

Teaching Javanese Respect Usage to Foreign Learners

George Quinn

(george.quinn@anu.edu.au)

Australian National University, Australia.

Abstract

With around 80 million speakers, Javanese is the biggest of Indonesia's regional languages. It has a written tradition stretching back 1,000 years and today exerts a powerful influence on Indonesia's national language, *Bahasa Indonesia*. Javanese has one of the most elaborate systems of respect usage of any recorded language. The compulsory *tu-vous* distinction of French is multiplied many hundreds of times over in all word classes of Javanese – even in affixes. In addition to the two basic respect levels (called *ngoko* or “low Javanese” and *krama* or “high Javanese”), there is an augmented respect level with two aspects, called *krama inggil* and *krama andhap*. The respect levels of Javanese present special difficulties for teachers and learners of Javanese as a foreign language. Two difficulties stand out: how should teaching of respect levels be ordered, and how can teaching of respect levels be managed in the classroom when classroom practice may violate powerful conventions of linguistic interaction that apply in Javanese society at large? This paper sketches the dimensions of the two issues and suggests that a drama-based approach may best address these special problems.

1 Introduction

Javanese has been taught as a foreign language to non-Indonesians for around 200 years, but the special problems of teaching and studying the language have been examined only in very brief and very elementary remarks, mostly scattered through the introductions to tuition manuals.¹ The present study is a first attempt to remedy this. After sketching the modern dimensions, character and functions of the Javanese language, the paper focuses on problems in the teaching of respect usage – the feature of Javanese that is invariably the most difficult for foreign learners to master. I conclude with a recommendation that these problems can most effectively be addressed through drama-based strategies, an approach that has scarcely featured at all in Javanese tuition programs to date.

2 Javanese: A thumbnail overview²

It is not easy to estimate the number of Javanese speakers today, but those who use the language on a daily basis cannot number less than 70 million. Javanese is spoken as a first language over the whole of Central Java including the Special Region of Yogyakarta. It is also spoken over most of East Java, though there is a considerable area on the East Java mainland where Madurese is the dominant language. Javanese is also used by many people in the Cirebon and Indramayu areas of West Java, and it is the dominant regional language in and around Serang, the capital of

Banten to the west of Jakarta. A memory of archaic forms of Javanese also survives on the island of Bali.

Javanese migrants have taken the language beyond the island of Java. It is a minority language in the province of North Sumatra (where Javanese were taken as plantation labourers in colonial times), and in the provinces of South Sumatra and Lampung (where Javanese have transmigrated in large numbers since independence). The Javanese language is also heard in transmigration areas of east Indonesia – Buru and Papua for example. A few thousand descendants of Javanese migrants still remember fragments of the language in Noumea (New Caledonia) and in the Netherlands, and a very small community of Javanese speakers remains in the Malay peninsula where they were taken as labourers by the Japanese during the Second World War. In colonial times a significant number of Javanese were taken as indentured workers to Suriname in South America where the language remains vigorous today, though the number of speakers is probably less than 100,000. Javanese language and culture (as distinct from *Indonesian* language and culture) continues to project its influence across the world into Suriname right now.³

Javanese is the dominant language in several very big cities on Java. Solo, for example, is a city of around one million people where Javanese is overwhelmingly dominant in almost every aspect of everyday life. Jogjakarta, Surabaya and Purwokerto are predominantly Javanese-speaking cities, each with its unique dialect. In most rural areas and district-level towns of Central and East Java the Javanese language remains the normal language of interaction in everyday life. It is still fairly common to come across old people in country areas who, in effect, speak only Javanese, communicating badly or occasionally not at all in Indonesian. It is even widely used in local administration. An edict issued in 2009 by the Governor of the Special Region of Yogyakarta, Sultan Hamengku Buwono, requires civil servants in the province to speak only Javanese in the workplace every Saturday.

