

Bòsò Walikan Malang's Address Practices

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ABSTRACT

Address practices in natural conversations are sociolinguistically significant, because they display speakers' socio-cultural values as well as the community's social structure and social change. Focusing on Bòsò Walikan Malang¹ (/bòsò waliʔan malangan/, hereafter referred to as Walikan), a youth language spoken in Malang, this paper examines how address terms and politeness are practiced in a multilingual setting. Walikan is a colloquial variety of local Javanese and Indonesian that features word reversing (*mlaku* > *uklam* 'to walk'; *makan* > *nakam* 'to eat'). The youth language was specifically chosen as the focus of this study because it is an important symbol of the socio-cultural identity of the Arema (*Arek Malang*; the people of Malang). Looking at the underexplored topic of speech levels in youth language, the current research discusses the value of Walikan's address terms and how they are currently used to demonstrate the speakers' linguistic politeness. The analysis compares Walikan's address terms with those of Javanese and Indonesian, two dominant languages spoken in the area. Data for the current study were drawn from recordings, interviews, and observations conducted in an extensive fieldwork. The results of this study reveal a speakers' shift of value that is mainly prompted by a compromised common ground and social distance. The study argues that address practices in Walikan show different degree of politeness than that of Javanese and Indonesian.

Keywords: colloquial language; Bòsò Walikan Malang; address terms; politeness; cultural value

INTRODUCTION

Address practices, which can be defined as the way a speaker addresses others (including address pronouns, first names, last names, nicknames, titles, kinship terms) can be seen as crucial elements in exploring a certain culture. Their usage reflects the speakers' cultural values, which also identifies the speakers' perception of each other's social relationships (Norrby & Warren, 2012; Afful, 2007; Errington, 1998; Fazal Mohamed Mohamed Sultan & Mohd Romzi Ramli, 2015). In Javanese society, choosing the appropriate address terms may be complicated in certain contexts, due to intricate cultural norms and etiquette. Following Manns' research (2015), this paper explores the connection between address terms and socio-cultural value in group interaction among Javanese youth in Malang.

¹ In this paper, certain vowels are indicated by specific graphemes, as follows: /e/ by <é>, /ə/ by <e>, /o/ by <ó>, /ɛ/ by <è>, and /ɔ/by <ò>.

Manns (2015) studies the selection of kin terms and personal names by young Javanese speakers in Malang based on Javanese/Indonesian socio-cultural framing norms. This paper offers a further contribution to this issue by focusing on address terms, politeness, and how they are connected to the society's cultural value and social structure. Instead of Javanese, this paper concentrates on a certain kind of slang or colloquial register spoken in the same area: Bòsò Walikan Malang (henceforth Walikan). This Javanese 'youth language' is widely spoken in Malang (East Java, Indonesia).² Walikan is a youth language whose speakers encompass multiple generations, as older speakers are still using the form of Walikan they acquired when they were younger (Yannuar, forthcoming). The language features word reversal, for example, when the Javanese word *mlaku* 'to walk' is reversed into *uklam*. Other than a lexicon originating from Javanese, Walikan also contains words coming from Indonesian such as *sepèda* 'bicycle' and English such as 'slow', which are reversed into *adapes* and *wòles* respectively (Espree-Conaway, 2013). Not every word in a sentence is reversed, and the process of reversal only takes place on a lexical level. The grammatical structure of the utterances stays intact, and the matrix language used is *Ngókó*, or low Javanese (Hoogervorst, 2014).

This paper examines the use of address terms among speakers of Walikan. It begins with a discussion on basic concepts related to address terms, where we present the definitions of address terms used in the study. It then continues with an explanation of common ground and social distance, two important concepts in assessing cultural values in social interaction (Norrbý & Warren, 2012). Next, Javanese and Indonesian cultural values are briefly mentioned, followed by a more detailed description of the use of Javanese and Indonesian address terms based on earlier studies. The subsequent section then focuses on the current study of address practices in Walikan, the Javanese youth language in Malang. After describing our data collection process in the Methodology section, we continue by discussing our findings on Walikan's address terms and their use in natural conversations. Speakers' strategies in choosing address terms are analyzed from the dimension of common ground and social distance (Clark, 1996; Svennevig, 1999).

ADDRESS TERMS: BASIC CONCEPTS

This section discusses basic concepts and terminologies relevant to our discussion on address terms. Braun (1988) defines *address* as the linguistic reference used by a speaker to the addressee.³ It does not include greetings, which is viewed as a way to open an interaction only. The specific words and phrases that are used to specifically refer to the addressee and contain powerful deictic elements are the *forms of address* (Braun, 1988), which are interchangeable with *address terms* and *terms of address*. "In most languages, forms of address concentrate on three word classes: (1) pronoun, (2) verb, (3) noun, supplemented by words which are syntactically dependent on them" (Braun, 1988, p. 7). The first form, pronouns of address, includes pronouns directed to the addressee, such as French *tu* and *vous* and Dutch *je* and *u*. Verb forms of address comprise verbs that use inflectional suffixes to carry the specific reference to the addressee. The Finnish word *mene-t*, in *Mihin menet?* 'Where do you go?' is an example of verb forms of address because the -t is an inflectional suffix signifying second person singular (Braun, 1988). Meanwhile, nouns of address are described as "substantives and adjectives which designate collocutor or refer to them in some other way" (Braun, 1988, p. 9). Included in this category are names, kinship terms, titles,

² For a description of Bòsò Walikan Malang as a youth language, see Hoogervorst (2014).

