THE FUNCTIONS OF INDONESIAN IN CENTRAL JAVA

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1. Introduction
2. Form of Indonesian used by Javanese speakers to other Javanese speakers
3. Factors which lead to a choice of Indonesian as opposed to Javanese
4. Indonesian in the Peranakan community

1. INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

With this brief description of what speech levels are, we are now in a position to understand the form which Indonesian takes when used in everyday conversations among Javanese. First, except for formal speech on formal occasions or discussions of an official nature, there is practically no conversation purely in Indonesian (or, for that matter, in many circles, purely in Javanese). Instead, we find a constant switch from Indonesian to Javanese and back. It is possible to do this because the syntactic structures of the two languages are very close. Now this switch is by no means random. The choice of Indonesian forms is governed by factors or motives which we shall examine in the succeeding section. Further, there are certain forms in Javanese which very clearly indicate speech level (functors, demonstratives and pronouns and certain other words of high frequency in conversation), and
these forms have a strong tendency to be put in Javanese so that the speech level is clear. (When the purpose of a shift to Indonesian is to obscure the speech level, as we describe in Section 3.1., below, these forms are put in Indonesian). The following citation exemplifies the shift to Indonesian where Javanese forms are interspersed to preserve the speech level. The speaker has shifted to Indonesian because of the subject (school), but the Indonesian is broken by forms which clearly indicate a high speech level (meniko this, éngkang marker, etc). In this citation and all citations in this paper forms that are Indonesian and not Javanese are capitalised.5


Further I you-know also umm could passive-marker be-called be the-committee to-accept pupils. There-is also umm this problem child who his-grades not-so very good or child that comes that-one can be-accepted

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

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

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

In Java Indonesian functions much as the high forms of diglossia function in the four speech communities which Ferguson describes and Javanese functions much like the low forms. We find that Indonesian is used for most of the functions which Ferguson outlines for the high form in diglossia: personal letters, political matters, university lectures, news broadcasts, newspaper editorials or news stories; and Javanese is used for the functions which he lists as typically performed by Low: instructions to servants, waiters, workmen, clerks, conversation with family friends, colleagues, radio 'soap opera', caption on political cartoon (in publications whose readership is largely Javanese). The only exception is that poetry and sermons are in Javanese (if aimed at a Javanese audience). Whether or not the term diglossia should properly be applied to the Javanese speech community is a question we cannot consider here. There are enough differences in language attitudes and forms which the alternative codes take between the Javanese speech community and Ferguson's illustrations
that the question needs further consideration. Suffice it to say
that some functions of Indonesian are much like the function of High
speech in diglossia and we will refer to these functions by the term
'high speech in diglossia'. Further, just as in diglossia there is
no rigid separation of High and Low (there seems to be a switch back
and forth and various intermediate forms), so in Central Java we find
switching from Javanese to Indonesian and back again. Citation one,
Section 2, above, exemplifies this formal feature and also the choice
of Indonesian elicited by the subject matter.

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

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

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

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

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

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

D. (to C) Kowé dikongkon meneng whàé.
   you ordered be-quiet just
   'Hey, it's not your turn to talk!'
Pretending that one is in a certain situation is sufficient grounds for switching to Indonesian. In the following citation the switch to Indonesian is a way of jesting: a young man jokingly upbraids his cousin, a doctor, for not giving a clear explanation of some medical problem. The doctor was intentionally obscure, and the cousin by choosing Indonesian creates the scene of a courtroom:

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

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

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

4. *Dadi kulo iséq iso MEMPENGARUHI ajengo sampan mpôn dugi TAHAP semanten niko. SAYA BILANG Dhéq Ratno nyemlangi DIPUTOSKAN SAJA, kulo saget.*

   so I still can INFLUENCE although you already arrived stage that-far that. I SAY title name are-in-danger-of BE-CUT-OFF just I can 'So, I could still INFLUENCE (the decision about your job), even though it has already reached this STAGE. I AM TELLING YOU, Ratno, you are running the risk of HAVING YOUR APPLICATION WITHDRAWN. I could just do that.'

