THE USE OF SPEECH LEVELS IN SUNDANESE

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1. INTRODUCTION

The use of lexical variables to represent social meaning has been commented on for various languages, most notably Javanese, Japanese and Korean. An update which does justice to these studies, even of the Javanese material only, is beyond the scope of this article, but the reader is referred to the monograph by Errington (1985), which appears to be the most recent treatment of Javanese.

Sundanese speech levels have been treated by Kern (1906), Kats and Soeriadiradja (1927), Eringa (1949), Satjadibrata (1956), Wirakusumah and Djajawiguna (1957), Noorduyn (1963), Wessing (1974), Djajawiguna (1978), Ayatrohaedi (1980), and Soedradjat (1986).

Although Sundanese speech levels have been discussed by a number of scholars, these studies have not been based on the analysis of actual usage, but of reported usage. This has yielded a standard model which, in the words of Wessing (1974:12), appeals to "features of the social environment in which the speech event is taking place", most notably, "a) social status of the addressee or referent, b) social status of the speaker, c) the difference (if any) between a) and b) [and], d) the degree of friendship (intimacy) between the speaker and the addressee".

This paper presents this model in some detail, then discusses the results of the analysis of 60 or so texts to observe how speech levels are actually used by Sundanese interlocutors. Results of this analysis reveal previously unreported aspects of interlocutors' knowledge governing use of speech levels.

2. THE SPEECH SITUATION

The estimated 1994 population of Indonesia is about 200 million, of which over 118 million reside on the island of Java. Of those 118 million, an estimated 28 million are speakers of Sundanese, the regional language of West Java.[1]

The Sundanese language situation is succinctly summed on the macro-level by Harsojo (1983:300–301):

> Nowadays Sundanese is used widely among the population of West Java. In villages, the language of instruction is Sundanese, whereas, in towns,

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[1]   Asian Net – Indonesian Home Page, www.asiannet.com/indonesia/indonesia.

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Sundanese is utilized primarily in the family circle, in conversation among friends and intimate acquaintances, and also in public and official places between people who are aware they both know Sundanese. **With regard to language refinement, it is often said, that pure and refined Sundanese is to be found in the area of Priangan, that is, in the regencies of Ciamis, Tasikmalaya, Garut, Bandung, Sumedang, Sukabumi and Cianjur. Even now, the Cianjur dialect is still considered the most refined Sundanese. From Cianjur came the songs for lute and flute referred to as Cianjuran. Considered less refined is the Sundanese near the north coast of Java, for example, that spoken in Banten, Karawang, Bogor and Cirebon.** [Furthermore,] **The language of the Baduy, which is spoken in south Banten, is archaic Sundanese.**
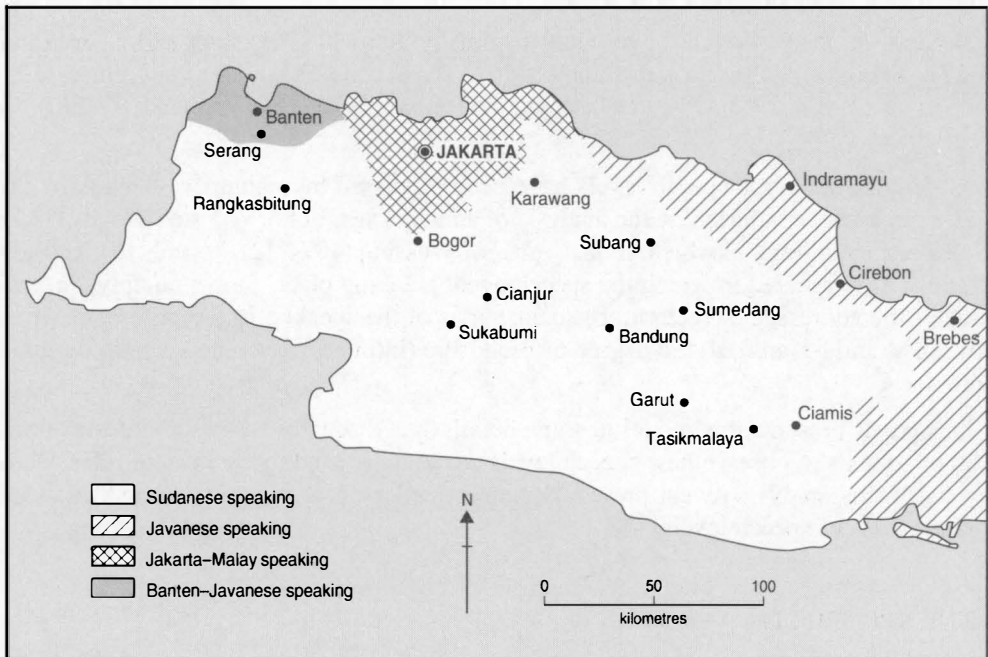
MAP OF RELEVANT PARTS OF WEST AND CENTRAL JAVA
(After R.R. Hardjadibrata (1985), *Sundanese: a syntactical analysis*, p.2. *PL*, D–65.)

The Baduy people have fascinated other Indonesians and foreigners alike for some time now. A subgroup of Sundanese people, the Baduy have lived apart from Islamic and Western influences with which most Sundanese people have been interacting for centuries. Unlike other Sundanese they have resisted cultural change. They did not convert to Islam. The Baduy reside in the mountains at the extreme western end of Java, in south Banten. Here they remained out of reach of imperial and Islamic cultural incursions. One story has it that their ancestors, defeated warriors of the pre-Islamic Kingdom of Pajajaran, fled there after suffering defeat in battle at the hands of the Islamic kingdom of Banten, probably in

the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, but this is now believed to be a romanticised view.[2]

In modern times, the psychological impact of meeting some Baduy people has been recorded by the Sundanese literary scholar, Ajip Rosidi, who highlighted their social characteristics which may be close to those of pre-contact Sundanese people. Included in these characteristics are, of course, those of their language. Rosidi (1980:128) writes:

> I have never done a formal study, but when meeting several of the Baduy, I noted no unique physical characteristics. There were, however, striking contrasts to other Sundanese people. Immediately evident were features developed as a response to their environment, to nature and as a result of their education – in short, culture traits: the distinctive black or dark blue clothing, the ancient head scarf, the behavior so full of self-confidence [as opposed to the shyness, *malu*, of other Sundanese], and 4) **the language, which does not symbolize relative social levels of speaker and addressee.**

Speculation about how speech levels came to be an integral part of Sundanese in the areas of West Java has yielded various explanations. The following appears to be the most credible, given geographical factors:

> Aside from an emotional, literary evaluation, the existence of the distinction between refined and less refined, and pure and less pure Sundanese may perhaps be explained from the point of view of Sundanese history: **Priangan, for example, was known to have been culturally influenced by the Islamic** [Javanese] **Kingdom of Mataram. In the 19th century, there were familial and cultural relations between Sundanese nobility, specifically in the area of Sumedang, with** [Javanese] **nobility in Solo and Yogyakarta. In addition, it is possible that the psychological climate and environment exerted an influence upon certain aspects of language.**   (Harsojo 1983:301)

The location of Sumedang in the easternmost part of West Java, along with Ciamis, Tasikmalaya, and Garut (that is, close to what is today Central Java) gives credence to this theory.

On the personal level of interlocutors in actual conversations, historically, Satjadibrata reports (quoted in Soedradjat 1986:108):

> The higher speech level was employed among members of the regents' [= chief district administrators'] families. In fact, only upper class people, descendants of the royal families, knew the speech level system. The speech levels were formally taught in [Dutch] schools only in the early 20th century. Speech levels thus became a part of the life of educated Sundanese people (Rosidi 1980).

Indonesian independence in 1949 exerted new influences on language development. According to Soedradjat (1986:108):

> The use of speech levels has changed over time in such a way that some levels are now used differently from the way they were used very much earlier. Some of these levels [i.e. P (medium) and LP (very high level)] are rarely used nowadays. Only in the *wayang* [puppet drama] performance is the high level now used [in the way that it was used socially in the past]. In the past, the high level was used to show respect to the *menak* 'aristocrats'. Nowadays, however,

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[2]   Prof. Noorduyn has called my attention to the challenging of this interpretation by Bakels (1989).

the distinction in class based on blood is not significant, and therefore the high level [i.e. L] is used to any addressee whom a speaker thinks should be given respect.

Variant terminological systems and models of speech level use exist. Of these, Satjadibrata's (1956) seems to be somewhat of a standard formulation, because Noorduyn, Wessing and Soedradjat rely heavily on it.

According to Satjadibrata (1956:11), two levels constitute the frame for the system: *Kasar (K)* 'low level' or 'general conversational speech' and *Lemes (L)* 'high level' or 'speech in which polite (i.e. *Lemes*) vocabulary is used'.

People are said to be 'speaking *Lemes*' or 'speaking *Kasar*' according to the overall impression the listener derives from the utterances s/he hears.

Finer distinctions are possible within this framework, though very infrequently used: *Lemes Pisan (LP)* 'very polite', *Panengah (P)* 'rather polite', and *Kasar Pisan (KP)* 'crude, earthy'.

3. SOCIAL DETERMINANTS OF SPEECH LEVEL USE

The nature of the *social relationship of interlocutors* influences selection of speech level. Social relationship is a function of the interaction of the relative statuses of interlocutors in the conversation.

Types of social relationships can be seen against the backdrop of social groupings in Sundanese society. Harsojo (1983:305) writes:

> Economics, politics and modern ideology, governmental administration, communications, and education have created an **upper social stratum**, consisting of village administrators, teachers, information specialists, office workers, students, members of the armed forces, merchants and entrepreneurs, all of whom possess an outward looking orientation. On the other hand, there is a **lower stratum**, farmers, whose number is great, most of whom are still illiterate and whose life style is still traditional. People on the upper stratum possess economic skills based on the principle of seeking profit and possess connections with middlemen and large merchants in cities. It may also be said that all economic power of the village is centered in the upper stratum, and, generally, the bond between the upper and lower classes takes the form of debt or contracts which do not benefit the lower stratum, whose economy is weak. However, whenever we investigate in West Java, of course, not all villages have experienced the same changes.

Surjadi (1974:22–24) also provides an insight into the social structure of Sundanese people, in the context of modernisation:

> Hildred Geertz (Geertz 1963:16–18) made a connection between means of livelihood with the social system. In cities she proposed a social composition consisting of *"the urban elite, the urban middle class* and *the urban proletariat."* The **urban elite** consists of the diplomatic community and businessmen, communities of foreign businessmen from China, Arab countries, and India. Next, **"an Indonesian metropolitan superculture"** is in the process of forming itself by cultivating symbols such as higher education, ability to speak foreign languages, overseas experience and possession of western produced luxury goods such as automobiles.

The **urban middle class** consists of mid-level civil service employees and other officials such as health officers, teachers and mid-level members of the armed forces. It also includes the groups of skilled laborers: tailors, stone masons, blacksmiths, merchants, electricians, drivers, motorized vehicle mechanics, etc.

Finally, there is the **urban proletariat** consisting of laborers, messengers or household servants, peddlers, pedicab drivers, etc. They generally are unskilled and illiterate.

As for the **village**, Geertz did not propose a classification or even a statement of social composition. She only wrote "most villages are fairly homogeneous both in economic condition and in general outlook."

With regard to the social composition or even social strata in cities, as proposed above, the major part is valid for cities in West Java, especially Bandung. Indeed, in cities in West Java there is no diplomatic community, nor are there foreign businessmen. Even in Bandung the diplomatic community is very small. It includes British citizens at the British Council. The community of foreign businessmen, indeed exists, as, for example, the Japanese.

Nowadays, the **service sector**, especially the field of **entertainment**, is developing in large cities such as Bandung, with the birth of night clubs and bars. Another fast growing area is **transportation**. The number of intercity vehicles in West Java, and also those within the city of Bandung itself, where new routes for motorcycle taxis, honda taxis, etc., are very rapidly being developed compared with previous years...The result of this development for the labor sector is an increase of drivers, conductors, and also passenger agents.

The *social relationship* of the interlocutors affects their choice of terms to **address** and **refer to** each other. The frame of reference within which this adjustment of their speech takes place is that of 'familiality', or *kekeluargaan* in Indonesian. Surjadi (1974:134) illustrates this principle.

In everyday social interaction, Sundanese people, when meeting a person for the first time, if after they reveal their genealogy (*panca kaki*) and determine there is no family relationship whatsoever, **they then determine each other's positions according to age.** So the younger calls the elder *akang* 'elder brother' [*euceu* 'elder sister'], and in return the elder addresses the younger as *ayi/adi* 'younger brother[/sister]'. The term of address *mang*, which originated from the word 'uncle', besides its use for family relationship, is also frequently utilized for the meaning which has no bearing on family relationship, for example, a person with whom he is not acquainted, but whose status is considered lower, i.e. toward pedicab drivers, ox cart drivers, and so forth.

Furthermore, the interlocutors' *social relationship* also affects their choice of lexical terms in any way referring to themselves or each other, or any other persons whom they may happen to refer to (e.g. **my**, **your** or **his/her** *house*).

Figure 1 is a summary of norms for the selection of speech level with reference to the *social relationship* of the interlocutors:

1. STRANGERS speak *Lemes* with each other.

2. a. Lower Status persons speak *Lemes* up to Higher Status persons

    and

    b. Higher Status persons speak *Kasar* down to Lower Status persons.

3. a. A speaker uses *Lemes* to refer to a referent of Higher Status than either speaker/listener.

    b. A speaker uses *Kasar* to refer to a referent of Lower Status than either speaker/listener.

4. Equal Status persons speak *Lemes* with each other, with 2 exceptions:

    a. *Well-acquainted* Equal Status persons speak *Kasar* with each other.

    and

    b. 1) *Younger* Equal Status persons speak *Lemes* to *older* persons

    while

       2) *Older* Equal Status persons speak *Kasar* to *younger* persons.

5. a. A speaker uses *Kasar* to refer to a referent of Same Status who is a *close friend*.

    b. A speaker uses *Lemes* to refer to *referent* of Same Status when already using *Lemes* [1, 2a, 4b1)].

    c. A speaker uses *Kasar* to refer to a *referent* of Same Status when already using *Kasar* [4a, 4b2)].

    while

    d. An older speaker uses *Kasar* to refer to a younger referent of Same Status.

6. *Intimate friends* speak *Kasar* with each other.

7. *Some people* (i.e. *lower class*) speak *Kasar* among themselves.

8. A speaker uses *Kasar* to refer to himself/herself when speaking to intimate friends.

FIGURE 1: SPEECH-LEVEL NORMS: ADDRESS/SECOND-PERSON REFERENCE AND FIRST-PERSON REFERENCE (After Satjadibrata 1956)

This arrangement of choice features shows that *social relationship* is the framework within which the system operates. STRANGERS, at one end of the scale, are presumed *always* to speak *Lemes* with each other, while *intimate friends*, at the other end, always speak *Kasar*.

In this model, the people whom Satjadibrata mentions in category 7 do not seem to be active interlocutors in the speech-level system, and we are not told anything more about their ability in this area.

All others are governed by interlocutors' social relationship, that is their *relative statuses*. Only when interlocutors' *statuses* are equal will *intimacy* and *relative age* exert an influence on choice of speech level.

4. SPEECH LEVEL VARIANT TYPES

A speaker must know four patterns of lexical variables to convey the appropriate attitude, among which are *reserve* (with strangers), *respect* and/or *humility* (to one's betters) or *solidarity* (with one's intimates). The four patterns are as follows:

ATTITUDE	Type I Address and Reference	Type II Address and Reference	Type III Address and Reference	Type IV Non-Address and Non-Reference 'neutral polite'*
Respect 'Respectful words'* POLITE	**Lr** *ningali* look at *bumi* house *ibu* mother	**Lr/Lh** *éwéd* confused	**Lr** *rambut* hair	**LE** *dugi* until *énjing* tomorrow as in... *Dugi ka énjing!* Till tomorrow!
Humility/ Respect 'Humble words'* POLITE	**Lh** *ningal* look at *rorompok* house *biang* mother		**Lh/K** *buuk* hair	
UNMARKED	**K** *nénjo* look at *imah* house *indung* mother	**K** *bingung* confused		**K** *datang* until *isuk* tomorrow as in ... *Datang ka isuk.* Till tomorrow.