A number of Javanese periodicals continue to be published, though they do not have a mass circulation. The best known is *Panjebar Semangat*, which has appeared weekly in Surabaya since 1933 (not counting a break during the Second World War), making it today Indonesia's oldest surviving periodical. Other Javanese magazines are the weekly *Jaya Baya* (Surabaya) and the fortnightly *Joko Lodhang* (Jogjakarta). Several big Indonesian-language newspapers now carry regular columns, pages or inserts in Javanese, including *Suara Merdeka* (Semarang), *Solopos* (Solo), *Harian Jogja* (Jogjakarta) and *Kedaulatan Rakyat* (Jogjakarta).⁴

In recent years Javanese-language programs, including newscasts, have become commonplace on radio and television. For example, the Jogjakarta television station *Jogja TV* has three Javanese newscasts a day, and the Surabaya based station *JTV* has a phenomenally successful nightly newscast called *Pojok Kampung* in the Surabaya dialect of Javanese. Television stations in Jogjakarta and Surabaya broadcast comedy and shadow play programs, and even religious and current affairs programs, in Javanese. There is an on-going small output of modern literature in Javanese (novels, short stories, free form poetry and stage plays). Novelist Suparto Brata, whose 500-page blockbuster *Donyane Wong Culika* (The World of the Cunning and Crafty) appeared in 2004, was a recipient of the prestigious Southeast Asia Write Award in 2007 in acknowledgement of his contribution to modern Javanese (and Indonesian) literature. The composing and reciting of traditional *macapat* poetry remains alive and is often the subject of competitions in schools. The shadow play (*wayang purwa*) is in decline in its pure classical form, but remains very popular in the hands of a few innovative puppeteers (*dhalang*). Theatre genres such as *kethoprak* and *ludrug* are also popular and seem to have been given a renewed lease on life by television, cassette recordings and CDs.

Songs with lyrics in Javanese are popular too, whether in live concerts, on television and radio, or on CDs and DVDs. There are various styles, from the Javanese variant of romantic *kroncong* music, to Indian-influenced *dangdut* music and the uniquely Javanese *campursari* style. Typing “dagelan” into YouTube's search box will introduce you to the wacky and immensely popular world of stage and television comedy in Javanese. Here slapsick, punning and improvisation rule,

with parody of Java's ancient cultural heritage and plenty of pointed satirical comment on Indonesia's social and political present.

Every five years since 1991 a government-sponsored gathering of Javanists has been held. Called the Javanese Language Congress (*Kongres Basa Jawi*) it attracts between 500 and 1,000 delegates (including a scattering of foreign scholars) who present up to 100 papers on Javanese language, literature, social life and Javanese-language education. A number of private organisations also campaign for greater awareness of the language and its heritage, among them the Permadani organisation centred in Semarang, the Tembi centre south of Jogjakarta, and the so-called Javanologi organisation of Jogjakarta. Javanese is a subject of study in several universities, most notably at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, Gadjah Mada University in Jogjakarta, and the State University of Surabaya.

3 What is “respect usage” in Javanese?

As Clifford Geertz (1960) puts it in his *Religion of Java*: “... in Javanese it is nearly impossible to say anything without indicating the social relationship between the speaker and the listener in terms of status and familiarity.” (p. 248) Social distinctions are expressed in respect usage, termed *unggah-ungguh* in Javanese. In its intricacy and elaborateness, Javanese respect usage is probably unique among the major language of the world. Certainly it is the feature of the language that most sharply distinguishes it from Malay-Indonesian. Unlike European languages where compulsory respect distinctions are largely confined to second person pronouns (*tu* and *vous* in French, *jij* and *U* in Dutch, *du* and *Sie* in German etc.) compulsory respect distinctions in Javanese appear in all word classes: nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, numerals, prepositions, even in affixes. In Central Java there are between 500 and 1,000 items of everyday vocabulary that exhibit respect distinctions that roughly correspond to the *tu – vous* distinction of French.

