavior', from Sanskrit क्रम *krama* 'course, progress'.

[9] Among these obscure isoglosses to the SuJ speaker are *rika* 'I' for Tenggerese, and *sing* 'not' for Osing.

[10] *Osob Ngalam* is the reverse reading of *boso Malang* 'Malang language.' *Boso Walik'an* is the Javanese term for 'reverse language'. *Osob Kiwalan* is the pseudo-reverse word of *boso walikan* [bo̯ʊ̯.sɔ wa.li̯.ʔan] 'reverse language'. For more information on this language variety, compare Hoogervorst (2009: 43-44) and Yannuar et al. (2017).

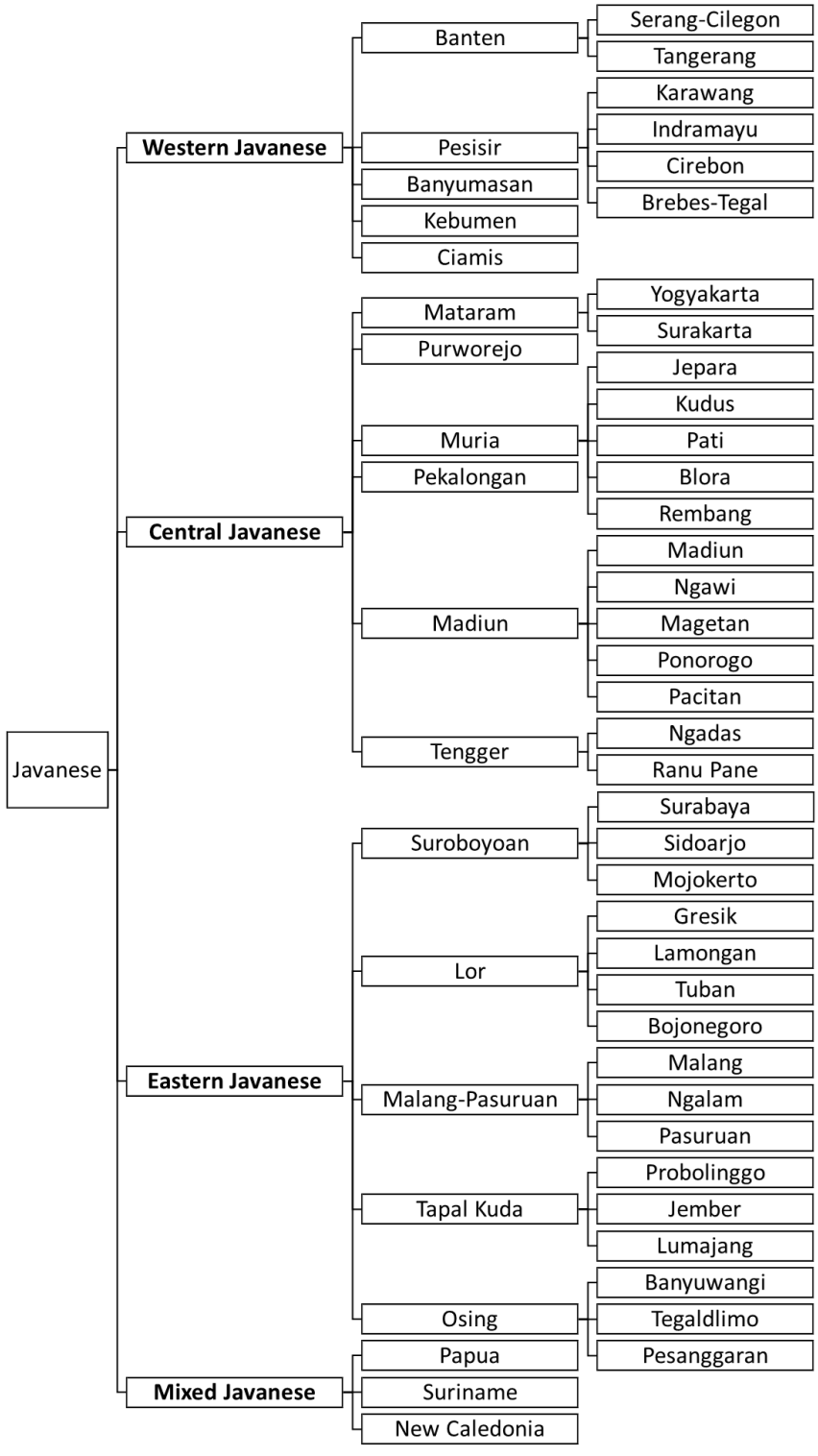

Figure 2. Classification of Javanese vernaculars (Kraußе 2017: 8).

Previous studies on east Javanese

Pigeaud (1967: 11) admitted that almost nothing can be said about the dialects of the pre-Islamic period. It is, however, well-known that Javanese in West Java was influenced by Sundanese (Pigeaud 1967: 12; Nothofer 1980: 156-158), and that Javanese in East Java to the east of the Tengger massif was superseded by Madurese (Pigeaud 1967: 12). According to Pigeaud (1967: 12), the EJ variant Osing was left untouched by Madurese; however, Kisyani-Laksono (2004a: 39-41) found that there has been a considerable influence of Madurese all over East Java. Balinese also had a significant impact on Osing (Kisyani-Laksono 2004a: 42-43).

Linguistic study of Javanese in general does not have a very long tradition and thorough studies of Javanese dialects do not reach much further back than to the late nineteenth century. According to Uhlenbeck (1964: 42), the scientific knowledge of Javanese was very limited up to the beginning of the nineteenth century, and works of that time merely consist of wordlists, seldom containing information on morphology, syntax, or linguistic etiquette of the dialects. One of the first chrestomathies of Javanese with explanatory notes on its usage, written entirely in *hanacaraka*[11] was Carel Frederik Winter's *Javaansche zamenspraken* [Javanese conversations], the first volume edited by Taco Roorda (Winter 1848), and the second volume by Salomon Keyser (Winter 1858), using the CJ dialect. The large grammar book *Javaansche Grammatica* [Javanese grammar] (1855) by T. Roorda, also containing a description of the speech level system, was a milestone in early Javanology. Apart from C. F. Winter and T. Roorda, the most famous scholar on Javanese and other Austronesian languages of the nineteenth century was Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk, who strongly opposed Roorda's linguistic views of Javanese (Uhlenbeck 1964: 51-53; Grijns 1996: 358-359) and noticed lexical discrepancies between StJ and the EJ dialect of Banyuwangi including a list of Balinese loanwords in this dialect (Hoogervorst 2008: 9).

Kats' translations of a conversation into various Javanese dialects in his book *Serat warna sari Djawi* [Book of Javanese collections] (1929) gave rise to new dialectal studies. Mardjana (1933) compared the phonetic and morphological differences of several dialects with each other. Research on EJ did not start until the early twentieth century except for a short essay on the Tenggerese dialect by Kreemer (1885). The Malang-Pasuruan dialect was first outlined by Van Hinloopen Labberton (1900) and has only been studied again much later by Sudarwati (1987) and recently by Hoogervorst (2014). The reverse speech of Malang, usually called *boso Walikan*, has been treated by Suharto (1983), Widodo (2006), Espree-Conaway (2013), Hoogervorst (2014: 107-118), and most recently by Yannuar et al. (2017). The adjacent dialect of Surabaya has been studied by Srijono (1976), Soetoko et al. (1984), Sri Budi

[11] *Hanacaraka* pronounced ['hɔ.nɔ.ˌcɔ.rɔ.kɔ], is the name of the native Javanese script and is derived from the Kawi script used for OJ, ultimately a descendant of the Brahmi script of South Asia. Today, its use has heavily declined, and most of the younger Javanese are illiterate in *hanacaraka*.

Astuti (1986), Oetomo (1988), Adipitoyo, Yulianto, and Tirtawijaya (1999), Siwidana (2004), Khristarini Mariana (2005), Anggraini (2005), and most extensively in recent years by Hoogervorst (2006, 2008, 2009) and Kraußе (2017). The relatively isolated people of the Tengger massif between Surabaya and Malang and their unique EJ dialect have been well researched by Smith-Hefner (1983, 1988), Soedjito et al. (1984, 1985a, b), Sutoko et al. (1985), Sunoto et al. (1990), Kisyani-Laksono (1998), and in great detail by Conners (2008). The language varieties further north of East Java around Surabaya, that is Gresik, Lamongan, Tuban, Bojonegoro, and Mojokerto, have been observed by Soegianto (1982), Sunaryo et al. (1984), Soedjito et al. (1986), Kisyani-Laksono (1995, 1999, 2000), and Yulianto (2010). The EJ dialect of Jember has been worked on by Lestari (2012). A short treatise on the EJ variety of Banyuwangi (*Osing*) was first published by Soediro (1932), and another one by Prijanggana (1957). In the following years, several publications on Osing appeared, for example Soetoko et al. (1981), Mas Moeljono et al. (1986), Sariono (2002), and Kisyani-Laksono (2001, 2004a, 2004b). Kartomihardjo (1981) thoroughly outlined the communicative codes of East Java in general, and other authors have also described several varieties spoken all over East Java, for example Soedjito et al. (1981, 1985a, b), Soedjiatno et al. (1984), Mujianto et al. (1990), and Kisyani-Laksono (2004a).