FIGURE 2: PATTERNING OF VARIANTS
(After Satjadibrata 1956) [*Follows Noorduyn's (1963) English terminology]

Lr = *Lemes of respect* (Terms referring to objects, places, actions, etc. associated with the addressee or with someone being referred to whom the speaker wishes to respect.)

Lh = *Lemes of humility* (Terms referring to objects, places, actions, etc. associated with a speaker, who wishes by humbling himself to show respect to the addressee or person being referred to.)

LE = *General Lemes* (Terms not associated with speaker or addressee, but nevertheless are considered to be *Lemes*.)

K = *Kasar* terms.

In Figure 2, the **Type I** variable has a different word or form of the same word for *Lemes of Respect, Lemes of Humility* and *Kasar*. A speaker has two means of showing respect toward the addressee or a third person:

1. By referring to the addressee's or a third person's activity (e.g. 'looking at'), with a *respectful word* (Lr).

> *Bapa ningali ka abdi.* (Lr)   You, sir are looking at me.

2. Or, by referring to his/her own activity with a *humble word* (Lh). By humbling himself/herself, a speaker indicates respect for addressees or third persons.

> *Abdi ningal ka Bapa.* (Lh)   I am looking at you.

Both variants are *Lemes* and are forms of the same word. The *Kasar* variant is a different word, *nénjo*.

Different verb forms operate similarly:

> *Bapa ditingal ku abdi.* (Lh)   You were seen by me.

The speaker refers to his/her own action with a *humble word* (Lh). In so doing, s/he symbolises respect for the addressee.

> *Buku éta ditingali ku Bapa.* (Lr)   That book was seen by you.

For the addressee's activity, the speaker chooses a *respectful word* (Lr).

Additionally, there are a few Type I nouns, as well:

> *rorompok abdi.* (Lh)   house my (my house)

but,

> *bumi Bapa.* (Lr)   house your (your house)

Both variants are different words, here, though both are *Lemes*. The *Kasar* variant is yet another word, *imah*.

Another Type I noun is 'mother': Lh = *(pun) biang*, Lr = *ibu* and K = *indung*. All three variants are different words.

Type II variables in Figure 2 have the same word for *Lemes of respect* and *Lemes of humility* and a different word for the *Kasar*. A speaker may respect the addressee or personal referent by referring to a characteristic of either the addressee, referent or himself/herself with the same *Lemes* term.

> *Abdi éwéd.* (Lh)   I (am) confused.

> *Gamparan éwéd.* (Lr)   You (are) confused.

The *Kasar* term is a different word entirely, *bingung*.

It is unclear why there is no distinction between *respectful words* and *humble words*.[3]

Type III variables in Figure 2 have one word for *Lemes of respect* and another for *Lemes humble* and *Kasar*. A speaker humbles himself/herself by referring to himself/herself with the same word as is used in *Kasar* speech. That is, the same word would be used in a situation requiring a *Kasar* term symbolising different social status/rank and also solidarity.

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3   Prof Noorduyn feels that the collapse of this distinction is diachronically motivated.

<u>*rambut*</u> *Bapa* (Lr)   <u>hair</u> your

<u>*buuk*</u> *abdi* (Lh/(K))   <u>hair</u> my

A subclass of Type III terms, including *adi* 'younger sibling', *anak* 'child', and *bapa* 'father', make the distinction between *Kasar* and *Lemes* by prepositioning the particle *pun*. Prepositioned *pun* makes the expression *Lemes: pun anak* 'my child', *pun bapa* 'my father', both of which are *Lemes humble* words (Lh).

Type IV variables, because they are not used for address, and first, second or third person reference have only a *Lemes* and a *Kasar* term. Interlocutors can show respect to each other by choosing *neutral polite* (LE) terms. *Neutral polite* terms can be adjectives, adverbs, nouns, verbs, conjunctions and augmentatives (e.g. *pisan* 'very').

Datang   ka   isuk.   [*Kasar*]
Dugi   ka   énjing.   [*Lemes*]
Until tomorrow! (lit. arrive at tomorrow!)

Mention of speakers' ways of referring to themselves are rather scattered in previous treatments. Item 8 in Figure 1 covers one particular case. Satjadibrata does not mention self-reference for STRANGERS. Presumably they should use *Lemes* to refer to themselves, but I have observed that STRANGERS make very few references to themselves, each other, or, for that matter, to third persons. Furthermore, it appears that Satjadibrata leaves many other contingencies for self-reference unaccounted for. How, for example, does a speaker refer to himself/herself when the addressee is neither an intimate friend, nor someone to whom one speaks in the *Lemes* style? We are not told.

With reference to Figure 1, a further use of *Kasar* relates to scholarly written Sundanese:

> In addition, when writing for the general public, *Kasar* is usually used. For scholarly books on mathematics, linguistics, or other scholarly fields, for ease of comprehension, it is better to use *Kasar*.   (Satjadibrata 1956:14)

With regard to the choice of *Lemes* style, choice of vocabulary is not the only aspect to be known by the speaker:

> In the *Kasar* level, the manner of speaking plays an important role. Even if the vocabulary is perfect, if the speed and loudness are not proper, the speaker may be regarded as not respecting the addressee.   (Soedradjat 1986:112)

Socially, use of speech levels is one aspect of politeness, which ranges from *Lemes*, 'refined, in accordance with customary law' to *Kasar*, 'lacking refinement'. The *Kasar–Lemes* scale is a theme underlying many aspects of Sundanese culture, from deportment, dress, body movement and so on.

In conclusion, by following norms for use of speech levels, desired social meanings are transmitted. The use of *Kasar* style not only can express awareness of the addressee's lower status (or lack of respect if the norm is ignored) but, in the right circumstances, can symbolise solidarity.

5. SPEECH-LEVEL USE IN DISCOURSE: A TEXT-BASED STUDY

More than sixty texts were elicited from a total of eight different people over a period of two months. Five people were language instructors in Indonesian and Sundanese at a language school in Bandung. One was a university graduate with the Doctorandus degree

in economics, who is now employed in the Department of Taxation in Jakarta. The other four were high-school graduates. The remaining three speakers were village people: two women working as household helpers, a man working as a warehouseman.

The logic of using elicited texts (rather than constructed texts, or interviews of various types) is that the elicitation process focuses interlocutors' attention on the task at hand, whereas the other techniques tap interlocutors' explicit knowledge formulations (of speech-level phenomena, in this case). Elicitation taps interlocutors' tacit knowledge. That is, they will be able to judge 'what sounds appropriate' in a particular situation, but will not be able to explain why it is appropriate.

In these sessions, I described situations in which a speech event might take place. Participants assumed various roles in these speech events. Speech-event enactments were tape-recorded. Each enactment was immediately replayed to the actors and other Sundanese-speaking onlookers, as a check on its authenticity. If a performance as a whole, or any interlocutor's performance, was deemed inauthentic, the performance was repeated (several times, on occasion) until interlocutors and onlookers were satisfied. Recordings were archived and are the basis for this study.

Speech-level terms in texts were identified according to Satjadibrata's (1956) listing and tagged by type: *Lemes Pisan*, *Lemes*, *Panengah*, *Kasar* (but only if choice of other variants was possible, seeing that *Kasar* is the unmarked variant) and *Kasar Pisan*.

For a broad overview, frequencies of occurrence of speech-level terms were tabulated. Numeric values were assigned to each speech level to quantify an impressionistic politeness scale: *Lemes Pisan* (+2), *Lemes* (+1), *Panengah* (+0.5), *Kasar* (0) and *Kasar Pisan* (-1). An average of values for each dyad (i.e. a pair of interlocutors) [Ave.(Dyad)] and for each individual was calculated for all texts using the following formula:

$$M = \frac{\sum(2a+b+.75c-e)}{N} \quad \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Where a, b, c, d and e are the total of } \textit{Lemes Pisan,} \\ \textit{Lemes, Panengah, Kasar} \text{ and } \textit{Kasar Pisan} \text{ terms,} \\ \text{respectively, in each text, and where N equals the} \\ \text{sum of a, b, c, d and e.} \end{array} \right]$$

This array of Ave.(Dyad)s represents a global view of speech-level use by dyad and by interlocutor across texts.

Dyads with ten or fewer terms of speech-level terms were dropped, because averages fluctuate widely with small numbers of items.

6. RESULTS

The framework for presenting data was a range of *degrees of acquaintance* (i.e. from STRANGERS, to ACQUAINTANCES, CO-WORKERS, FRIENDS, and FAMILY MEMBERS). Averages for each dyad were sorted by degree of *acquaintance*, and arrayed in descending order.

Ranges of Ave.(Dyad)s for the various *degrees of acquaintance* of interlocutors are as follows:

TABLE 1: RANGES OF AVE.(DYAD) AND OVERALL AVE. BY DEGREES OF RELATEDNESS

Relatedness	Overall Ave.	Range of Ave.(Dyad)
Strangers	0.97	0.80–1.17
Acquaintances	0.85	0.21–1.06
Co-Workers	0.85	0.40–1.00
Friends	0.77	0.18–1.00
Family	0.75	0.09–1.00

A closer look reveals that the upper bounds are similar while the lower bounds have great variability. The lower bound of each range appears to distinguish them from one another. One initially confusing fact is the similarity of upper bounds. What is the reason for this similarity? The answer appears to be that, in every degree of acquaintance group, there is a wide variability in the use of speech levels and it will be necessary to investigate further to discover what the reasons for this variablity are.

i) STRANGERS[4] (Refer to Appendix 1)

STRANGERS predictably use *Lemes* style overwhelmingly [Overall Ave.(STRANGERS) = 0.97; n^5 = 591].

The following text excerpts were produced by STRANGERS. The venue indicated was the train station in Bandung. A 28-year-old businessman (D) has returned from Jakarta on the evening train and been met by his brother. Leaving the station, they encounter a woman in her forties (S) who seems apprehensive. She approaches and asks directions to Hotel Homan. **Lemes** words are in bold roman type.

1   D: *Oh, Ibu*   **badé**   *ka mana?* **Katingalna*** *linglung pisan.*
          oh   madam   wants.to   to where   apparently   confused very
          Oh, where do you want to go? You seem very confused.
          ***Tingal** 'see, appear', *ka...na* ADV.

2   S: **Leres**,   *Dén.*
          Correct,   prince/honoured sir.

3   *Ibu*   *téh*   **badé**   **milarian**   *panginepan, nyaéta Hotél Homan.*
          ma'am   FOC   wants.to   find   lodging   that.is   Hotel Homan
          As for me, I'm looking for my lodging, Hotel Homan, that is.

4   **Namung** *Ibu*   **teu acan terang, kumargi** *Ibu*   **jalmi**   **énggal**
          but   madam   not.yet   know   because   madam   person   new

5   *kitu*   *ti*   *Tasik*   **dongkap** *ka dieu,* **namung milarian**
          like.that   from   Tasikmalaya   come   to   here   but   look.for

6   *panginepan* **teu**   **acan**   **pendak**. **Margi**   *teu*   **terang**.
          lodging   not   yet   reached   because   not   know

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4   Abbreviations used in these texts are: ADV = adverbaliser, AUG = augmentative, CAUS = causative, DEF = definite article, FOC = focus, NOM = nominaliser, PASS = passive, REL = relative.

5   That is, the total number of speech-level terms for that degree of relatedness.

But, I'm not sure yet, because I'm new here, the story is, I came here from Tasikmalaya, but I haven't succeeded in finding lodging. Because I don't know Bandung.

7 D: *Ibu   téh   **nembé** ka Bandung, Ibu   téh?*
       madam FOC only.just to Bandung madam FOC
       You, Madam, have just come to Bandung for the first time yourself?

11 S: **Leres**.
        Correct.

And so the conversation continues.

The general pattern was to use *Lemes* style almost exclusively among STRANGERS. There were, however, 23 instances where STRANGERS utilised *Kasar* terms. Of these, 10 were used only after interlocutors had been introduced. After being introduced, they were no longer STRANGERS, but new ACQUAINTANCES. These, then, strictly speaking, are *not* instances of STRANGERS using *Kasar* speech level. If these 10 *Kasar* terms are excluded, the Overall Ave.(STRANGERS) rises to 0.99.

Furthermore, of these 23 seemingly misplaced *Kasar* terms in STRANGER dyads, it turns out that 19 are Type IV *KASAR* variants, that is *Lemes Enteng* ('neutral polite') terms.

Since *Lemes Enteng* terms are 'general, non-specific' terms not oriented toward addressee, speaker, or any third person, the choice of Type IV *Kasar* terms must signal something else. In this case, I believe it signals a slight general relaxation of formality.

Three of the remaining four *Kasar* terms are used by a speaker who wishes to show respect by humbling herself, after having conversed with a potential employer.

Finally, social characteristics of interlocutors (i.e. sex/relative age/status difference) as well as various locations of speech events are dispersed throughout the array of STRANGER dyads. This indicates that these are less significant than *degree of acquaintance*. In conclusion, then, texts for STRANGERS are by and large explained by Satjadibrata's model.

ii) ACQUAINTANCES AND CO-WORKERS (Refer to Appendices 2--4)

ACQUAINTANCES and CO-WORKERS overwhelmingly use *Lemes* style to interact with each other [Overall Ave.(ACQUAINTANCES) = 0.85, n^5 = 341; Overall Ave.(CO-WORKERS) = 0.85, n = 651].

Though the range of averages for ACQUAINTANCE dyads overlaps with that for STRANGERS, the difference between the overall averages for STRANGER and for ACQUAINTANCE dyads is statistically significant:

Overall Ave.(STRANGERS) = 0.97 < 0.85 = Overall Ave.(ACQUAINTANCES)
     (x^2 =15.33, df=2; p<.00l)

And it follows that the overall average for CO-WORKER dyads is also statistically different from that for STRANGER dyads.

Since the overall average for ACQUAINTANCE dyads and that for CO-WORKER dyads are the same, these two types of dyads have been unified into a single table and treated as a single category, though identities of individual dyads have been retained.

The range of averages for ACQUAINTANCE and CO-WORKER dyads is wider than that for STRANGERS: for STRANGERS it is 0.80–1.17; for ACQUAINTANCES and CO-WORKERS it is 0.21–1.06.

Twenty-five of 35 (71%) of averages for ACQUAINTANCE and CO-WORKER dyads exceed 0.80 (the lowest average for any STRANGER dyad). That is, 71% of ACQUAINTANCE and CO-WORKER dyads are similar to STRANGER dyads in frequency with which interlocutors use *Lemes* terms.

ACQUAINTANCES and CO-WORKERS use *Lemes* style frequently when interacting. But, they use *Kasar* terms more frequently than do STRANGER. As for STRANGERS, the majority of *Kasar* terms used (64%; 96/150) are chosen in preference to *Lemes Enteng* (Type IV 'neutral polite') words, indicating an *overall gradual relaxation of formality* in those social situations.

The remaining 36% of *Kasar* terms consist of those chosen instead of *Lemes respect* or *Lemes humble* terms. This means that interlocutors intend to signal their perceptions of their own, addressees', and referents' relative social statuses (Same Status). If we eliminate *Kasar* terms used instead of *Lemes Enteng* variants (i.e. *Kasar<Lemes enteng*) from consideration, we are left with *Kasar* terms replacing *Lemes respect* and *Lemes humble* terms (i.e. *Kasar<Lemes respect/humble*), and from these we have a clear indication of the social meanings being exchanged (see Appendix 3).

Patterns of *Kasar<Lemes respect/humble* for interlocutors in each dyad indicate shared social attitudes toward established social roles (see Appendix 4).