Basically there are three levels of respect vocabulary: low Javanese (*ngoko*), high Javanese (*krama*), and augmented respect vocabulary. Augmented respect vocabulary can be divided into two sub-groups of terms, a corpus of around 200 ultra-respectful terms (*krama inggil*) and a corpus of perhaps 30 ultra-respectful but self-abasing terms (*krama andhap*).

Ngoko is the bread-and-butter form of the language, used when you are talking to people who are on close terms with you or when you want to talk down to someone, for example a child or an adult much younger than yourself. *Krama*, on the other hand, is used to talk to people who are socially distant from you, i.e. older, or of higher social status, or simply not well known to you. *Krama inggil* vocabulary is used when addressing, or talking about, someone with special respect. *Krama andhap* vocabulary is used when you are talking to someone, or about someone, who merits special respect and in conveying that respect you refer to yourself in a self-abasing way. *Krama inggil* and *krama andhap* terms cannot be used on their own, but are inserted into *ngoko* or *krama* registers of discourse. You can never use *krama inggil* terms to talk about yourself, and conversely you use *krama andhap* terms only to refer to yourself and never to address or talk about another person.⁵

The distinctions between the three main levels of *unggah-ungguh* are by no means rigid. Your choice of level depends, for example, on the formality or informality of the situation you find yourself in, on the degree of difference in age and status between you and the person you are talking to, even on the degree to which you want to project an image of refinement or of, say, bluff crudity. And the elaborateness of *unggah-ungguh* varies wildly across the Javanese-speaking area. Around Jogja-Solo *unggah-ungguh* is rigid and elaborate, but in East Java the number of *krama* words in everyday use is very much smaller than in Jogja-Solo.

Lexicographers and other scholars of Javanese have taken a special interest in the phenomenon of respect usage. The Javanese scholar and language aficionado Ki Padmasoesastra (1843–1926) made an especially useful contribution to understanding of this phenomenon in several works published around the beginning of the 20th century, most notably in his voluminous *Serat Tatacara*

(How Things Are Done, 1907). Two studies by Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo (1968, 1969) brought the phenomenon before English speaking teachers and students. These remain the most accessible accounts of respect usage in English, but in terms of content they have been superseded by the Javanese-language *Kamus Unggah-Ungguh Basa Jawa* (A Dictionary of Javanese Respect Usage) by Haryana Harjawiya and Th. Supriya (2001/2009). In addition to detailing counterpart terms in the various levels of respect usage, illustrated with many examples of usage in sentence context, this dictionary also contains a comprehensive, well researched and well organised appendix analysing the phenomenon of respect usage in the Javanese language.

Foreigners, too, seem to have had a fascination with the respect usage conventions of Javanese. Because every utterance in Javanese encodes a perception of the social relationship between speaker and listener, and because mastery of *unggah-ungguh* is still widely seen as an admired marker of competence and grace in social interaction, the phenomenon has been of special interest to sociologists and anthropologists. In the introduction to his *Javanese: A Cultural Approach*, anthropologist Ward Keeler (1984) writes:

Sociolinguistics tells us that what one says and how one says it depend on where and to whom one says it, that is, on social context. In accordance with this simple fact, the Javanese – sociolinguists all – have elaborated finely graded sets of words, gestures and even sentiments suitable to different types of situations. [...] The difficulties foreigners meet in studying Javanese are, in fact, as much social as grammatical: learning where to use what degree of refinement in speech. Javanese speech and behaviour in general reflect a minute concern with implications about the relative status and degree of intimacy between any two people. (p. xvii–xviii)

Keeler (1984) goes on to report his fieldwork finding that...