³ Braun (1988) uses the term 'speaker' and 'addressee' instead of 'interlocutor' and 'collocutor' as is done in the present paper.

occupational terms, abstract nouns, relationship words, terms of endearment, and relational terms of address.⁴

In this study, address terms are clearly distinguished from person reference. Kinship terms, which are defined as terms used for blood relations encoding genealogical relationship (Braun, 1988; Agha, 2007), can function as person reference or forms of address. The word ‘grandson’ in English is a common person reference but it seldom occurs as a form of address (Braun, 1988). However, *cucu* ‘grandchild’ in Indonesian and *putu(-ku)* ‘(my) grandchild’ in Javanese can be used as forms of address.

Other important concepts related to address practice are reciprocity and symmetry. Braun (1988), following Brown and Gilman (1960), describes that forms of address can be used reciprocally and non-reciprocally. Reciprocal use is when the speaker and addressee use the same and equivalent forms (Braun, 1988). Two friends of the same age are most likely to use reciprocal forms of address and engage in a symmetrical relationship. On the other hand, when a father replies to his son using a different address form, an asymmetrical relationship takes place.

Personal pronouns often serve as an avenue to study social culture and change. In several European languages, there are contrasts between “two or more address pronouns, such as *tu* and *vous* in French, or *du*, *ihr* and *Sie* in German” (Norrby & Warren, 2012, p. 225). Brown and Gilman (1960) categorize them into ‘polite’ pronouns (V) and ‘familiar/non-honorific’ pronouns (T), which can be linked under the concept of power and solidarity. The use of T can help speakers establish common ground when it functions as an in-group identity marker (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Since the 1960s, such forms are viewed as important socio-political terms, in which their use can indicate the society’s revolt against traditionalism and shift towards solidarity and egalitarianism (Norrby & Warren, 2012; Clyne, Norrby, & Warren, 2009). As predicted by Brown and Gilman (1960), T form will neutralize the use of V form, in particular when the society is becoming less conservative. Recent research, however, shows that such change does not necessarily take place in linear development. In French, the rapid development of T is observed to take place only in certain community (Norrby & Warren, 2012; Clyne, Norrby & Warren, 2009).

Mashiri (1999) emphasizes the importance of observing the shift in addressing practices, because it indicates a change in how identities are recognized and in how culture is valued in that particular society. Address terms can also signify ‘politeness’, which Mohammad Yahya Al-rousan, Norsimah Mat Awal, and Khazriyati Salehuddin (2016) regard as “a fundamental part of social reality and is more than just a question of formality and routine” (p. 19). Within the Asian context, we want to highlight Barke and Uehara’s (2005) study on Japanese pronouns’ shift. The study shows that Japanese pronouns dated from the Nara period (AD 710-794) are more numerous than European forms. However, their life span is quite short because of rapid replacement. Japanese pronouns have comparatively more layers and levels of politeness; as a result, the speakers can express a finer degree of politeness. They can select certain pronouns to be used with ‘superiors’, ‘equals’, ‘inferiors’, and even ‘close superiors’ and ‘close inferiors’ (Barke & Uehara, 2005, p. 306). However, their historical survey reveals that the pronouns’ degree of politeness is rapidly reduced, thus “Japanese pronouns are comparatively unstable entities in a constant state of flux” (Barke & Uehara, 2005, p. 307). In order to maintain politeness, Japanese women become the key players in creating new polite forms.

The focus of the present study on Javanese is not on how politeness is maintained; rather, it is geared towards revealing how the degree of politeness of address forms in a youth register is reduced when compared to its matrix languages.

⁴ See Braun (1988, p. 9-10) for definitions and examples of each form.

COMMON GROUND AND SOCIAL DISTANCE

In order to analyze the shift of politeness in Walikan, this paper uses the ‘common ground’ and ‘social distance’ framework. Clyne, Norrby and Warren (2009) mentions Clark’s (1996) notion of ‘common ground’ as a fundamental approach in one’s attempt to explore shared assumptions and social interactions. There are two types of common ground: one that is established at personal level and another one at communal level, “the first relating to interlocutors’ direct experience of one another and the second to their shared membership of a particular group or community” (Norrby & Warren, 2012, p. 228). These two levels should not be viewed in separate spaces, because they often come together and shape the individuals’ common ground. Clyne, Norrby and Warren (2009) illustration is how common ground is established among badminton club members in Paris, “the common ground is established through being members of a cultural community that plays badminton and through the personal relationships established and maintained through playing with a set of like-minded individuals, informally dressed in shorts and t-shirts, creating the conditions for reciprocal use of *tu*” (p. 26).

Common ground also offers us the possibility to understand interactions between strangers, which can be viewed through ‘circumstantial’ and ‘episodic’ evidence (Clark, 1996, p. 117-119). Circumstantial elements include physical evidence such as the speakers’ appearance and costumes, while episodic refers to the actions performed by the speakers, such as their conversational styles or strategies (Clyne, Norrby & Warren, 2009). When a speaker is interacting with a stranger, a membership categorization may take place. Question such as ‘Are you the same or different from me?’ may be asked in order to explore the concept of ‘sameness’ (Sacks, 1992, pp. 8-40; Clyne, Norrby & Warren, 2009, p. 26; Norrby & Warren, 2012).