Two major patterns emerge. In Pattern 1, one of the two interlocutors has no *Kasar<Lemes respect/humble* terms while the other speaker has between 1 and 15. The average for the second interlocutor is 2.7. In Pattern 2, both interlocutors have 1 or more *Kasar<Lemes respect/humble* terms.

Pattern 1: The differences between *Kasar<Lemes respect/humble* for the interlocutors are, respectively, 15 (one dyad, 48.2); 4 (one dyad, 49a.1); 3 (one dyad, 44c.2); 2 (two dyads, 44b.2, 49c.2); and 1 (seven dyads, 51a.1, 57a.1, 31a.1, 32.2, 44a.2, 60.2, 49a.2). (See note to Appendix 1.)

Pattern 2: The differences are, respectively, 3 (one dyad, 44a.1); 1 (two dyads, 45.2 and 50.2); and 0 (one dyad, 45a.1).

To interpret these patterns, texts were examined for the social values *showing respect* and/or *humbling oneself.*

In text 48, two women friends, A and B, converse in *Kasar* style, in accordance with the received model (Ref. Figure 1–4a).

In part 2 of the same conversation, C, the nephew of A, enters. Averages for B and C as they interact are:

Ave.(B) = 7 < 100 = Ave.(C).

That is, A's nephew politely 'speaks up' to A's friend, and A's friend in turn, as expected, "speaks down" to A's nephew (see Figure 1: 2a and 2b or 4b1) and 4b2). Specifically, B produces all 15 *Kasar* terms chosen instead of *Lemes respect*. A's nephew chooses only *Lemes* terms (see Appendix 4).

Upon closer examination, another phenomenon besides status or age differences becomes evident. The following excerpt from text 48 illustrates this. **Lemes** words are in bold roman, ***Kasar*** words in bold italics.

1   C: *Aya   naon   ieu, Ibi,   ribut-ribut   kieu?*
            there.is what   this auntie noisy-noisy like.this
            What's up here, Auntie, so noisy like this?

2   B.   *Nyaéta   ibi   téh   **hayang di-gawé**   yeuh.*
            that.is   auntie FOC   wants   PASS-work y'know
            Well, I want to work, y'know.

3   A.   ***Heueuh**,   cenah **hayang di-gawé**   nu   gedé buruh-na, aya,   Dir?*[6]
            unh-hunh   says   wants   PASS-work   which large pay-DEF is.there Dir
            Ya, says she wants work with a large salary, is there work like that, Chaidir?

4   C: **Badé**   *moal,   Ibi?*
            want.to   will.not   auntie
            You do want work, do you, Auntie?

A's nephew, C, answers A's (C's auntie) and B's (A's friend) questions in *Lemes* style. Occasionally, B uses a *Lemes* term, but it is always the same term just used by C.

8   C: *Ieu*   **badé**   *moal?*
            this   want.to   will.not
            Do you want this or not?

9   B.   *Nya*   **badé**   *waé   **ari**   taeun mah.*
            y'know want.to   indeed with.regard.to that   FOC
            Y'know I do indeed want what you were talking about.

10   A.   **Enya**.   *Siti   ambéh tong   ngalamun waé, kaluman némpo-na.*
            y'know   Siti so.that don't daydream just uneasy   see-it
            Y'know. Siti, don't just daydream. I'm uncomfortable seeing it.

11   B.   *Kesel   ngalamun waé.*
            disgusted   daydream   just
            I'm disgusted just sitting around daydreaming.

12   C: *Atuh*   **énjing**   *wé   ku abdi.*
            indeed tomorrow just   by me
            Well, I'll find a job for you tomorrow.

13 B.   *Ah entong* **énjing**   *mending gé   ayeuna waé.*
            ah don't   tomorrow better   also now   just
            Ah, don't talk of tomorrow, it'd be better to do something just now.

. . . . .

---

[6]   Speaker A uses *Panengah* style to refer to B's activities, thus symbolising their close relationship (see Figure 2, Type IV).

17   A.   **Gedé**   *gaji-na?*
           Large   salary-DEF

18   C: *Dua*   *rébu*   **sa-dinten**   *mah.*
           two   thousand   one-day   FOC
           2,000 rupiahs per day.

19   A.   *Ah.*   *Lumayan*   *atuh.*
           ah   not.bad   indeed
           Ah, not bad at all.

20   B.   *Dua rébu*   **sa-dinten**?!   *Euleuh*   *untung*   *atuh*   **nya**.
           two   thousand   one-day   oh.my   profitable   indeed   y'know
           2,000 per day?! Oh my! Good fortune indeed, you know.

Lemes terms (**badé**, line 9, **énjing**, line 13, and **dinten**, line 20) in B's utterances are exceptions to the Satjadibrata's model. But they are motivated, and this motivation can be stated as follows:

> I.   When repeating a co-speaker's utterance, as for instance, in a clarifying or challenging speech act, repeat the exact words. Do not change speaking style, regardless of social relationship.

As the conversation proceeds, C and B conform to stated norms: that is, B uses *Kasar* down to C; C uses *Lemes* up to B. But, yet again, B uses *Lemes* style (line 23), counter to stated norms, this time to express thanks for C's information.

23   B.   *Oh, nya*   *atuh*   *keun*   **hatur**   *nuhun.*
           oh   y'know   indeed   let.be   give   thanks
           Oh, all right, that's it, thank you.

24   C: **Sa-wangsul-na**   *éta*   *téh.*
           one-return-NOM   that   FOC
           You're welcome for that.

Neither A's relationship to B, nor B's to C warrants *Lemes* style. The act of thanking someone seems to be somehow intrinsically *Lemes* whereby a speaker would know the following:

> II.   When expressing 'thanks', use *Lemes* style, regardless of any other style being used.

As for the forms **nuhun** and **hatur nuhun**, Soedradjat feels they are really not so different in politeness. So perhaps these days this so-called exception is not such a great exception after all.

In conclusion, then, for ACQUAINTANCES, excluding counter-examples, the averages for interlocutors B and C are 0% and 100%, respectively; perfectly reciprocal; and conforming perfectly to Satjadibrata's norms.

A similar phenomenon occurs among CO-WORKER dyads. In this case, the average for the same dyad, 44a, is different in Scenes 1 (44a.1) and 2 (44a.2) of the conversation. That is, the relationship between interlocutors is constant, but the average for the dyad differs appreciably from Scene 1 to Scene 2. In short, a change in speech-level use occurs from 44a.1 to 44a.2.

In Text 44, Scene 1, two male CO-WORKERS (C and D), slightly different in age, converse in the office. The conversation opens on the topic of work, then shifts to a personal topic, D's son's problems in school. The style is *Kasar*, expected among *well-acquainted persons of equal status/rank* (see Figures 1–4a). **Lemes** words are in bold roman, ***Kasar*** words in bold italics.

1   C: ***Ku   naon,   Dju,   éta   mani...mani   sararedih*   kieu?***
         from   what   Djunaedi   that   rather rather   very.very.sad   like.this
         Why, Dju, very...so very sad like this?
         *sedih 'sad', *-arar*-AUG.

2   D: ***Enya***[6], ***Dir,   poé***[6] *ieu   pararusing**   *pisan   euy.*
         y'know   Chadir   day   this extremely.confused   very   indeed
         True, Dir, today I'm very disoriented indeed.
         *pusing 'confused', *-arar*-AUG.

3   C: ***Éta   pagawéan***[6] *di-tumpuk   baé   **meureun**[5] **nya**[6].*
         that   work   PASS-piled.up   just   no.doubt   y'know
         That work is just piling up y'know.

4   D: ***Pagawéan***[6] *numpuk! Mana deui?*
         Work   piles.up! What next?

5   *Di   **imah**[5] pusing,   **si**[4] Ahmad teu lulus sakola...*
         at   home   confused   ol' Ahmad not pass   school
         At home headache, young Ahmad failed school...

6   C: ***Si***[4]   *Ahmad saha?*
         young   Ahmad whose
         Who is Ahmad?

7   D: ***Anak***[5].
         Child.

8   C: *Oh, **anak**[4].*
         Oh,   child.

9   ***Si***[4]   *Ahmad **anak**[4] Djunaédi   anu   kelas tilu   SMP   téa?*
         young   Ahmad child   Djunaedi   which class 3   jr.hi.school   that
         Ahmad, Djunaedi's son in class 3 junior high school, that one?

---
4 = *Kasar < Lemes respect*   5 = *Kasar < Lemes humble*   6 = *Kasar < Lemes Enteng*

In line 10, C and D begin to use *Lemes* terms: *Lemes Enteng* in line 10; *Lemes respect*, in line 13; *Lemes humble* and *Lemes respect* in lines 14–15; and *Lemes Enteng* in lines 17, 19 and 21.

10 D: **Muhun**[1].
         Yes.

11   C: *Teu   lulus   ayeuna **nya**[6]?*
          no   pass   now   true
          He didn't pass, did he?

12 D: *Teu lulus.*
        not   pass
        He didn't pass.

13 C: *Kumaha tah **budak**[4] téh?* **Badé**[3] *ngulang* **maksad-na**[3]*?*
        how   alas kid   FOC   going.to   repeat   intention-DEF
        Oh dear, how about that kid? Do you want him to repeat the grade?

14 D: **Piwarang**[2] **abdi**[2] *mah ieu ngulang,* **ngan**[6] **anjeunna**[3]
        command   my   FOC this repeat   only   he

15   **alimeun**[3].
        educated
        I insist that he repeat now, just so he gets an education.

16 C: *Tah, atuh   kitu   mah.*
        alas   indeed like.that FOC
        What a shame, if that's the case.

17   *Kieu waé,* **atanapi**[1] *di sakola SMA   anu   soré*[6].
        like.this just or   in school sr.hi.school which late.afternoon
        Either repeat, or attend a late afternoon high school.

18 D: *Swasta   nya*[6]*?*
        private/non-government   y'mean
        A private school, y'mean?

19 C: **Muhun**[1], *swasta. Éta téh* **nampi**[1] *kénéh, SMA nu soré*[6].
        yes   private that FOC   receive   yet sr.high which late.afternoon
        Yes, private. One is accepting students, a late afternoon high school.

20 D: *Swasta mana   nu   **saé**[1] téh?*
        private which.one REL good   FOC
        Which private school is good?

21 C: **Muhun**[1], *éta mah swasta nu SMA   'Bur' tah* **upamina**[1].
        yes   that FOC private REL sr.high 'Bur' alas for.instance
        Yes, that private one, 'Bur' High School, for example.

---

1 = *Lemes Enteng*	4 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes respect*
2 = *Lemes humble* [*Lemes pikeun nu ngahormat*]	5 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes humble*
3 = *Lemes respect* [*Lemes pikeun nu dihormat*]	6 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes Enteng*

The social relationship remains constant. Why, then, a shift to *Lemes* style beginning in line 9? I find no explanation in Satjadibrata. But a change of topic accompanied by a change of style points to a rather obvious explanation: *Lemes* style is a consensual way of treating sensitive, potentially embarrassing (i.e. to D here) topics in a face-saving manner. In other words, *Lemes* style serves as a 'bad news cushion'. This is not surprising, given that, in Sundanese culture, other people's feelings *(perasaan)* are treated very delicately. Being sensitive to others' feelings is a mark of a refined, cultured (i.e. **lemes**) person. The active principle in C's and D's thinking is, then, the following:

> III.   When CO-WORKERS (perhaps also FRIENDS AND ACQUAINTANCES) discuss a topic which constitutes a threat to any of their feelings (**perasaan**), they should select *Lemes* style to 'cushion the bad news'.

In Text 44, Scene 2, another CO-WORKER enters, an attractive woman approximately the same age as C and W. A look at an exerpt from Appendix 2 as follows will show that the overall average for the dyad 44a.1 is 0.40, whereas, for 44a.2, it is 0.78. This is almost a twofold increase in Ave.(Dyad) for the same two co-speakers.

TABLE 2: FREQUENCIES AND AVERAGES (DYAD AND INTERLOCUTORS) FOR TEXT 44
(CO-WORKERS) (Excerpted from Appendix 2)

Dyad.			Loca-	Ave.	Frequency		Average Interlocutor		Frequency*		Average* Interlocutor	
Scene	Sex	Age	tion	(Dyad)	Lemes	Kasar	#1	#2	Lemes	Kasar	#1	#2
44a.1	**m**	**OY**	**o**	**0.40**	**7/5**	**11/7**	**0.39**	**0.42**	**2/3**	**6/3**	**0.25**	**0.50**
44a.2	**m**	**OY**	**o**	**0.78**	**9/3**	**4/0**	**0.69**	**1.00**	**3/2**	**1/0**	**0.75**	**1.00**
44b.2	x	OY	o	0.67	7/11	3/6	0.70	0.65	3/5	0/2	1.00	0.71
44c.2	x	OY	o	0.77	11/6	4/1	0.73	0.86	7/1	3/0	0.70	1.00
*without Lemes Enteng and Kasar < Lemes Enteng												

It appears that the newcomer's presence in Scene 2 affects the Ave. (Dyad) for 44a, and the averages for the interlocutors C and D. The meaning of this seems to be that the male colleagues are trying to present a good image to their colleague of the opposite sex.

D (male) greets W (female) and they begin chatting about their work.

23   W: **Padamelan**[1]   *di-tinggal-keun*   *kalah   ka   ngarobrol,*
          work   PASS.abandoned-CAUS   lose   to   chatting

24   *pagawéan*[6]   *téh!*
          work   FOC
          Work losing out to chatting! Think of the work!

25   C: *Ieu*   **saur-na**[3]*, Willa,* **anak-na**[4]   *teu naék...   teu lulus.*
          this   says-he   Willa   child-his   not go.up   not pass
          Willa says his child didn't pass...didn't graduate.

28   W: *Bodo*   **meureunan**[4]   *étah   mah.*   **Atawa**[4]   *bandel.*
          stupid   apparently   that   FOC   or   headstrong
          That one's stupid apparently. Or stubborn.

32   W: *Mémang*   **upami**[1]   **pameget**[3]   *mah,*   **kedah**[3]   **teras**[3].
          indeed   if   male   FOC   must   ahead
          It's true, if it's a boy, he must stay in school.

33   C: **Saur-na**[3] *ieu,* **budak-na**[4]   *téh*   **alim-eun**[3]   **neras-keun**[3].
          says-he   this   kid-his   FOC   natural-ADV   go.ahead-CAUS

34   **Saur**[2] **abdi**[2] *téh,*   *ieu   waé* **kedah**[2] **di-pilarian**[2]   *sakola   nu*
          say   I   FOC   this   just   must   PASS-selected   school   REL

35   *soré*[6]   **supados**[1] *henteu nganggur.*
          late.afternoon   so.that   not   idle
          He says that, as far as his child is concerned, he must of course stay in school.
          As for me, I think we must look for a late afternoon school, so he's occupied.

36 D: *SMA   mana   nu* **saé**[1] *nya*[6], *Willa?*
          high school which.one REL good   y'know   Willa
          Which high school is good, hm, Willa?

37 W: *Indra* **atanapi**[1] *Bur.*
          Indra or   Bur.

39 C: *Tah, SMA   Indra gé* **saé**[1] *tah.*
          alas high school I   also good   alas
          Alas, Indra High School also is good.

40 D: *O,* **saé**[1].
          Oh, fine.

41 W: *Nya*[6],   *lumayan, Katolik.*
          y'know not.bad Catholic
          Y'know, it's not bad. It's Catholic.

42 C: *Éta* **budak**[4] **upami**[1] *nganggur   éta téh* **kirang**[1] **saé**[1].
          that kid   if   unoccupied that FOC less   good
          If that kid is not busy, that's not good.

43 W: **Muhun**[1], **upami**[1] **kedah**[3] *nganggur   mah* **kirang**[1] **saé**[1] *pisan...*
          yes   if   must   unoccupied FOC less   good   very
          Yes, if he is forced to be unoccupied, it's not good at all...

