



Sebagai negara-bangsa, Indonesia memiliki kearifan-kearifan yang dihidupi oleh setiap komunitas masyarakat pemilikinya. Pada tataran regional dan global, kearifan-kearifan masyarakat tersebut perlu ditata dan diinterpretasi secara komprehensif, dikonfrontasikan, disejajarkan, dan dibandingkan dengan kearifan universal. Akio Morita pendiri perusahaan Sony menganjurkan adanya gerakan glocalisme, yaitu *Think Globally, Act Locally*. Glocalisasi sebagai proses alami tidak dapat ditolak dan dihindari. Melalui proses alami saat ini negara-negara di dunia memiliki ruang yang terbuka secara global.

Banyak peristiwa budaya yang didesain untuk ajang promosi dan mendatangkan banyak orang. Di Jember yang masyarakatnya migran mengemas kegiatan dalam bentuk fesyen dengan format *Jember Fashion Carnival* (JFC), sedangkan di Banyuwangi dalam format *Banyuwangi Ethno Carnival* (BEC).

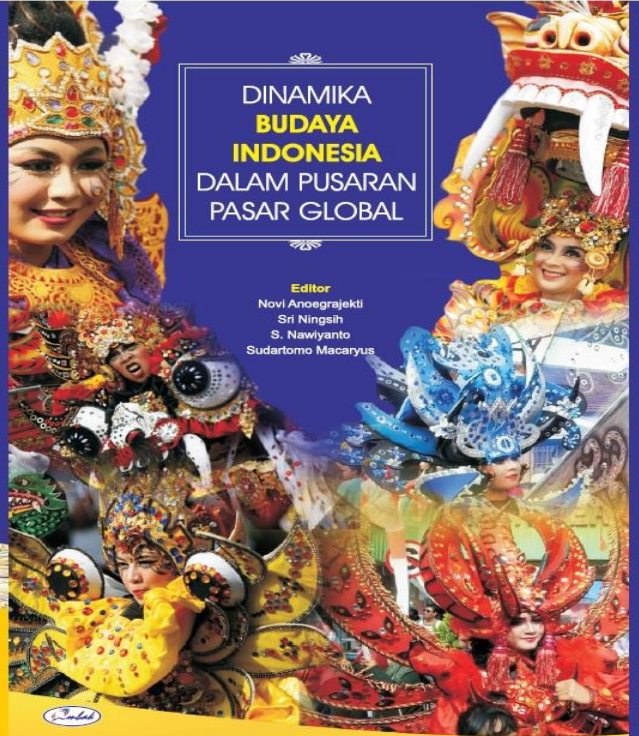
Melalui kajian hibriditas kritis menunjukkan bahwa setiap proses budaya mengandung percampuran dan interaksi lintas batas, tidak ada suatu kebudayaan yang sepenuhnya asli dan murni. Dikotomi dapat diatasi dengan mengkaji bagaimana kreativitas lokal berdialog. Dalam berbagai ekspresi lintas budaya, perebutan kepentingan lokal, nasional, dan global berkontestasi dan terus saling berinteraksi secara dinamis untuk diartikulasikan dalam peristiwa budaya Indonesia.

DINAMIKA BUDAYA INDONESIA DALAM PUSARAN PASAR GLOBAL



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Editor: Novi Anoeграjekti | Sri Ningsih
S. Nawiyanto | Sudartomo Macaryus



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Editor

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DAFTAR ISI

Kata Pengantar Editor

Geliat Predatorik ~ xii

Kata Pengantar Rektor Universitas Jember

Budaya Kreatif Lokal yang Mengglobal ~ xv

Kata Pengantar Direktur Jenderal Kebudayaan

Revitalisasi dan Inovasi Budaya Yang Memandirikan ~ xix

BAGIAN 1 Kebijakan Kebudayaan dalam Membentuk Daya Saing Bangsa

1. Kebijakan Kebudayaan dan Etnografi Kesenian
— Novi Anoeграjekti, A. Latief Wiyata, dan Sudartomo Macaryus ~ 1
2. Pengembangan Media Pembelajaran sebagai Strategi Diseminasi dan Konservasi
Keberagaman Seni Tradisi Nusantara
— Karsono ~ 28
3. Otonomi Daerah dan Praksis Wacana Kebijakan Kebudayaan: Studi Kasus di Banyuwangi
— Muhammad Hadi Makmur dan Akhmad Taufiq ~ 48
4. The Contest for Market in Java during the 1990s Crisis
— S. Nawiyanto ~ 61
5. Pengembangan SDM Seni di Masyarakat dan Industri Pariwisata Nasional
— Sudartomo Macaryus ~ 80
6. Kearifan Lokal “Orang Pinggiran” dalam Konservasi Hutan di Kawasan Taman Nasional
Meru Betiri
— Ig. Krisnadi ~ 94
7. Rumah Baca sebagai Agen Pendidikan Karakter Remaja
— Nurul Hidayat ~ 123
8. Proses Pencinaan Budaya Dagang Pribumi agar Pribumi Mampu Menghadapi Era Pasar
Bebas 2015
— Retno Winarni ~ 142
9. Peningkatan Daya Saing Bangsa: Muatan Kearifan Lokal, Produksi Tebu dan Produk
Derivasi Tebu (PDT)
— Duwi Yunitasari ~ 158

10. Pemetaan Jenis dan Sumber Konflik di Jawa Timur
— Achmad Sjafi'i, Rachmawati Novaria, Ni Made Ida Pratiwi ~ 175
11. Kebijakan Bahasa dan Daya Saing Bangsa
— Nanik Sumarsih ~ 186
12. Revitalisasi Budaya Daerah sebagai Basis Penguatan Pengembangan Industri Kreatif dalam Era Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN 2015
— Suyitno YP ~ 200
13. Pemertahanan Bahasa Jawa sebagai Simbol Jatidiri Bangsa di Era Global
— Farida Nugrahani ~ 209
14. The Policy of Culture and Development Of Civil Society under Decentralization Model
— Hanif Nurcholis ~ 226
15. Etnisitas dan Nasionalisme dalam Perspektif Sejarah
— Sri Ana Handayani ~ 237
16. Hibriditas Budaya dalam Bingkai Revitalisasi Kebudayaan
— Wanda Listiani ~ 251
17. Kuntulan: Pemertahanan Nilai Agama, Seni Tradisi, dan Modernitas dalam Menghadapi Arus Global
— Titik Maslikatin dan Sudartomo Macaryus ~ 255

Bagian 2 Keunggulan Budaya dalam Rangka Integrasi Kawasan dan Kesejahteraan Bersama