There are only a few dialectal dictionaries available. For the EJ dialects, only Ali's *Kamus bahasa daerah Using-Indonesia* [Dictionary of the regional language Using and Indonesian] (Ali 2002), Djupri's *Kamus Suroboyoan-Indonesia* [Surabayan-Indonesian dictionary] (2008), and Soenarno's *Kamus bahasa Malangan* [Dictionary of the Malang language] (2011) are known to me. All other dictionaries for Javanese are largely based on the standard dialect spoken in Central Java around Yogyakarta and Solo, with dialectal differences as marginal notes. However, the Internet allows private bloggers to publish wordlists of local varieties online on their website.

Surabaya's city profile

Surabaya (pronounced /surabaja/ in Indonesian,[12] /surɔb̥ɨ̤jɔ/ in SuJ) is generally not recommended as a tourist spot in guidebooks. The capital of East Java Province used to be and still is an industrial city, Indonesia's second-biggest metropolis, and usually only known among tourists as the transport hub on their way to Bali or Mt. Bromo.[13] Dick (2002: 1) stated that "[e]fforts to promote the city as a tourist attraction have been half-hearted and almost embarrassed. […] For those who just pass through, the city seldom gives rise to

[12] In this paper, I use the term Indonesian for the official language of Indonesia. Linguistically, Indonesian is a variant of the Malay language, which is used as the *lingua franca* and national language in many parts of the Malay Archipelago between Southern Thailand and Papua New Guinea.

[13] Surabaya's Juanda Airport is the third busiest airport in Indonesia with 19,483,844 passengers in 2016 (Surya TRIBUNnews.com 2017), Surabaya's Gubeng train station is the busiest all over East Java with 18,772 passengers in 2016 (BeritaSatu.com 2016), and Tanjung Perak is the biggest port in the country with 206,248 passengers in the first half of 2016 (BeritaTrans.com 2016).

fond memories." Most people stay in Surabaya for business or education, not for vacation. In 2010, the total population of Surabaya municipality amounted to 2,765,487 people (Badan Pusat Statistik 2010). Basically, there is almost no difference between Surabaya and the adjacent regencies of Gresik and Sidoarjo in terms of culture and language, and the transition from one city to the next is seamless. Its metropolitan area (Surabaya Raya) including Gresik and Sidoarjo spans an area of 2,116.7 square kilometres with a population of 6,484,026 people (in 2010), equalling to a density of 3,063 people per square kilometre. Together with the regencies of Bangkalan, Mojokerto, and Lamongan, the large urban agglomeration is termed Gerbangkertosusila[14] (Hermanto 1996) with a total population of more than nine million.

The city of Surabaya lies on the north coast of Central East Java at the Madura Strait of the Java Sea and serves as the gateway to Bangkalan on Madura Island thanks to the Suramadu bridge, the longest of its kind in Indonesia. The first mention of the region may have been in Zhao Rugua's book 諸蕃志 *Zhū Fān Zhì* in 1225 CE (Wáng Shū Rèn 王叔任 1987: 494) as Middle Chinese 戎牙路 *nyuwng ngæ luH* (Baxter transcription), commonly Romanized as *Jung-ya-lu* (Hirth and Rockhill 1911: 71), which refers to the Kingdom of Janggala. The name "Surabaya" appeared as *surabhaya* in the Old Javanese eulogy *Nāgarakṛtāgama* in 1365 CE,[15] and as *çūrabhaya* (modern transliteration: *śūrabhaya*) on a Trowulan charter in 1358 CE.[16] In folk etymology, its name is generally explained as being from *sura* 'shark'[17] and *baya* 'crocodile', which has led to Surabaya's emblem of a shark and a crocodile fighting with each other to depict the struggle of life between sea and land (Rouf and Ananda 2013: 60-61). This folktale has also inspired the creators of the *Culoboyo* video clips (further discussed later on). Other sources claim that the name is derived from Javanese *sura ing baya* 'brave in danger' (Timoer 1983: 14). The real origin of the name remains a mystery.

[14] This abbreviation is an acronym for Gresik (with metathesis), Bangkalan, Mojokerto, Surabaya, Sidoarjo, and Lamongan, and may be translated as 'Gate to perfect moral' (Malay *gerbang* = gate; OJ: *kṛta* = perfect, prosperous; OJ: *susila* = virtuous).

[15] Surabaya is mentioned in canto 17, foot 5: "*yan tan maṅka mareŋ phalaḥ maṛk i jöŋ hyaṅ acalapati bhakti sādara, pantĕs/ yan panulus ḍatĕŋ ri balitar mwaṅ i jimur i çilāhrit alṅöŋ, mukyaŋ polaman iŋ dahe kuwu ri liṅgamarabaṅum ika lanenusī, yan/ riŋ jaṅgala lot sabhā nṛpati riŋ surabhaya manulus mare buwun*" (Pigeaud 1960a: 14). 'Otherwise he goes to Palah to come into the presence of the divine Lord of the Mountain with devotion and reverence, and it is fitting to go further on to Balitar, to Jimur and to Śilâhrit to enjoy the scenery. The main place in Daha is Polaman, and Kuwu and Linggamarabangun he always visits, and when in Janggala the King constantly frequents Surabhaya, and then goes on to Buwun'. Translation by Robson (1995: 36).

[16] Along with many other rural districts along the River Brantas, Surabaya is mentioned in plate 5 recto, line 4: "[…] *bukul, i çūrabhaya, muwaḥ prakāraning naditīra pradeça sthānaning anāmbangi i maḍantĕn, i waringin wok, i bajra pura, i* […]" (Pigeaud 1960a: 110). '[…] *Bakul, Shūrabhaya.* Also concerning the various rural districts on the banks of the rivers, places of ferrymen in: *Maḍantĕn, Waringin-Wok, Bajrapura,* […]'. Translation by Pigeaud (1960b: 159).

[17] While "shark" (Malay *ikan hiu*) is the common translation of *sura* in Surabaya's folktales, this is merely the proper name of the shark character in the folktale. *Sura* does not mean 'shark', but rather 'brave', 'deity', 'hero', or the 'first month of the Islamic calendar' (Poerwadarminta, Hardjasoedarma, and Poedjasoedira 1939: 575).

Surabaya probably became well-known to the west by Kurt Weill and Bertold Brecht's musical "Happy end" in 1929 through the ballad "Surabaya Johnny" (Barber 1985: 158-159), in which the singer Lilian Holiday describes a short relationship to her unfaithful lover Johnny. Neither the song nor the musical is known among the residents of Surabaya (Lenz 2011).

Social status of Javanese in Surabaya

Hoogervorst (2009: 45-54) has comprehensively depicted the sociolinguistic history of SuJ, to which not much can be added. I will therefore briefly summarize what should be said on the historical and the current background of the city of Surabaya along with a description of SuJ's representation in the media. During my fieldwork from 2014 to 2015, I designed a questionnaire to gather information on the current sociolinguistic situation of Surabaya. Some of the results are presented in the following chapters.

As a summary to what was happening with minority languages in Indonesia before the twenty-first century, Hoogervorst (2009: 47) states that "throughout the New Order,[18] Javanese in the media remained intertwined with a kind of traditionalism. Most performances were musically enlisted with gamelan and the actors wore traditional Javanese or Madurese clothes, whereas western clothes and music were associated with Bahasa Indonesia, the language of modernism and public discourse." Javanese was the language at home, in the streets, but it was improper for education, politics, or broadcasting. The few Javanese songs that were composed during that time were sung in the traditional *kendhang kempul* style while Indonesian songs had a western touch. One of the most famous songs in the dialect of Surabaya was *Rèk, ayo, rèk*.

The Kongres Bahasa Jawa (Congress of the Javanese Language) was first held in 1991 in Semarang, since then every five years in Malang, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya. Some of their topics have also dealt with Javanese linguistics and dialectology. The Balai Bahasa Surabaya (Surabaya Language Office), situated in Sidoarjo, was established in 2001 and has been trying to raise awareness among the East Javanese community for their language, with moderate success. Only in the last few years, SuJ has become a dialect used in all kinds of mass media.

According to my survey among 165 residents of Surabaya (73%), Gresik (13%), Sidoarjo (13%), and other places (1%) with more than a half of them aged between 15 and 20, a total of 86% stated that they were fluent in Indonesian, 81% said they were fluent in low level SuJ, while only 29% could communicate in high level SuJ (multiple answers allowed). Fluency of CJ lies at around 6% in Surabaya. The survey showed that 77% of all respondents use Indonesian at home, 52% use low level SuJ, and only 34% employ high level SuJ (multiple answers allowed). About 7% state that they speak a mix of the languages

[18] New Order (Orde Baru) is a political term to refer to Suharto's regime (1966-1998) when Indonesia experienced an economic boom and the national language Indonesian was promoted through a massive language planning program.

at home. For counting basic numbers, 72% stick to Indonesian, half of the respondents would count in low level SuJ but only 9% use high level SuJ, while 14% state that it depends on the situation which language or register they use for counting. 88% of the respondents use SuJ among friends, 57% within the core family, 34% with people in their hometown, 26% with villagers of East Java, 20% within the broad family, and only 6% with their teachers.

These numbers confirm the assumption that minority languages and especially dialects are virtually never used in educational institutions and are reserved for close friends, the family, and people whose Indonesian may not be sufficient enough to hold a fluent conversation. There is a clear tendency that the more formal the situation is, the more likely Indonesian is preferred over SuJ. In very informal settings, Indonesian is only sporadically employed with SuJ being the dominant language, whereas in education or politics SuJ is inappropriate with Indonesian being considered adequate. In a few religious contexts, SuJ is preferred over Indonesian. According to my own experience, many villagers in East Java are able to understand Indonesian very well but they would only answer in their EJ dialect or in Madurese. However, these people are also very likely to use the high level register whereas it is on the decline in urban communities.