Learning to select the suitable speech level according to the degree of refinement a situation requires is a crucial part of socialisation in Java. In particular, the elegance and self-effacement in the use of *krama* (high Javanese) is much stressed as the distinguishing feature of social maturity. (p. xviii)

This coincides with a widespread perception among native-speaker teachers of Javanese that mastery of respect usage is especially important and should be given priority right from the beginning of study. There seem to be three main reasons for this. First, in its extraordinary elaborateness, the *unggah-ungguh* of Javanese is unique among world languages, so mastery of it helps students to understand the uniqueness of Javanese culture as a whole. Second, high Javanese (*krama*) is almost universally seen as ultra-refined and esoteric and therefore very difficult for students – whether native speakers or non-native speakers – to master. For this reason alone it should be at the core of instruction right from the beginning. Third, respect vocabulary expresses refinement and respect for others and its use is compulsory (at least in the Javanese heartland around Jogjakarta and Solo). Thus the student who masters the intricacies of respect usage has no choice but to display a refined and respectful attitude towards other people. Command of Javanese and its respect usage, then, is morally beneficial: it makes the student a better person.

So exercises in the mastery of Javanese are also exercises in the mastery of refined character and behaviour. This is made explicit again and again in the rationales that Javanese give for the teaching of their language, whether to foreigners or to their own native-speaker students. Here is a recent, and not untypical, example from a paper presented at the Javanese Language Congress of 2011.

It is generally understood that the Javanese language and its literature are sources of instruction in nobility of character. Through its respect levels Javanese clearly teaches speakers how they must behave and speak when they are in conversation with others. The Javanese language teaches etiquette and politeness in conversation, and in the course of time this will penetrate to the level of a person's character. [...] This special Javanese discernment gives people exceptional qualities of character: wisdom, sensitivity, modesty, sociability, and the capacity to look critically at oneself. (Suyami, 2011, p. 2)⁶

Harimurti Kridalaksana et al.'s (2001) *Wiwara: Pengantar Bahasa dan Kebudayaan Jawa* is particularly interesting for its insistence on prioritising mastery of respect usage. In the introduction the authors say:

In this book the first stages in mastering communicative Javanese are introduced, but unlike most Javanese textbooks, in this book students are compelled to master Javanese etiquette first. Then they are required to master high, polite Javanese, that is, the variant of the language the discourse and vocabulary of which is generally called *krama*. (p. xi)⁷

4 Challenges in the teaching of respect usage: Where to begin?

The teaching of respect usage to foreigner learners poses a host of problems, but there are two in particular that stand out: where to begin, and how to manage practice of respect usage in classroom interactions between student and teacher.

A survey of Javanese textbooks for foreigners reveals that some introduce and consolidate command of *ngoko* before introducing *krama*, principally *Hedendaags Javaans* (Modern Javanese) by Ben Arps et al. (2000) and *Sri Ngilang* (The Disappearance of Sri) by George Quinn (2010). Others start with *krama* before moving on to *ngoko*. These include *Wiwara: Pengantar Bahasa dan Pustaka Jawa* (Gateway: An Introduction to the Language and Writing of Java) by Harimurti Kridalaksana et al. (2001) and *Inleiding tot het Modern Javaans* (An Introduction to Modern Javanese) by J.J. Ras (1994). Yet others set out to teach *ngoko* and *krama* side-by-side from the outset, examples being *Beginning Javanese* by Elinor Horne (1961), and *Javanese: A Cultural Approach* by Ward Keeler (1984). There are pros and cons in each of these beginning points. Consideration of these pros and cons tells us something of the intricacies and sensitivities that mark Javanese social life.

Ngoko is the bread-and-butter of Javanese and therefore, so some authors believe, should be the beginning point for study of respect usage. *Ngoko* vocabulary is high-frequency vocabulary. It is the respect level that is most intimate and lively. *Ngoko* is also the respect level that dominates in Javanese-language magazines and newspaper columns. The majority of students who take up the study of Javanese will already have some command of Indonesian, and they will find that there is a small but helpful amount of vocabulary overlap between Indonesian and *ngoko* Javanese that smoothes the transition from Indonesian to Javanese.