1. Transformasi Produktif: Kreativitas Para Seniman Sanggar dalam Pengembangan Tari Garapan Berbasis Budaya Banyuwangi
— Andang Subaharianto, Ikwan Setiawan, dan Albert Tallapessy ~ 267
2. Budaya Haji pada Masyarakat Miskin Kawasan Perkebunan Kopi: Sirkulasi Modal Regional
— Latifatul Izzah ~ 284
3. Absorpsi Kultural: Fetishisasi Komoditas Kopi
— Hery Prasetyo ~ 305
4. Mencari Akar-akar Budaya dalam Rangka Ketahanan Budaya Masyarakat: Studi Kasus Macapat di Kediri
— Subardi Agan ~ 323
5. Pelestarian Budaya Lokal melalui Pemanfaatan Permainan Anak sebagai Media Belajar Bahasa Jepang
— Eva Amalijah dan Zida Wahyuddin ~ 337
6. Eksistensi Cerita Rakyat Jawa Timur di Tengah Masyarakat Pendukungnya dan Peranannya dalam Pembangunan Karakter Bangsa
— Sri Sulistiani ~ 353

7. Desain dengan Keunggulan Lokal pada Era Global
— I Gede Mugi Raharja ~ 382
8. Revitalisasi Bahasa Daerah melalui Sanggar Budaya untuk Menyongsong Era Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN 2015
— A. Erna Rochiyati S ~ 402
9. Kesadaran Agama dan Kemandirian Bangsa dalam *Lontara Pangaja*: Kajian Linguistik Kultural
— Fahmi Gunawan ~ 413
10. Kearifan Lokal Budaya Bugis sebagai Sumberdaya Budaya dan Modal Budaya dalam Pengembangan Nilai-Nilai Multikultural dan Daya Saing Bangsa
— Firman ~ 431
11. Folklor sebagai Acuan Pengembangan Motif Batik Berwawasan Konservasi Budaya bagi Perajin Batik
— Nur Fateah ~ 441
12. Kearifan Lokal dan Realitas Keberaksaraan pada Perempuan Buruh Perkebunan
— Khutobah, Misno A.L. dan Deditiani Tri Indrianti ~ 458
13. Hilangnya Karakter Bangsa Akibat Pengaruh Budaya dan Bahasa Asing
— Arif Izzak ~ 468

Bagian 3 Bahasa dan Sastra sebagai Basis Penguatan Pengembangan Industri Kreatif

1. Sastra dan Film: Merebut Ruang dalam Kapitalisme Global dan Pasar Industri Kreatif Indonesia
— Bambang Aris Kartika ~ 485
2. Kolaborasi Antarpekerja Seni: Strategi Komunitas Sastra dalam Proses Kreatif dan Membangun Jaringan Kesenian di Malang Raya
— Yusri Fajar dan Fredy Nugroho ~ 504
3. Sejarah Majapahit dalam Industri Kreatif Indonesia
— Darmoko ~ 522
4. Bahasa dan Sastra sebagai Basis Penguatan Industri Kreatif
— Eko Suwargono ~ 537
5. Revitalisasi Tradisi Lisan *Berahoi* dalam Masyarakat Melayu Langkat untuk Pengembangan Industri Kreatif: Upaya Menjawab Tantangan Masyarakat Ekonomi ASEAN 2015
— Khairil Ansari dan Shafwan Hadi Umri ~ 560
6. Pengembangan Ekonomi Kreatif melalui Penulisan Sastra Bali Modern dalam Pesta Kesenian di Bali
— I Ketut Sudewa ~ 572

9. Kebhinnekaan Narasi Puitik Jidor Sentulan di Jombang sebagai Modal Budaya
— Susi Darihastining ~ 780
10. Kebhinnekaan sebagai Modal Budaya dalam Pergaulan antarbangsa
— Endang K. Trijanto ~ 794
11. Mlayokaken sebagai Tradisi Kawin Lari Masyarakat Using Banyuwangi
— Akhmad Haryono dan Akhmad Sofyan ~ 802
12. Hubungan Makna Atributif Frasa Ajektival dalam Wacana Naratif
— Heny Sulistyowati ~ 815
13. Akar Budaya Madura dalam Menghadapi Era Globalisasi
— Edy Burhan ~ 823
14. Pembelajaran BIPA sebagai Transmisi Budaya kepada Pebelajar Asing
— Gatut Susanto ~ 837
15. Pembelajaran Drama melalui Model Upacara Perkawinan Adat Jawa Tengah
— Suyoto, Bambang Sulanjari, dan Nuning Zaidah ~ 846
16. Pengenalan Budaya melalui Pembelajaran BIPA dan Model Pembelajarannya
— Sudarwati ~ 855
17. *Pesantian*: Realitas Kebhinnekaan Budaya Berbasis Kearifan Lokal Bali
— I Ketut Jirnaya dan Komang Paramartha ~ 869
18. *Petung* dalam Kehidupan Berumah Tangga dan Pemecahannya dalam Pandangan Hidup Jawa
— Avi Meilawati ~ 879
19. *Petung* dalam Kehidupan Masyarakat Jawa di Era Global
— Suwarni ~ 890
20. Politeness: Making Requests in Javanese
— Sukarno ~ 911
21. *Poroomu Yinda Saangu, Pogaa Yinda Koolota*: Kebhinnekaan Kesultanan Buton sebagai Modal Budaya Bangsa
— Mahrudin ~ 932
22. Revitalisasi Identitas Using dalam Cerita Rakyat Banyuwangi
— Sunarti Mustamar ~ 949
23. Revitalisasi Kearifan Lokal *Gemah Ripah Lojinawi, Kerta Raharja, Tulus kang Sarwa Tinandur, Murah kang Sarwa Tinuku* dalam Menghadapi Ekonomi ASEAN 2015
— R. Adi Deswijaya ~ 968
24. Seni Budaya Jawa di Kabupaten Serdang Bedagai: Ditinjau dari Segi Sosiokultural Filosofis
— Purwadi ~ 979

25. Fitoterapi bagi Penyakit Anak-Anak dalam Manuskrip-Manuskrip Jawa
— Sri Harti Widyastuti, Hesti Mulyani, dan Venny Indria Ekowati ~ 992
26. Makna Simbol-simbol Ibadah Komunitas Perempuan Lintas Agama di Sulawesi Tenggara
— Zulaeha ~ 1009
27. Unsur-Unsur Folkloristik sebagai Penguat Kearifan Lokal Bali: Perspektif Kelisanan dan Keberaksaraan dalam Teks Geguritan di Bali
— I Wayan Suardiana, I Ketut Ngurah Sulibra, dan I Nyoman Duana Sutika ~ 1028
28. Wayang Beber Pacitan: Eksistensi Wayang Pinggiran Akibat Kuatnya Tradisi Masyarakat
— Sukarman ~ 1046
29. Wayang Kulit Jawa Timuran Cengklok Malang: Karakteristik dan Penyebarannya
— Udjang Pairin M. Basir ~ 1067
30. *Pranata Mangsa* Jawa dalam Perspektif Etnolinguistik: Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Petani Jawa
— Ali Badrudin ~ 1081
31. Gugon Tuhon dan Berpikir Primbonistis Orang Jawa Menghadapi Bencana Alam
— Suwardi Endraswara ~ 1099
32. Ritus Ruwatan Anak *Sukerta* dalam Masyarakat Jawa di Kabupaten Jember: Studi Perubahan Makna Simbolik
— Asri Sundari ~ 1112
33. Menakjinggo: Kepahlawanan dan Rekonsiliasi Budaya Using
— Sri Mariati, Novi Anoe-grajekti, A. Erna Rochiyati S., dan Sudartomo Macaryus ~ 1124