Surabayan Javanese in the media

The Javanese dialect used in Surabaya is not limited to communication between family members and friends but is found everywhere in and around the city. One could even say that it is one of the most prominent dialects of any regional language in Indonesia. Non-residents of Surabaya are often well aware of how SuJ sounds like, and they call it a very rude language. One of the slang words known all over Indonesia is *jancók*,[19] referring to anything negative similar to English 'damn', 'hell', or 'fuck', but may also be used as a discourse marker between very close friends.

There are a handful local TV stations in Surabaya (TVRI Surabaya, SBO TV, JTV Surabaya, RTV Surabaya, Kompas TV Surabaya, Bios TV, MHTV Surabaya); however, only one regularly broadcasts news and entertainment in SuJ, namely private-owned JTV Surabaya[20]. The most popular programs broadcasted entirely in SuJ are the newscast *Pojok Kampung* (Corner of the neighbourhood area)[21] with nearly no polite vocabulary, the entertainment

[19] This word is probably a contracted from of *diancuk*, the patient voice form of *ancuk* 'to fuck, to copulate with'.

[20] JTV stands for Jawa Timur Televisi 'East Java Television' and belongs to the Jawa Pos TV network owned by Jawa Pos Group.

[21] The translation is not accurate, but there is no English equivalent for *kampung*. In Indonesia, the word describes smaller settlements within a big city, often with narrow and crowded alleyways, resembling the traditional life before globalization. The term may also be used to refer to people who are less likely to access education and are often taught at home or through religious institutions. *Pojok Kampung* has been chosen for the TV program to relate to the language spoken in those settlements where dialectal Javanese is often preferred over the national language Indonesian.

program *Blakra'an* (Sauntering) with very high level vocabulary, *B-Cak Show* (Rickshaw Show)[22] with virtually no vocabulary of the high level, the comedy show *Ndoro Bèi* (The Master),[23] the theatre-like staged show *Goro-goro Kartolo* with a lot of the conversations considered very polite in Surabaya, and another theatre-like staged show *Ngethoprak Kirun* (Kirun performs on stage)[24] with fewer high level conversations. Apart from those based in Surabaya, Arek TV from Sidoarjo also broadcasts shows in SuJ every now and then, and JTV Malang offers shows in Malang Javanese, which is very similar to SuJ. Much of my SuJ material has been taken from JTV news and entertainment.

YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, and weblogs have become the ideal medium to broadcast entertainment in the local dialects. Among the most famous YouTube stars speaking entirely in Malang Javanese is 23-year-old Bayu Skak, his real name being Bayu Eko Moektito. Although being a native speaker of Malang Javanese, he virtually never uses the reverse speech of Malang and is therefore easily understood by anyone around Malang, including Surabaya. Another famous YouTuber using SuJ is the Australian citizen Dave Jephcott, better known as *Londo Kampung* (foreigner in the neighbourhood), who has been living in Surabaya since the age of two (Supriyanto 2017). Mohammad Sholikin, better known as Cak Ikin, has been using YouTube as a platform to publish his animated videos under the name *Culoboyo Juniol* 'Junior Surabaya' (in EJ child language) from 2007 onward (Junita 2016). Several other animated videos also appeared under similar names, but with the two main characters, *Culo* the shark and *Boyo* the crocodile.

The only printed media making use of SuJ are *Jaya Baya* (old spelling: *Djaja Baja*) and *Panjebar Semangat* (not changed after the spelling reform in 1972). A few authors are known to have published their works, mostly poetry, in the local dialect of Surabaya, among them Sri Setyowati (2004) alias Trinil and Budi Palopo (Sungkowati 2016). Budhi Santoso's most popular work is *Humor Suroboyoan* in three volumes (2005) with many conversations in SuJ.

SuJ is also sporadically found in traffic announcements throughout Surabaya. At the intersection of Jl. Raya Darmo or Jl. Raya Diponegoro, the city has installed a traffic light making announcements in SuJ. Although the addressees are mostly elderly people, all words used belong to the low level vocabulary. Public speeches in Surabaya, especially those on religious affairs before the Hajj season, are often held in SuJ. This is one of the few instances where high level SuJ can be heard as the low level is improper for actions referring to God or the Prophet.

There have been some songs recorded entirely in SuJ and adjacent dialects,

[22] The abbreviation *b-cak* is read *bècak* 'rickshaw' but the spelling *b-cak* suggests a combination of Javanese *bareng* 'together (with)' and the SuJ title *cak* 'mister', as the show is about two men discussing various topics using SuJ.

[23] *Ndoro* is the short form of StJ. *bendara* 'master, mistress, sir' and *bèi* is shortened from *ngabèhi* 'an official of middle rank in court hierarchy' (Robson and Wibisono 2002: 506).

[24] The term *ngethoprak* is the active voice verb of *kethoprak* 'Javanese popular drama depicting historical or pseudo-historical events' (Robson and Wibisono 2002: 369) and *Kirun* is an old-fashioned name.

of which the most popular one is *Rèk, ayo, rèk* (Guys, c'mon, guys) sung by the Surabayan native Mus Mulyadi but composed by the CJ songwriter Alphonsius Is Haryanto in the 1970s. Bayu Skak sings in Malang Javanese.

Politeness strategies in Javanese and other languages

The Javanese linguistic etiquette has been extensively studied by Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1979), Kartomihardjo (1981), and Errington (1988). I will first explain how linguistic etiquette is lexically expressed in various languages around the world and how this relates to SuJ.

Basically, all human languages have the possibility to express politeness. It may therefore be called a language universal (Brown and Levinson 1978). Each conversation requires some form of etiquette, the customary code of polite behaviour in dialogs, telephone calls, TV shows, talk shows, instructions, reports, introductions, letters, dramas, announcements, the social media, etcetera. In scientific papers or neutral newspaper articles, this etiquette is generally not required if no one is directly addressed. This dialogicity is based on the binary speaker-listener constellation in a current speech situation (Lee 1996: 109), usually expanded by the third (personal or impersonal) party that is being talked about, as has been explained by Bühler in his organon model (1934), later expanded by Jakobson (1960) and subsequently newly structured and organized by Schulz von Thun (1981).

Languages approach the concept of these three sides of communication (speaker, listener, topic) differently: by gestures and facial expressions; by intonation or prosody; by passivation, impersonalization, or the change of grammatical mood; by paraphrasing, negation or interrogation; by polite affixes or suppletive lexemes marked for politeness or social class; and by capitalization.

Below is a summary of how politeness is marked in the world's languages, similar to what has been observed by Helmbrecht (2013). There are five types of politeness strategies, not including avoidance speech as found in some Australian, African, North American, and Caucasian languages. The typological classification is necessary to determine which system is used in SuJ.

In most languages, politeness is grammatically covert, that is the language does not have an obvious system of marking the linguistic etiquette within the context in which the utterance is made. Although there may be ways to choose a word of a different register to speak more politely, it is not a paramount part of its grammar. Politeness and deference are therefore rather expressed by conversational and conventional implicature (Grice 1975) or by terms of address such as "Mister/Mistress/Sir" or kinship terms. Languages that belong to this type are Modern English, the Kx'a languages, all indigenous languages of North America and Australia,[25] and some languages of the

[25] Avoidance speech is not regarded as a politeness system here. One might even say that languages that employ an avoidance style system contrast with those that have an elaborate politeness system. Thus, there are basically two kinds of sociolinguistic address systems, and most languages only possess one, if at all.

Caucasus such as Ossetic. Irvine (1998: 54) asserts that many Bantu languages also exhibit respect forms locating them in the morphology of the noun classification system.

Many languages of Europe employ a so-called T-V distinction in the pronominal system for the addressee (Brown and Gilman 1960). Friends, family members, children, and deities are usually addressed with the non-polite T-pronoun (from Latin *tū*) while older people, highly esteemed persons, and strangers are spoken to using the polite V-pronoun (from Latin *vōs*). Languages with this feature are European French, European Spanish, German, Dutch, Russian, Serbo-Croatian, Modern Greek, Welsh, Estonian, Turkish, Basque, etcetera. There are also languages outside of Europe with this binary distinction, such as modern Mandarin, Armenian, Modern Standard Arabic, and Yoruba. One may say that these languages mark politeness or respect overtly by employing a clear and well-defined set of pronouns either referring to the non-polite, informal or to the polite, formal register, respectively. In the following chapters, I will show that SuJ as used by younger speakers may be considered a dialect having a T-V distinction, which is rather unusual for the languages of Southeast Asia. However, it is noteworthy that SuJ had never developed a speech level system as thoroughly as CJ due to Surabaya's location in the outer periphery from the political centres of Yogyakarta and Surakarta at the time when the Javanese speech levels emerged. The lack of a speech level system in SuJ yields fear among its speakers to use their mother tongue in areas where the classical speech level system is still prominent. Absence or near-absence of speech levels in dialects of languages that are known for their speech level system are rare, but also occur in the Banten dialect of Sundanese and Javanese, and the Kansai dialect of Japanese.

Especially the languages of South Asia make use of an overt, grammaticalized system of politeness, usually determined by social hierarchy based on age, profession, rank, prestige, or title (Fritz 2005). There are usually at least three levels of linguistic etiquette in the pronouns: the first being neutral or intimate and is used among close friends and family members; the second is respectful and used with people of higher social status; and the third is highly honorific for teachers or clerics. This may be marked in different 2SG and/or 2PL pronouns or with a term of address, while the verb is usually used in its plural form if the language has verbal inflection for grammatical number. Languages that possess such politeness systems are Hindi, Marathi, Malayalam, Nahuatl, Persian, and to some extent Hungarian, Tagalog, formal Malay, but also Bemba of Zambia.