On the other hand, comprehension of *ngoko* is difficult because it tends to be spoken rapidly and idiomatically. It also hosts a huge vocabulary, often with minutely discriminated shades of meaning, and this core corpus varies considerably from region to region across the island. Furthermore, foreigners in Java (especially Central Java) who are still “outsiders” in Javanese society will find that *ngoko* cannot usually be used to initiate acquaintanceships or conversations. Indeed for many Javanese – especially older people – use of *ngoko* to initiate a conversation may be seen as offensive.

Krama is the respect level most used (especially in Central Java) to initiate conversations with people whom one does not already know. Because foreign learners are initially almost always strangers or outsiders in Javanese society, *krama* is thought by some to be the most appropriate idiom for foreign learners to begin with. *Krama* also tends to be spoken more slowly and formally than *ngoko*, making comprehension of it somewhat easier for foreign learners. *Krama* is often used semi-ceremonially in strictly defined social situations and it has a much smaller corpus of words than *ngoko* with less minutely discriminated shades of meaning. A good command of *krama* often attracts admiration and compliments, and this provides a boost to motivation for foreign learners. On the other hand, concentration on mastery of *krama* can be an obstacle to the development of intimate relationships with Javanese interlocutors, especially with young people. Moreover, the highly formal character of *krama* means that it is only rarely prominent in certain key domains of Javanese rhetoric and social interaction, including, for example, in humour, expression of strong

emotions like love and anger, modern literature in which the author speaks intimately to the reader, talking to children, and thinking to oneself.

Beginning study of Javanese by practising *ngoko* and *krama* side-by-side is favoured by some teachers and textbook authors because in everyday life, *ngoko* and *krama* cannot be disentangled one from the other. If foreign language tuition materials are to be based on unmediated real-life language (as many teachers and theorists insist they should be), then simultaneous study of *ngoko* and *krama* is a desirably realistic reflection of how the Javanese language is actually used. The main objection to this is a concern – almost a certainty – that students will confuse respect levels, and worse still, acquire incorrect habits through confusing these levels. As we shall see presently, the social penalties for misusing respect levels can be severe. Furthermore, respect usage is in fact much more complex than simply “two levels”. The full reality of respect usage often involves simultaneous use of, or rapid switching between, *ngoko*, *krama*, *krama inggil*, *krama andhap* and *madya*. For example an adult may be called on to “speak down” to a child in *ngoko* while that child responds by “speaking upwards” in *krama*, and if both adult and child are referring to a highly respected third person they will have to garnish their speech with the *krama inggil* and *krama andhap* terms that are appropriate to that third person. So it is arguable that sequencing practice of the different respect levels is just as desirable as sequencing the introduction of new vocabulary by proceeding from frequent to less frequent.

5 Challenges in the teaching of respect usage: The classroom dilemma

Certain professions are highly valued in Javanese society and automatically attract address or third-person references in *krama* and *krama inggil* / *krama andhap*. Teaching is one of these professions. It is almost unthinkable for a student to address a teacher by “talking down” or “talking intimately” to him/her in *ngoko*. To do so would not just be rude or socially gauche, it could be seen as deliberately and bluntly insulting.

This creates a dilemma in the classroom. Despite the fact that *ngoko* is the everyday “bread-and-butter” register of Javanese, students cannot address a teacher in *ngoko* when they are practising in class. If they do they violate a fundamental rule governing social interaction and linguistic etiquette in Javanese society. Several English-speaking students studying Javanese one-on-one with native-speaker teachers have anecdotally reported to me how difficult it is to practise *ngoko* with their teacher. It gives rise – so I have been told – to a vague but palpable embarrassment and the appearance of “aversion strategies” on the part of the teacher. In one case related to me, attempts by a foreign student to practise *ngoko* with his (considerably older) native-speaker teacher drove the teacher to abandon Javanese for the “safer” territory of Indonesian, and to resort to lengthy lecture-style explanations illustrated with reading passages and translations (rather than dialogue) as the basis for study of *ngoko*.⁸

Nor is it easily possible for teachers to encourage their students to “go out into society and practise talking, even if you make mistakes”. Making mistakes of grammar and pronunciation will not be problematic and are generally tolerated with good humour by native speakers, but mistakes in *unggah-ungguh* are different. They are personal. They may be seen as offensive or inflicting loss of face on the speaker or listener. Elinor Horne (1961) stresses this in the Introduction to her *Beginning Javanese*.