Bagian 5 Bahasa dan Sastra Medium Sosialisasi Nilai

1. Aktualisasi Kata *Rakus* dalam Tuturan Masyarakat di Era Reformasi
— Asrumi ~ 1139
2. Preferensi Nilai dalam Epos Ramayana dan Mahabharata: Konstruktif, Destruktif, Dilematik
— Achluddin Ibnu Rochim, D. Jupriono, dan Indah Murti ~ 1154
3. Perubahan Struktur dalam Penerjemahan dan Efeknya pada Transfer Makna
— Ni. K. Mirahayuni dan Susie Chrismalia Garnida ~ 1171
4. Klausula Bahasa Jawa dalam Cerbung: Kajian Tata Bahasa Fungsional Leksikal
— Murdiyanto ~ 1186
5. Seh Amongraga's Moral Teachings of Islam in Serat Centhini
— Sutrisno Wibowo ~ 1210

6. Pertumbuhkembangan Kepribadian Tokoh Berdasar Teori Realitas William Glasser dalam Tetralogi Laskar Pelangi Karya Andrea Hirata
— Kustyarini ~ 1227
7. Pengembangan Multimedia Tokoh dan Karakter Wayang melalui Pemanfaatan Teknologi Informasi dan Komunikasi di Era Globalisasi
— Yuli Widiono dan Rochimansyah ~ 1243
8. Pemertahanan Fungsi dan Makna Pantun Betawi Cisalak-Cimanggis: Perspektif Etnografi
— Erfi Firmansyah ~ 1257
9. Fungsi Sosial Dongeng Binatang: Tantri Kamandaka Jawa
— Ambar Andayani dan Anik Cahyaning Rahayu ~ 1270
10. Representasi Nilai dalam Puisi sebagai Karya Kreatif
— Muliadi ~ 1294
11. Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim: Motif Zuhud sebagai Penguat Kesalihan Seseorang dan Masyarakat
— Sri Ningsih ~ 1309
12. The Phonology of Balantak Language
— Valantino Ateng Pamolango ~ 1320
13. Pengaruh Bauran Produk, *Personal Selling*, *Display*, dan Promosi terhadap Pembelian Tak Terencana
— Gusti Ayu Wulandari ~ 1326
14. Di Bawah Naungan Sakura: Strategi Adaptasi Sosiokultural Mahasiswa Indonesia di Jepang
— Edy Hariyadi ~ 1338
15. Sang Lain, “Timur” Menimurkan Timur
— Abu Bakar Ramadhan Muhamad~ 1357
16. Pendidikan Karakter dalam Wayang Kulit Gaya Yogyakarta, Surakarta, dan Pesisiran
— Mulyana ~ 1370
17. Mengenali Cara Belajar melalui Pembelajaran Bahasa Jepang dan Origami
— Novi Andari dan Zida Wahyudin ~ 1379
18. Bahan Ajar Membaca Bahasa Indonesia bagi Penutur Asing Sesuai Standar CEFR melalui Integratif Bahan Ajar
— Sintowati Rini Utami ~ 1392



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POLITENESS: MAKING REQUESTS IN JAVANESE

KESANTUNAN: MENGAJUKAN PERMOHONAN DALAM BAHASA JAWA

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Abstract

This article examines the ways of Javanese people deliver requests politely which is not only determined by the linguistic factors, but it is also strongly influenced by some concepts of Javanese cultures, such as tata krama, andhap-asor, and tanggap ing sasmito. The data of the research were collected from the conversations among the Javanese people in Blitar, East Java. The collected data were selected in relation to delivering requests, and analyzed based on the cultural Javanese concepts which have been realized in the Javanese language, such as: speech levels, the appropriate verb forms according to the subject or the object in utterances, the morpho-syntactic structures, and politeness theories proposed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), Grice (1981), and Lakoff (1973). The result of this research shows that the politeness of delivering requests in Javanese can be done gradually through many different strategies: replacing the imperative suffixes with the particle ‘mbok’ meaning please, choosing the right speech levels according to the social relationship among the interlocutors, applying the agentless passive form, changing the declarative clause into the interrogative one, and creating an appropriate supposition and condition before introducing the request.

Keywords:

politeness, passive form, request, speech levels, indirectness

A. Introduction

Javanese language with its uniqueness has been examined by many experts from many different aspects. Uhlenbeck (1981) studied Javanese from ‘the mechanisms of Javanese syntax’. Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982) examined ‘a communicative codes in Central Java’. Smith-Hefner (1983) investigated ‘language and social identity, speaking Javanese in Tengger. Kadarisman (1999) explored ‘the Javanese poetics in wedding narratives as a verbal art performance’. Partana (2006) observed ‘tindak tutur tak langsung bahasa Jawa’ (the indirect speech acts of Javanese), Sukarno (2008) examined the interpersonal meanings in Javanese wedding pranatacara genre, and Sulistyowati (2008) investigated ‘alternasi sapaan bahasa Jawa di Keraton Yogyakarta’ (the Javanese terms of address in Yogyakarta palace). Although many experts have studied Javanese from different perspectives, no one who observes the politeness strategies of making polite requests in the language. In fact, in the daily communication, the Javanese people cannot be separated from making requests to their speech partners either directly or implicitly. It means that delivering requests in everyday life for Javanese plays an important role.

The data of the research were collected by recording and note taking the conversations among the Javanese in Blitar, Indonesia. The collected data were transcribed and translated into English. The translation can be done literally, and then accompanied by the proper/equal version which makes the translation more meaningful. Next, the collected data were selected in relation with request forms, and analyzed based on the relevant concepts of the Javanese cultures used to make requests, and evaluated in some extent based on the politeness theories of Lakoff (1973), Brown and Levinson (1987), and Grice (1981). The goal of this study is to formulate the strategies of making polite requests in Javanese, so the conversation among the tenors will run harmoniously.

B. Politeness Theory

Some linguists of pragmatics (e.g. Lakoff, 1973, Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987, and Leech, 1983) believe that politeness is universal with its goal is to save or to protect face, which is in turn it produces a good communication among the interlocutors. For the purpose, they propose some theories of politeness. According to Lakoff (1973), there are three rules of being polite

from the perspective of the speaker. They are (1) don't impose, (2) give options, and (3) make the listener feel good, or be friendly. Leech (1983) emphasizes the normative (or rules for Lakoff) aspects of politeness. She formulates a "Politeness Principle" and its maxims which include the Tact Maxim, the Generosity Maxim, the Approbation Maxim, the Modesty Maxim, the Agreement Maxim and the Sympathy Maxim (1983:132). Each maxim is associated with specific types of illusionary acts, and comes in pairs specifying whether thematized value (cost, benefit, praise ...) is to be minimized or maximized with reference to the speaker, the addressee or both. The function of this politeness principle and its maxims is to maintain the social relationship in friendly situations to enable the speaker to assure that cooperation will follow.