The politeness system used in many languages of Southeast Asia and East Asia, such as Burmese, Vietnamese, Thai, Lao, Khmer, Sinhala, and Classical Chinese is more refined than that of South Asia in that speakers of these languages choose their words and especially pronouns carefully to express appropriate politeness. The high number of pronouns in these languages allows for a very specific speaker-listener classification in the social hierarchy. For Thai, Kummer (1992: 331-332) gives eight possibilities for the

1SG and nine for the 2SG pronouns with eight other pronouns depending on the conversation. Royal and clerical pronouns, though, are missing in his overview. In languages of this type, any pronoun may be dropped to avoid offense that may result from the choice of the wrong register. Aside from the richness in pronouns, also affixes, verbs and nouns inherently pertaining to a certain register are used to classify the speaker, the listener, and the person whom the conversation is about according to social hierarchy.

The fifth system is only found in a very limited number of languages. Politeness and deference in these languages is the most complex of all as it highly depends on the social status of all interlocutors. In most cases, the polite or honorifics forms are lexically different from their non-polite counterparts. It is possible to speak very politely in an informal context, and it is not uncommon to apply different lexemes for the same action with the same meaning when the interlocutors are of different statuses. Instead of speaking of politeness, this system is generally referred to as speech levels. I suggest that in languages allowing lexeme variation according to the speech level, words that are identical in syntax and meaning but different in their pragmatic function shall be called *register allolexes*[26], based on similar concepts, such as *allophone* (a variation of a phoneme) and *allomorph* (a variation of a morpheme). Speech levels in these languages constitute a system that shows the degree of formality and the degree of respect felt by the speaker toward the addressee. To explain the speech level system, I propose the following scheme:

Name	Description	Usage	Glossing
Level -1	Impolite	Very low level; slang; among close friends; rarely used by old speakers	SL
Level 0	Non-polite	Neutral level between friends, peers, and older person to younger one	LL
Level 1	Middle	Slightly polite level in order not to lose face[27]	ML
Level 2	High	Polite level used with older, superior, exalted, and respected persons	HL
Level 3	Court	Highly polite level only used for the royalty, the emperor, or the sultan	HHL
Level A	Honorific	Emphasis is put on the high, esteemed position of the addressee	HON
Level B	Deferential	Emphasis is put on the low, humble position of the speaker	DFR

Table 1. Speech levels in a typological view (Kraußе 2017: 60).

[26] The term *allolex* is sometimes used for the various word forms pertaining to one lexeme in natural semantic metalanguage (NSM), that is *I* and *me* of the concept 1SG, *-one* and *-body* of SOMEONE etcetera (Wierzbicka 1996: 26). However, I adapt this terminology and expand it to *register allolex* to avoid confusion with the NSM terminology but at the same time emphasize the conceptual proximity to it.

[27] This term has been extensively discussed by Brown and Levinson (1978: 66-69).

Note that not all languages or dialects of this category exhibit all these levels, and some languages or dialects may have additional sublevels. Yet, it is typical for these languages to have native names for all possible speech levels. Languages using this system are Dhivehi, especially the dialect of Male (Fritz 1993: 28-29, 2005: 119-122), Lhasa Tibetan (Agha 1993), Japanese (Martin 1964; Coulmas 1992), Korean, Madurese, Sundanese, Balinese, Sasak and Javanese, the latter five being adjacent languages of the Indonesian islands Java, Madura, Bali, and Lombok. The languages to the west (Betawi, Lampung, Abung, Bengkulu) and to the east (Sumbawa, Bima) do not possess such refined speech levels. Madurese, Sundanese, Balinese, and Sasak borrowed their speech level system and the majority of high level vocabulary from Javanese. A general subdivision of the speech levels is threefold: low, middle, and high. In some languages of this category, an additional system denoting deferential (DFR) or honorific (HON) attitude exists. This latter system is then combined with the speech levels.

The five languages of Indonesia differ from the other four languages of this category in that they not only have register allolexes for all pronouns and verbal affixes, but also for many nouns, adjectives, colour terms, verbs, numerals, adverbs, and particles. The most complex and most refined speech level system is found in CJ called *unggah-ungguhing basa* 'etiquette of language'. The Javanese politeness system has been thoroughly described by Uhlenbeck (1950), Horne (1974), Djajengwasito (1975), Soepomo and Koendjono (1976/1977), Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1979), Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982), Smith-Hefner (1983), and Errington (1985, 1988, 1998).

Some scholars or teachers talk about two speech levels (Ngoko being the low one and *basa* the high level) with several subgroups for each level (Errington 1988, 1998), others divide them into the three speech levels low (Ngoko, glossed LL in this paper), middle (Madya, glossed ML), and high (Krama, glossed HL), with at least three subgroups per level as explained in the chart below (Poedjosoedarmo et al. 1979: 13). The usage notes in the chart below are mainly taken from Horne (1974: xxxii-xxxiii). A discussion on the *basa kedhaton* or *basa bagongan* 'court language' (Errington 1982) and on the elaborate literary *basa rinengga* 'decorated language' is not part of this paper, nor will I discuss the StJ speech levels in detail. This has been done extensively in the given literature.

Speech level	Sublevel	Usage
Krama (level 2)	Mudha Krama	The most refined style with Krama vocabulary only, Krama Inggil is used when the interlocutor is addressed.
	Kramantara/ Krama Lumrah	The most refined style with Krama vocabulary only, but no Krama Inggil.

Speech level	Sublevel	Usage
	Wredha Krama	Less formal variety of Kramantara with occasional Ngoko affixation; used with someone whose status is socially lower but with whom Ngoko would not be appropriate.
Madya (level 1)	Madya Krama	Madya vocabulary is used where available, otherwise Krama words with Ngoko affixation and Krama Inggil terms where appropriate; often used in the first encounter of a stranger whose status is not obvious.
	Madyantara	Madya vocabulary is used where available, otherwise Krama words with Ngoko affixation.
	Madya Ngoko	Madya vocabulary is used where available, otherwise Ngoko words are preferred over Krama words.
Ngoko (level 0)	Basa Antya	Conversation is held in low level vocabulary, but Krama words are used every here and then; used with respected persons in an informal setting.
	Ngoko Andhap: Antyabasa	Conversation held in low level vocabulary, but Krama Inggil terms are used when the respected interlocutor is addressed.
	Ngoko Andhap: Ngoko Lugu	Basic level with no vocabulary of other levels except for Krama Inggil; usually used with close friends, younger siblings.

Table 2. Speech levels of Standard Javanese.

As for an illustration of the chart and the usage of these nine levels, see Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1979) and Kraußе (2017: 65-68).

Horne (1974: xxxii) estimates that the Krama vocabulary has around 850 lexical items, Krama Inggil around 260, and the Madya vocabulary may be around 35. However, the Javanese corpus available from the SEAlang Library[28] based on Robson's and Wibisono's Javanese-English dictionary (2002) lists 1612 words for Krama, 446 for Krama Inggil, 61 for Madya, and 15 for Krama Andhap.

Even though many terms of the high level in Javanese can be etymologically traced back to OJ, speech levels were not present in OJ (Ogloblin 2005: 591). In fact, common honorific titles were used in OJ, for example *saṅ* 'person of a certain rank', *ki/kya* 'male (usually elderly or revered) person', *kyayi* 'person of some distinction or respectability', and *kaka* 'elder brother or sister, addressing an older person or the husband' (Zoetmulder 1982), but speech levels as in modern Javanese did not exist. Absence of speech levels in OJ also becomes obvious from the fact that the Tenggerese, who after the fall of the Majapahit

[28] Available online at: http://sealang.net/java/dictionary.htm.

Empire in the fifteenth century fled from Islamization into the highlands west of Malang called Tengger massif (Conners 2008: 28), speak an isolated archaic variant of CJ without Krama vocabulary (Adelaar 1989: 318). Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982: 9) speculated that the origin of speech levels may be found in Southern India, which would also correspond to Emeneau's (1980: 12-13) idea of a Southeast Asian-South Indian linguistic area, but this view is generally rejected today (Clynes 1994: 158).

The distinction between the normal language called Ngoko and the language of courtesy referred to as Krama had probably not been established until the sixteenth century with the Sultanate of Mataram (Fox 2005: 102), which had its political centre in Kotagede, today's Yogyakarta. Surabaya was captured by the Sultanate of Mataram in 1625, after which Mataram controlled almost the whole of Java and Madura except for the Sultanate of Banten and Batavia (Drakeley 2005: 31). It was only then when the speech level system found its way into East Java, however only to a very limited extent compared to the amount of high level vocabulary in Central Java.

The case of polite vocabulary in the Javanese language of Surabaya

The language of Surabaya has a reputation of bluntness and rudeness known all over Java and beyond, often called *blak-blak'an* 'frankly speaking'. This is the reason why many speakers of SuJ avoid their language outside of East Java. They fear that they may offend speakers of other Javanese dialects and thus switch to Indonesian, which does not possess a speech level system. However, residents of Surabaya are by no means impolite or rude. Examples in this chapter show how politeness works in SuJ.