On the other side of the perspective, Svennevig’s (1999) concept of ‘social distance’ can be used to assess speakers’ choice of address (Norrby & Warren, 2012). Svennevig’s (1999) model of social distance describes three interrelated factors: affect, solidarity, and perspective. They are not stable, exist in a continuum, and can be negotiated during speakers’ interaction (Norrby & Warren, 2012; Clyne, Norrby & Warren, 2009). Svennevig’s (1999) table of social distance dimensions as presented in Clyne, Norrby and Warren (2009, p. 29) can be seen in the following table.

TABLE 1. Dimensions of social distance (based on Svennevig, 1999, p. 34).

Relation	Constitutive feature	Sphere
Affect	mutual attraction	emotional
Solidarity	mutual rights and obligations	normative
Familiarity	mutual knowledge of personal information	cognitive

JAVANESE AND INDONESIAN

This section provides a brief background of Javanese and Indonesian languages and their socio-cultural values. Javanese has a system that reflects the cultural richness of the Javanese society which is known for its complexities in social manner and behavior. According to Poedjosoedarmo (1968, p. 54), “a complicated (Javanese) etiquette dictates the way a person sits, stands, directs his eyes, holds his hands, points, greets people, laughs, walks, dresses, and so on”. Every Javanese is expected to follow the etiquette, especially younger people when they are speaking to older people. The aforementioned etiquette has also been associated with one’s degree of education and social status. Someone who has a deeper grasp of education or has high social status is supposed to show even more refined manners. The

Javanese concepts of politeness link speech to manner, thus one's higher degree of language politeness is always accompanied by a more elaborated manner (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968).

Javanese language politeness is shown through its three different speech levels: *kròmò* (high/ polite and formal), *madyò* (middle/ intermediate), and *ngókó* (low/ informal). Errington (1998) explains that these three levels exist in a continuum. The lower end of the continuum is the unrefined ('kasar') speech of *Ngókó*, and the more refined one is called *Madyò*. However, *Madyò* is described as less refined than the most courteous level: *Kròmò* (Errington, 1998, p. 37). These speech levels are used mainly to show: "(1) the degree of formality, and (2) the degree of respect (and politeness) felt by the speaker towards the addressee" (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 56). The speech levels, which sometimes are also referred to as 'registers' and 'styles' are indicated by different sets of lexicons and "choice of affixes" (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968, p. 57).⁵

Earlier studies on Javanese are mostly interested in the standard form of the language, which is mostly spoken in Central Java (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968; Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982). Within this area, including cities such as Yogyakarta and Surakarta, Javanese speakers maintain the use of three different speech levels in everyday speech. In more recent studies of Javanese dialects, Javanese dialects and sub dialects are mentioned to have significant differences from the standard form of Javanese spoken in Central Java, partly because of the socio-cultural diversities of the speakers (Conners, 2008; Vander Klok, 2012; Jackson & Rahmat, 2013).

As expected from its intricate etiquette described previously, Javanese people have a specific system of addressing common ground and social distance. Older people have more social capital than younger people, and people from lower status must respect people from higher social status. Accordingly, people with a better education are socially powerful. In a family context, a rigid social distance is maintained between parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, as well as husband and wife.

Javanese people must show respect in conversations and in social interactions. As a result, there are a large number of choices for first and second personal pronouns, or nouns that can be used as second personal pronouns. The use of certain personal pronouns can express different degrees of politeness (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968). In his classic work on Standard/Central Javanese, Poedjosoedarmo (1968, p. 55) mentions the word '*kawulo*' (literally meaning 'subject') and '*abdi dalem*' (literally meaning 'your servant' [*Sic*]) as examples of different forms available for first personal pronouns. Meanwhile, for second personal pronouns, speakers may choose between *panjenengan* (you), *sampèyan dalem* (literally meaning 'your leg/foot'), *panjenengan dalem* (literally meaning 'your standing'), *ngarsò dalem* (literally meaning 'your front'), *ingkang sinuwun* (literally meaning 'the lifted up' or 'the most exalted'), *padukò* (literally meaning 'foot'), and *padukò dalem* (literally meaning 'your foot') (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968). The set indicates the socio-cultural burden of a Javanese speaker because they have to choose which pronouns or nouns to use when speaking to an addressee.

It is important to note that Javanese dialects also have their own region-specific repertoire of pronouns. In Surabayan Javanese, for example, *aku* (singular), *awak dhéwé* (plural inclusive and exclusive, meaning '(our) own bodies'), and *kita* (plural inclusive) are used as first personal pronouns. Additionally, *kòen* (singular), *awakmu* (singular, meaning 'your body'), *penò* (singular polite, from Madurese *abă'na*, meaning 'your body'), *kòen kabèh* (plural) *penò kabèh* (plural polite), and *penò-penò* (plural polite) are used as second personal pronouns (Hoogervorst, 2009). *Awakmu* and *awak dhéwé* are derived from pronominally used nouns.