According to Brown and Levinson (1987) the central point of politeness is the notion of face. Therefore, being polite consists of attempting to save face from another. These attempts are realized into what they call politeness strategies. Brown and Levinson outline four main types of politeness strategies from the least to the most politeness: bald on-record, negative politeness, positive politeness, and off-record. Each strategy can be examined respectively as follows.

Bald on-record strategy usually does not attempt to minimize the threat to the hearer's face. This strategy only shows low number of politeness (less politeness), so this strategy is commonly used in situation where the speaker has close relationship with the audience (e.g. parents to children). Positive politeness strategy seeks to minimize the threat to the hearer's positive face. It is used to make the hearer feel good about himself, his interests or possessions, and is most usually used in situations where the audience knows each other fairly well (e.g. between close friends). Negative politeness strategy is oriented towards the hearer's negative face and emphasize avoidance of imposition on the listener. This strategy presumes that the speaker will be imposing on the listener and there is a higher potential for awkwardness or embarrassment than in bald on record strategy and positive politeness strategy. Negative face is the desire to remain autonomous so the speaker is more apt to include an out for the listener, through distancing styles like apologies (e.g. between strangers). The final politeness strategy outlined by Brown and Levinson is the indirect strategy. This strategy uses indirect language and removes the listener from the potential to be imposing (e.g. an employee to his boss). In summary, it can be said that the central point of

politeness is how to manage 'face' in many different ways so that our partner of communication will not lose his 'face'. The more indirect linguistic forms we use (e.g. passive form, a supposition), the more polite the way of expression is.

However, politeness may differ cross-culturally (Chen, 1993; Watts, Ide, and Ehlich 1992; Holmes, 1988). Following them, this article tries to examine how politeness is manifested and conveyed within the major framework of the Javanese culture. It is strongly believed that the techniques which the Javanese people use to express politeness (especially being polite to make requests) are mostly influenced by some concepts of the Javanese culture. Therefore, these concepts will play a great role in examining politeness in this language. Consequently, these concepts of the Javanese culture must be made clear before coming to the main discussion of delivering requests politely in Javanese. Having presented the concepts of the Javanese culture in relation to politeness, this article examines how these concepts can be applied in the methods for being polite in making requests in Javanese and how this politeness (to some extent) can also be examined using the general principles of politeness as proposed by the linguists previously mentioned. Finally, the conclusion will be presented to close this article.

C. The Javanese Cultural Concepts in Relation to Politeness

Language and culture are two different aspects, however, they cannot be separated one from another because language is the mirror of the culture and the identity of the speakers (Sukarno, 2010). This means that culture plays an important role in the language, which makes possible a language can have specific characteristics or properties which are not owned by other languages. As a result, language is said to be unique (Nasr, 1983). In their daily lives, Javanese people are greatly influenced by some concepts which are well rooted in the Javanese culture, namely: tata krama, andhap-asor, and tanggap ing sasmito. In this section, these three concepts will be introduced and discussed respectively.

The first concept of the Javanese culture is tata krama. In general the phrase tata krama can be interpreted as a good conduct, a polite behavior, or a Javanese etiquette. When a Javanese does not behave politely, .e.g. a young boy who passes in front of the old one without saying 'nuwun sewu' (permission), and slightly bowing his body as a signal to respect to the older, he will be

considered less polite or not knowing tata krama. In this case, tata krama is a kind of convention which teaches the Javanese to respect one another, especially the younger to the older, or to the other because of his social status.

Linguistically, the phrase tata krama is derived from two words: tata and krama. The word tata is 'a base form' which can be changed into a verb by the active suffix 'n' becomes 'nata' meaning 'to arrange'. The noun form of tata is tatanan meaning 'arrangement' or unggah-ungguh meaning 'rules'. Next, the word krama has the synonym of bhasa which means language. Thus, the phrase tata krama can be understood as unggah-ungguh bhasa, the arrangement of language, or the variation of language. The language variations in Javanese indicate the levels of politeness since the Javanese concept of tata krama or good conduct is reflected in the Javanese language through the levels of language which are known as tingkat tutur (Poedjosoedarmo, 1979), speech levels (Uhlenbeck, 1981), or speech styles (Errington, 1988). In short, it is said that the Javanese culture which teaches the younger to respect to the older, to respect someone else because of his social status is implemented in the language by choosing and using the high variation/level. Since tata krama or speech levels are fundamentally rooted in the Javanese language and culture, we cannot speak Javanese at all without simultaneously conveying the pragmatic implications inherent in the style we use (Horn, 1992).

As for speech levels, some linguists (e.g. Herrick, 1984) distinguishes this language into two social levels, namely Ngoko and Non-ngoko (Bhasa) levels. Some others, (Poedjosoedarmo, 1979; Errington, 1988), claim that there are three levels: Ngoko (Ng), Krama Madya (KM), and Krama Inggil (KI). For the purpose of this discussion, however, the paper follows the second classification.

In the speech levels, each level expresses the levels of politeness. That is, the lowest level (Ng) expresses the least polite and the highest level (KI) indicates the most polite. In addition, each level is different from one another in their lexical items (and the morpho-syntax which will be discussed later) which can be demonstrated by the following examples.

- (1) a. (Ng) : Apa kowe tuku klambi anyar?
 - b. (KM) : Napa sampeyan tumbas rasokan anyar?
 - c. (KI) : Menapa panjenengan mundhut ageman enggal?
- (Do you want to buy new shirts?)

The above data (1a, 1b, and 1c) have the same referential meanings ‘do you want to buy new shirts’. However, their meanings are pragmatically different. In term of pragmatics (politeness), (1a) is less polite than (1b), and (1c) is more polite than (1b). It means that (1c) is the most politeness, and (1a) refers to the least politeness. In relation to speech levels, the highest politeness is represented by the KI style, and the middle level is equal with KM level, and the least politeness corresponds to the Ng variation. The socially different meanings of data (1a, b, and c) are determined by the social status among the interlocutors. In (1a) the speaker has a higher social status than his speech partner’s (e.g. an older brother to his younger brother), so he chooses the Ng style which expresses the low polite degree. In (1b), the speaker chooses the better style, at least, it is higher than (1a) since he communicates with a person whose social status is higher or equal with the speaker’s (e.g. he speaks to a person who is not familiar with). The highest level (KI) is used if the speaker speaks to the person whose social status is much higher than his. For example, a student talks to his teacher, or someone who speaks to a stranger.