Choosing the wrong style can have a disagreeable effect on your listener. To speak ‘down’ to a highly placed person is a serious affront; and speaking ‘up’ in the wrong cases would be ridiculous, or might sound insultingly sarcastic. The Javanese will be gracious; and tolerant of you as a foreigner; but they will be particularly pleased if your speech shows that you are sensitive to their ways. (p. 4)

American anthropologist James Siegel (1986) puts it more bluntly:

The Solonese warn foreigners about learning Javanese. It is not merely that it is difficult, but that the consequences of making mistakes are not only linguistic but also social: one might address the second person as though he were of low rank. To speak inappropriately could thus wound one's listener, or even anger him." (p. 15–16).

Some Javanese may even refuse to speak the language to a foreign learner, just to save everyone from the embarrassment of possible mistakes that are social *faux pas* or personally offensive. (I have personally experienced this "preemptive precautionary measure" several times.)

6 Theatrical performance: A possible solution

Role plays, mini dramas, enactments of language interactions – in short, dramatised tuition – are a basic tool in the language learning classroom.⁹ Conventionally they take the form of small scenarios shaped to meet the immediate objectives of particular lessons or to fit in to the time constraints of study periods, but sometimes too they may take the form of extended dramatic performances in the target language.

Language teachers are familiar with the immediate methodological advantages of teaching foreign language skills through extended dramatic performances. When the ultimate aim of a language-tuition course is to perform a play, the study program has a very clear focus. This is helpful in the practical task of organising the course and giving students and instructors a clearly defined objective that they must work towards. Students must learn by heart substantial amounts of the target language, whether literary or in the idiom of everyday life. Because a play must be rehearsed, it requires students to repeat their lines over and over, and to hear others repeating their lines over and over, making the chore of repetition more vivid and less burdensome or mechanical. And because students are "in the public eye" as they rehearse and act the play, they have to concentrate hard to "get it right" and project themselves as competent speakers. Developing this strong capacity to concentrate is very beneficial in the process of mastering a foreign language. For shy or less self-confident students, being in the public eye – or in the camera's eye – can also help in the development of the public self-confidence that is such an important factor in acquiring a mature mastery of a foreign language. Most importantly, perhaps, using the target language in a performance context gives students an opportunity to be personally creative and to develop a stronger sense of personal involvement in, and "ownership" of, the learning process and the language they are struggling to master.

Dramatised tuition is especially useful in teaching Javanese respect usage. Indeed the very nature of respect usage and the difficulty of practising it through "normal" classroom interactions make theatrical strategies almost the only methodological strategy that offers students something better than theoretical or merely passive command of respect usage. In particular, a performance-based approach using theatrical materials that accurately portray life in Java gives students an opportunity to envisage clearly, and "participate in", the social contexts in which the respect usage is used. At the same time, the deliberately artificial, role-playing character of theatrical performance enables teacher and students to abandon their "real" social roles and assume roles that free them up to interact with one another according to a variety of respect usage conventions.

There is another less easily measurable, less easily describable, pay-off. Javanese society, it is sometimes said, is highly theatrical. Theatrical performance genres – *wayang kulit*, *kethoprak*, *ludrug*, *dagelan*, *sandiwara radio* and several more – have an especially prominent place in Java's literary life, and in its symbolism and thought world. Javanese people very often formulate metaphysical and ethical speculation in terms of the shadow theatre (see e.g. Anderson, 1965). In addition, Javanese society at large has been described as "theatrical", that is, it gives an especially prominent place to public spectacle, ritual and ceremony (see Geertz, 1968; Geertz, 1981; Hatley, 2008; Peacock, 1968).