⁵ For comprehensive description and examples of Javanese speech levels, see Poedjosoedarmo (1968).

Malang Javanese, based on our observation, uses its own sets of personal pronouns, as described in Table 2.

TABLE 2. Pronouns in Malang Javanese

Malang Javanese	Examples of Contexts
aku (1SG, ngókó)	equals, sibling, parents to children
awakku (1SG, ngókó)	equals, siblings
kulò (1 SG, madyò)	children to parents
dalem (1SG, kròmò)	children to grandparents
kowè (2SG, ngókó)	parents to children
kòèn (2SG, ngókó)	equals, siblings
awakmu (2SG, ngókó)	equals, siblings
sampèyan (2SG, madyò)	older speaker to younger addressee
panjenengan (2SG, kròmò)	children to parents

Kinship terms, another focus of this paper next to second person pronouns, are also central to Javanese sociolinguistic practices. In Javanese, kinship terms are used “beyond blood relations to index metaphoric kinship” (Manns, 2015, p. 76). Speakers also use forms originated from kinship terms to address others whom they want to respect or consider as close friends. Some Javanese kinship terms such as *ibu* ‘mother’, *bapak* ‘father’, *mbak* ‘older sister’, and *mas* ‘brother’ are widely used within the Indonesian language context (Errington, 1998; Manns, 2015).⁶ The following figure shows the direction of address in *Ngókó* Javanese kinship terms.

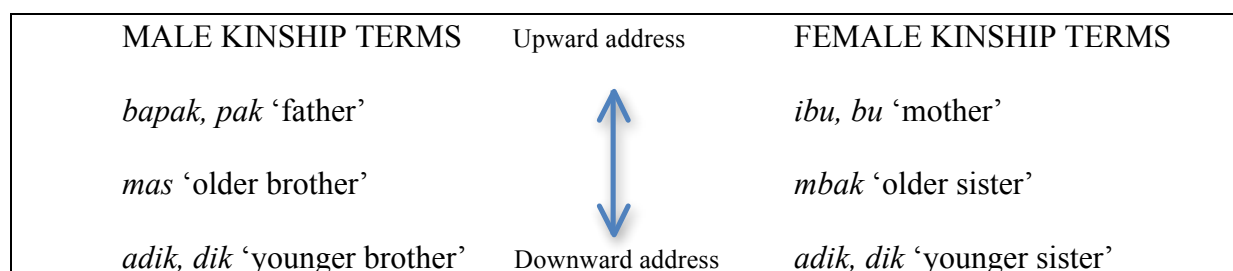


FIGURE 1. Javanese kinship terms (Source: Manns. 2015, p. 76).

Indonesian, on the other hand, is a language that was particularly chosen by the nationalists and considered as the symbol to carry the new hope for the new nation, which are democracy, equality, and modernity (Sneddon, 2003). More specifically, Sneddon (2003) mentions Javanese as a language with hierarchy, something that is not compatible with the principle of equality. Indonesian (Malay at that time) was a better choice to reflect more egalitarianism because it does not have speech levels.

However, a sense of relative power and distance can be observed in the collection of Indonesian first and second personal pronouns. Sneddon et al. (2010) list *engkau, kamu, kau, anda* ‘you’ as second personal pronouns (singular), accompanying *saya* and *aku* ‘I’ as the first personal pronouns (singular).

⁶ See Manns (2015) for a description of how the youth in Malang is affected by socio-cultural norms when selecting Javanese kinship terms and personal names as address terms.

TABLE 3. Pronouns in Indonesian (adapted from Sneddon et al., 2010)

Indonesian	Examples of Contexts
saya (1SG)	neutral
aku (1SG)	parents to children, equals
kita (1PL, incl.)	neutral
kami (1PL, excl.)	neutral
engkau (2SG)	parents to children, equals
kamu (2SG)	parents to children, equals
kau (2SG)	parents to children, equals
anda (2SG)	neutral
kalian (2PL)	neutral

Sneddon et al. (2010) elaborate that *saya* and *anda* are mostly used in a more neutral situation than their counterparts, but in general they do not suggest intimate relationships between the speaker and the addressee. On the other hand, *aku* is acceptable in situations where intimacy is present. Further, they mention a recent shift in which young adults are using “*aku* in impersonal situations and public contexts” (p. 165). This is not widely accepted by the older speakers, of course, because *aku* “conveys a suggestion of social superiority on the part of the speaker” (p. 165). Thus, for a younger speaker, it is more socially desirable to resort to *saya* when speaking to someone older. Lastly, *engkau*, *kamu*, and *kau* are used to show intimacy and/or the speaker’s social superiority.

Meanwhile, in colloquial Indonesian, speakers use the term *kamu* and *elo* to address someone of the same age or of younger age (Djenar, 2006). Following Djenar’s (2006) description, colloquial Indonesian is a form of non-standard Indonesian that is “predominant in casual interaction, and is largely associated with the Jakartan youth” (p. 22.2). Djenar (2006) argues that *kamu* and *elò* are used to indicate “distance, unfamiliarity, as well as closeness and intimacy” (p. 22.1). An observation to the characters of two popular Indonesian movies reveals that *kamu* and *elò* are used normatively to appropriately address peers, but “how speakers choose between them cannot be determined solely by this norm, they continually assess and reassess their own situation and their relationship with the interlocutor, and with each shift they realign or reposition themselves within that relationship” (p. 22.14). The author concludes that the choice of terms of address being used exists not as a static concept; rather, it is continually shifting based on the nature of relationship between the speaker and the addressee at that certain time.