Among the residents of Surabaya, the high level is often called Alus 'refined', Kromo "high level language", sometimes even Kromo Inggil "elevated high level language" or Kawi "classical Javanese", whereas the low level is referred to as *kasar* 'rude' or Ngókó "low level language". In this paper, I have been using the terms Ngókó "normal" for the plain vocabulary of SuJ, Alus for the polite one, Kromo Inggil only for terms that elevate the addressee's status, and Kromo Andhap for terms that lower the speaker's status. Throughout my research, I have come across only a very few Alus terms in my corpus compared to the number of Krama and Krama Inggil in StJ.

The following passages from the TV program *Pojok Kampung* illustrate why SuJ speakers are often regarded as speaking improperly. A translation into CJ (Neza Safitri, personal communication) reveals the non-polite vocabulary used in SuJ even though the text is about a highly-esteemed member of the military.

(1) Surabayan Javanese

Tapi	*matèk'-é*	*korban*	*séng*	*gak*	*lumrah*
but	dead-NMZ	victim	REL	NEG	natural
ng-garak-no	*bójó-né*	*korban*	*curiga*	*nèk*	*korban*
AV-make-APPL	spouse-GEN	victim	sceptical	SUBO	victim
di-anioyo	*ambèk*	*anggota*	Kodim		
PV-torture	by	member	Military.District.Command		
Lamongan	*sampèk*	*matèk.*			
PN:GO	until	dead			

(2) Central Javanese

Nanging	*pejah-ipun*	*korban*	*ingkang*	*mboten*	*lumrah*
but	dead:HL-NMZ:HL	victim	REL:HL	NEG:HL	natural
marah-i	*garwa-nipun*	*korban*	*curiga*	*menawi*	*korban*
CAUSE:AV-APPL	spouse:HON-GEN.HL	victim	sceptical	SUBO:HL	victim
dipun-aniaya	*déning*	*anggota*	Kodim		
PV:HL-torture	by	member	Military.District.Command		
Lamongan	*ngantos*	*séda.*			
PN:GO	until:HL	dead:HON			

'However, the victim's unnatural death made his wife skeptical that the victim might have been tortured to death by a member of Military District Command of Lamongan.'

As can be seen from the example above, no word in SuJ shows politeness, although older people would probably prefer to use *sèdo* 'dead (HON)' instead of the dialectal *matèk* 'dead'. In CJ, instead, eight morphemes show politeness and two words are taken from the honorific level. The words *pejah* 'dead (HL)', *menawi* 'if, that (HL)', and *ngantos* 'until (HL)' as well as the affixes *-ipun* and *dipun-* are virtually unheard of in Surabaya. However, the relativizer *ingkang*, the negation particle *mboten*, and the honorific *séda* are still used in very polite conversations among older people in Surabaya (the latter being pronounced *sèdo*).

It is very common to combine low level affixes with high level roots in SuJ, for example *dibeto* 'carried' (StJ: *dipunbekta*), *diparingaken* 'given' (StJ: *dipunparingaken*), *naminé* 'his/her/the name' (StJ: *naminipun*)[29], *sanjangé* 'he/she says' (StJ: *sanjangipun*). The combination of low level affixes and high level roots reminds us of Madya. In fact, the high level of SuJ often corresponds to CJ Madya with Krama Inggil terms.

[29] The form *naminipun* is rarely used in StJ or CJ because *nami* (or alternatively *nama*) refers to oneself, for example *nami kula* 'my name', and is therefore usually not affixed with *-(n)ipun* for the third person. The common expression in StJ would be *asmanipun* 'his/her/the name' with *asma* being the honorific allolex of *nami* (HL) and *jeneng* (LL). In Surabaya, *naminé* is prevalent, though.

Non-polite vocabulary corresponding to Standard Javanese Krama

Very few words that are used in low level SuJ correspond to StJ high level vocabulary. In my corpus of nearly 13,300 words, I have come across *wulan* 'month' 18 times, always in a low level conversation, whereas the StJ low level lexeme *sasi* 'month (ll)' does not appear in Surabaya. Yet, according to my survey, 73% consider *wulan* to be high level, 13% regard it as low level, and 14% could not decide.

SuJ speakers use *klopo* 'coconut' as plain vocabulary while it is high level in StJ, the low level form being *krambil* in StJ. Interestingly, SuJ has *krambil* for the high level. The high level dialectal form *kecambil* given by Hoogervorst (2008: 33) was unknown to my SuJ informants.

Another word of this kind is *numpak* 'to ride', which has no high level connotation among SuJ speakers. According to various dictionaries (Poerwadarminta, Hardjasoedarma, and Poedjasoedira 1939: 348; Horne 1974: 670; Harjawiyana and Supriya 2001: 289), the StJ low level form is *nunggang* 'to ride' (ll) with *numpak* being the high level and *nitih* the honorific allolex, but my CJ informant from Yogyakarta asserted that *numpak* is also used in low level conversation with *nunggang* being a synonym of it. Robson and Wibisono (2002: 765) classify *numpak* both as a low level variant of *nunggang* and as high level of it.

Polite vocabulary corresponding to Standard Javanese Krama

As already stated previously, the number of StJ Krama amounts to about 1,600 lexemes. However, I have only come across 84 high level words in SuJ that correspond to StJ high level. Those that I have encountered are listed below; words marked with a cross (†) are very rare in SuJ and are usually not understood by most younger speakers, leaving a rest of 63 Alus terms understood by them.

SuJ low level (Ngókó)	SuJ high level (Alus)	StJ high level (Krama)	translation (English)
akèh	*kathah*	*kathah*	much, many, a lot
aku	*kulo*	*kula*	I, me
aran	*nami*	*nami*	name, designation
arèk	*laré†*	*laré*	child, person
arep	*badhé*	*badhé*	FUT
ati-ati!	*atos-atos!*	*atos-atos!*	take care!
ayók	*monggo*	*(su)mangga*	as you wish, please
cilik	*alét*	*slit*	small
dadi	*dados*	*dados*	to become, to be
balék	*wangsul*	*wangsul*	to go back, to return
dhuék	*arto*	*arta*	money
dhukór	*(ng)Inggil†*	*Inggil*	high, tall, upper

SuJ low level (Ngókó)	SuJ high level (Alus)	StJ high level (Krama)	translation (English)
dino	*dinten*	*dinten*	day
(n)dué	*(ng)gadhah*	*gadhah*	to have
dóróng	*déréng*	*déréng*	not yet
dulór	*dhèrèk*	*dhèrèk*	relatives, folks
enggon	*nggén*	*enggèn*	place
gak	*mboten*	*mboten*	not
eró	*sumerap*	*sumerep*	to know, to recognize
gelem	*purun*	*purun*	to want
góróng	*déréng*	*déréng*	not yet
isok	*saget*	*saged*	can, to be able
isók	*injing~ngènjing*	*énjing*	morning
jeneng	*nami*	*nami*	name
kabèh	*sedoyo*	*sedaya*	all
kéné	*ngriki*	*ngriki*	here
kerjo	*damel*	*damel*	work
kondho	*sanjang*	*sanjang, criyos*	to say, to tell
(k)apé(né), (k)até	*badhé*	*badhé*	FUT
keno	*kènging†*	*kénging*	to be affected by
kon	*sampèan*	*sampéyan*	you
kongkon	*kèngkèn†*	*kèngkèn*	to order sb. to do
kónó	*ngriku*	*ngriku*	there
kudu	*kedah†*	*kedah*	must
limo	*gangsal*	*gangsal*	five
loro	*sakit*	*sakit*	sick, ill
lóró	*kaléh*	*kalih*	two
ma(e)ng	*wau*	*wau*	earlier this day
manèh	*maléh*	*malih*	again
mangan	*nedho*	*nedha*	to eat
matèk	*pejah†*	*pejah*	dead, to die
mau	*wau*	*wau*	earlier this day
mèk	*namung*	*namung*	only
metu	*medal*	*medal*	to come out
mlaku	*mlampah†*	*mlampah*	to walk
móléh	*mantók*	*mantuk*	to return home
mréné	*mriki*	*mriki*	to come here
mrono†	*mriko†*	*mrika*	to go yonder

SuJ low level (Ngókó)	SuJ high level (Alus)	StJ high level (Krama)	translation (English)
mrónó	*mriku*	*mriku*	to go there
mulo	*pramilo†*	*(pra)milo*	therefore
munggah†	*menggah†*	*menggah*	as for, in connection with
ndelok	*ningali*	*ningal(i)*	to see, to look at
ndi	*pundi*	*pundi*	which
ngekèk'i	*sukani†*	*nyukani*	to give
ngarep	*ngajeng†*	*ngajeng*	next
nggawé	*ndamel*	*ndamel*	to make, to wear
nggowo	*mbeto*	*mbekta*	to bring, to carry
ngisor	*ngAndhap†*	*ngAndhap*	below, under, lower
ngkók	*mangké†*	*mangké*	later
olèh	*angsal*	*angsal*	to get, to obtain
onok	*wonten*	*wonten*	there is
papat	*sekawan*	*sekawan*	four
perkoro	*perkawis†*	*perkawis*	case
piro	*pinten*	*pinten*	how much, how many
rego	*regi†*	*regi*	price
rolas	*kaléh welas*	*kalih welas*	twelve
rolikór	*kaléh likór*	*kalih likur*	twenty-two
rong puló	*kaléh doso*	*kalih dasa*	twenty
sedulór	*sedhèrèk*	*sadhèrèk*	sibling
sék	*rumiyén*	*rumiyin*	first
sék	*tasék*	*taksih*	still
séng	*ingkang*	*ingkang*	REL
separó	*sepaléh†*	*sepalih*	a half
sepuló	*sedoso*	*sedasa*	ten
sésók	*mbènjing†*	*bénjing*	tomorrow, in the future
suelas	*setunggal welas*	*setunggal welas*	eleven
siji/sithok	*setunggal*	*setunggal*	one
soko	*sa(ng)king, seking†*	*saking*	from
sopo	*sinten*	*sinten*	who
tau	*naté†*	*naté*	ever
telu	*tigo*	*tiga*	three
temenan	*sa'èstu†*	*(sa)èstu*	really

SuJ low level (Ngókó)	SuJ high level (Alus)	StJ high level (Krama)	translation (English)
turu	*tilem*	*tilem*	to sleep
teko(k)	*sa(ng)king, seking†, dhateng†*	*saking, dhateng*	from
wedi	*ajréh†, wedos†*	*ajrih*	to be afraid
wedhus	*mèndo†*	*ménda*	goat
wong	*tiang*	*tiyang*	person
yo'opo	*kados pundi†*	*kados pundi*	how

Table 3. Surabayan Javanese high level corresponding to Standard Javanese high level.