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

5. *Méng kulo-meniko kwatos kulo-menio, ong larélaré mriki mahaséswa mriki nio ... és yhéh anu, sami pinterpinter nai mrayu*
NANTI KALOQ ORANG ... KELIHATAN ORANG-ASÉNG rós dhidhekati. Lajeng, yho, NANTI teros MUDHAH DHIALGAP SEBAGÉ ... DHIJADHIKAN ASISTÉNNYA.

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

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

3.1. **INDONESIAN AS A DEVICE FOR AVOIDING SPEECH LEVEL CHOICE**

Indonesian is frequently used as a device for obviating references to status or intimacy which Javanese makes clear. As we mentioned above, in such situations Javanese forms which clearly indicate speech level are avoided at all costs. Situations which lead to the choice of Indonesian as a neutral speech level:

1) where the relationships between the participants in the conversation are such that two different speech-level choices which conflict with one another are called for - i.e., where two factors which lead to a certain speech level choice are in conflict;

2) where there has been a change in the course of time in the relative status or relationship between the participants or where modern life conflicts with older usage;

3) where the Javanese calls for a choice between an honorific or its absence but where the status of the person spoken or referred to is too high for the absence of an honorific but too low for the employment of an honorific;

4) where someone has used an inappropriate speech level. It is important to note that the switch to Indonesian is not freely available. Because Indonesian functions as an official language or like High speech of diglossia, it creates a feeling of distance, over-emphasis or pretentiousness which must be balanced against the difficulties posed by speech-level choice. Usually, we find that speakers cannot decide and end up switching back and forth from pure Javanese in the wrong speech level to Indonesian (or part Indonesian) and back again to Javanese.

A typical example of the choice of Indonesian as a device for obviating conflicts is the situation in which two persons of widely differing age work or study together in the same institution and have
exactly the same rank. People who work together are on a pseudo-
imimate level, very much like co-workers in America who are on a first-
name basis: they are not intimate in reality, but custom requires them
to speak as if they were. However, it creates conflicts for a person
to use low-level speech to someone old enough to be his father or
mother, especially if he is, in fact, not really intimate with the
addressee, but is just in this pseudo-intimate relationship. In such
cases we find constant shift.

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

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

6. Lha, lajeng saqmeniko kepångèn nglajengaken Boso Ëndönésianipón,
patang wulan malèh ngaten. Mawi têhnik meniko, anu, HIDHOP JADHI SATU
RUMAH TANGGA.

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

A closely related function to these avoidance usages is the use of
Indonesian in response to an interlocutor who one feels has given the
wrong speech level. For example, a college student addresses a vendor
older than himself with low-level speech. The use of low-level speech
to an older stranger is clear evidence of a wide social gap between the
speaker (high status) and the interlocutor (low status). If the vendor
were to answer at a high speech level it would be a clear acknowledge-
ment that his status is very much inferior to that of the student. On the other hand, if the vendor were to respond with low-level speech, he would be pretending to be in the same social class as the student (i.e., a student himself, clearly not the case). In fact he tries speaking low-level Javanese but is uncomfortable and switches to Indonesian. But since Indonesian gives an aura of pretentiousness, the vendor goes back to Javanese, and so forth:

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

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

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

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

This discussion by no means exhausts the functions of Indonesian, the motivations for the choice of Indonesian. Indonesian has other
important rhetorical functions: it may be used for softening and
euphemism; it may be used as a device for addressing several interlocu-
tors; it may be a device for keeping apart different threads of a nar-
rative. All of these uses spring from Indonesian's function analogous
to high speech in diglossia. Interests of brevity prevent us from
further discussion of these functions.

4. INDONESIAN IN THE PERANAKAN COMMUNITY

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

10. [Mamaé ITU] [SUDAH rondo], [dadiné ngerjaqno japét]. [ITU [séng njladréni]], [YHA] [SUDAH diwarai]. [ADA séng mboqmoq] [KAN] [SUDAH biasa], [Él], [wong [lé bikéñ] [SUDAH suwi]], [YHA].