In short, although a sense of social power and distance is still apparent in both standard and colloquial Indonesian, it is not as rigid as what has been discussed regarding the Javanese system. Table 3 indicates that more neutral pronouns are available in Indonesian.

METHODOLOGY

The research data was collected from the period of August 2015 to June 2015 in the urban area of Malang. Located around 89 kilometers south of Surabaya, the city is the second biggest in East Java. There are approximately 800,000 inhabitants living in the municipality. Most of the people in Malang are Javanese, and they speak the local dialect of Javanese and the national language, Indonesian. Malang has large numbers of university students who come from different parts of Java and Indonesia.

The dataset includes conversations and monologues of 13 speakers (8 males, 5 females). They were selected after a one-month long observation as fluent speakers of Walikan. This selection was based on the following criteria: 1) speakers reside in Malang during the time of fieldwork; 2) they consider themselves as proficient speakers of Walikan; and 3) they are able to converse in Walikan with one of the researchers. Twelve participants

were born in Malang, and only one was born in Tulungagung, a city located 100 km northeast of Malang, but moved to Malang since elementary school. Metadata of these speakers includes age, gender, occupation, as well as address of residency; however, these variables did not determine the selection of the participants.

The method of data collection comprises participant observation and an unstructured interview. The process of data collection began with the unstructured interview, followed by a session where the respondents were asked to narrate a childrens' storybook entitled "Frog Where are You?" in Walikan. The session was followed by a conversation between them and one of the researchers. The respondents conversations with friends or families who were present during the observation were also recorded. The data was transcribed and then analyzed using descriptive approach. The transcription was done using *ELAN* and was transferred to *FLEX* (software for descriptive linguistics). As the purpose of this study is on the use of address terms, the observed terms were then highlighted and examined carefully based on their use in context.

Address terms in computer-mediated communication (CMC) were also observed, bearing in mind that a closer look at the Internet can provide interesting data, especially on how the users represent themselves in cyberspace (Noraini Md Yusof, 2009). Although the primary data consists of spoken address terms, we could not turn a blind eye to the fact that there is an abundance of Walikan data online. Some of these are also included here, considering the similarities of style between Facebook chats and spoken conversations. The Facebook group being observed for the study is called 'AREMA Club (Pencinta Malang dan Boso Walikan)'. This group is managed by two administrators and has more than 60,000 likes from other Facebook users. The group is generally very active, and almost every post and comment in the group is written in Walikan.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section discusses certain linguistic and cultural values of Walikan. In doing so, the varieties of address forms used in Walikan were explored and compared to terms of address in Javanese and Indonesian.

The observation showed that Walikan discourse is in use in many contexts despite the relative power and distance between the speaker and the addressee. This is at odds with Javanese, a language that has an intricate system of speech level, in which power relations between the speaker and the addressee are continuously assessed during conversations. As previously described, in Javanese, speakers are challenged to choose consciously between three different levels of speech: *Kròmò* (high), *Madyò* (middle), and *Ngókó* (low) when speaking (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968; Errington, 1998). Speakers have to assess their personal relationships with whom they are talking to, to ensure that they use the most appropriate address term. It would be considered impolite or taboo to use *Ngókó* when speaking to someone of older age and inappropriate to use *Kròmò* to someone younger and/or of lower social status.

Table 4 lists six kinds of address terms found in the data used for this study. The address terms for first person singular (*ayas*) and second person singular/plural (*umak*) are present in Walikan. In addition, there are also several kinship terms popularly used among Walikan speakers (no 3-6). It is also worth noting that number 3, 4 and 6 originally are nouns, but they can be used as pronouns.

TABLE 4. Terms of Address among Speakers of Walikan

No	Walikan	Origins	Gloss
1	ayas	saya (Indonesian)	'I'
2	umak	kamu (Indonesian)	'you'
3	èbès	sèbèh (Javanese)	'father'
4	èbès kòdè	sèbèh wèdòk (Javanese)	'mother'
5	sam	mas (Javanese)	'older brother'
6	kèr	arèk (Javanese)	'kid'

Saya and *kamu* are both common address terms in Indonesian. In Walikan, they are both reversed into *ayas* and *umak* respectively, as shown in Table 4. The current corpus demonstrates that there is a shift of cultural meaning implied when *ayas* and *umak* are used in Walikan. *Saya* in Standard Indonesian is described in Sneddon et al. (2010) as a term with relatively neutral social connotation. Besides being used in reciprocal communication, it can also be used when the speaker wants to show politeness in certain degrees; *saya* is to be used especially when the speaker is younger than the addressee. The use of another first person pronoun like *aku* will most likely be considered as impolite. However, in Walikan, people use *ayas* (<*saya*) very frequently. Even in conversation in which the addressee is younger than the speaker, the term *ayas* is still acceptable to use. It appears as a term that shows intimacy between a speaker and the addressee. This can be seen in the following utterance⁷:

1. *ayas tak ngayambes ngayambes sik*
 1SG PRO pray pray first
 'I will pray now'