As there are only about 400 Krama Inggil (honorific) words and not more than 15 Krama Andhap (deferential) expressions in StJ, it is expected that their number is very small in SuJ. I have come across 16 Kromo Inggil (four of them not intelligible to younger speakers) and only 11 Kromo Andhap terms (five of them not understood by younger speakers).

SuJ low level (Ngókó)	SuJ honorific (Kromo Inggil)	StJ honorific (Krama Inggil)	translation (English)
anak	*yugo~yógo†*	*putra*	child, offspring
eró	*prèso~pèrso†*	*pirsa*	to know, to recognize
kondho	*ngendiko*	*ngendika*	to say
loro	*gerah*	*gerah*	sick, ill
lunggó	*lenggah*	*lenggah*	to sit
mangan	*dhahar*	*dhahar*	to eat
matèk	*kapundhut†, sèdo*	*kapundhut, séda*	dead, to die
mlaku	*tindak*	*tindak*	to walk
mólèh	*kondór*	*kondur*	to return home
ndelok	*mirsani*	*pirsa, mirsani*	to see
ngekèk'i	*maringaken*	*maringaken*	to give
slamet	*sugeng†*	*sugeng*	safe
teko(k)	*rawóh*	*rawuh*	to come
tuku	*mundhut*	*mundhut*	to buy
turu	*saré*	*saré*	to sleep

Table 4. Honorific words used in Surabayan Javanese.

Some of the SuJ Krama Inggil terms above are only used in very special occasions, for example *poro rawóh* 'people who have come (that is audience)'. My SuJ informant told me that *sugeng* 'safe' would probably be understood as a personal name by younger residents of Surabaya.

SuJ low level (Ngókó)	SuJ deferential (Kromo Andhap)	StJ deferential (Krama Andhap)	translation (English)
aku	*dalem†*	*dalem*	I, me
dikandhani	*didhawóhi†*	*di(pun)dhawuhi*	to be told by sb.
kondho	*matór*	*matur*	to say
mbóh~mbuh	*duko*	*duka*	to not know
ngekèk'i	*ngaturi†*	*ngaturi*	to give
ngongkon	*ngaturi*	*ngaturi*	to ask sb. to
njalók	*nyuwun†*	*nyuwun*	to ask for
pèngen eró	*nyuwun priksо†*	*nyuwun priksa*	to want to know
sapurané	*nyuwun sèwu*	*nyuwun sèwu*	to apologize
mampir	*sowan*	*sowan*	to visit, to pass by
suwun	*matór nuwun*	*matur nuwun*	to thank

Table 5. Deferential vocabulary in Surabayan Javanese.

Out of the 11 Kromo Andhap expressions above, only *matór nuwun* 'thank you' and *nyuwun sèwu* 'excuse me' are regularly used. Younger speakers of SuJ usually only know the words in their passive form from their parents, for example *diaturi* 'to be told (by sb. superior)'.

From the little amount of the correspondences between SuJ and StJ high level words with a ration of 1612 to 84 (5%) for Krama and 446 to 16 (4%) for Krama Inggil, it becomes obvious that speakers of SuJ fear to use their dialect in areas where speech levels are an essential part of the language. The avoidance of SuJ outside of East Java is encouraged by Indonesian, which serves as a perfect substitute for Javanese due to the absence of a speech level system.

Polite vocabulary corresponding to Standard Javanese Madya

Of the few high level words that are regularly used in SuJ most of them correspond to Madya in StJ, the mid level with not more than 61 lemmata. There is no mid level in SuJ. For example, *jaréné* 'he/she says' can be made more polite, especially when referring to God or highly esteemed persons, by using *terosé*, which is the mid level in StJ. The high level lexeme of StJ is *criyosipun*, which is never heard of in SuJ although it is understood by the older generation. The following table lists all SuJ high level words I have come across so far with their correspondences to the StJ mid level. Many of them had already been observed by Hoogervorst (2008: 33). Words indicated by a cross (†) are very seldom used by or unintelligible to younger speakers. This list may not be complete yet, but as the StJ mid level vocabulary is very limited, not many more terms are expected to be added here. The ration of 61 StJ Madya words to 29 of them (48%) used in SuJ shows that the mid level vocabulary is generally better accessible to SuJ speakers. The words marked with a cross (†) are not understood by the younger generation.

SuJ low level (Ngókó)	SuJ high level (Alus)	StJ mid level (Madya)	StJ high level (Kromo)	translation (English)
aé	*mawon*	*mawon*	*kémawon*	just
ambèk, mbarèk	*kaléh*	*kalih*	*kaliyan*	and, with
bójó	*setri†*	*setri*	*sémah*	wife
iki	*niki, meniki†*	*niki*	*menika, punika†*	this
iko†	*niko†, meniko†*	*nika*	*menika, punika†*	yonder
iku	*niku, meniku†*	*niku*	*menika, punika†*	that
jaréné	*terosé*	*trosé, trosipun*	*criyosipun*	he/she said
nang	*teng*	*teng*	*dhateng*	to
nang, nok, ndhék	*teng*	*teng*	*wonten (ing)*	in, at
ngéné	*ngèten, ngéten†*	*ngèten*	*ngaten*	like this
ngkók	*mengké*	*mengké*	*mangké*	later
ngónó	*ngóten*	*ngoten*	*ngaten*	like that there
ngono†	*ngaten†*	*ngaten*	*ngaten*	like that
olèh	*kantók*	*kantuk*	*pikantuk, angsal*	to get
onok	*ènten*	*ènten*	*wonten*	there is/are
opo	*nopo*	*napa*	*menapa, punapa†*	what?
sak'iki	*sakniki*	*saniki*	*sakmenika, sapunika†*	now
sakméné	*sakmènten†*	*semènten*	*samanten*	this much
sakmono	*sakmanten†*	*semanten*	*samanten*	that much
sakmónó	*sakmonten†*	*semonten*	*samanten*	that much there
sék	*kriyén†*	*kriyin*	*rumiyin*	first
sék	*meséh, teséh*	*mesih, tesih*	*taksih*	still
takok	*tanglet†*	*tangled*	*takèn*	to ask
tutug, teko(k)	*dugi*	*dugi*	*dumugi*	to arrive
wés	*(m)pun*	*(m)pun*	*sampun*	already
wésan	*mpunan*	*mpunan*	*sampunan*	DM
yo	*nggéh*	*nggih*	*inggih*	yes, also, DM
yo'opo	*(ke)pripun*	*(ke)pripun*	*kados pundi*	how?

Table 6. Correlation between SuJ high level and StJ mid level vocabulary.

Polite vocabulary corresponding to Standard Javanese Ngoko

In very rare cases, SuJ polite vocabulary has been taken from StJ Ngoko. In none of these cases, they should be called Alus because there is usually another high level equivalent in SuJ, for example *matèk* 'dead', more polite *mati* (from the StJ low level or from Indonesian), honorific *sèdo*. It is generally accepted to say *kulo mboten ajeng mati* 'I don't want to die', but rather improper to say *emak kulo mpun mati* 'my mother has died'. For the latter, most SuJ speakers would use *sèdo*, while for the former even *matèk* would be fine. Polite words of this category are mainly used when younger speakers talk to or about an older, respected person and either do not know the correct high level counterpart or feel that it would sound too stilted. An example I got from 4.2% of the respondents in my survey was the sentence *bapakku ora iso nukokno aku sepeda motor* 'my father cannot buy me a motorcycle', in which *ora* 'not' and *iso* 'can' are both taken from StJ low level, while *nukokno* 'to buy for' is dialectal SuJ low level. The entire sentence shows no high level morpheme but sounds more polite than *bapakku gak isok nukokno aku sepeda motor* (answered by 9.1%) because it has the StJ forms *ora* and *isa* (pronounced ['ʔi.sɔ] and therefore colloquially written *iso*) instead of dialectal *gak* and *isok*, respectively. The following list shows some of those occurrences compared to StJ low level.