In this context, teaching the Javanese language with a prime focus on extended theatrical performance is not only a practical way of dealing with the problem of respect usage, but it also

helps illuminate the theatricality of Javanese society, a fundamental feature of the society that scarcely registers a presence in most Javanese language tuition manuals.

7 Conclusion

Evidence-based research on strategies for the teaching of Javanese remains virtually non-existent, and to my knowledge, there are no studies at all on the use of drama in teaching Javanese. Beyond the particular case of Javanese, there have been, of course, many studies on the role of drama in foreign language tuition, although a good number of them – like the present study – lack the scaffolding of rigorously observed, classroom-based trialing. In the short term this may be unavoidable. As Kao and O’Neill (1998) point out,

There is a marked gap between research findings and the real effect on the teaching of a second language through drama. The primary reason is the lack of research about using drama in L2 learning and teaching. Obviously teachers cannot wait for slow empirical testing and re-testing research processes on the use of drama; therefore classes are usually planned from individual experience, not research results. (p. 115)

The drama-based strategy sketched in this paper makes sense for the reasons given earlier, and has proved successful in the author’s own classes, but it demands further, more rigorous long term “testing and re-testing”. And respect usage – important though it is – is just one of several issues in the teaching of Javanese that invite evidence-based investigation. Others include dealing with the powerful presence of Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) in Javanese society with its growing impact on the character of Javanese and on study of the language; dealing with the multiple centres of dialect authority across the area where Javanese is spoken; and defining a role in tuition for the indigenous scripts of Javanese: *hanacaraka* (also called *aksara Jawa* and *carakan Jawa*) derived from south Indian scripts, and *pegon*, based on Arabic script.

In terms of its number of speakers, its literary heritage and its influential role in modern Indonesian society, Javanese is a major language that will continue to attract a steady clientele of foreign students. Developing effective, well-tested strategies for the teaching of respect usage is central to achieving good outcomes in Javanese language study. These strategies may also be relevant to tuition in other languages – Japanese for example, and some of the languages of India – in which mastery of respect usage is critical to successful learning outcomes. And conversely, strategies developed for the teaching of respect usage in these latter languages may help shape research into tuition materials and classroom strategies for the teaching of respect usage in Javanese.

Notes

¹ To give just one example, in the introduction to his *Inleiding tot het Modern Javaans* (Introduction to Modern Javanese) J.J. Ras draws a distinction between linguistic analysis and “practical language acquisition” but he nevertheless emphasises the preeminent importance of systematically mastering grammar as the basis for long-term success in the study of Javanese (Ras, 1982, p. xv).

² The overview of Javanese that follows is digested from Quinn (2010).

³ For example, Suriname’s Javanese-language *Radio Garuda* relies a lot on modern Javanese popular music imported from Indonesia. Visit this outpost of Javanese culture at <http://garuda.dahstream.nl/webplayer.html>.

⁴ For a taste of Javanese as it appears in a predominantly Indonesian-language newspaper see *Solopos* at: <http://ediscetak.solopos.co.id/jajawa/index.asp?kodehalaman=h47>.

⁵ To complicate matters further there is a widely used register of respect usage called *madya* (middle Javanese) that straddles the domain between *ngoko* and *krama* and incorporates elements of both registers, as well as having a small number of terms unique to *madya* discourse.

⁶ “Wus kaprah dimangerteni menawa basa lan sastra Jawa mono mujudake sumber piwulang babagan kapribaden kang adi luhung. Basa Jawa kanthi tataran unggah-ungguhe cetha miwulangake marang kang celathu ngenani kepriye anggone kudu tumindak apadene ngucap marang kang diajak caturan. Basa Jawa mulangake

tatakrama lan sopan santun ing jagading cecaturan, kang sabanjure bakal numusi marang tataran kapribadene. [...] Kearifan Jawa bisa ndadekake manungsa nduweni watak wicaksana, sopan, andap asor, ramah, tepa slira, minangka manungsa kang nduweni watak utama.”