The lexicons used to express respect to the others in the highest level (KI) in the politeness of language are known as ‘honorifics’ (labeled as H for short) (Foley, 1997). These words are the counterpart of the common words in the Ng style named as ‘non-honorifics’ (labeled as NH for short). In data (1) above, the words: *apa*, *kowe*, *tuku*, and *klambi* in (Ng, or 1a) can be claimed as NH forms which have the equally referential meanings with the H forms of: *menapa*, *panjenengan*, *mundhut*, and *ageman* in (1c). In relation to speech levels, (1a) belongs to the Ng level, because it contains the Ng lexicons, such as: *apa*, *kowe*, *tuku*, and *klambi*, (1b) is the KM level which is signaled by the use of the KM lexicons, such as: *napa*, *sampeyan*, *tumbas*, and *rasukan*, and (1c) is the highest level or KI level which contains the KI lexicons, such as: *menapa*, *panjenengan*, *mundhut*, and *ageman*. Since the Ng level is the basic level, every concept which can be expressed in Javanese will be expressed in a word or phrase of the Ng lexicons. By contrast, not every Ng word will have counterparts among the KM or KI words. In cases, where the KM and KI levels do not possess equivalent to the Ng words, the Ng words are used. The cardinal numbers, such as: *enam* ‘six’, *pitu* ‘seven’, *wolu* ‘eight’, *songo* ‘nine’, for instance, which belong to Ng can also be used both in KI and in KM.

In contrast, it is also possible to use the KI lexicons (H) in the Ng level although the lexicons have their counterparts in the Ng level. The use of the KI

lexicons (H) in the Ng level concerns with the choice of the verbs in conjunction with the person (the agent) who conducts the activity of the verb (either as a subject, or as an object, further discussion of this matter, please see sentences (3) and (4) below). The application of language politeness which is realized in the speech levels implies that a Javanese should conduct a good behavior (*tata krama*) that is a young person should respect to the older, or to the person whose social status is higher, or if the context of situation requires it.

Knowing the speech styles, we should also know the principal factors determining the style choices. Otherwise, we may choose the wrong styles which can have a disagreeable effect on the listener. However, it is not easy to choose the appropriate level in practice because there is no clear-cut rule which can guide us to use the right level. Some Javanese linguists (Horn, 1992; Poedjosoedarmo 1979) put forward two main factors - the level of formality and that of the social status of the speaker and the hearer – which may help us to select the levels. In my experience, the choice of these levels is also influenced by the age of the speaker/hearer and the purpose of the utterance. What follows is a brief discussion of the principal factors.

The first and probably the most common factor is the age of the speaker (S) and the listener (L). Based on this feature, the speech levels are used in the following way.

- (a) If S is older than L, e.g. parents to son/daughter, he will use the Ng level.
- (b) If S and L are equal in the age, e.g. among friends, S prefers to use the KM level.
- (c) If S is (much) younger than L, he will choose the KI level.

Secondly, the choice of the speech style can also be determined by the social status of the S and L. This status may be obtained from various ways such as: education, position (rank), and wealth. This factor, then, may violate the previous factor, the age of the S and L. For example, S who is much older than L chooses the KI level simply because he realizes that L's social status is higher than his, e.g. an employee or a servant speaking to his/her employer who is younger than him.

Next, the degree of intimacy between S and L can also play the role of choosing the speech levels in Javanese. Regarding this factor, KI is the mutually respectful speech which is used between strangers, or comparative strangers. People who speak to each other in KI, however, may gradually begin to use KM even Ng, if they become closer friends or become more intimate. Accordingly,

this feature often dominates the two previous factors (e.g. S < L but he uses KM or Ng because they have become closer friends).


Finally, whether the speaker will use Ng, KM, or KI is also determined by the situation in which they will deliver the utterance. For example, some people who have known one another well (and therefore normally using Ng or KM) will change the level of the language into KI as soon as they come into a formal situation such as: in a meeting, in giving a speech of a wedding party, or in delivering a sermon.

The next concept of the Javanese culture is *andhap-asor*. The phrase is lexically composed from two words *andhap* ‘low’ and *asor* ‘humble’. Thus, to conduct the *andhap-asor* in Javanese means lowering oneself while exalting others. This concept implies that a Javanese should not be proud of oneself, or should be ‘low profile’. The concept *andhap-asor* has great influence in the Javanese language, even the politeness of Javanese forms are based on the principles of *andhap-asor*; lowering oneself and exalting the other. The realization of this concept in Javanese can be seen from the relationship between the verb form and its agent (either as a subject or an object). Such a relationship in English is known as a subject verb agreement (SVA for short). In English, SVA is determined by the grammatical factor which is called grammatical concord (Gramely and Patzold, 1992), as demonstrated by (2).

- (2) a. They go to school every day.
 b. He goes to school every day.
 c. He went to school yesterday.

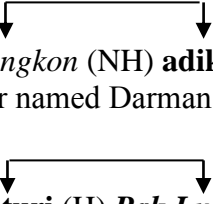
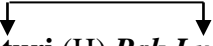
The use of the different verb forms in (2a) and (2b) ‘go’ and ‘goes’ which have the same meaning is controlled by the different number of subjects; ‘they’ the third plural subject and ‘he’ the third singular subject. Next, the different verb forms used in (2b) goes, and went in (2c) are motivated by the different tense forms: the present simple tense vs. the past simple tense. In short, the use of different verb forms is determined by the grammatical aspects.

Unlike English, SVA in Javanese is not controlled by the grammatical aspect (such as the number of subject, or the tense), but it is governed by non-linguistic factor, that is by the social relationship among the tenors, as realized by the concept of *andhap-asor*, as illustrated by (3).

- (3) Apa (Ng) Panjenengan (H) wis dhahar (H)? Aku (NH) tas maem (NH).
 (Have you had breakfast/lunch/dinner?) (I just had it)
- 

Both the words *dhahar* (H) and *maem* (NH) in (4) have the same referential meaning, namely ‘to have a meal’, but they are different pragmatically. In the first clause, the verb refers to the other, or to the respected subject (or the addressee) *panjenengan* ‘the exalted you’, so he must choose the honorific form *dhahar* to respect him. In contrast, when he refers to himself, the subject *Aku*, he chooses the non-honorific verb form *maem* from the Ng style to denigrate himself. In other words, the reason of choosing the different verb forms for the same referential meaning in the politeness of Javanese is the realization of the Javanese cultural concept *andhap-asor* (exalting others, while denigrating ourselves).

In addition to SVA, Javanese also has a rule which governs the relationship between the verb forms (Honorific vs. Non-honorific) to its object as the agent of the verbs as the realization of the cultural Javanese concept *andhap asor*. As associated with SVA, such kind of relationship can be called as an object verb agreement (OVA). Unlike Javanese, English does not have OVA. What we have in English as well as in any other languages (including Javanese) is the existence of an object that is determined by the kind of the verb (a transitive verb requires an object, while an intransitive verb cannot be followed by an object). As it occurs in SVA, the rule of OVA is also determined by the social status of the agent of the verbs, as presented by the following sentences.