SuJ low level (Ngókó)	SuJ polite (Luéh alus)	SuJ high level (Alus)	StJ low level (Ngoko)	StJ high level (Kromo)	translation (English)
aé	*waé*	*mawon*	*waé, baé*	*kémawon*	just
ambèk, mbarèk	*karó*	*kaléh*	*karo*	*kaliyan*	and, with
gak	*ora*	*mboten*	*ora*	*mboten*	not
isok	*iso*	*saget*	*(b)isa*	*saged*	can
matèk	*mati*	*sèdo*	*mati*	*pejah*	dead, to die
móléh	*mulih*	*wangsul, kondór, mantók*	*mulih*	*mantuk*	to return home
moto	*mripat*	–	*mata, mripat*	*paningal*	eye
ndelok	*ndeleng*	*sumerap, mirsani*	*ndeleng*	*ningal*	to see
ngkók	*mengkó*	*(e)ngken, ken*	*mengko*	*mangké*	later
-no	*-aké*	*-aken*	*-aké*	*aken*	applicative suffix
takok	*takon*	*tanglet†*	*takon*	*takèn*	to ask
yo'opo	*piyé*	*yoknopo, yaknopo, pripun, kepriyé*	*piyé, pripun*	*kados pundi*	how?

Table 7. Correspondence of SuJ polite words to StJ low level vocabulary.

In a similar way, expressions can be made more polite in SuJ by adding polite affixes to low level roots, for example *ngirimaken* 'to send' (instead of StJ *ngintunaken*), *kulo crita'aken* 'to be told about by me' (instead of StJ *kula cariyosaken*), *jarénipun* 'he/she says' (instead of StJ *criyosipun*) or by using high level roots with low level affixes, for example *numbasno* 'to buy for' or *numbas(a)ké* 'id.' (instead of StJ *numbasaken*), *ngendikané* 'he/she says' (instead of StJ *ngendikanipun*).

A special case is the low level SuJ word *lué* 'hungry' corresponding to low level CJ *ngelih* 'hungry' and WJ *kencot* (Nothofer 1981: Maps 274-276), whereas in CJ *lué* is regarded slightly more polite than *ngelih*.

Using another lemma as polite vocabulary

In SuJ, a discourse is often made more polite or very refined by employing a high level equivalent of another lemma, a literary word with no indication of politeness, or a loan from Indonesian. A few of the respondents in my survey, especially younger ones, simply gave the Indonesian translation when asked for the polite correspondence of a word, for example *menanyakan* (2,4%) for *takok* 'to ask', *memandang* (2,4%) for *ndelok* 'to see', *wafat*[30] (1,8%) for *matèk* 'dead, to die', *mendapatkan* (2,4%) for *olèh* 'to get', and *katanya* for *jaréné* 'he/she says' (1,2 %). Some of my observances for this category are listed in the table below.

SuJ low level (Ngókó)	SuJ high level (Alus)	Alternative high level (Alus)	StJ high level (Krama)	translation (English)
jaréné	*terosé*	*ngendikané††, sanjangé, kandhané*	*criyosipun*	he/she says
loro	*gerah††*	*sakit, sa(h)é, anglah*	*sakit, gerah††*	sick, ill
matèk	*sèdo††*	*wafat, tilar*	*pejah, séda††*	dead, to die
móléh	*wangsul*	*mantók, kondór††*	*mantuk, kondur††*	to return home
ndelok	*sumerap*	*mirsani††, nyawang, mriksani††*	*ningal, mirsani†*	to see
olèh	*angsal*	*éntók, keparingan††*	*angsal*	to get, obtain

Table 8. Alternative/Non-standard SuJ high level equivalents.

[30] The word *wafat* is originally from Arabic وفاة *wafā*(*tun*) and is considered literary in Javanese. In Indonesian, it is usually used for very respected persons, kings, the sultan, and religious leaders or prophets.

The chart above needs some explanation. Words marked with a double cross (††) are in fact honorifics but are given here for comparison. Generally, the high level of *jaréné* 'he/she says' in SuJ is *terosé*, but in my survey 7.3% claimed *ngendikané/ngendikanipun*, 2.4% claimed *sanjangé/sanjangipun*, and another 1.2% claimed *kandhané* to be the high level equivalent. It is noteworthy that in StJ *ngendika* is the honorific form of *kandha* 'to say, to talk, to speak' (SuJ: *kondho*) and *sanjang* is the high level of *tutur* 'to advice, to say'.

The case of *loro* 'sick' is a little mysterious. In my survey, 47.3% (the absolute majority) gave *gerah* as the high level form while it is in fact the honorific. The StJ high level correspondence *sakit* was only given by 3.6%. Even more respondents, that is 4.8%, gave *sa(h)é* and one person answered *saré* for the high level of *loro*. For the time being, I cannot explain these forms, but they seem to be either a corruption of *sakit* > **sakét* > **sa'ét* > *sa(h)é* (though highly doubtful as these sound changes are not regular) or taken from *saré*, the honorific of *turu* 'to sleep' with the meaning 'to lie down (because of illness)'. Hoogervorst (2008: 32) has found yet another high level form, that is *anglah*, but none of my SuJ informants could confirm this, although it is listed in Poerwadarminta et al. (1939: 16) as high level of some dialect.

When my respondents were asked to give the high level equivalent of *ndelok* 'to see', about 24.8% answered *ningali/tingal/tingali/ketingal*, 19.1% answered *sumerap/sumerep*, another 11.8% answered *mirsani/mrésani/mersani*, 3% gave *nywang*, and 1.8% gave *mriksani*. These discrepancies result from the confusion of the three lemmata *ndelok* 'to see, to look at' (StJ: *ndeleng*), *eró* 'to know, to recognize' (StJ: *weruh*), *ngerti* 'to know, to understand' (StJ: *ngerti*). Their StJ high level equivalents are *ningal*, *sumerep*, and *ngertos*, but the common honorific of *weruh* and *ngerti* is *pirsa/mirsani* with the alternative *priksa/mriksani*, whereas *ndeleng* has no honorific. This leads to confusion among SuJ speakers, who are not very familiar with the speech level system, thus the common high level form is *sumerap* with *mirsani* being the honorific for all of the three lemmata. The SuJ alternative *nyawang* (root form *sawang*) 'to gaze at' is a lemma on its own.

A similar case is *olèh* 'to obtain': In my survey, 23.9% answered *angsal* when asked about the high level form of *olèh* 'to give'; 3.6% answered *éntók*. However, *éntók* is another lemma in StJ meaning 'to obtain (permission or a spouse)' with *pikantuk* being its high level correspondence.

Hoogervorst (2008: 32) classifies *boyo* 'crocodile', *glathi* 'knife', *ngarepan* 'in front of', *pelem* 'mango', and *pasér* 'sand' as high level for *bajul*, *lading*, *ngadhepan*, *poh*, and *wedhi*, respectively; however, I could not come to an agreement on these with my informants and would consider all of them synonyms of their so-called low level forms. According to my own study on these words, *boyo*, *lading*, *ngarepan*, *poh*, and *pasir* are the most commonly used terms with no indication of politeness. Some of my SuJ informants told me that only *boyo* is used in SuJ and that *bajul*[31] sounds "too Central Javanese," an

[31] The local football team Persebaya is nicknamed *Bajul Ijo* 'green crocodile', but my SuJ informants told me that *bajul* here may refer to the CJ way of calling the Surabaya team.

informant from Malang admitted that *boyo* is indeed slightly more polite than *bajul*, and another informant from Surabaya said that *bajul* would be more polite than *boyo*. All my informants rejected the word *ngadhepan* and preferred *ngarepan*. The difference between *poh* 'ripe mango' and *pelem* 'mango fruit' lies in their usage. It is possible to say *wit pelem* 'mango tree', but not **wit poh* 'tree of ripe mangos'. *Lading* 'knife' is the common word for any kind of knife as a utensil, especially a kitchen knife, whereas *glathi* 'combat knife' is rarely used and refers to a weapon.

Innovations of polite vocabulary

A salient feature of SuJ politeness is that some words have a high level allolex not or rarely found in other dialects of Javanese. Some of them have already been identified, others by Kisyani-Laksono (2004a: 196-203), others by Hoogervorst (2008: 32-34), and I have come across some more, most of them found in the table below. These innovations are often called *boso dèso* or *Kromo dèso* 'village language of courtesy'. However, further research is needed to compile a complete list of all idiosyncratic high level lexemes found in SuJ. The cross (†) indicates words that are not understood by most younger speakers in Surabaya.

SuJ low level (Ngókó)	SuJ high level (Alus Suroboyo)	StJ high level (Krama)	translation (English)
ali-ali	*lèpèn†*[32]	*sesupé*	finger ring
ayók	*ndaweg†*	*sumangga*	as you wish
duduk	*dédék†*	*sanès*	nominal negation
eró	*prèso† (< pèrso)*	*sumerep*	know
gudhang	*gidhang†*	–	storeroom
iki	*meniki*	*menika*	this
jancók	*hancik, jangkrik*[33]	–	fuck, damn
jaréné	*picawisipun†*	*criyosipun*	he/she says
kabèh	*sedanten†*	*sedaya*	all
kon	*peno*	*sampéyan*	you
kulino	*kulinten†*	–	to be acquainted with
kunéng	*jeni†*	*jené*	yellow
lali	*lipco†*	*kesupèn*	to forget
legi	*manis*	–[34]	sweet

[32] None of my informants recognized this word, but apparently Hoogervorst came across it and it is also listed in Nothofer (1981: Map 47) for the WJ of Tegal and Pemaling.

[33] Some people say that *hancik* and *jangkrik* are less impolite while others say that they are more polite than *jancók*.

[34] StJ has no high level word for *legi* 'sweet', but Nothofer (1981: Map 259) has reported the *legi*/*manis* (from Indonesian) difference for other dialects in Central Java, too.