44 D: *Nganggur   nya*[6]*?*
          Unoccupied y'know?

45 W: *...janten* **langkung**[1] *bandel.   Nya*[6] *kitu   waé, Djun.*
            and.then more   stubborn/naughty y'know like.that just Djun
          ...then he'll become more stubborn/naughty. Isn't that true, Djun?

46 D: **Muhun**[1], **saé**[1] **di-teras-keun**[3]   *waé, nya*[6]*?*
          yes   good   PASS-explain-CAUS just y'know
          Yes, it will be good to just go through with it, don't you think?

47 C: *Tah kitu   waé* **di-carios-keun**[3]   *ka budak-na*[4] *tah,* **kedah**[3]
          alas like.that just PASS-clarify-CAUS   to child-DEF alas must

48   *sakola soré*[6]   *da,* **sami**[1] *kénéh, soré*[6]   **sareng**[1] **énjing**[1]
          school late.afternoon hm same still   late.afternoon and   morning

49   *gé* **sami**[1] *da SMA   mah ka perguruan   tinggi-na   mah*
          also same   hm hi.school FOC to education   high-NOM   FOC

50   **sami**[1] *wé* **di-tampi**[3]   *mah.*
          same just PASS-accepted FOC
          Well it's got to be explained to the kid that he must attend late afternoon

school. It's all the same, late afternoon and day class, the same, in high school or in higher education it's the same problem, getting accepted.

```
1 = Lemes Enteng                              4 = Kasar replaces Lemes respect
2 = Lemes humble [Lemes pikeun nu ngahormat]  5 = Kasar replaces Lemes humble
3 = Lemes respect [Lemes pikeun nu dihormat]  6 = Kasar replaces Lemes Enteng
```

In summary, references to D's son remain in *Kasar* style, as do *Kasar<Lemes Enteng* terms, such as *(e)nya* 'yes, true'. The remainder of terms are *Lemes* of various types (see Figure 2).

Thus, in addition to the use of *Lemes* style for 'cushioning bad news' already manifest in dyad 44a.1, where both speakers are males, there is a further factor stirred into the mix which further refines the *Lemes* style in 44a.2. This may be stated as follows:

IV.   When male CO-WORKERS (perhaps also FRIENDS and ACQUAINTANCES) are speaking and are joined by a woman, they should select *Lemes* style (or a more elevated degree of *Lemes*) in the woman's presence.

How much of this elevation of style is due to 'cushioning' and how much is due to the woman's presence cannot be precisely determined.

In another example, a similar change of Ave.(Dyad) is evident for dyad 49a from Scene 1 (49a.1) to Scene 2 (49a.2).

TABLE 3: FREQUENCIES AND AVERAGES (DYAD AND INTERLOCUTORS) FOR TEXT 49
(CO-WORKERS) (Excerpted from Appendices 2--4)

Dyad.			Loca-	Ave.	Frequency		Average Interlocutor		Frequency*		Average* Interlocutor	
Scene	Sex Age	Status	tion	(Dyad)	Lemes	Kasar	# 1	# 2	Lemes	Kasar	# 1	# 2
49a.1	**x OY**		**o**	**0.70**	**4/12**	**5/2**	**0.44**	**0.86**	**4/6**	**4/0**	**0.50**	**1.00**
49a.2	**x OY**		**o**	**0.50**	**2/4**	**5/1**	**0.29**	**0.80**	**1/0**	**1/0**	**0.50**	**---**
49c.2	x OY	d	o	0.76	8/8	1/4	0.89	0.67	5/3	0/2	1.00	0.60
49b2	m OY	d	o	1.00	4/2	0/0	1.00	1.00	3/1	0/0	1.00	1.00

Lemes respect/hormat and *Kasar<Lemes respect/horma*
For explanation of abbreviations, see notes to Appendix 1.

In 49a.1, two co-workers, D, a 28-year-old man, and W, a 27-year-old woman, discuss a matter in an office. W complains of not having received her monthly salary. **Lemes** terms are in bold roman; *Kasar* terms are in bold italics.

1   W: *Dju, kumaha yeuh mani* **l-al-ieur**[2],*   *teu* **boga**[4] **duit**[4].
          Dju   how   hm   rather very-confused   not   have   money
          Dju, how about it, hm. I'm rather confused, don't have much money.
          **Lieur* 'confused', *-al-*AUG.

2   D: **Muhun**[1], *Will,* **tos**[1]   **kaping**[1] *hiji* **teu acan**[2] **nampi**[2] **artos**[2] *waé*.
          yes   Will   already date   one   not yet   receive   money   just
          Yes, Will, it's already the first of the month, but we haven't received our salary yet.

3   W: *Kumaha atuh   majikan téh   mani kitu   pisan,*
              how   indeed boss   FOC   rather like.that very

4   *teu* **di-perhatos-keun**[2]   *pisan, ka-ter-lalu-an!*
              not   PASS-pay.attention-CAUS   very   NOM-too-past-ISER
              What a shame the boss's actions are like that, we're totally ignored. It's too
              much!

5   D: *Kumaha* **nya**[6]   *majikan téh... majikan téh   kitu?*
              how   y'know boss   FOC   boss   FOC   like.that
              What about that boss, y'know...what about a boss like that?

6   W: **Taros-keun**[2] *geura...   usul.*
              ask-CAUS   quickly   suggestion
              Ask about it soon...I suggest.

7   D: **Muhun**[1], **upami**[1]*... engké * **siang**[1] *ieu (heu)nteu hasil   engké* **abdi**[2]
              yes   if   later   day   this   not   succeed later I

8   *ka-ditu lah   ka majikan, ka dunungan.*
              to-there hm   to boss   to employer
              Yes, if...later in the day this is not solved, later I'll go there to the boss, to our
              employer.

9   W: *Kumaha* **ari**[5] **abdi**[2] *mah * **répot**[2] *atuh   mani * **kacida**[5] *pisan?*
              how   if   I   FOC   busy   indeed rather busy   very
              What about my being so busy, so very busy?

10   D: **Nya**[6]   **sami**[3] *waé, Will, * **sareng**[2] **abdi**[2].
              y'know same   just Will   as   me
              True, it's just the same, Willa, as for me.

---

1 = *Lemes Enteng*	4 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes respect*
2 = *Lemes humble* [*Lemes pikeun nu ngahormat*]	5 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes humble*
3 = *Lemes respect* [*Lemes pikeun nu dihormat*]	6 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes Enteng*

In Scene 2, the boss joins the conversation (dyads 49a.2, 49b.2 and 49c.2). He asks what they are chatting about.

15   W: *Éta, Pa... biasa lah   mani * **tos**[1]*... kosong...*
              that   sir   usual hm   rather already empty
              That, sir...the usual, it's already...rather...empty.

16   C: *Oh, * **perkawis**[1] *gaji.*
              oh   matter   salary
              Oh, the matter of salary.

17   W: **Muhun**[1], **tos**[1]   **kaping**[1] *hiji, Bapa   mah   mani*
              yes   already date   one   you.sir FOC   rather

18   *sa-ngeunah-na*[4]   *pisan.*
              as-comfortable-ADV very
              Yes, it's already the first of the month, and you, sir, are very lacksadaisical.

19   C: *Kumaha   nya*[6]   **kersa**[3]   **ngantosan**[3]   *dua*   **dinten**[1] *deui?*
           how   y'know must   wait   two   days   more
           How about it hm, must we wait two more days?

20   W: **Badé**[3]   *ka   mana   kitu?*
           want.to to   where   like.that
           Where are you off to, if that's the case?

. . . . .

22   C: *Nyaéta   bapa   téh   **badé**[2]   ka-luar   kota   ayeuna   téh.*
           that.is   sir   FOC want.to go-out   city   now   FOC
           Well, I'm going out of town now.

. . . . .

24   W: *Bapa   mah   **nyanyabaan**[4] waé ari[6]   urang...   **lalieur**[2]   yeuh.*
           you.sir   FOC go.far.away   just   as.for us   confused   yah
           You, sir, are going far away and we're very confused y'know.

25   C: *Ieu   aya   urusan   penting.*
           this   there.is   matter   important
           This is an important matter.

26   D: *Ka-luar kota tah   dua   **dinten**[1] deui!   Ieu   **tos**[2]   ngapngapan yeuh!*
           to-out   city alas two   day   more   this   already gasping   yah
           Going out of town two more days! We're already gasping for air!

27   C: *Tuda   bapa   téh   **kedah**[2] ayeuna, ieu   téh,   **berangkat**[2] ka-luar*
           because   sir   FOC must   now   this   FOC   travel   to-out

28   *kota   téh,   **margi**[1] ieu   urusan   parusahaan.*
           city   FOC   because this   matter   business
           I must now leave to go out of town, because it's a company matter.

29   W: *Asal[6]   ulah   bohong   wé,   Pa,   da   **tos**[1]...   ieu   pisan   atuh...*
           basis   don't   lie   just, sir   'cause   already   this   very   alas

30   **répot**[2]   *pisan.*
           critical   very
           Just don't lie, sir, because already...we are in a very, alas...critical situation.

31   C: *Sing   salabar   wé   heula-nan   ayeuna   mah.*
           well   very.patient just first-ADV   now   FOC
           You both must just be patient now.

32   D: **Muhun**[1] *sabar   lah.*
           yes   patient hmm
           Yes be patient.

33   W: **Muhun**[1] *lah.   Kumaha, Djun?*
           yes   hmm   how   Djun
           Yes, indeed. How, Djun?

34   D: *Nya*[6]   kumaha,   Will?
             y'know   how   Will
             Well how about it, Will?

35   W: *Kalahka* **indit**[4]   geuningan   kapala-na   *nya*[6].
               rather   take.off   indeed   head-DEF   y'know
               Rather the boss is taking off, y'know.

36   D: *Ieu   mah   ka-paksa   ka   loak   waé.*
             this   FOC   CAUS-forced   to   pawn   just

37   *Ieu   mah   yeuh   **ngical**[1]   naon-naon   wé   lah.*
             this   FOC   yah   sell   what-what   just   hmm
             As for me, I'll be forced to sell something. I must, alas, pawn something.

38   W: *Enya*[6]   **meureunan**[6]   ka-paksa,   hayu   ah   **geus**[6]   **beurang**[6]
             y'know   assuredly   CAUS-force   let's   ah   already   midday

39   *urang   **uih**?   wé   lah.*
             we   go.home   just   hmm
             True, we're forced to pawn something, all right, let's, ah, do it. It's already
             midday. Let's go home, hm.

---
1 = *Lemes Enteng*	4 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes respect*
2 = *Lemes humble* [*Lemes pikeun nu ngahormat*]	5 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes humble*
3 = *Lemes respect* [*Lemes pikeun nu dihormat*]	6 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes Enteng*

For the D-W dyad (49a), the average drops from 0.70 (49a.1) to 0.50 in (49a.2). The boss's presence is clearly a factor in the symbolic social meaning system. Closer inspection reveals the shift in average to be due to W's indignation (lines 17 and 24), by choosing a *Kasar* word, where she would normally select a *Lemes respect* term, according to Satjadibrata.

The boss uses *Lemes enteng* (lines 16, 19 and 28), *Lemes respect* (line19), and *Lemes humble* (lines 22 and 27). This is unexpected, given that C is W's and D's boss! It appears that C is attempting to deflect W's anger, after she hears of C's impending two-day out-of-town business trip. Careful observation leads us to infer two more 'exceptions' to stated norms, both relating to anger:

V.   Use *Kasar* style to express anger in extreme circumstances, even to one's superior.

and,

VI.   Use *Lemes* style to deflect anger, regardless of relative statuses of interlocuters.

C leaves and W's anger increases. C and D converse in *Kasar* style in accord with stated norms.When W refers to the boss's going away, according to Satjadibrata she should use *Lemes* style (indicating respect), but uses *Kasar* (line 35: **indit**) instead.

Of course, use of levels to vent anger is tacitly known by native-speakers, whose immediate response is, "Yes, that's right". The point to be made is that this knowledge, readily confirmed by native speakers, does not appear in explicit statements of speech-level norms. Thus, readers or learners with no first-hand experience of Sundanese remain

ignorant of so-called exceptions of the type which Spradley and McCurdy (1975:29) have referred to as "rules for breaking rules".

iii) FRIENDS AND FAMILY (Refer to Appendices 5–8)

Overall averages for FRIEND and FAMILY member dyads are virtually the same:

Ave.(FRIENDS) = 0.77 < 0.75 = Ave.(FAMILY members).

In contrast to STRANGER, ACQUAINTANCE and CO-WORKER dyads, there is a much wider range of averages among FRIENDS and FAMILY member dyads, no doubt because a wider range of emotions, from intimacy to strict decorum, is possible among FRIENDS and FAMILY members.

More interlocutors' averages are balanced for FRIEND dyads than for FAMILY member dyads. This is true for calculations based on **all level variants** (see Appendix 6) or on calculations based only on *Lemes respect/humble* and *Kasar<Lemes respect/humble* terms (see Appendix 7). The status *friend* seems sufficient explanation for this balance. The slight variation between averages for both speakers is due to third person references (i.e. of higher/lower status than speaker and/or addressee).

Still another example to be examined is dyad 58a.1. The overall average for this dyad is located toward the *Lemes* end of the scale of averages for FRIEND dyads:

Ave.(58a.1) = 0.97; Ave.(Interloc. 1) = 1.00;   Ave.(Interloc. 2) = 0.97)   [all terms]

Ave.(Interloc. 1) = 1.00;   Ave.(Interloc. 2) = 1.00

[*Lemes respect/humble and Kasar<Lemes respect/humble* terms only]

TABLE 4:   FREQUENCIES AND AVERAGES (DYAD AND INTERLOCUTORS) FOR
DYAD 58a.1 (FRIENDS) (Excerpted from Appendices 5–8)

Dyad.			Loca-	Ave.	Frequency		Average Interlocutor		Frequency*		Average* Interlocutor	
Scene	Sex	Age	tion	(Dyad)	Lemes	Kasar	# 1	# 2	Lemes	Kasar	# 1	# 2
58a.1	m	OY	i	0.97	16/20	16/21	1.00	0.95	8/5	0/0	1.00	1.00
Lemes respect/humble and *Kasar<Lemes respect/humble* terms only												

D is C's older friend. Both are males. D wants to know about the yield from C's rice fields this year. C reports it has been a rather good year. D congratulates C.

3   D: **Saé[1]** *nya[6]*   *ayeuna.*
             Fine, y'know,   now.

4   C: **Sumuhun[1]**. *Kumaha yeuh   sawah   Akang   anu   di   Cianjur?*
             yes   how   yah   rice.field older.brother REL in   Cianjur
             Yes, older brother, how about your rice field in Cianjur?

5   D: **Numawi[1]** *ieu, Yi,*   **kagung-an[2]** *akang   mah... rada*
             and.so   this younger.bro.   be-owned   older.brother FOC   rather

6   **kirang**[1] **saé**[1] *taun   ieu   téh   hasil-na.*
           less   good   year this   FOC   harvest-DEF
           And so, younger brother, mine...the harvest was not so good this year.

7   C: *Ku-naon?*
           from-what?
           How so?

8   D: **Margi**[1]... *keuna hama   wereng.*
           because   struck disease pest
           Because...there was a plant disease causing insect pest.

9   C: *Atuh...*   **kedah**[3] *di... ieu...* **di-pasihan**[3] *pupuk...* **sareng**[1]
           goodness must   be- this   PASS-applied fertiliser and

10   *di-basmi   waé hama   wereng.*
           PASS-sprayed just disease pest
           Goodness...it must ah...be fertilised...and sprayed for plant disease.

