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A note on the importance of the Ngoko-Krama distinction for the determination of Javanese language structure

In: *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 125 (1969), no: 2, Leiden, 263-266

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A NOTE ON THE IMPORTANCE OF THE NGOKO-KRAMA DISTINCTION FOR THE DETERMINATION OF JAVANESE LANGUAGE STRUCTURE.

In his Leiden inaugural lecture *De tegenstelling Krama-Ngoko: Haar positie in het Javaanse Taalsysteem*¹ Professor Uhlenbeck advocated the point of view that the Ngoko-Krama distinction belonged to the lexical layer (*woordleer*).

Recently in his paper *Some Preliminary Remarks on Javanese Syntax*,² he remarked: "In view of the fact that only sequences of two different auxiliaries are allowed, it is interesting to note that *aja* and *wis*³ have the same ceremonial equivalent (*sampun*)"; and⁴: "It is worth noting that from a syntactic point of view the distinction krama-ngoko is much more important than from the point of view of morphology, phonology, or lexicography. For nearly all the auxiliaries and for many other important elements there are krama equivalents. This aspect was not sufficiently stressed in my inaugural lecture of 1950."

One of Professor Uhlenbeck's publications which appeared in the period between 1950 and 1965 is his: *De Systematiek der Javaanse pronomina*.⁵ The following note aims to find out whether for a description of the systematics of Javanese pronouns too the Ngoko-Krama distinction might be of a somewhat greater relevance than has been assumed till now. I will base myself exclusively on the material collected by Uhlenbeck, not claiming to have undertaken any new research.

Uhlenbeck's work contains several tables, one of which shows the general systematic division as outlined by him,⁶ others listing ceremonial equivalents of each group, and finally one showing the possibilities for transposition of each pronominal morpheme into another class of words.

I would like to supplement these tables with one showing together all the ceremonial equivalents, now scattered through the descriptive sections of the book.⁷ In my opinion a parallelism between the neutral,

¹ (The opposition Krama : Ngoko. Its position in the Javanese language system), Groningen - Djakarta, 1950.

² *Lingua* 15, 1965, p. 62, note 12.

³ Two auxiliary words meaning "don't" and "already", which in exception to this rule cannot together be put between a personal pronoun and the verbal stem.

⁴ *idem*, p. 60, note 10.

⁵ (Systematics of Javanese Pronouns), The Hague, 1960.

⁶ Reproduced below as Table I.

⁷ Reproduced below as Table III.

modal and quantitative series on the one hand and the local, directional and probably also the temporal series⁸ on the other hand then becomes apparent.

Those series belonging to the first group boast three *madya* but only one *krama* equivalent. The second group, however, possesses three *krama* and no *madya* equivalents.

If this observation is correct, the formal correspondence—opposition should be matched by a semantical one.

In this respect I would venture that the neutral, modal and quantitative series might be termed correlational, i.e. directly connected with the speaker, while the local, directional and temporal series, being neutral in this regard, might be styled non-correlational.

My choice of these terms is to be explained from the general functions of *madya* and *krama* within the framework of the Javanese language. In the correlational sphere the personal involvement is too strong to be allowed to express itself fully in the vaguer, polite *Krama* idiom.⁹ So only one, rather vague and neutral *Krama* equivalent is in use. On the other hand, however, it is this correlational factor which explains the use of a form "in-between" as a finer ceremonial shade. Where the inhibitions against a fully developed ceremonial system, as they make themselves felt in the *Krama* layer, are neutralised therein, *madya* indeed possesses all three equivalents.¹⁰

In the non-correlational sphere however all these factors do not operate, so that here *Krama* has all three equivalents while there is no need for *madya*.¹¹

In this way, then, we are able, by making use of the factual data which the ceremonial equivalents provide, to reach a more exact determination within the system of the Javanese pronouns, as comparison between Uhlenbeck's table (I) and mine (II) will substantiate.

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⁸ As the Table shows both *kae* and *ika* occur. *Sěprono* does not occur.

⁹ The use of some pronouns of this group in an affectionate way is remarkable in this context as it might constitute proof of the correctness of my division. c.f. Uhlenbeck, 1960, p. 37: Verder komt vooral *nono* en bij afkorting *no* (*měnkono* L.F.B.) in het bijzonder aan het eind van de zin frequent voor met een soort affectieve betekenis (Further particularly *nono* and as abbreviation *no*, occur, especially at the end of the phrase, frequently with a kind of affective meaning) and the examples given there.

¹⁰ It seems that diachronically the *madya* may have originated in the *Krama*. The *Krama* form corresponds with the 3rd person of the *madya*. From this form the other forms may have developed on the pattern of the *Ngoko*. The only exception to this is *Krama mēnika* (*punika*); *madya: nika*. However, it might well be argued that *pun* - as a typical *Krama* element [c.f. *Ngoko si* - *Krama pun*; *Ngoko di* - *Krama dipun*; *Ngoko (n)e* - *Krama (n)ipun*] could not be retained in *madya* and hence had to be dropped.

¹¹ The character of *Krama* as briefly outlined above precludes its being more specific than the *Ngoko*, so in the temporal series again only two *Krama* equivalents occur.

APPENDIX I

(Uhlenbeck, 1960, p. 3)

PERSONALIA	DEMONSTRATIVA					
	NEUTRAL	LOCAL	MODAL	DIREC-TIONAL	QUANTI-TATIVE	TEM-PORAL
aku kowe deweqe	iki iku kae (ika)	kene kono kana	mēnkene mēnkono mēnkana	mrene mrono mrana	sēmene sēmono sēmana	sēprene — sēprana
	INTERROGATIVA ET INDEFINITA					
sapa	apa	ēndi	kēpriye	—	pira	kapan

APPENDIX II

PERSONALIA	DEMONSTRATIVA					
	CORRELATIONAL			NON-CORRELATIONAL		
	NEUTRAL	MODAL	QUANTI-TATIVE	LOCAL	DIREC-TIONAL	TEM-PORAL
aku kowe deweqe	iki iku kae (ika)	mēnkene mēnkono mēnkana	sēmene sēmono sēmana	kene kono kana	mrene mrono mrana	sēprene — sēprana
	INTERROGATIVA ET INDEFINITA					
sapa	apa	ēndi	kēpriye	—	pira	kapan

APPENDIX III

(Showing the demonstrativa with their ceremonial equivalents)

NEUTRAL	M	K
iki iku kae (ika)	niki niku nika	mënika

LOCAL	M	K
kene kono kana		iñriki iñriku iñrika

MODAL	M	K
mëñkene mëñkono mëñkana	mëketën mëkotën mëkatën	mëkatën

DIRECTIONAL	M	K
mrone mrono mrana		mriki mriku mrika

QUANTITATIVE	M	K
sëmene sëmono sëmana	sëmentën sëmontën sëmantën	sëmantën

TEMPORAL	M	K
sëprene — sëprana		sëpriki — sëprika