SuJ low level (Ngókó)	SuJ high level (Alus Suroboyo)	StJ high level (Krama)	translation (English)
liwat	*lintang†*	*langkung*	to go past
loro	*sa(h)é†*	*sakit*	ill, sick
mólai	*mèlai†*	*milai*	to begin
njalano	*njalanaken*	*nglampahaken*	to put in motion
ndèlèh	*tilah†*	–	to put, to place
ndelok	*meningo†*	*ningali*	to see
ngguyon	*ndhagel†*	–	to joke
nginang	*mucang†*	*nggantèn*	to chew betel
nginep	*ndalu†*	*nyipeng*	to stay overnight
ngkók	*(e)ngken, ken, ngkin, (ma)ngkin*	*mangké*	later
njlèntrèkno	*njelasaken*	*njlèntrèhaken*	to explain
olèh	*nyagedaken†*	*angsal*	to obtain
opo'o	*nopo'o†*	–	why
pisan	*pindhah†*	–	first, at the same time
sak'iki	*sakmeniki†*	*samenika*	now
suloyo	*sulanten†*	–	to quarrel
tentang	*bap*	–	about
trimo	*trami†*	*trimah*	to accept
tukang	*tikang†*	–	workman
yo'opo	*yoknopo, yaknopo*	*kados pundi*	how

Table 9. Surabayan Javanese innovations of high level vocabulary.

Some more high level words in this category are listed by Hoogervorst (2008: 32), which rather seem like occasionalisms, idiosyncratic to certain families, or humorous, for example place names like *Sidajeng* (Sidayu), *Mambeng* (Malang), *Tandhes* (Gresik), *Suropringgo* (Suroboyo), *Tiban* (Tuban), and *Pasedhahan* (Pasuruan).[35] Of these, only *Tiban* has been accepted by one of my informants, the rest have been derided. None of the so-called polite city names are considered true high level forms among younger SuJ speakers. For further explanations regarding these place names, see Kraußе (2017: 80).

[35] *Pasedhahan* is mentioned several times in *Babad Kraton*, for example in Cantos XXI.58, XXXIV.65, XLII.4-5, and LXIII 86 (Sunjata, Supriyanto, and Ras 1992). The Javanese court chronicle is mostly written in Krama. Oetomo (1987: 13) cites the *Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Stibbe 1919: 358) that *Pasedhahan* is the high level equivalent of the designation for the city of *Pasuruan*, which had apparently already gone out of use at the time of Oetomo's research. The formation is analogical to high level *sedhah* 'betel leaves' from low level *suruh*.

Awareness of politeness in Surabayan Javanese

Generally, most speakers of Javanese consider SuJ to be extremely rude and in no case refined with regard to speech levels and politeness. When I asked about words of higher speech levels for my research in Surabaya, the people often gazed at me asking in Indonesian *Emang di Surabaya ada kromo ta?* [So, there's really a high level Javanese spoken in Surabaya?], while offering me some explanation that only Yogyakarta and Solo use those speech levels that are derived from Kawi (Old Javanese) and that Surabayans never use them. Indeed, in my SuJ corpus, only 417 out of 13,298 tokens (3.1%) can be considered high level, honorific, or deferential vocabulary, and in almost all instances these are used by old people.

Furthermore, people in Surabaya who want to speak the refined way sometimes confuse the high level (*Kromo*) with honorifics (*Kromo Inggil*), so that *kulo dhahar* 'I eat$_{HON}$' might be used instead of *kulo nèdho* 'I eat', *dhé'é mantók* 'he/she goes home' instead of *dhé'é kondór* 'he goes home$_{HON}$' etcetera. Although these sentences are regarded as odd by some SuJ speakers, others are not bothered to hear them. In Central Java, it is considered very uneducated to use honorifics for oneself and non-honorifics for other persons whenever an honorific word exists. However, phrases such as *sinten naminé?* 'what's your name?' (StJ: *sinten asmanipun?*) and *asto kulo* 'my hand' (StJ: *tangan kula*) are common in SuJ.

My survey of 165 respondents shows how difficult it is for SuJ speakers to find the corresponding high level equivalent. When asked for the high level of *mangan* 'to eat', 83% answered *dhahar*, which is the honorific; only 10.6% answered *nèdho*, the high level in StJ. The same distribution could be observed with *loro* 'sick' (honorific: *gerah* 48.5%; high level: *sakit* 3.6%; Surabayan high level: *sa(h)é* 5.4%) and *matèk* 'dead, to die' (honorific: *sèdo* 65.8%; high level: *pejah* 3.3%), but not with *turu* 'to sleep (honorific: *saré* 40%; high level: *tilem* 53.9%). This is a strong indicator for the lack of awareness of a refined politeness system among Surabayans.

The only SuJ high level expression used in slang is *ngèten pun* 'just like this', always said in combination with a thumbs-up gesture. Yet, people who make use of this expression do not communicate politeness. The only Javanese high level word that has made its way into colloquial Indonesian is *saking* 'from', the low level equivalent being *soko/teko(k)*. However, the meaning has shifted to 'due to' and the construction is always *saking* + adjective + *-nya*, which is different from Javanese, though.

Coming back to the question whether or not there is a high level Javanese spoken in Surabaya, the answer is "yes", but it needs to be added that recently it has lost too much of the once already-rudimentary speech level system to be classified as such, especially among younger speakers. The most common high level words are only these: *sampèan* 'you', *kulo* 'I', *niki* 'this', *niku* 'that', and *mboten* 'not', in descending order according to their occurrence. A sentence can easily be made polite in SuJ by changing *iki* and *iku* to *niki* and *niku*, which even have the same number of syllables, as opposed to most other words of

the high level register (Kisyani-Laksono 2004a: 200-204). The other common high level words are the negative particle *mboten* and the pronouns of the 1SG and the 2SG, suggesting a classification of SuJ as a multi-pronominal register system like Thai or Sinhalese, but since *kulo* and *mboten* are much rarer than *sampèan*, I advocate a classification as a dialect with a binary distinction in pronouns, similar to the T-V distinction in many languages of Europe. As already discussed above, speakers of languages with a T-V distinction are by no means impolite but the system is simply different. In the same way, speakers of SuJ are not impolite but their politeness system is different from that of CJ. This is especially true for the Javanese used among younger speakers in Surabaya.

Conclusion

Although Javanese has been well studied throughout the past century, still too little is known about its highly diverse dialects. This paper has been an attempt to summarize the most prominent features of Surabaya's politeness. The fact that it differs much from StJ is not new, but I have attempted to predict what the future of SuJ would look like: Whereas CJ is very conservative in the extensive use of its speech level system, being even more refined than Japanese and Korean, the Javanese of Surabaya, on the contrary, is very limited in the use of speech levels. Even though SuJ had never developed a speech level system as is found in CJ due to the city's distance from Yogyakarta and Surakarta, it is noteworthy that the rare findings of high level vocabulary among young speakers in Surabaya indicate that SuJ is gradually giving way to a binary T-V distinction, which is similar to colloquial Indonesian and many languages of Europe. This development is best seen among younger speakers who merely use the polite *sampèan* and non-polite *kon* or kinship terms to express politeness, some dynamic verbs such as "to eat," "to sleep," or "to die," and only sporadically throwing in some mid-level adverbs to make their conversation more polite. This roughly corresponds to what we find in German, a typical T-V language: the plain 2SG is *du*, the polite 2SG is *Sie*, the verbs "to eat" and "to die" are generally translated as *essen* and *sterben*, respectively, but they also have polite equivalents such as *speisen* 'to dine' and *versterben* 'to pass away'. German also has traces of royal language, for example *Ihr* for the 2SG, *dinieren* 'to sup', and *verscheiden* 'to decease', comparable to the few traces of honorifics in SuJ that are hardly ever employed in everyday conversations. The parallels in politeness between German and SuJ are striking and suggest that SuJ is on the way to develop a mere T-V distinction for politeness with *kon* for T and *sampèan* for V. The main difference between European T-V languages and SuJ among younger speakers is that children address their parents with *du* (T) in German or *tu* (T) in French nowadays, but with kinship terms in SuJ. However, the use of kinship terms in European T-V languages was also a common practice in the past (Clyne, Norrby, and Warrenor 2009: 86).

Older speakers of SuJ still use many words of higher registers, despite

inconsistently mixing StJ Madya, Krama, or Krama Inggil vocabulary for the polite language. The case of Surabaya is different from Tenggerese, which had never developed any speech level system and only recently absorbed some Krama loanwords from Standard Javanese through education. My survey analysis has shown that most speakers of SuJ are not always certain what the high level equivalent of a given lemma actually is. This is a clear indicator for the decline of the speech levels among the speakers of Surabayan Javanese. Nearly all high level expressions in my corpus are used by older speakers, especially in adult comedy shows or interviews with persons older than 50. Polite vocabulary among young speakers in Surabaya is very rare.

Despite the pride for their dialect and its constant use in Surabaya and its vicinity, many Surabayans fear speaking their mother tongue in areas where the classical speech level system is still prominent and switch to Indonesian, which has no speech levels.

Abbreviations

1SG	First person singular
2SG	Second person singuar
2PL	Second person plural
APPL	Applicative
AV	Agent voice
DFR	Deferential
FUT	Future
GEN	Genitive
GEO	Geographical term
HL	High level
HHL	Very high/court level
HON	Honorific
LL	Low level
ML	Mid level
NEG	Negative particle
NMZ	Nominalizer
PN	Proper noun
PV	Passive voice
REL	Relativizer
SL	Slang
SUBO	Subordinator

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