In (1), the speaker is older than the addressee. The utterance is addressed by Sardi⁸ to his son who is sitting with a group of friends when Sardi is about to leave home for prayers. He selects *ayas*, which is a reversed form of *saya*. In Indonesian, the use of *saya* by an older speaker to a younger speaker is restricted to formal situations. However, as seen in (1), *ayas* can also be used in informal setting. Walikan's address term appears in the conversation because Sardi intends to show common ground at personal and communal level. Common ground at communal level is when speakers relate to their membership to a cultural community (Clyne, Norrby & Warren, 2009). The speaker's use of *ayas* reflects his willingness to use an address form that will neutralize the social hierarchy in father and son relationship. The function of Indonesian *saya* in maintaining certain level of social distance has been focused to solidarity in the Walikan *ayas*. Example (2) on the other hand, shows *ayas* being used by a younger speaker to an older addressee.

2. *waduh, lèk aku katé ndaftar silup mripat ayas iki mines*
 DP if 1SG will enroll police eyes 1SG DEM minus
 'Oh my, I cannot enroll myself in the police academy because of this problem with my eyes'

In the example, *ayas* is used intermittently with *aku* by Toni. The conversation takes place as Toni and the Rico are having a conversation in the living room. Rico is older than Toni. As we can see from the utterance, their age difference does not result in the use of higher speech level of Javanese. Toni is observed to be very comfortable in using the *Ngókó*

⁷ The examples presented are glossed interlinearly. The abbreviations used in the glossing are listed before the References section.

⁸ All names used in the paper are pseudonyms in order to protect the privacy of the participants.

(low/informal) level of Javanese. The use of *Ngókó* does not create any awkward situation, and both Toni and Rico seem to enjoy the conversation.

In Standard Indonesian, *kamu* is used only when the addressee is younger than the speaker. When the situation is vice versa, the use of kinship terms such as *Bapak* or *Ibu* is preferred. However, in Walikan, speakers can use *umak* (<*kamu*) even when they are addressing someone of older age, as observed in example (3).

3. **umak** *anèh* *anèh* *aé* **sam**
 2SG strange strange DP older brother
 ‘Nonsense, bro!’

Example (3) is uttered by a younger speaker, Toni, to Rico, who is older than him. He selects *umak* as the second person pronoun even when he is talking to someone older. In Indonesian, *kamu* is normally used when speaking to someone of the same age or younger. Therefore, in order to neutralize the effect of using *umak* as the reversed form of *kamu*, Toni adds ‘*sam*’ (<*mas*), which means older brother.

In example (4) below, the situation is different from that in (3). The speaker in (4) is older than the addressee, and he uses *umak* in comfortable manner. *Umak* as the reversed form of *kamu* can be used in this case because *kamu* in Indonesian is normally used by parents to children or among equals (Table 3).

4. *lha* **umak** *gak* *ndaftar* *silup* *pisan* *a*
 DP 2SG NEG enroll police also DP
 ‘Why don’t you also enroll yourself in the police academy?’

Javanese has a number of forms of address that correspond to each speech level. Speakers must be very careful in selecting the appropriate terms, because a wrong choice has sociolinguistic consequences. Table 5 shows how these differences and ‘rankings’ in Malang Javanese are neutralized in Walikan. Speakers only have the choice of *ayas* as singular first person pronoun and *umak* or *umak sam* as singular/plural second person pronouns. The neutralization suggests that Walikan has a more egalitarian version of address system. Speakers do not need to cope with social class and status when speaking in Walikan. The common ground has been established along with the understanding that they belong to the same group. Social distance is also mutually established towards the sphere of solidarity. On another note, it is interesting to notice that Walikan speakers prefer to adopt forms of address that originated from Indonesian instead of Javanese.

TABLE 5. Comparison of Javanese and Walikan’s address terms

Javanese	Bòsò Walikan Malang
<i>aku</i> (1SG, <i>ngókó</i>)	<i>ayas</i> (1SG)
<i>awakku</i> (1SG, <i>ngókó</i>)	
<i>kulò</i> (1 SG, <i>madyò</i>)	
<i>dalem</i> (1SG, <i>kròmò</i>)	
<i>kowè</i> (2SG, <i>ngókó</i>)	<i>umak</i> (2SG/PL)
<i>kòèn</i> (2SG, <i>ngókó</i>)	<i>umak sam</i> (<i>kamu</i> + <i>mas</i>) (2SG/PL/honorific)
<i>awakmu</i> (2SG, <i>ngókó</i>)	
<i>sampèyan</i> (2SG, <i>madyò</i>)	
<i>panjenengan</i> (2SG, <i>kròmò</i>)	

Further, Walikan features several pronominally used kinship terms, which include terms for father, mother, and brother, as shown in the following table:

TABLE 6. Kinship Terms in Walikan

Kinship Terms	Description
èbès ‘father’	used to address someone older and male. It also shows respect and intimacy. It can also refer to the speaker’s biological father.
èbès kòdè ‘mother’	rarely used. It refers to the speaker’s biological mother.
sam ‘older brother’	an honorific term in Javanese which is used to refer to a male addressee.
kèr ‘kid’	can function as 2SG and 2PL.