11   D: *Oh, pupuk,   pupuk   mah* **parantos**[2]. *Pupuk   **sareng**[1]... éh,*
           oh fertiliser fertiliser FOC   already   fertiliser and   unh

12   **parantos**[2] *di-semprot.*   **Namung**[1]... **rupi-na**[1]   **teu**   **acan**[3]
           already   PASS-sprayed but   appearance-ADV not   yet

13   **di-pasihan**[3] **sae**[1] *ku Gusti* **panginten**[1].
           PASS-given good by Lord   probably
           Oh, fertiliser, I've already applied fertiliser. Fertiliser and...ah, and it's already
           been sprayed. But...apparently not yet blessed by God.

14   C: **Sumuhun**[1]. *Ah, éta mah* **kedah**[3]... *ieu wé* **di-pa-damel**[3]-*na.*
           yes   ah   that FOC   must   this just PASS-do-it
           Yes. Ah, that must...immediately be done.

15   D: **Dupi**[3]... *Ayi   kumaha tah,* **dugi**[1] *ka* **saé**[1] *kitu   hasil-na?*
           as.for   y'er.brother how   alas attain to   good like.that harvest-the

16   *Saratsarat-na   kitu   téh?*
           requirement.PL-DEF like.that FOC
           As for...you, younger brother, how about it, to get such a good result, how did
           you do it?

17   C: *Ah,* **teu aya**[2]   *sarat-sarat*   **abdi**[2] *mah... éta waé* **mung**[1]
           ah   not   there.are requirement.PL my   FOC   that just but

18   **di-pasihan**[3] *pupuk.*
           PASS-given fertiliser
           Ah, it was nothing special...just seeing that the field was fertilised.

. . . . .

---

1 = *Lemes Enteng*   2 = *Lemes humble* [*Lemes pikeun nu ngahormat*]
3 = *Lemes respect* [*Lemes pikeun nu dihormat*]   6 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes Enteng*

Though this is a conversation between male friends, the average is relatively high for this dyad. It appears that again the high average is due to the topic, one which requires *Lemes* style to 'cushion bad news'.

The average for Text 50.1 is mid-range among averages for FRIEND dyads:

Ave. = 0.66; Ave.(Interlocutor 1) = 0.67; Ave.(Interlocutor 2) = 0.64.

TABLE 5: FREQUENCIES AND AVERAGES (DYAD AND INTERLOCUTORS) FOR DYAD 50a.1 (FRIENDS) (Excerpted from Appendices 5–8)

				Frequency		Average Interlocutor		Frequency*		Average* Interlocutor	
Dyad. Scene	Sex	Age	Loca- tion	Ave. (Dyad)							
				Lemes	Kasar	#1	#2	Lemes	Kasar	#1	#2
50a.1	m	OY	p	0.66	12/7	6/4	0.67	0.64	7/1	3/3	0.70	0.25

Lemes respect/humble and *Kasar<Lemes respect/humble* terms only.

C and D are friends. One day, C comes upon D who looks at his wits end.

1   C: **Badé**[3]   *ka-mana, Dju, luntanglantung   kieu?*
          want.to   to-where Dju strolling.aimlessly   like.this
          Where to, Dju, wandering around like this?

. . . . .

4   D: ***Puguh*[6]** *ieu, Dir, kamari   téh, ka-banjiran   euy,* **imah**[5] *téh.*
          clearly   this Dir yesterday FOC CAUS-flood alas home FOC
          As you can see, (Chai)dir, yesterday, alas, the house was flooded.

5   C: *Ka-banjiran?*
          CAUS-flood
          Flooded?

6   D: **Muhun**[1].
          Yes.

7   C: *Kumaha   ari*[6] *barudak*[4]*?**
          how   as.to   children
          How about the children?
          **Budah* 'child', *-ar*-PL.

8   D: *Barudak*[4] *si*[4]*... **salamet**[4]... **mung**[1] *parabot   waé...* **seueur**[1] *nu*
          children   they   safe   only   implement   just   much   which

9   *palid   tah... anu   p-ar-alid.**
          swept.away   alas   which   washed.away-PL
          Children...safe...only the household goods...many washed away.
          **Palid* 'washed away' *-ar*-PL.

10 C: *Sukur **nya**[6]   **barudak**[4]**salamet**[4] *Tuh   da   ieu hujan **nya**[6]*
          praise y'know children safe   goodness because this   rain   y'know

11   **teras-teras-an**[1]   *ieu tilu* **dinten**[1] *ieu.*
          continue-AUG-ADV this three   day   this.

Thank goodness, y'know, the children are safe. My goodness this rain, y'know, has been coming constantly for three days.

12/14 D: *Hujan-na* **ageung**[1] *pisan sih...   ...***teras-teras-an*[1]   *deui.*
rain-DEF   large   very   hmm   continue-AUG-ADV   more
The rain is very heavy...on and on.

1 = *Lemes Enteng*	4 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes respect*
2 = *Lemes humble* [*Lemes pikeun nu ngahormat*]	5 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes humble*
3 = *Lemes respect* [*Lemes pikeun nu dihormat*]	6 = *Kasar* replaces *Lemes Enteng*

In this text, there is a mixture of 'cushioning bad news' and expressing anger.

Finally, the average for dyad 48a.1 is at the *Kasar* end of the average range for FRIENDS:

TABLE 6: FREQUENCIES AND AVERAGES (DYAD AND INTERLOCUTORS)
FOR DYAD 48a.1 (FRIENDS) (Excerpted from Appendices 5–8)

				Frequency		Average Interlocutor		Frequency*		Average* Interlocutor	
Dyad. Scene	Sex	Age	Loca- tion	Ave. (Dyad)	Lemes	Kasar	#1	#2	Lemes	Kasar	#1	#2
48a.1	f	OY	i	0.09	2/1	11/18	0.15	0.05	0/1	10/5	0.00	0.17

Lemes respect/humble and *Kasar<Lemes respect/humble* terms only.

S is W's older friend. Both are women. W inquires about S's daydreaming. S replies.

2   S: *Nyaéta   ieu   téh   **mikiran**[5] **hayang**[5] **di-gawé**[5]   jiga **batur**[4],*
that.is   this   FOC   thinking   want.to   PASS-working   like   others

3   *resep   **isuk-isuk**[6]   ngabring,   jadi   **mun**[5] **boga**[5] **gawé**[5]*
fun   morning-AUG   walk.together   so   just   have   work

4   *mah   pan   **meureunan**[5]   rada   senang kana **haté**[5].*
FOC   then   maybe   rather   happy   in   liver
Well, I was thinking I'd like to get work like others. It would be fun every morning walking to work in a group. So having work, would make me happy through and through.

5   W: *Éh,   **ari**[6]... **sugan**[6]   téh   **di-gawé**[4]   da   **ka-tingal-i**[1] basa éta*
hey   as.for   thought   FOC   PASS-work   hmm   view-ADV   time   that

6   *mah sinarieun   sok   **indit**[4].*
FOC   unexpectedly.happening   often   go
Hey, I thought you were working, because I saw you recently after going out.

7   S: *Nyaéta   ieu   téh   jadi   panganggur. **Hayang**[5] téh   kitu*
that.is   this   FOC   become   unemployed   want.to   FOC   like.that

8   *di-mana   waé ngabababubabu   kitu.*
at-where   just   be.household.helper   like.that
That is, I've become unemployed. I hope to work anywhere as a household helper like.

9   W: *Énya*[6] *pan   di   imah*[4]   *gé   loba*[6] *pagawéan*[6]*na*
            y'know isn't at   home   also   runs   work   then

10   *pusingpusing teuing?*
            upset   very
            Don't you also have much work at home? Why such a big fuss?

11   S: *Laah* **ari**[6] *di   imah*[5] *mah   da   nyaéta   **pagawéan**[6]-ana* **teu aya**[1]
            hm   as.for at   home   FOC   alas that.is work-DEF   not exist

12   *buruh-na   geura **ari**[6] **di-gawé**[5]   mah   kajeun   teuing **capé**[5]*
            income-DEF   quick as.for PASS-work   FOC   no.matter very   tired

13   *aya   buruh.*
            there.is income
            Well, as for work at home, that's work without any income. If I'm employed,
            although I'll get tired, there's some income.

14   W: **Nya**[6] **néangan**[5] *waé atuh... ké   geura... pan   **seueur**[1]*
            y'know looking.for just indeed   later quickly   not.true many

15   *kenal-an   ongkoh.*
            acquaint-ance individually
            Why don't you just look for work...wait a minute...you have many
            acquaintances.

The mood here is dictated by S's frustration and anger at being unemployed. This is symbolised by the profusion of *Kasar* terms.

Turning to FAMILY members, ranges of averages for FRIEND and FAMILY member dyads are identical. The similarity stops there, though. Patterns of overall averages and interlocutors' averages are different in FAMILY member and FRIEND dyads. That is, the overall average for FRIENDS is 0.77 and for FAMILY members 0.75. Averages for interlocutors, however, are differently patterned. If we group the members of each dyad who have the higher individual average in one group, and the members who have a lower individual average in another, we can derive a group average for each. The result is a pair of ratios: first, 82:69 for FRIENDS, and secondly, 94:74 for FAMILY members.

The disparity between FAMILY member and FRIEND interlocutors appears also if we calculate the sums of the differences between averages for the two interlocutors, and average them. For all types of terms, this average for FAMILY members is 0.24, and for FRIENDS 0.12, a ratio of 2:1 (see Appendix 7). For *Lemes respect/humble* and *Kasar< Lemes respect/humble* terms only, the average for FAMILY members is 0.19, while for FRIENDS it is 0.15, a ratio of 1.25:1 (see Appendix 8).

This difference reflects the greater range of variation due to age/generation, direct/indirect descent groups, sex and so forth, which occur within an extended family. FRIEND relationships are generally more uniform than those among FAMILY members.

FAMILY member dyads provide a range of social relationships, across which to observe speech-level use. The same kinds of relationships discussed thus far are reflected in the averages. One apparently undocumented relationship emerges, however, which is symbolised by choice of the words *budak, anak* and *murangkalih* when referring to an adolescent. Satjadibrata shows *budak* and *anak* as either *Kasar* or *Lemes humble*,

depending on their use (see Figure 2, Type III). An adult, however, would choose between *budak* or *anak (=Kasar)* and *murangkalih (=Lemes)* for a third person referent. *Lemes humble* applies only to first-person reference (i.e. to oneself).

In Text 26, Scene 1, a mother (N) and father (F) discuss their son's bad report card. The wife uses slightly more *Lemes* terms than the father. For all terms, Ave.(26a.1) = 0.87; Ave.(Father) = 0.67 and the Ave.(Mother) = 0.92. For *Lemes respect/humble* terms only: Ave.(Father) = 0.50 and the Ave.(Mother) = 0.88. This disparity of averages for the interlocutors is no doubt due to the fact that Indonesian wives tend to be younger than their husbands, hence the value of *respect* is appropriate.

Parents' references to their son and his problem reveal an interesting function of speech levels. The father's first reference is a *Kasar* term (*si Kosim*). Using a *Kasar* term could symbolise the referent's perceived lower status or an interlocutor's intimacy with him.

F.   *Mam, kumaha si Kosim teh?   Rapot-na*   **awon** *pisan!*
     ma   how   ol' Kosim FOC   report-DEF bad   very
     Mom, what about <u>that Kosim</u>? His report card is very bad!

The mother, in turn, uses the *Lemes* term (**murangkalih**).

N.   *Atuh   da*   **murangkalih-***na***(Lr)** *males   pisan.* **Sanés kirang** *warah.*
     goodness   hm   child-the   lazy   very   not   less   taught
     Oh my, <u>the boy</u>'s very lazy. It's not that nobody's teaching him.

What is the meaning of this *Lemes respect* reference? She may be showing respect to father (=the father's child) by using a *Lemes respect* term. But when the father asks,

F.   **Kinten-kinten**   *naék   moal?*
     apparently-AUG   go.up   will.not
     Probably he'll pass, won't he?

the mother switches and selects a *Kasar* term to refer to the boy and to what he must do to be able to pass to the next grade:

N.   *Ké*   **upami** *masih* **tiasa** *di-leres-keun*   **sareng** *budak-na(K<Lr)*
     later   if   still   can   PASS-correct-CAUS   and   child-the

     kersa(Lr) *di-ajar*   *masih*   **tiasa**.
     wants.to   PASS-educate   still   can
     Later if it is still possible to straighten out this thing and <u>the kid</u> wants to study, he still can make it.

What is the meaning of this switch in the midst of a dialogue where interlocutors are using *Lemes* style? Relationship alone cannot account for it. The most reasonable explanation is that the mother is shifting to *Kasar* to show disgust at her son's negligence. That is, here is an enactment of Rule IV regarding anger.

Text 45 is the product of an interaction between CO-WORKERS (dyads 45a.1 and 45a.2) involving the same type of reference to one's own child, that is using a *Kasar* term to symbolise anxiety or unhappiness.

S is unhappy. Her successful daughter was chosen to go overseas for further study. A colleague (C) catches S daydreaming and asks her what's wrong. S replies respectfully, but in a way reflecting pride in her daughter.

S: *Ieu* **pun anak** *cenah* **badé**   *ka luar negeri...*
    this my child they.say going.to to out country
    This, my child, they say, will go overseas...

The colleague congratulates S.

C: *Nya*   *saé*   *atuh,*   **ng-iring bingah**. **Gaduh(Lr) putra(Lr) badé(Lr)**
    y'know good indeed join   happy possess   child   going.to

    balajar ka luar negeri mah!
    study to out country FOC
    Y'know, it's really good, I share your happiness. Having a child who's going to study overseas, indeed!

    ...Janten **katingalina** *éta* *téh*   **murangkalih(Lr)** *aya*   **kamajengan**...
    and so   apparent   that FOC   child   there.is progress
    ...And so apparently that child is getting ahead in life...

But S is torn between pride in her daughter's achievement, anger about the daughter's impending departure, and respect for her colleagues.

S: *Nyaéta* **ari**   *ka*-**hoyong**   *mah,* *ulah* **cios**,   *kitu...*
    that.is as for NOM-desire FOC   don't happen like.that

    Gaduh *budak* *téh,* *teu dua, teu tilu,*   **mung** *hiji-hiji-na...*
    have   child   FOC not two not three only   one-AUG-DEF
    That is, as for my wish, don't happen, like that...I have this kid, not two, not three, only this very one...

Again, S shifts to a *Kasar* term to refer to her daughter.

iv) SPEAKING IN PUBLIC (see Appendix 9)

Finally, speaking in public highlights the relationship of speech levels to speech functions. Situational factors are constant: a restricted number of speakers, one speaker performs at a time, and an audience.

Tasks performed in public vary from: 1) a village head's announcement of an upcoming public speech to be given in a local mosque after evening prayers, 2) a committee head's greeting and welcome to the audience, 3) a request for someone to read from the Qu'ran, 4) an introduction of the speaker at the aforementioned event, 5) the guest speaker's telling about himself, 6) response to the welcome, 7) retelling of humorous experiences in Indonesia, 8) telling of plans for the duration of his stay, 9) delivery of his main address, 10) compliment to those attending, and finally, 11) closing.

The eleven tasks are in rough chronological order, the latter ten constituting a major speech event.

The data recall Satjadibrata's explanation of the use of *Kasar for* scholarly reading material. In general, *Kasar* vocabulary is fuller and broader than *Lemes* vocabulary. In the texts of these 11 tasks, *Kasar* terms are reserved for the visiting speaker's main address about personal health and hygiene. *Kasar* terms appear to serve as a topic indicator for speaking in public, as well. This phenomenon is not only limited to reading material. That is, use of *Kasar* terms means the material is relatively objective and non-personal (Halliday's 'ideational meaning').

Furthermore, our analysis gives a clear picture of how an effective public speaker uses speech levels to prepare the audience for the main topic.