- 
- (4) a. Mas Darman *ngongkon* (NH) **adik** (NH) *maem* (NH).
 ‘My older brother named Darman asked my younger brother to have meal’
- 
- b. Mas Darman **ngaturi** (H) **Pak Lurah** (H) *dhahar* (H).
 ‘My older brother named Darman asked the village leader to have meal’

Although the subjects of the sentences (4a and 4b) are the same person Mas Darman (my older brother named Darman), the verb forms used to express the same referential meaning are different. They are the low polite form *ngongkon* from the Ng level (NH), and the polite form *ngaturi* from the KI level (H) which both mean ‘to ask to do something’. Therefore, the use of the different verb forms in (4a and 4b) is not governed by the subject, but it is controlled by the (different social status of the) object of the verbs. In (4a), the object *adik* who has low status than the Subject Mas Darman requires the NH verb form *ngongkon*. In contrast, the object of (4b) *Pak Lurah* as a village

leader who has a higher social status than the subject Mas Darman needs the polite verb form or the KI lexicon (H) *ngaturi*.

Besides the two concepts, a good Javanese should also have a sense of *tanggap ing sasmito* which can be translated as the ability to interpret the hidden will of the speech partner. Grice (1981) introduced the term ‘implicature’ for the case in which what the speaker meant, implied, or suggested is distinct from what the speaker said. It means that a speaker may express his idea indirectly to the speaker. It is considered less polite or it may hurt the addressee’s feelings if it is delivered directly. In Javanese, the speaker is not always necessarily to express his or her feeling directly to the addressee because we have the culture of having ‘a good feeling’ or ‘implicature’ (according to Grice). The application of a sense of *tanggap ing sasmito* in Javanese culture can be illustrated by the following sentence, as quoted from Partana (2006).

- (5) A. “Mas adoh mas, mengko kesuwen’, mengkono tembungé Safik.
 (“It is very far, it will take a long time”, said Safik)
- B. “Iki kontake, aja banter-banter”, wangsulane Azar karo ngelungake kunci kontak sepeda montore.
 (Here is the key, don’t ride too fast”, replied Azar while giving the key of his motorcycle).

From the quotation above, it can be studied the application of the concept of *tanggap ing sasmito* in the dialogue. As a good Javanese, Azar can catch the hidden meaning delivered by Safik, that is by lending his motorcycle to him. It is right that Safik does not directly express his wish to borrow a motorcycle to Azar, for instance, by saying *aku nyilih montore* ‘I want to borrow your motorcycle’. Such an expression (making request directly) can make a psychological imposition to the addressee because he can lose his face (to get embarrassed) if he does not comply his request. In this case, Safik applies the indirect strategy (as Brown and Levinson suggested) to deliver his request.

D. Some Strategies of Making Requests Politely in Javanese

So far, the paper has concentrated only on the discussion of the general theories of politeness, and some concepts of the Javanese culture: *tata krama*, *andhap-ashor*, and *tanggap ing sasmito*. The (three) concepts are realized in the lexicons and grammar. In the lexicons, there are honorific words (H) which

are used to respect others, and non-honorific words (NH) that are used to denigrate ourselves. In terms of grammar (syntactic structures), it is found that Javanese has subject-verb agreement (SVA), and verb-object agreement (VOA). The ability of using H and NH, and mastering the knowledge of SVA and VOA are the important elements of applying speech levels in Javanese. Referring to the cultural concepts, and the politeness theories, some strategies of delivering requests in Javanese are examined. Each strategy is examined from the Javanese cultural concepts, from the Javanese syntactic structures, and in some extent also from the theories of politeness as proposed by some pragmatic linguists previously mentioned.

In general, Javanese imperative sentences can be transferred gradually into the request forms by replacing the imperative suffixes with a 'refined' particle *mbok* 'please', by using a supposition *kepriye saumpama /yen* which can be translated as 'what do you think?', by changing the declarative clause into the interrogative one, by deleting the agent using the agentless passive construction, by creating a certain condition, or by the combination of these components. Let us consider the following examples.

Context: a father speaks to his son. The speech level: Ng style

- (6) a. *Umbah-en montor iki!* (Ng)
 Wash- Imp motor cycle this (Wash this motor cycle)
- b. *Umbah-no montor iki!* (Ng) Wash- Imp/Ben motor this
 (Wash this motor cycle /Get this motor cycle washed!)

Both in (6a) and (6b), we find the imperative suffixes *-en* and *-no* respectively. The difference between them lies in the person who performs the action (the agent) and to whom the action is addressed (the benefactor). From the agent perspective, the suffix *-en* shows that the agent is only the addressee, whilst, the suffix *-no* indicates that the agent of the action is not necessarily the addressee. Thus, in (6a), it is the child who really washes the motor cycle, but in (6b) the agent of the action (wash this car) can be the child or someone else whom the child asks to do (a causative form).

The other difference of these suffixes is the benefactor of the action. With the suffix *-en*, the action is performed for the speaker (e.g. the parent),

the addressee (the son) or someone else (e.g. the son's aunt). However, with the suffix *-no*, the possible interpretation of the benefactor of the action is the speaker (e.g. the parent), or someone else, but not the addressee (the son).

Because (6a) suggests that the action must be done by the addressee, the use of the suffix *-en* is considered less polite than that of the suffix *-no* (6b). However, both of them are still considered too direct in giving an order (imperative) because they impose the speaker's will explicitly. This kind of expression is usually addressed to someone whose social status or age is lower than the speaker's (e.g. an employer to an employee, a parent to his/her son).

In terms of politeness, these sentences can be gradually improved by a particle *mbok* 'please', as demonstrated by (7a), a supposition *kepriye saumpama/yen* 'what would you think if' by (7b), and the combination of a supposition and the passive form by (7c).

- (7) a. *Mbok(Ng) kowe (Ng) ng-ubah montor iki!*
 Please you Act.- wash motor this
 (You wash this car, please!)
- b. *Kepriye saumpama(Ng) kowe (Ng) ng-ubah montor iki!*
 how if you Act.- wash motor this
 (lit., What is your opinion if you wash this car)
- c. *Kepriye saumpama(Ng) montor iki di-ubah(Ng)*
 how if motor this Pass-wash
 (lit., What is your opinion if this car is to be washed)

Politeness in the above examples can be seen from the deletion of the imperative suffixes *-en* and *-no* (however, if the suffix *-no* is used as a benefactive marker only, it can be kept). In (7a) and (7b), these suffixes are replaced by a refined particle 'mbok' meaning please. Therefore, sentences (7a) and (7b) are considered to be more polite than (6a) and (6b). Next, as a di-verb form construction, (7c) does not display an overt agent. Consequently, the action of (7c) can be interpreted to be carried by the addressee or someone else. In this case, the context of the utterance will usually help us to determine who will do the action.