As shown in Table 6, *èbès* ‘father’ is commonly used to refer to the speaker’s biological father. However, the term also bears a signal of respect and intimacy, thus a particular group may use the term to refer to someone that they respect, i.e. their group leader. In (5), Dimas refers to his biological father, but example (6) shows an instance when a speaker talks about a former mayor of Malang, who was crowned with the title of *èbès/bès* because of his friendly demeanor to the people. During the interview, it was revealed that not all mayors of Malang in the past received the honorific term of address *èbès/bès*. Only those who are considered friendly and understand the grass roots of the people’s experiences are addressed with the term *bès* in front of their names. This shows that the quality of Walikan’s honorific *èbès/bès* is exclusive, in a way that the community of speakers will not attach it to someone considered to be an outsider.

5. *iyò angkatan-é èbès iku hèbak-hèbak diwalik*
 yes generation-POS father DEM all-REDUP reverse
 ‘Yeah, my father’s generation reverse every (words)’
6. *èbès inèp iku walikòta-né Malang biyèn*
 father Pèni DEM mayor-POS Malang PAST
 ‘(Father) Pèni was the mayor of Malang’

èbès kòdè ‘mother’ on the other hand, can only be used in reference to someone’s biological mother. In (7), it is used when Sari wants to ask her mother a question. It is not common to use the term to express respect and close relationships towards someone who is not biologically related to the speaker. With regard to the reason for this pronominal gender discrepancy, we may speculate that the Walikan speech community is relatively unaccustomed with women in leading positions; the city has never had a female mayor. Whether a future female mayor of Malang would be referred to as *èbès kòdè* remains an open question.

7. *sik tak takòn èbès kòdè sik yò*
 wait PRO ask mother first DP
 ‘Wait a minute, I will ask my mother’

In (8), Agus uses the word *sam*, an honorific term that is used to refer to a male addressee. The original meaning of *mas* (>*sam*) is older brother. Poedjosoedarmo (1968) describes that *mas* in Javanese is used to address someone with a more superior social status. However, Walikan speakers are observed to have used the term *sam* to male addressees from different social statuses and age groups. This means that an older speaker can also use *sam* to a younger addressee.

8. *kadit ònòk lab-laban yòkòpò iki sam?*
 NEG exist football how DEM older brother
 ‘There is no more football games, what do you think bro?’

In this example, Agus is a male speaker who is older than the addressee. However, in the observed context in example (8), he does not use *sam* as an honorific term. The term is used to show intimacy and closeness. As Agus and the addressee barely knew each other when this conversation takes place, it may indicate that *sam* is used by Walikan speakers not to show hierarchy in terms of age or status, but rather as a means to establish the preferred social distance: solidarity (Clyne, Norrby & Warren, 2009). During the interview, participants agree that *sam* can also be used to someone regardless of their age, in order to show closeness and belonging to the same group.

The use of *sam* to show intimacy, closeness, and solidarity can also be seen in (9), a comment posted on ‘AREMA Club (Pencinta Malang dan Boso Walikan)’ Facebook group to reply to a picture posted by the administrator of the group.

9. *Arèma maén karó òpò sam?*
 Arèma play against what older brother
 ‘Which football team will Arèma play against, bro?’

Due to the nature of CMC, the person posting the comment cannot be aware of the age of the administrator, thus *sam* is not used as an honorific term, but rather serves as a way to show intimacy. The post is then quickly replied by the administrator, who also uses *sam* to show similar degree of intimacy.

10. *PBFC Sam*
 PBFC (name of a football club) older brother
 ‘PBFC, bro’

Meanwhile, the absence of terms of address used for female speakers can be attributed to two factors: 1) the origin of Walikan as a secret code during the war of independence, and 2) the phonology and phonotactics of Javanese. Most people in Malang believe that Walikan was created by Indonesian Independence fighters as a device to hide secret messages from spies for the Dutch (Widodo, 2006). When the war ended, the secret language was still in use, mostly as a special code among thugs in the 1950s and 1960s. That background shows that Walikan was mostly used in a ‘male’ context. Most of the speakers were males, who did not have specific necessities to address women in Walikan terms of address. There are also phonotactical reasons. Javanese phonotactics precludes the reversal process of ‘*mbak*’ (honorific term for female speakers) into ‘*kabm*’.

Another address term, *kèr*, is used in (11) by Galih when addressing his friend of the same age. *Kèr* can be used to address either a group of boys or girls, as it does not particularly indicate gender. In this study, it is categorized under kinship terms because it conveys intimacy and familiarity between the speaker and the addressee.

11. *kèr yòkòpò kabar-é umak?*
 kid how news-DEF you
 ‘Boys/Girls, how are you?’

On the Internet, *kèr* is predominantly used by Facebook users to address other members in their postings. The administrator of ‘AREMA Club (Pencinta Malang dan Boso Walikan)’ Facebook group can be seen using the term all the time when addressing the members:

12. *Kèr*, *wis* *nakam durung?*
kid already eat not yet
'Guys, have you eaten?'
13. *NGALAM iki kòyò ngene lóh Kèr... Mbòissss Lòòòppp...*
Malang DET like this DP kid cool very
'(People) of Malang should be cool like this'

The term *kér* (from *rèk*, the short form of *arèk* 'kid') is mostly used to reach to all the members, not just the male members. Therefore, *kér* is more inclusive than *sam*. Manns (2015) reports the use of *rèk* as an address term that can carry "cool solidarity", a term described by Kiesling (2004) as one that is "used mainly in situations in which a speaker takes a stance of solidarity and camaraderie, but crucially in a nonchalant, not-too-enthusiastic manner..." (p. 282). Manns (2015) then concludes that *rèk* is used in a socio-cultural framework that extends beyond the "hierarchical Javanese frames" (p. 85), which is similar to *kèr* in Walikan.