The averages of tasks 1) and 2) show the village head's and committee head's exclusive use of *Lemes* terms (Texts 36.1, 36.2: Average = 1.00) while making anouncements. The committee head uses *Lemes* terms exclusively in tasks 3) and 4) (Texts 36.3, 36.4: Average=1.00), no doubt because announcements are mostly concerned with the relationship between announcer and the villagers, and between the announcers, the villagers and the guest speaker, towards whom they show respect. Objective information is subordinate to the social relationships between speech event participants, or as Halliday might say, 'interpersonal meaning' dominates 'ideational meaning'.

Text 36.1 illustrates this style. RT is the *neighbourhood association head*:

Ke-tua   rukun   tetangga
NOM-old association neighbour,

RW for the citizen's association:

rukun   warga
association   member.

The text of the recorded announcement is as follows:

RT: *Para Sadérék* **sa-daya,** **utami-na**   *warga   RW   05, engké* **wengi**
     PL   brother   one-all   primary-ADV member distr. ass'n 05 later evening

     badé   *di-aya-keun*   **pangaosan*** *anu mana pen-ceramah-na,*
     going.to PASS-exist-CAUS   read.NOM   that   which AGENT-lecture-DEF

     nyaéta Bapa Doktor XYZ   ti   Amérika.
     that.is   Mr   Doctor XYZ from USA
     Friends, especially residents of district 5, this evening a lecture will be presented by Dr XYZ from the USA.
     ***Aos* 'read',** *pang...an* NOM.

     Pangaosan *di-aya-keun*   **ngawit-an** **tabuh** *tujuh tilu   puluh di*
     lecture   PASS-exist-CAUS begin-ning   hour   seven three ten   at

     Masjid   Salman.
     Mosque   Salman
     It will take place at 7:30pm at the Salman Mosque.

     Sim kuring *sa-laku   ka-tua   RW 05*   **ngahatur-keun**
     person I (Lh) as-acting NOM-old distr.ass'n 05 give-CAUS

     barébu-rébu   *nuhun* **sa-teuacan-na**.
     NOM.thousand-PL thanks as-not.yet-NOM
     I, as head of district 5, express a thousand thanks beforehand.

The guest speaker sprinkles a few *Kasar* terms throughout his self-introduction in task 5) (Text 36.5: Average = 0.97), his response to the welcome in task 6) (Text 37.1: Average = 0.88), sharing of his experiences in task 7) (Texts 38.1, 38.2 and 38.3: Averages = 0.85, 0.68 and 0.89, respectively), telling about his plans in task 8) (Text 39.1: Average = 0.85), telling something good about the area in task 10) (Text 40.1: Average= 0.82), and closing

his speech in task 11) (Text 40.2: Average = 0.78). Mostly, he uses *Lemes humble* terms to refer to himself and his experiences.

This kind of public polite style can be seen in Text 37.1. The guest speaker (TP) opens his speech with the Arabic blessing, "Peace and mercy and the blessing of God be with you". He then continues...

TP: **Sim**   **kuring ngaraos bingah** *dina*   **wengi**   *ieu, ku*   *aya-na*
    person   I (Lh) feel   happy   in   evening this from   exist-NOM

    pangaosan *anu*   *di-aya-keun*   *ku*   *RW 05,*   *anu   mana*
    read.NOM   which   PASS-exist-CAUS by   distr.ass'n 05 that   which

    sim   **kuring atos**   **kénging** *kahormatan** **kanggé masihan** we jangan
    person   I (Lh) already receive   respect.NOM   for   giving   advice

    anu   **mugi-mugi** *aya*   *mangpaat-na* **kanggo** *urang* **sa-daya-na**.
    which   maybe   there.is   valuable-NOM for   us   one-all-NOM
    I feel happy this evening, by the fact that this pangaosan is being held by
    neighbourhood 5, in that I have the honour of giving advice which hopefully will be
    of value to everyone.

    Sim   **kuring** *dina*   *kasempetan**   *ieu* **badé**   **nyangga-keun** *hiji*
    person   I (Lh) in   opportune.NOM   this want.to propose-CAUS one

    poko pedaran *ngena-an,* **atanapi** *patali* **jeung kaséhatan***.
    title   touch-ing or   tied   with   healthy.NOM
    Given this opportunity, I want to propose a title connected to, or tied to the topic of
    health.
    **Hormat* 'respect', *sempet* 'opportune', *séhat* 'healthy'; *ka...an* NOM.

In Text 37.1, as the speaker approaches his main address (Text 37.2), he uses *Lemes* terms up to the point where he announces the topic of his main address, itself a *Kasar* term. Thereafter, he uses *Kasar* terms. As he is finishing the main address (ideational meaning), he reverts to almost exclusive use of *Lemes* terms (interpersonal meaning). An excerpt from the main address follows.

TP: **Kaséhatan**. *Para* *Sadérék* **sadaya**.
    healthy.NOM PL   brother   all
    Health. Friends all.

    Dina   *kasempetan*   *ieu* **sim**   **kuring badé** **nyangga-keun** *hiji*
    in   opportune.NOM   this person I (Lh) want.to present-CAUS one

    poko pedaran **atanapi** *judul* *nyaéta* **Kaséhatan**.
    topic   or   title   that.is   healthy.NOM
    Having been given this opportunity, I want to present a topic, namely Health.

    Lamun *ku* *urang* *leukeun* **di-pikir**,   *di-lenyepan,*   **kaséhatan**
    suppose   by us   objectively PASS-thought PASS-pondered healthy.NOM

    téh   *perlu*   **keur sa-kabéh** *bangsa* *di* *dunya.*
    FOC   necessary for   one-all   race   on   earth
    When we reflect a bit, or ponder more deeply, we become aware that health is
    necessary for all peoples around the world.

7. CONCLUSION

This study has confirmed Satjadibrata's model of speech-level use in Sundanese. But it has also broken new ground by documenting seven additions to it which were previously unaccounted for.

These seven additions constitute knowledge Sundanese speakers already have, and which learners ought to acquire. It concerns not only 'knowledge of' the formal *Lemes* and *Kasar* paradigms, but also 'knowledge how to' use these forms according certain fundamental notions of speech events as Hymes has summarised in the well-known acronym S-P-E-A-K-I-N-G.

1)   The first addition concerns a situation when one interlocutor *repeats* something another has just said.

> I.   When repeating a co-speaker's utterance, as for instance, in a clarifyingor challenging speech act, repeat the exact words. Do not change speaking style, regardless of social relationship.

We showed an older speaker of higher status repeating a term used by a younger speaker of lower status, that is repeating the *Lemes* term the younger speaker said. According to Satjadibrata, the *Kasar* equivalent would be required by the older speaker's status.

2)   The second addition is the speech act of *thanking* someone.

> II.   When expressing 'thanks', use *Lemes* style, regardless of any other style being used.

An older, higher status speaker may thank a younger, lower status speaker with the *Lemes* 'Hatur nuhun'. Thanking someone is intrinsically *Lemes*.

3)   The third addition concerns the situation when speaking with someone in *Kasar* style, such as a friend or close associate. Switching into *Lemes* style helps *cushion bad news*. It protects that person's feelings.

> III.   When CO-WORKERS (perhaps also FRIENDS and ACQUAINTANCES) discuss a topic which constitutes a threat to any of their feelings (*perasaan*), they should select *Lemes* style to 'cushion the bad news'.

4)   The fourth addition concerns expected *acknowledgement of a female's presence* in mixed-sex conversational groups.

> IV.   When male CO-WORKERS (perhaps also FRIENDS and ACQUAINTANCES) are speaking and are joined by a woman, they should select *Lemes* style (or a more elevated degree of *Lemes*) in the woman's presence.

Among CO-WORKERS, when a third person having a relationship of CO-WORKER, FRIENDS or FAMILY member enters, that person has the potential to affect speech-level use between the original two speakers, whereas STRANGERS and ACQUAINTANCES do not.

5)   The fifth addition concerns use of speech levels to *express strong, negative emotions*. Such displays among FRIENDS and FAMILY members are usually symbolised by use of *Kasar* references to the person on whom these feelings are focused.

> V.   Use *Kasar* style to express anger in extreme circumstances, even to one's superior.

6)   The sixth addition involves use of speech levels as hedges, or qualifiers, or make excuses to **deflect expressions of negative emotion**, as when a boss tries to placate an employee's anger at being paid late.

VI. Use *Lemes* style to deflect anger, regardless of relative statuses of interlocuters.

7)   The final addition related to speaking in public. Speakers will usually begin in *Lemes* style to establish a relationship with the audience (Halliday's 'interpersonal metafunction'), then switch to *Kasar* style for the main address (Halliday's 'ideational metafunction'), thus serving as a **topic indicator**.

Finally, STRANGER, ACQUAINTANCE, CO-WORKER, FRIEND and FAMILY member dyads actually encompass a continuum which has been called a range of *degrees of acquaintance*. *Lemes Enteng* terms and *Kasar* replacements for *Lemes Enteng* terms (Figure 2, Type IV) seem to constitute a psychological sensor to a social situation, above and beyond the scale *degrees of acquaintance*.

A table of *Lemes Enteng* term occurrences and their *Kasar* replacements throughout the texts gives confirming evidence of the continuity of the *degrees of acquaintance* scale.

To begin with, when STRANGERS and ACQUAINTANCES speak, very, very few *Kasar* terms are chosen. In most such dialogues, no *Kasar* terms at all occur. In those where they do, speakers appear to be indicating their judgement that the situation is 'not-so-formal'. What is of interest is that, in these types of dialogues, the *Kasar* term used is almost always used in place of a *Lemes Enteng* (i.e. 'neutral polite') term. Even in STRANGER dyads, variability of feelings about social situation is already a factor. *Lemes Enteng* and *Kasar* interchange plays a role throughout the full range of dyad types as follows.

The percentage of *Kasar* terms used in preference to *Lemes Enteng* terms per dyad jumps dramatically moving from STRANGER to ACQUAINTANCE dyads, levels off for CO-WORKER and FRIEND dyads, then again jumps dramatically for FAMILY member dyads (Table 7).

TABLE 7: % *KASAR<LEMES ENTENG* REPLACEMENTS PER DYAD

		STRANGERS		ACQUAINTANCES		CO-WORKERS		FRIENDS		FAMILY
Number[1]/	I	19/	I	30/	I	53/	I	52/	I	76/
/Dyad[2]	I	/29	I	/11	I	/22	I	/22	I	/22
Replace[3]	I	0.66	I	2.73	I	2.41	I	2.36	I	3.45

[1] = Total number of replacements for the respective degree of relationship.
[2] = Total number of dyads for the respective degree of relationship.
[3] = Average number of replacements per dyad for the respective degree of relationship.

The comparison of *Kasar* terms chosen instead of *Lemes Enteng* terms as opposed to those chosen instead of *Lemes respect/hormat* terms also provides an overview of the continuity of the scale of *degrees of acquaintance* (see Table 8).

TABLE 8: RATIO OF *LEMES ENTENG/LEMES RESPECT/HORMAT* TERMS REPLACED BY *KASAR*

Ratio	STRANGER 4.75	ACQUAINTANCE 1.67	CO-WORKER 1.71	FRIEND 0.98	FAMILY 0.78
K<L. Enteng	19/	30/	53/	52/	76/
---------------------	/	/	/	/	/
K<L. respect/hormat	/4	/18	/31	/53	/97

Moving from STRANGER dyads to FAMILY member dyads, this ratio decreases from almost 5:1 to a ratio of less than 1:1.

Thus, the influence of social relationships (reflected in the choice of Lh, Lr, K<Lh and K<Lr terms) on the differential use of speech levels only really plays a role for ACQUAINTANCE, CO-WORKER, FRIEND and FAMILY member dyads. On the other hand, a general feel for formality/informality of the speech situation (reflected in the choice of LE and K<LE terms) encompasses the entire scale of *degree of relatedness*.

8. DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

An expanded understanding of Sundanese speech-level use now enables a deeper understanding of other aspects of linguistic variation, for example full versus reduced forms (i.e. *parantos : atos : tos* 'already'), which, besides adding to our understanding of the knowledge Sundanese speakers have in communicating with each other, will also elucidate knowledge required for the use of the speech levels by learners of Sundanese.

APPENDIX 1: FREQUENCIES AND AVERAGES FOR DYADS AND INTERLOCUTORS (STRANGERS)

	Dyad. Scene	Sex	Rel. Age	Sta-tus	Loc-ate	FREQUENCY LP*	L*	K*	Tot.	Ave. (Dyads)	Interlocutor 1 Freq. LP*	L*	K*	Tot.	Ave.	Interlocutor 2 Freq. LP*	L*	K*	Tot.	Ave.	STR-> ->ACQ?**	Lh&r	K<- Lh&r
STR	1.3	M	AD	D	I	1	5		6	1.17											No		
STR	1.2	E	OY	D	I	1	11		12	1.08											No		
STR	1.4	M	SAD	S	I	1	16		17	1.06											No		
STR	3.1	M	AD		P	1	18		19	1.05											Yes		
STR	28c.2	X	OY		H		20	0	20	1.00		7	0	7	1.00		13	0	13	1.00	Yes	4 | 7	0 | 0
STR	1.1	M	OY	D	P		21		21	1.00											No		
STR	2.1	E	AD		P		17		17	1.00											Yes		
STR	4.4	E	AD		P		12		12	1.00											Yes		
STR	21a.1	M	OY		P		17		17	1.00											No		
STR	22a.1	X	OY	D	I		13		13	1.00											Yes		
STR	22a.2	X	OY	D	I		18		18	1.00		10		10	1.00		8		8	1.00	Yes		
STR	23a.1	F	OY	D	I		18		18	1.00					1.00					1.00	No		
STR	24a.1	X	OY		I		23	0	23	1.00		8	0	8	1.00		15	0	15	1.00	No	5 | 8	0 | 0
STR	30.2	X	OY		P		35		35	1.00		8		8	1.00		27		27	1.00	No		
STR	52.2	F	SAD	S	O		13		13	1.00		5		5	1.00		8		8	1.00	No		
STR	53.2	X	SAD	S	P		9		9	1.00		7		7	1.00		2		2	1.00	Yes		
STR	24a.2	X	OY		I		45	1	46	.98		29	0	29	1.00		16	1	17	.94	No	14 | 13	0 | 0
STR	23.2	X	OY	D	I		31	1	32	.97		17	1	18	.94		14	0	14	1.00	Yes>Kasar		
STR	5.1	E	AD		P		24	1	25	.96		20	1	21	.95		4	0	4	1.00	Yes>Kasar		
STR	35.2	X	OY		P		21	1	22	.95		9	0	9	1.00		12	1	13	.92	No		
STR	56.2	X	OY		P	1	18	2	21	.95		10	0	10	1.00	1	8	2	11	.91	No		
STR	54a.1	F	SAD		P	1	33	3	37	.95	1	13	3	17	.88		20	0	20	1.00	Yes>Kasar		
STR	57.2	X	OY		O		16	1	17	.94		4	1	5	.80		12	0	12	1.00	Yes>Kasar		
STR	21.2	X	SAD		P		14	1	15	.93		3	0	3	1.00		11	1	12	.92	No		
STR	34.2	M	OY		P		11	1	12	.92		3	0	3	1.00		8	1	9	.89	Yes>Kasar		
STR	56.2	X	OY		P	1	19	3	23	.91		9	1	10	.90	1	10	2	13	.92	No		
STR	52.2	X	SAD	S	O		30	3	33	.91		17	2	19	.89		13	1	14	.93	No		
STR	27b.2	F	OY	D	H		17	2	19	.89		15	2	17	.88		2	0	2	1.00	Yes>Kasar	11 | 0	2 | 0
STR	29c.2	X	OY		H		8	1	9	.89		5	1	6	.83		3	0	3	1.00	Yes>Kasar	3 | 2	0 | 0
STR	25a.1	M	OY	D	S		8	2	10	.80		1	0	1	1.00		7	2	9	.78	No		
COLUMN TOTALS =						7	561	23	591														

Ave.(STRs) = .97

Sex: M = both spkrs are male
F = both spkrs are female
X = spkrs include both male & female
E = spkrs could be either
** Do STRs introduce themselves, thus becoming ACQs?