In term of the degree of politeness for the above examples, it can be examined in the following way. Following Lakoff's rules of politeness, (7b and

7c) are considered to be more polite than (7a) because the former, (7b) and (7c), use the conditional forms or suppositions *kepriye saumpama* and *kepriye yen* respectively. By using the conditional forms, it can be said that (7b) and (7c) do not impose, because there is a space or a choice for the addressee to refuse or to comply the request. Finally, (7c) is regarded the most polite among the sentences for the following reasons. First, as to (7a) and (7b), it does not use an imperative suffix. Secondly, it does not impose the listener to do an action because it uses the conditional form, as it applies to (7b). In addition, it can also avoid mentioning the second person *kowe* by using the *di-verb* form. This agentless passive construction enables the speaker to give an order without addressing it directly to the addressee.

In terms of speech levels, all sentences in (6) and (7) belong to Ng styles. Therefore, these utterances may only be addressed to someone whose social status/age is lower than the speaker. Let us now investigate the more complicate strategies for making requests at all speech levels (Ng, KM, and KI). Because different levels express different degrees of politeness (Poedjosoedarmo, 1979), the choice of speech levels must be related to social circumstances (especially the interpersonal relationship between the interlocutors), and the context in which the utterance is delivered. The following examples vary from one level to another depending on the relationship between the speaker and listener. Following are different strategies of delivering requests in different (personal) relationships, such as: the age of the speaker-hearer (8), their intimacy (9) and their social status (10).

The context of utterances: (an older brother speaks to his younger brother)

The Speech level: the Ng style

- (8) a. *Aku ny-(s)ilih dhuwit-e.*
 I Act-borrow money-the (I want to borrow some money)
- b. *Mbok aku ny-(s)ilih dhuwit-e.*
 please I Act-borrow money-the (I want to borrow some money, please)
- c. *Aku ny-(s)ilih dhuwit-e, opo (kowe) ono?*
 I Act-borrow money-the, Qw (you) permit
 (Lit., I want to borrow some money, do you have it?)

In the Ng level, the request is simply expressed by a direct form or imperative (8a) which is mitigated by the particle *mbok* 'please' (8b) and by

a question form *opo ono* ‘do you have it?’ (8c). Therefore, (8b) and (8c) are considered to be more polite than (8a). However, these requests will only be claimed polite if the addressee’s status is lower than the speaker’s as indicated by the context of the utterances.

Next, in terms of the social relationship between the speaker/hearer, the sentences (8a—c) can be upgraded through the speech levels and the morpho-syntactic constructions, as demonstrated by (9). From the speech levels, we can see in (9), in which the speaker and hearer are friends but they are not very familiar, the speaker chooses the KM style. The politeness of (9) is indicated by some lexicons from the KM style, such as: *kula*, *nyambut*, *nopo*, *sampeyan*, and *wonten*.

The context of utterances: (the speaker and hearer are friends but not so close)

The Speech level: the KM style

(9) a. *Kula ny-(s)ilih dhuwit-e.*

(I Act-borrow money-the) I want to borrow some money.

b. *Kula KM) ny-(s)ambut dhuwit-e, nopo (sampeyan) wonten?*

I Act-borrow money-the, Qw (you) have

(I want to borrow some money, do you have it?)

The following relationship between the speaker and listener may come from their social status. In this context, for example, the addressee has a higher social status than the listener’s. The politeness for making request in (9) can be gradually upgraded as follows.

The context of utterances: an employee speaks to his employer) The Speech level: the KI style

(10) a. *Kula ng-ampil arta-nipun, nawi jenengan pareng ?*

I Act-borrow money-the, if you permit

(May I borrow some money if you don’t mind ?)

b. *Kula ng-ampil arta-nipun, menawi panjenengan kepareng ?*

I Act-borrow money-the, if you permit

(May I borrow some money if you don’t mind?)

The request forms in (10a) and (10b) are more formal than in (8) and (9), as indicated by the use of the KI style. Therefore, we find some changes in the lexical items, such as: *nyambut*, *dhuwit-e*, and *sampeyan* in (9b) change into *ngampil*, *arta-nipun*, and *jenengan* respectively in (10a). Furthermore, in the word forms, we find some words such as: *nawi*, *jenengan*, and *pareng* in (10a) become *menawi*, *panjenengan*, and *kepareng* in (10b). The words: *nawi*, *jenengan*, and *pareng* in one group and *menawi*, *panjenengan*, and *kepareng* in the other group do not suggest different meaning referentially. The first group (the forms without the prefixes: *me-*, *pan-*, and *ke-*) is only the short form of the second group. However, they are pragmatically different. The second group (the complete form) suggests more polite than the short one. Therefore, in term of politeness, (10b) is more polite than (10a).

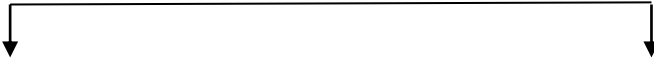
The degree of politeness in (10b) can be further upgraded through syntactic constructions. In the morpho-syntactic perspective, the intransitive verb *pareng* (10a), or *kepareng* (10c) can be changed into the transitive one (a verb which needs an object) by adding the applicative (Appl) suffix *-aken*, as presented by (10c).

- (10) c. “*Menawi panjenengan mareng-aken kula , ...*”
 If you (Subj) permit-Appl (Act trns verb) me (Obj),
 (Lit., If you allowed me, ...)

However, this active construction (10c) still has the second person (the addressee) *panjenengan*, which is constrained by the politeness theory (too direct, according to Brown and Levinson, or there is an imposition, according to Lakoff), in making a request as previously mentioned. Therefore, this active transitive verb clause (10c), then, should be altered into the passive form, by moving the active object *kula* into the passive subject, and the active subject *panjenengan* becomes the agent of the verb *kepareng-aken*, as demonstrated by (10d).

- (10) d. *Menawi kula dipun-kepareng-aken kaliyan panjenengan, ...?*
 If I (Subj) Pass- permit-Appl by you (Agent),
 (Lit., If I am allowed by you, I will borrow some money)

Next, the subject *kula* in the passive clause of (10d) can be reduced, symbolized by zero (\emptyset). The deletion of the subject-pronoun *kula* is permitted because the subject of the clause is controlled by the higher clause (the main clause) *kula* as demonstrated in (10e), and the deletion of the subject-pronoun *kula* is shown by (10f).

- 
- (10) e. “Menawi **kula** dipun keparengaken kaliyan panjenengan, **kula** ngampil artanipun?” (Lit., If I am allowed by you, I will borrow you money)
- (10) f. Menawi Ø **panjenengan** kepareng-aken, kula ng-ampil arta-nipun?
If you (Agent) permit-APPL, I Act-borrow money-the
(Lit., If Ø allowed by you, I will borrow your money)
(If you allow me, can I borrow some money?)

Finally, for the purpose politeness, the agent of the passive verb panjenengan in (10f) can be removed from the clause through the agentless passive form, as exhibited by (10g).

- (10) g. Menawi Ø Ø dipun-kepareng-aken, kula ng-ampil arta-nipun?
If Pass-permit-APPL, I Act-borrow money-the
(Lit., if allowed, I borrow your money)
(If you don't mind, could you lend me some money?)