CONCLUSION

By focusing on data collected from fieldwork and from CMC, we have presented certain examples of address practices among Bòsò Walikan Malang's speakers. Exploring the socio-cultural value of Walikan's address practices in natural conversations, we observed speakers selecting address terms in an attempt to establish common ground and set their preferred social distance with their addressees. Their membership to the same community of practice (*Arema*) affects their strategies in selecting the terms (Clyne, Norrby & Warren, 2009; Manns, 2015). Compared to the socio-cultural values of Javanese and Indonesian terms, certain significant differences can be observed.

Brown and Gilman (1960) in their classic study of pronouns and address terms argue that "solidarity has won out over power" (p. 261). Quoting Littré (1882), "*Notre courtoisie est meme si grande, que nous ne dédaignons pas de donner du vous et du monsieur à l'homme de la condition la plus vile*"⁹, they support the notion that the modern and more egalitarian world has shown a shift "from power to solidarity as the governing semantic principle" (p. 261). Such a situation is observed in Walikan's address practices, in which speakers have homogenized the intricate socio-cultural values of Javanese. In Walikan, speakers only need to choose between two pronouns: *umak* and *ayas*. The shift is not entirely recent, because Indonesian's address terms generally show less hierarchy and Indonesian is widely spoken in Malang alongside Javanese. Considering that these Walikan speakers are multilingual in Javanese and Indonesian, Indonesian rules can be postulated as one of the inspirations for the shift towards solidarity and egalitarianism.

Aside from *umak* and *ayas*, Walikan also has nouns (originated from kinship terms) that can function as pronouns, such as *èbès*, *èbès kòdè*, and *kèr*. The use of nouns as pronouns is a salient feature in Walikan, which can also be observed in Javanese.

Similar to Manns (2015), speakers of Walikan also express camaraderie and solidarity when using kinship terms such as *kèr* 'kid'. In Manns (2015), Javanese speakers in Malang are observed to select *rèk* in order to "foregrounds a shared sense of Javanese identity outside the hierarchical Javanese frames" (p. 85). When *rèk* is being reversed into *kèr* in Walikan, speakers also use it – moving beyond the conventional Javanese social class system – to

⁹ We are so noble that we do not need to use *vous* or call you *Monsieur* in order to show our respect".

address anyone who also belongs to the same group. Thus, it functions as a tool to establish common ground (Clyne, Norrby & Warren, 2009; Svennevig, 1999). *Èbès* ‘father’ and *èbès kòdè* ‘mother’, on the other hand, still conform to Javanese framework, in which the kinship terms are used mostly in non-reciprocal contexts and therefore expressions of power relations and respect. Nevertheless, speakers are allowed to use them in *Ngókó* Javanese.

Speakers of Walikan use the address terms to show linguistic politeness, the degree of which is different from that of Javanese. When speaking in Javanese, *Kròmò* and *Madyò* are used in order to show politeness (Poedjosoedarmo, 1968; Errington, 1998). The use of *Ngókó*, even for East Javanese speakers, is considered as showing less respect, in particular when speaking to parents or elderly. However, in Walikan, the use of the same speech level (*Ngókó*) does not change the level of politeness between speakers. Some instances suggest that speakers need to complement address terms with an honorific term (*umak* ‘you’ + *sam* ‘older brother’ instead of the bare *umak* ‘you’ when speaking to an older addressee), but the whole conversation is still carried out in *Ngókó*.

This study indicates that there is a shift of socio-cultural values in Walikan’s address practices when compared to its matrix languages, Indonesian, and in particular Javanese. A significant difference is observed between Walikan as a register in Malang *Ngókó* Javanese and the *Madyò/Kròmò* Javanese: the intricate socio-linguistic hierarchy in Javanese pronouns is not fully present in Walikan’s address terms. This absence of pronominal complexity might indicate that Walikan has become a specific register within *Ngókó* used among speakers of a comparable status.

Finally, the result of this study shows the importance of understanding the socio-cultural values of address terms taking place in poliglossic linguistic setting and multilayered society. Youth languages can obviate speech levels which results in a more egalitarian system. However, they still show certain level of politeness using address terms that might not be as simple as one would expect at first. As shown by the *umak* ‘you’ + *sam* ‘older brother’ example discussed above, speakers find a new system combining pronouns from different languages. This study invites future research to look at how address terms work in other youth languages taking place in similar linguistic setting.

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ENDNOTES

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following list describes abbreviations that are used in the word-for-word glosses and tables:

DEF	Definite
DEM	Demonstrative
DET	Determiner
DP	Discourse particle
NEG	Negative
PAST	Past Tense
POS	Possessive
PRO	Propositive
REDUP	Reduplication
SG	Singular
PL	Plural
1	1 st person
2	2 nd person

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