STATUS: D = different; S = same

{ LP = Lemes Pisan
* { L = Lemes
{ K = Kasar

LOCATION:
I = near home
P = public place
O = office
H = at home
S = at store/shop

Dyad Scene numbers identify the text number and dyad (in texts 21–60 only) in the text files. For example, 1.3 indicates text 1, version 3, while 3.1 indicates text 3, version 1, etc.; 21a.1 indicates text 21, dyad a, scene 1 of the text; 29b.2 indicates text 29, dyad b (the second dyad), scene 2 of the text, etc.

APPENDIX 2: FREQUENCIES AND AVERAGES FOR DYADS AND INTERLOCUTORS
(ACQUAINTANCES AND CO-WORKERS)

	Dyad. Scene	Sex	Age	Status	Loc-ate	LP	Lem	Pan	Kas	Total	Ave. (Dyads)	L	K	Tot.	Ave.	L	Pn	K	Tot.	Ave.
							FREQUENCIES					Interlocutor 1 Frequ.				Interlocutor 2 Frequ.				
ACQ	22.2	F	OY		I	1	15			16	1.06									
ACQ	4.1	E	AD		P		19			19	1.00									
ACQ	29.2	X	OY		H		14			14	1.00									
ACQ	51.2	X	OY		I		14			14	1.00									
ACQ	34.2	X	OY		P		61		2	63	.97	39	1	40	.98	22		1	23	.96
ACQ	51a.1	X	OY		I		35		2	37	.95	11	1	12	.92	24		1	25	.96
ACQ	59c.2	X	AC	D	H		30		2	32	.94	19	2	21	.90	11		0	11	1.00
ACQ	53a.1	F	SAD	S	P		28		3	31	.90	22	3	25	.88	6		0	6	1.00
ACQ	50.2	X	OY		P		36	1	6	43	.84	10	1	11	.91	26	1	5	32	.83
ACQ	60.2	F	SAD		H		28		10	38	.75	17	8	25	.68	11		2	13	.85
ACQ	48.2	X	OY		I		7		27	34	.21	2	27	29	.07	5		0	5	1.00
CO	32a.1	M	OY	S	SK		28			28	1.00									
CO	35a.1	M	OY		P		11			11	1.00									
CO	23.2	X	SAD		I		11			11	1.00									
CO	33.2	X	SAD	S	P		17			17	1.00									
CO	45.2	X	OY	S	O		11			11	1.00									
CO	49b.2	M	OY	D	O		6		0	6	1.00	4	0	4	1.00	2		0	2	1.00
CO	31.2	X	OY	S	O		45		1	46	.98	18	1	19	.95	27		0	27	1.00
CO	33a.1	F	OY	S	P		30		2	32	.94	18	2	20	.90	12		0	12	1.00
CO	34a.1	X	OY	S	P		28		2	30	.93	18	0	18	1.00	10		2	12	.83
CO	34.2	X	OY	S	P		11		1	12	.92	3	0	3	1.00	8		1	9	.89
CO	28b.2	M	OY	S	H		49		4	53	.92	22	2	24	.92	27		2	29	.93
CO	45.2	X	OY		O		68		7	75	.91	34	4	38	.89	34		3	37	.92
CO	57a.1	X	SAD		O		44		6	50	.88	27	6	33	.82	17		0	17	1.00
CO	31a.1	X	OY	S	O		32		5	37	.86	15	4	19	.79	17		1	18	.94
CO	45a.1	F	OY		O		29		5	34	.85	18	2	20	.90	11		3	14	.79
CO	32.2	M	OY		SK		18		4	22	.82	11	3	14	.79	7		1	8	.88
CO	60a.1	X	OY		H		18		5	23	.78	11	2	13	.85	7		3	10	.70
CO	44a.2	M	OY		O		14		4	18	.78	9	4	13	.69	5		0	5	1.00
CO	44c.2	X	OY		O		17		5	22	.77	11	4	15	.73	6		1	7	.86
CO	49c.2	X	OY	D	O		16		5	21	.76	8	1	9	.89	8		4	12	.67
CO	49a.1	X	OY		O		16		7	23	.70	4	5	9	.44	12		2	14	.86
CO	44b.2	X	OY		O		18		9	27	.67	7	3	10	.70	11		6	17	.65
CO	49a.2	X	OY		O		6		6	12	.50	2	5	7	.29	4		1	5	.80
CO	44a.1	M	OY		O		12		18	30	.40	7	11	18	.39	5		7	12	.42
	Column Totals =					1	842	1	148	992	.85									
	Ave.(ACQUAINTANCES) =					1	287	1	52	341	.85									
	Ave.(CO-WORKERS) =					0	555	0	96	651	.85									

NOTE: See bottom of Appendix 1 for coding conventions.

APPENDIX 3: KASAR‹LEMES RESPECT/HUMBLE AND KASAR‹LEMES ENTENG
(ACQUAINTANCES AND CO-WORKERS)

	Dyad. Scene	Sex	Age	Sta tus	Loc ate	Interlocutor 1				Interlocutor 2				— T O T A L —				Ave. (Dyads)	Ave. Interlocutors	
						Kas ‹h&r	Kas ‹LEnt	Ave. ‹h&r	Ave. ‹LEnt	Kas ‹h&r	Kas ‹LEnt	Ave. ‹h&r	Ave. ‹LEnt	Kas ‹h&r	Kas ‹LEnt	Ave. ‹h&r	Ave. ‹LEnt		#1	#2
ACQ	22.2	F	OY		I													1.06		
ACQ	4.1	E	AD		P													1.00		
ACQ	29.2	X	OY		H													1.00		
ACQ	51.2	X	OY		I													1.00		
CO	32a.1	M	OY	S	SK													1.00		
CO	35a.1	M	OY		P													1.00		
CO	23.2	X	SAD		I													1.00		
CO	33.2	X	SAD	S	P													1.00		
CO	45c.2	X	OY	S	O													1.00		
CO	49b.2	M	OY	D	O	0	0	—		0	0	—	—	0	0	—	—	1.00		
CO	31.2	X	OY	S	O	0	I	.00	1.00	0	0	—	—	0	I	.00	1.00	.98	.95	1.00
ACQ	34.2	X	OY		P	0	I	.00	1.00	0	I	.00	1.00	0	2	.00	1.00	.97	.98	.96
ACQ	51a.1	X	OY		I	I	0	1.00	.00	0	I	.00	1.00	I	I	.50	.50	.95	.92	.96
CO	33a.1	F	OY	S	P	0	2	.00	1.00	0	0	—	—	0	2	.00	1.00	.94	.90	1.00
ACQ	59c.2	X	AC	D	H	0	2	.00	1.00	0	0	—	—	0	2	.00	1.00	.94	.90	1.00
CO	34a.1	X	OY	S	P	0	0	—	—	0	2	.00	1.00	0	2	.00	1.00	.93	1.00	.83
CO	34.2	X	OY	S	P	0	0	—	—	0	I	.00	1.00	0	I	.00	1.00	.92	1.00	.89
CO	45b.2	X	OY		O	3	I	.75	.25	2	I	.67	.33	5	2	.71	.29	.92	.89	.92
CO	28b.2	M	OY	S	H	0	2	.00	1.00	0	2	.00	1.00	0	4	.00	1.00	.92	.92	.93
ACQ	53a.1	F	SAD	S	P	0	3	.00	1.00	0	0	—	—	0	3	.00	1.00	.90	.88	1.00
CO	57a.1	X	SAD		O	I	5	.17	.83	0	0	—	—	I	5	.17	.83	.88	.82	1.00
CO	31a.1	X	OY	S	O	I	3	.25	.75	0	I	.00	1.00	I	4	.20	.80	.86	.79	.94
CO	45a.1	F	OY		O	2	0	1.00	.00	I	2	.67	.33	4	I	.80	.20	.85	.90	.79
CO	32.2	M	OY		SK	I	2	.33	.67	0	I	.00	1.00	I	3	.25	.75	.84	.79	.88
ACQ	50.2	X	OY		P	I	0	1.00	.00	2	3	.40	.60	3	3	.50	.50	.84	.92	.83
CO	60a.1	X	OY		H	0	2	.00	1.00	0	3	.00	1.00	0	5	.00	1.00	.78	.85	.70
CO	44a.2	M	OY		O	I	3	.25	.75	0	0	—	—	I	3	.25	.75	.78	.69	1.00
CO	44c.2	X	OY		O	3	I	.75	.25	0	I	.00	1.00	3	2	.60	.40	.77	.73	.86
CO	49c.2	X	OY	D	O	0	I	.00	1.00	2	2	.50	.50	2	5	.29	.71	.76	.89	.67
ACQ	60.2	F	SAD		H	I	7	.13	.88	0	2	.00	1.00	I	9	.10	.90	.74	.68	.85
CO	49a.1	X	OY		O	4	I	.80	.20	0	2	.00	1.00	4	3	.57	.43	.70	.44	.86
CO	44b.2	X	OY		O	0	3	.00	1.00	2	4	.33	.67	2	7	.22	.78	.67	.70	.65
CO	49a.2	X	OY		O	I	4	.20	.80	0	I	.00	1.00	I	5	.17	.83	.50	.29	.80
CO	44a.1	M	OY		O	6	5	.55	.45	3	4	.43	.57	9	9	.50	.50	.40	.39	.42
ACQ	48.2	X	OY		I	15	12	.56	.44	0	0	—	—	15	12	.56	.44	.21	.07	1.00
						N = 41	61			N = 13	33			N = 54	96					nŠ10

% Kas<Lem.Ent. : % Kas.<Humble/Respect = | 36% | 64%

NOTE: See bottom of Appendix 1 for coding conventions.

APPENDIX 4: KASAR‹LEMES RESPECT/HUMBLE AND KASAR‹LEMES ENTENG
(ACQUAINTANCES AND CO-WORKERS)

	Dyad. Scene	Sex	Rel. Age	Sta tus	Loc ate	Interloc.1		Interloc.2		Int.1- Int.2	--REFERENCE--	Average		
						K ‹Lh&r	K ‹LEnt	K ‹Lh&r	K ‹LEnt	K ‹ Lh&r	Ave. (Dyad)	Int.I	Int.2	
CO	49b.2	M	OY	D	O	0	0	0	0		1.00	1.00	1.00	*Krespect/humble* :
CO	31.2	X	OY	S	O	0	1	0	0		.98	.95	1.00	Both values = 0
ACQ	34.2	X	OY		P	0	1	0	1		.97	.98	.96	
CO	33a.1	F	OY	S	P	0	2	0	0		.94	.90	1.00	
ACQ	59c.2	X	AC	D	H	0	2	0	0		.94	.90	1.00	
CO	34a.1	X	OY	S	P	0	0	0	2		.93	1.00	.83	
CO	34.2	X	OY	S	P	0	0	0	1		.92	1.00	.89	
CO	28b.2	M	OY	S	H	0	2	0	2		.92	.92	.93	
ACQ	53a.1	F	SAD	S	P	0	3	0	0		.90	.88	1.00	
CO	60.a1	X	OY		H	0	2	0	3		.78	.85	.70	
ACQ	51a.1	X	OY		I	1	0	0	1	1	.95	.92	.96	*Krespect/humble*
CO	57a.1	X	SAD		O	1	5	0	0	1	.88	.82	1.00	At least 1 value = 0
CO	31a.1	X	OY	S	O	1	3	0	1	1	.86	.79	.94	
CO	32a.2	M	OY		SK	1	2	0	1	1	.84	.79	.88	PATTERN I
CO	44a.2	M	OY		O	1	3	0	0	1	.78	.69	1.00	
ACQ	60.2	F	SAD		H	1	7	0	2	1	.74	.68	.85	
CO	49a.2	X	OY		O	1	5	0	1	1	.50	.29	.80	
CO	49c.2	X	OY	D	O	0	1	2	2	2	.76	.89	.67	
CO	44b.2	X	OY		O	0	3	2	4	2	.67	.70	.65	
CO	44c.2	X	OY		O	3	1	0	1	3	.77	.73	.86	
CO	49a.1	X	OY		O	4	1	0	2	4	.70	.44	.86	
ACQ	48.2	X	OY		I	15	12	0	0	15	.21	.07	1.00	
CO	45a.1	F	OY		O	2	0	2	1	0	.85	.90	.79	*Krespect/humble*
CO	45.2	X	OY		O	3	1	2	1	1	.92	.89	.92	Neither value = 0
ACQ	50.2	X	OY		P	1	0	2	3	1	.84	.92	.83	
CO	44a.1	M	OY		O	6	5	3	4	3	.40	.39	.42	PATTERN II

NOTE: See bottom of Appendix 1 for coding conventions.

APPENDIX 5: FREQUENCIES AND AVERAGES FOR DYADS AND INTERLOCUTORS (FRIENDS AND FAMILY MEMBERS)

| | Dyad. | Sex | Rel. | Status | Loc- | Frequency | | | | | Interlocutor 1 | | | | | Interlocutor 2 | | | | | |
	Scene		Age		ate	Lem	Pn	Kas.	Total	Ave.	Lem	Pn	Kas	Tot.	Ave.	Lem	Pn	Kas	Tot.	Ave.	
FAM	30a.1	M	OY		P	13		0	13	1.00	11		0	11	1.00	2		0	2	1.00	bro23-bro25
FAM	43b.2	X	OY		H	17		0	17	1.00	11		0	11	1.00	6		0	6	1.00	cosF45-cosM50
FAM	41c.2	M	OY	D	H	16		0	16	1.00	12		0	12	1.00	4		0	4	1.00	nephew-uncle
FR	42a.2	X	SAD		H	14		0	14	1.00	10		0	10	1.00	4		0	4	1.00	
FR	32c.2	X	OY	S	SK	12		0	12	1.00	5		0	5	1.00	7		0	7	1.00	
FAM	29a.2	F	OY		H	13		0	13	1.00	11		0	11	1.00	2		0	2	1.00	cosF30-cosF60
FR	27c.2	X	YAD	S	H	11		0	11	1.00	3		0	3	1.00	8		0	8	1.00	
FR	43a.2	X	SAD		H	37		1	38	.97	14		1	15	.93	23		0	23	1.00	
FR	58a.1	M	OY		I	36		1	37	.97	16		0	16	1.00	20		1	21	.95	
FR	56a.1	F	SAD		P	23		1	24	.96	10		1	11	.91	13		0	13	1.00	
FAM	59b.2	X	AC	D	H	47		3	50	.94	20		0	20	1.00	27		3	30	.90	daughter-father
FR	42a.1	X	SAD		H	14		1	15	.93	4		0	4	1.00	10		1	11	.91	
FR	42c.2	X	OY		H	84		6	90	.93	37		4	41	.90	47		2	49	.96	
FR	53b.2	X	SAD	S	P	13		1	14	.93	11		0	11	1.00	2		1	3	.67	
FAM	29a.1	F	OY		H	25		2	27	.93	16		0	16	1.00	9		2	11	.82	cosF30-cosF60
FAM	31b.2	F	OY		O	53		5	58	.91	24		4	28	.86	29		1	30	.97	sis35-sis25
FAM	55a.1	X	OY		H	21		2	23	.91	6		2	8	.75	15		0	15	1.00	wife-husband
FAM	28a.1	X	OY	S	H	31		3	34	.91	15		0	15	1.00	16		3	19	.84	bro30-sis25
FAM	60b.2	X	OY		H	10		1	11	.91	5		0	5	1.00	5		1	6	.83	bro28-sis24
FR	54b.2	X	OY		P	20		2	22	.91	15		1	16	.94	5		1	6	.83	
FAM	57b.2	F	OY		O	20		2	22	.91	2		1	3	.67	18		1	19	.95	sis28-sis17
FR	24b.2	X	OY	S	I	9		1	10	.90	6		0	6	1.00	3		1	4	.75	
FR	58c.2	X	OY		I	35		4	39	.90	24		2	26	.92	11		2	13	.85	
FR	32b.2	X	SAD	S	SK	15		2	17	.88	8		1	9	.89	7		1	8	.88	
FAM	26c.2	X	OY	D	H	35		5	40	.88	15		2	17	.88	20		3	23	.87	sis-law-/-bro-law
FAM	26a.1	X	SAD	S	I	13		2	15	.87	2		1	3	.67	11		1	12	.92	husband-wife
FAM	51b.2	X	OY	D	I	66		12	78	.85	47		5	52	.90	19		7	26	.73	aunt-nephew
FR	59a.1	F	CC		H	17		4	21	.81	8		1	9	.89	9		3	12	.75	
FR	59a.2	F	CC		H	8		2	10	.80	4		1	5	.80	4		1	5	.80	
FAM	55a.2	X	OY		H	10		3	13	.77	8		3	11	.73	2		0	2	1.00	wife-husband
FAM	46c.2	X	OY	D	H	19		8	27	.70	13		6	19	.68	6		2	8	.75	sis23-bro28
FR	47a.2	M	OY		P	7		3	10	.70	4		1	5	.80	3		2	5	.60	
FAM	27a.1	X	AC	D	H	13		6	19	.68	5		5	10	.50	8		1	9	.89	mother-son
FR	50a.1	M	OY		P	19		10	29	.66	12		6	18	.67	7		4	11	.64	
FR	47a.1	M	OY		P	22	1	12	35	.64	3	0	7	10	.30	19	1	5	25	.78	
FAM	41b.2	X	OY	D	H	25		14	39	.64	18		7	25	.72	14		0	14	1.00	sis45-bro28
FR	47b.2	X	OY		P	8		5	13	.62	2		2	4	.50	6		3	9	.67	
FAM	41a.1	X	OY	D	H	19		12	31	.61	9		12	21	.43	10		0	10	1.00	mother-son
FR	50a.2	M	OY		P	6		7	13	.46	2		3	5	.40	4		4	8	.50	
FR	47c.2	X	OY		P	15		20	35	.43	10		6	16	.63	5		14	19	.26	
FAM	46a.1	F	OY	D	H	7	3	29	39	.18	2	3	28	33	.11	5	0	1	6	.83	mother-daughter
FAM	46b.2	X	OY	D	H	3		14	17	.18	1		14	15	.07	2		0	2	1.00	mother-son
FAM	46a.2	F	OY	D	H	7		36	43	.16	2		31	33	.06	5		5	10	.50	mother-daughter
FR	48a.2	F	OY		I	3		21	24	.13	1		12	13	.08	2		9	11	.18	
FR	48a.1	F	OY		I	3		29	32	.09	2		11	13	.15	1		18	19	.05	