This deletion is allowed because the dipun-passive verb form emphasizes more on the result of an action (benefactor oriented) rather than on the agent oriented, and the agent of the clause can also be implicitly understood from the person to whom the utterance is delivered. The motivation of this deletion is to change the request into the more polite form because this construction enables the speaker to give an order without directly addressing to the addressee. From the politeness perspective, the syntactic construction with the agentless form (10g) is considered to be the most polite form among the sentences.

From the discussion above, it is found that a request which is expressed by an interrogative or indirect form is more polite than the one which is expressed directly using an imperative one. The explanation follows the principles of politeness as proposed by Lakoff. In the speaker's based requests (declarative or imperative forms), the speaker expresses their will explicitly so that the addressee performs an action, as in (6a) to wash a motorcycle, or as in (8a) and (b) to lend some money. This kind of expression will violate Lakoff's polite rule “don't impose”.

By contrast, in the addressee based requests (interrogative or indirect forms), the speaker expresses the request implicitly so that the addressee

appears to have a choice as whether she/he will comply the request or to refuse it. In other words, the speaker should make the listener feel good or friendly, as suggested by Lakoff. This degree of politeness can be upgraded using the sentence construction. For example, we can avoid using the second person pronoun as an addressee, either by deleting the subject of the active construction because it can be understood from the context, or by using the agentless passive construction.

Another strategy of making polite request in Javanese is using a supposition or creating a situation, for instance by giving the hearer a chance to refuse the request. In the following example (11), a Javanese student who is studying in Melbourne, Australia, has a got a letter from his uncle who asked the student to bring a warm jacket for him.

(11) a. “Yen ono (Ng), mbok aku (Ng) di-gawak-ke (Ng) jaket dingin”

If available please – I Pass-bring-APPL jacket cold

(Lit., If available, please brought me a warm jacket)

(If it is available, can you bring a warm jacket for me?)

The politeness of (11a) can be evaluated from two aspects. First, the expression of *yen ono* ‘if available’ can be interpreted as a strategy to make the request softer (or indirectness, according to Brown and Levinson) because the expression has given a chance to the addressee to reject the request (don’t impose, or make feel good, according to Lakoff’s rules). The fact is that the speaker knows that the addressee is living in a city which has four seasons. One of the seasons is winter in which everyone wears a warm jacket. Accordingly, it is not difficult for him to find a warm jacket. This supposition, *yen ono*, can be read literally as giving a chance to the addressee to refuse the request, for example by replaying *ora ono* ‘it is not available’ or ‘it cannot be found’. However, such an answer seems peculiar because of the fact that the jacket is obviously available in a city like Melbourne. According to the concept of *tanggap ing sasmito*, the expression *yen ono* must be interpreted as ‘asking willingness’, whether he is willing to bring the jacket for him, rather than as a real question.

Secondly, from the syntactic perspective, the politeness of (11a) is indicated by the use of a particle *mbok*, and the passive di-verb form *di-gawak-ke* (to be brought) to avoid the addressing of the second person *kowe* (you)

as the agent of the verb. This strategy is an effort to lessen the psychological burden of the request (don't impose, according to Lakoff).

As indicated by the speech level (the Ng style), (11a) shows that the speaker has a higher status or older than the addressee (e.g. an uncle to his cousin). If, for example, the speaker status is lower than the addressee's, such a request will be considered to be less polite or impolite. This impoliteness, then, can be improved by translating the utterance into the KI level, as indicated by (11b).

(11) b. Menawi (KI) wonten (KI), kula (KM/KI) panjenengan (KI) betak-aken (KI) jaket dingin.

(If it is available, can you bring a warm jacket for me?)

The request of (11a) has been translated properly into KI level (11b) which is signaled by the use of KI lexicons. In term of politeness, however, this request (11b) is still considered to be less appropriate, and so is too direct pragmatically because the request is delivered to a person whose status is higher than the speaker's (e.g. a cousin to his uncle). It is very often, then, the speaker creates a situation which enables him to make a request. Thus, the supposition such as: mboten ngrepoti 'not making you any trouble' and sedoyo urusan sampun cekap 'everything has been fixed' is often introduced before he really expresses his request, as demonstrated by (11c).

(11) c. Menawi (KI) mboten(KI) ng-repot-i lan sedoyo (KI) urusan (Ng) sampun

If no Act-trouble-Suff and all matters already

cekap (KI), kula panjenengan (KI) beta-aken (KI) jaket dingin

fixed, I you bring-APPL jacket cold

(If it does not make you any trouble, and everything has been fixed,

please you bring me a warm jacket?)

The degree of politeness of (11c) is much better than of (11a) and (11b) which is indicated by the creating of a supposition: menawai mboten ngrepoti or a condition: lan sedoyo urusan sampun cekap prior to the request. The supposition as well as the condition have relay made the addressee feel good because he has got more chance to get free from the request. In (11a) as well as in (11b), the addressee has only got one chance yen ono or menawi wonten to reject the request, and the reason of rejecting is less reasonable since the

warm jacket is really easy to find in Melbourne, while in (11c) the addressee has two reasons to refuse the request, namely: it makes him trouble to bring, and he still has many things to do. However, the degree of politeness in (11c) is still possible to be upgraded by deleting the agent ‘panjenengan’ as required by the agentless passive construction, by changing the main clause (a declarative clause) into an interrogative one, as demonstrated by (11d).

- (11) d. Menawi (KI) mboten(KI) ng-repot-i lan sedoyo (KI) urusan (Ng) sampun
 If no Act-trouble-Suff and all matters already
 cekap (KI), menopo(KI) kula saget dipun-beta-aken (KI) jaket dingin?
 Enough, QW I can Pass-bring-APPL jacket cold
 (Lit., If no trouble and all matters are already fixed, can I be brought
 a warm jacket ?)
 (If it does not make you any trouble and everything is fixed, could you
 bring me a warm jacket?)

The deletion of the agent *panjenengan* in the request clause, as well as the use of the question word-order *menopo kula saget* ‘could you ... for me’ rather than a direct order as in (11b) and (11c) make the request form (11d) the most polite form among the request variants above.

E. Conclusion

Politeness in making requests in Javanese can be examined through the Javanese cultural concepts, the linguistic properties, and the politeness theories. Referring to the three factors, polite requests in Javanese can be delivered through the following strategies. First, a request can be made by removing an imperative suffix, and replacing it by a refined particle *mbok* meaning ‘please’. Second, it is very crucial to pay attention the social relationship among the interlocutors, and the situation of the utterance, so that we can choose the appropriate speech levels, as well as the right verb forms (honorifics vs. non-honorifics) based on the subjects or the objects of the verbs (SVA, OVA). Third, the degree of politeness in making requests can be achieved by (1) the indirectness or off-record strategy which can be realized through the interrogative forms, removing the addressee using the agentless passive construction, and (2) creating a supposition or a situation which makes the addressee feel good because he is free from the imposition of the request.

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