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

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

If we compare this citation with our first citation in Section 2, we can see that when Indonesian functions as the high language of diglossia, the switch from Javanese to Indonesian follows very closely the phrase structure of the sentence. The only exceptions are the forms interspersed to keep the speech level clear:
11. Wonten maléh anu meniko, MASALAH [laré [éngkang] [NILÉNYA KURANG BE GITU BAÉQ]], [ató] [[[[ANAQ- YHANG D HATAN] meniko] [BISA DHITERIMA]].

there-is also umm this PROBLEM child WHO HIS GRADES NOT-SO VERY GOOD OR CHILD THAT COMES that-one CAN BE-ACCEPTED

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

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

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

2. We stick to the sociolinguistic concepts which are by now well known and use terms current in sociolinguistic literature. The basic concept is that of a sociolinguistic variable (Gumperz and Hymes: 18-20). Sociolinguistic variables are alternate forms with the same denotation (forms that are referentially equivalent) whose selection carries social significance for some speaker (i.e., the choice of which is motivated by factors of social context such as scene, setting, key, subject matter, speaker, interlocutors, other parties present or involved, et al. - Cf G and H: 35-71). Sociolinguistic variables tend to occur in groupings (co-occurrent clusters - G and H: 21). Groupings of stylistic variants which tend to cooccur we call a code. The sociolinguistic meaning which a code has its function. The function can be
described in terms of the factors which motivate code selection (the factors of scene, setting, key, etc. mentioned above) or it can be described in terms of reactions by members of the speech community to code selection. We follow Gumperz also in our use of the terms speech and speech community (G and H: 53, 54): speech is the sum total of forms which an individual uses at a single occasion or on many occasions (or the surrogate thereof - writing, etc.). A speech community is a group which shares rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech and rules for the interpretation of at least one code.

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

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

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

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<tr>
<td>lenis continuants (pharyngealized)</td>
<td>wh</td>
<td>lh, nh, rh</td>
<td>yh</td>
<td></td>
<td>h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Vowels:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>œ</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>very low</td>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

7. We have conducted no language ability tests, but we are confident of the accuracy of this statement. The main reason is that Indonesian functions as a speech level in the Peranakan community (as we shall describe below), and Peranakans tend to learn Indonesian forms very early in their speech development. We have recordings of adults using Indonesian as well as Javanese forms to infants, and recordings of children below the age of three using Indonesian (as well as Javanese) forms. I have personally never met a Peranakan who did not speak fluent Indonesian (though not necessarily what the speech community considers 'good' or 'correct' Indonesian). This includes a moron, who often made errors in code choice because of faulty social judgment, but never from lack of control of the Indonesian as opposed to the Javanese codes. Totoks (native speakers of Chinese) insofar as they enter the Central Javanese speech community at all, also seem to know Indonesian at least as well as they know Javanese, and often far better. Peranakans in Central Java most frequently think of themselves as native speakers of Indonesian and not Javanese speakers. In a survey conducted by Willmott in the fifties as to language of the home, approximately four times as many Peranakans gave Indonesian as gave Javanese (Willmott: 112). Willmot's figures do not accurately reflect the extent to which Javanese is used, and it is clear why: Peranakan speech consists of a mixture of Javanese and Indonesian, and since Indonesian forms are the better (the higher level, as we shall see), it is not unexpected that Peranakan respondents should describe their home speech as Indonesian. That the language of the Peranakans in Central Java is
Javanese, not Indonesian, is without question, even if Peranakan utterances are often replete with Indonesian forms. We cannot go into the reasons here. It is enough to say that surely all Peranakans in Semarang, except for those who originate outside of Java, are Javanese speakers. In any case Willmott's figures back up nicely our impression that Indonesian is almost universally known and used in the Central Javanese Peranakan speech community.
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