⁷ “Dalam buku ini diperkenalkan tahap-tahap awal cara berkomunikasi dalam Bahasa Jawa; dan berbeda dari kebanyakan buku pelajaran Bahasa Jawa, para pembelajar dituntut untuk lebih dahulu menguasai tata krama Jawa, kemudian mereka diwajibkan menguasai Bahasa Jawa ragam *basa*, yaitu ragam bahasa yang tata wacana dan tata katanya lazim disebut *krama*.”

⁸ Because foreign students are often seen as respected “guests” in Javanese society, it is much less difficult for a teacher to address a foreign student in *krama* than it is for a foreign student to address a teacher in *ngoko*. Nevertheless, teachers addressing students – especially much younger students – in *krama* is not the norm in Javanese society, so practice of *krama* between teacher and students can be, at the very least, somewhat awkward.

⁹ Kao and O’Neill (1998), for example, offer one of the liveliest, most comprehensive and most rigorous of the many studies that deal with the role of drama in foreign language tuition.

References

- Anderson, B. R.O’G. (1965). *Mythology and the tolerance of the Javanese*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University.
- Arps, B., Bogaerts, E., van der Molen, W., Supriyanto, I. & van den Veerdonk, J., with Litamahuputty, B. (2000). *Hedendaags Javaans*. Leiden: Opleiding Talen en Culturen van Zuidoost-Azie en Oceanie, Universiteit Leiden.
- Geertz, C. (1960). *The religion of Java*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.
- Geertz, C. (1968). *Islam observed: Religious development in Morocco and Indonesia*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press.
- Geertz, C. (1981). *Negara: The theatre state in 19th century Bali*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Harjawiya, H., & Supriya, T. (2009). *Kamus Unggah-Ungguh Basa Jawa* (rev. ed.). Yogyakarta: Kanisius. (1st ed. 2001)
- Hatley, B. (2008). *Javanese performances on an Indonesian stage: Contesting culture, embracing change*. Singapore: NUS Press.
- Horne, E.C. (1961). *Beginning Javanese*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.
- Kao, S.-M., & O’Neill, C. (1998). *Words into worlds: Learning a second language through process drama*. Stamford, CT: Ablex Publishing and JAI Press.
- Keeler, W. (1984). *Javanese: A cultural approach*. Athens, OH: Ohio University.
- Kridalaksana, H., Rahyono, F.X., Puspitorini, D., Widodo, S., & Darmoko. (2001). *Wiwara: Pengantar Bahasa dan Pustaka Jawa*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Peacock, J. L. (1968). *Rites of modernization. Symbolic and social aspects of Indonesian proletarian drama*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Poedjosoedarmo, S. (1968). Javanese speech levels. *Indonesia*, 6, 54–81.
- Poedjosoedarmo, S. (1969). Word-list of Javanese non-ngoko vocabularies. *Indonesia*, 7, 165–190.
- Quinn, G. (2010). *Sri Ngilang, The disappearance of Sri: A theatrical introduction to spoken Javanese for English speaking students*. Canberra: College of Asia and the Pacific, Australian National University.
- Ras, J.J. (1994). *Inleiding tot het modern Javaans*. Leiden: KITLV Uitgeverij. (Original work published 1982)
- Siegel, J. T. (1986). *Solo in the new order: Language and hierarchy in an Indonesian city*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Suyami. (2011, November). *Marisake Basa lan Kapribaden Jawa Kanthi Dolanan Bocah (Oncek-Oncek Layang Serat Rarywa Saraya Anggitane R.P.A. Koesoemadiningrat)*. Paper presented at the Javanese Language Congress, Surabaya, Indonesia.