TOTALS: (FR & FAM) = | 914 | 4 | 292 | 1210 | .76 | | 466 | 3 | 181 | 650 | .72 | 455 | 1 | 104 | 560 | .81 |

NOTE: See bottom of Appendix 1 for coding conventions.

APPENDIX 6: FRIENDS AND FAMILY MEMBERS [LEMES HUMBLE/RESPECT; KASAR‹LEMES HUMBLE/RESPECT]

Dyad	Scene	Sex	Rel. Age	Status	Locate		Interlocutor 1 Lh	Lr	K<Lh	K<Lr	N	Ave.	Interlocutor 2 Lh	Lr	K<Lh	K<Lr	N	Ave.
FAM	30a.1	M	OY		P	bro23-bro25	1	0	0	0	1	1.00	0	0	0	0	0	—
FAM	43b.2	X	OY		H	cosF45-cosM50	1	6	0	0	7	1.00	1	2	0	0	3	1.00
FAM	41c.2	M	OY	D	H	nephew-uncle	0	3	0	0	3	1.00	0	2	0	0	2	1.00
FAM	29a.2	F	OY		H	cosF30-cosF60	4	3	0	0	7	1.00	0	1	0	0	1	1.00
FAM	59b.2	X	AC	D	H	daughter-father	1	6	0	0	7	1.00	5	6	0	1	12	.92
FAM	29a.1	F	OY		H	cosF30-cosF60	4	4	0	0	8	1.00	1	6	0	0	7	1.00
FAM	31b.2	F	OY		O	sis35-sis25	6	10	2	0	18	.89	5	18	0	0	23	1.00
FAM	55a.1	X	OY		H	wife-husband	1	1	0	0	2	1.00	5	0	0	0	5	1.00
FAM	28a.1	X	OY	S	H	bro30-sis25	3	4	0	0	7	1.00	7	2	0	0	9	1.00
FAM	60b.2	X	OY		H	bro28-sis24	0	1	0	0	1	1.00	1	1	0	0	2	1.00
FAM	57b.2	F	OY		O	sis28-sis17	0	0	0	0	0	—	9	3	0	0	12	1.00
FAM	26c.2	X	OY	D	I	sis-law/bro-law	3	6	0	0	9	1.00	6	8	0	0	14	1.00
FAM	26a.1	X	SAD	S	I	husband-wife	0	1	0	1	2	.50	4	3	0	1	8	.88
FAM	51b.2	X	OY	D	I	aunt-nephew	6	23	0	1	30	.97	4	7	0	5	16	.69
FAM	55a.2	X	OY		H	wife-husband	2	3	0	1	6	.83	0	0	0	0	0	—
FAM	46c.2	X	OY	D	H	sis23-bro28	3	6	1	0	10	.90	1	2	0	1	4	.75
FAM	27a.1	X	AC	D	H	mother-son	2	1	1	2	6	.50	1	5	0	1	7	.86
FAM	41b.2	X	OY	D	H	sis45-bro28	8	2	0	5	15	.67	0	5	0	0	5	1.00
FAM	41a.1	X	OY	D	H	mother-son	6	1	2	0	9	.78	0	5	0	0	5	1.00
FAM	46a.1	F	OY	D	H	mother-daughter	1	1	1	5	8	.25	2	2	0	0	4	1.00
FAM	46b.2	X	OY	D	H	mother-son	0	1	3	4	8	.13	0	0	0	0	0	—
FAM	46a.2	F	OY	D	H	mother-daughter	0	0	3	14	17	.00	3	2	1	1	7	.71
TOTALS:(FAM) =							52	83	13	33	181		55	80	1	10	146	
TOTALS:(FR)&(FAM)=							103	136	27	51	317		91	144	17	20	272	

Dyad	Scene	Sex	Rel. Age	Status	Locate	Interlocutor 1 Lh	Lr	K<Lh	K<Lr	Tot.	Ave.	Interlocutor 2 Lh	Lr	K<Lh	K<Lr	Tot.	Ave.
FR	42a.2	X	SAD		H	0	3	0	0	3	1.00	0	2	0	0	2	1.00
FR	32c.2	X	OY	S	SK	1	2	0	0	3	1.00	2	3	0	0	5	1.00
FR	27c.2	X	YAD	S	H	1	1	0	0	2	1.00	2	2	0	0	4	1.00
FR	43a.2	X	SAD		H	3	6	0	0	9	1.00	10	4	0	0	14	1.00
FR	58a.1	M	OY		I	4	4	0	0	8	1.00	1	4	0	0	5	1.00
FR	56a.1	F	SAD		P	1	5	0	0	6	1.00	0	6	0	0	6	1.00
FR	42a.1	X	SAD		H	2	1	0	0	3	1.00	2	4	0	0	6	1.00
FR	42c.2	F	OY		H	10	10	2	1	23	.87	1	21	0	0	22	1.00
FR	53b.2	X	SAD	S	P	4	4	0	0	8	1.00	1	0	0	0	1	1.00
FR	54b.2	X	OY		P	3	4	0	0	7	1.00	1	0	0	0	1	1.00
FR	24b.2	X	OY	S	I	1	3	0	0	4	1.00	0	0	0	0	0	----
FR	58c.2	X	OY		I	6	3	0	0	9	1.00	2	4	0	0	6	1.00
FR	32b.2	X	SAD	S	SK	0	6	1	0	7	.86	1	2	0	0	3	1.00
FR	59a.1	F	CC		H	0	0	0	0	0	----	4	2	0	2	8	.75
FR	59a.2	F	CC		H	2	0	0	0	2	1.00	1	2	0	0	3	1.00
FR	47a.2	M	OY		P	1	0	0	0	1	1.00	2	0	0	0	2	1.00
FR	50a.1	M	OY		P	6	1	0	3	10	.70	0	1	3	0	4	.25
FR	47a.1	M	OY		P	1	0	0	3	4	.25	6	1	2	0	9	.78
FR	47b.2	X	OY		P	0	0	0	1	1	.00	0	2	0	0	2	1.00
FR	50a.2	M	OY		P	2	0	0	2	4	.50	0	0	1	0	1	.00
FR	47c.2	X	OY		P	3	0	2	0	5	.60	0	3	5	1	9	.33
FR	48a.2	F	OY		I	0	0	2	5	7	.00	0	0	4	3	7	.00
FR	48a.1	F	OY		I	0	0	7	3	10	.00	0	1	1	4	6	.17
TOTALS : (FRIENDS) =						51	53	14	18	136		36	64	16	10	126	
TOT:(FRIENDS&FAMILY)=						103	136	27	51	317		91	144	17	20	272	

NOTE: See bottom of Appendix 1 for coding conventions.

APPENDIX 7: DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AVERAGES FOR INTERLOCUTORS (FRIENDS AND FAMILY): ALL LEMES AND KASAR TERMS

	Dyad. Scene	Sex	Rel. Age	Sta tus	Loc- ate	Diff.Ave's. Interlocu- tors1 & 2	Grouped	%	Cumul.	%	
FAM	30a.1	M	OY		P	.00					*bro23-bro25*
FAM	43b.2	X	OY		H	.00					*cosF45-cosM50*
FAM	41c.2	M	OY	D	H	.00					*nephew-uncle*
FAM	29a.2	F	OY		H	.00					*cosF30-cosF60*
FAM	26c.2	X	OY	D	I	.01					*sis-law/bro-law*
FAM	46c.2	X	OY	D	H	.07					*sis23-bro28*
FAM	59b.2	X	AC	D	H	.10	0-10=7	32			*daughter-father*
FAM	31b.2	F	OY		O	.11					*sis35-sis25*
FAM	28a.1	X	OY	S	H	.16					*bro30-sis25*
FAM	60b.2	X	OY		H	.17					*bro28-sis24*
FAM	51b.2	X	OY	D	I	.17					*aunt-nephew*
FAM	29a.1	F	OY		H	.18	11-20=5	23	0-20=12	55	*cosF30-cosF60*
FAM	55a.1	X	OY		H	.25					*wife-husband*
FAM	26a.1	X	SAD	S	I	.25					*husband-wife*
FAM	55a.2	X	OY		H	.27					*wife-husband*
FAM	57b.2	F	OY		O	.28					*sis28-sis17*
FAM	41b.2	X	OY	D	H	.28	21-30=5	23	0-30=17	77	*sis45-bro28*
FAM	27a.1	X	AC	D	H	.39	31-40=1	5	0-40=18	82	*mother-son*
FAM	46a.2	F	OY	D	H	.44	41-50=1	5	0-50=19	86	*mother-daughter*
FAM	41a.1	X	OY	D	H	.57	51-60=1	5	0-60=20	91	*mother-son*
FAM	46a.1	F	OY	D	H	.73	71-80=1	5	0-70=21	95	*mother-daughter*
FAM	46b.2	X	OY	D	H	.93	91-100=1	5	0-100=22	100	*mother-son*

Ave.Diff.|Ave.(Int.1)& Ave.(Int.2)|=   .24

	Dyad. Scene	Sex	Rel. Age	Sta tus	Loc- ate	Diff.Ave's. Interlocu- tors 1 & 2	Grouped	%	Cumul.	%
FR	42a.2	X	SAD		H	.00				
FR	32c.2	X	OY	S	SK	.00				
FR	27c.2	X	YAD	S	H	.00				
FR	59a.2	F	CC		H	.00				
FR	32b.2	X	SAD	S	SK	.01				
FR	50a.1	M	OY		P	.03				
FR	58a.1	M	OY		I	.05				
FR	42c.2	F	OY		H	.06				
FR	43a.2	X	SAD		H	.07				
FR	58c.2	X	OY		I	.08				
FR	56a.1	F	SAD		P	.09				
FR	42a.1	X	SAD		H	.09				
FR	54b.2	X	OY		P	.10				
FR	50a.2	M	OY		P	.10				
FR	48a.2	F	OY		I	.10				
FR	48a.1	F	OY		I	.10	0-10=16	70		
FR	59a.1	F	CC		H	.14				
FR	47b.2	X	OY		P	.17				
FR	47a.2	M	OY		P	.20	11-20=3	13	0-20=19	83
FR	24b.2	X	OY	S	I	.25	21-30=1	4	0-30=20	87
FR	53b.2	X	SAD	S	P	.33				
FR	47c.2	X	OY		P	.36	31-40=2	9	0-40=22	96
FR	47a.1	M	OY		P	.48	41-50=1	4	0-50=23	100

Ave.Diff.|Ave.(Int.1)& Ave.(Int.2)|=   .12

NOTE: See bottom of Appendix 1 for coding conventions.

APPENDIX 8: DIFFERENCE BETWEEN AVERAGES FOR INTERLOCUTORS (FRIENDS AND FAMILY): LEMES RESPECT/HUMBLE; KASAR‹LEMES RESPECT/HUMBLE ONLY

	Dyad. Scene	Sex	Rel. Age	St	Loc- ate		Differ. Averages Interlocu- tors 1&2	Grouped	%	Cumulat.	%
FAM	43b.2	X	OY		H	cosF45-cosM50	0				
FAM	41c.2	M	OY	D	H	nephew-uncle	0				
FAM	29a.2	F	OY		H	cosF30-cosF60	0				
FAM	29a.1	F	OY		H	cosF30-cosF60	0				
FAM	55a.1	X	OY		H	wife-husband	0				
FAM	28a.1	X	OY	S	H	bro30-sis25	0				
FAM	60b.2	X	OY		H	bro28-sis24	0				
FAM	26c.2	X	OY	D	I	sis-law/bro-law	0				
FAM	59b.2	X	AC	D	H	daughter-father	8	0-10=9	50		
FAM	31b.2	F	OY		O	sis35-sis25	11				
FAM	46c.2	X	OY	D	H	sis23-bro28	15	11-20=2	11	0-20=11	61
FAM	41a.1	X	OY	D	H	mother-son	22				
FAM	51b.2	X	OY	D	I	aunt-nephew	28	21-30=2	11	0-30=13	72
FAM	41b.2	X	OY	D	H	sis45-bro28	33				
FAM	27a.1	X	AC	D	H	mother-son	36				
FAM	26a.1	X	SAD	S	I	husband-wife	38	31-40=3	17	0-40=16	89
FAM	46a.2	F	OY	D	H	mother-daughter	71				
FAM	46a.1	F	OY	D	H	mother-daughter	75	71-80=2	11	0-80=18	100
	Ave.Diff.Ave's(Interl's1&2)=						19				

	Dyad. Scene	Sex	Rel. Age	St	Loc- ate		Differ. Averages Interlocu- tors 1&2	Grouped	%	Cumulat.	%
FR	42a.2	X	SAD		H		0				
FR	32c.2	X	OY	S	SK		0				
FR	27c.2	X	YAD	S	H		0				
FR	43a.2	X	SAD		H		0				
FR	58a.1	M	OY		I		0				
FR	56a.1	F	SAD		P		0				
FR	42a.1	X	SAD		H		0				
FR	53b.2	X	SAD	S	P		0				
FR	54b.2	X	OY		P		0				
FR	58c.2	X	OY		I		0				
FR	59a.2	F	CC		H		0				
FR	47a.2	M	OY		P		0				
FR	48a.2	F	OY		I		0	0-10=13	62		
FR	42c.2	F	OY		H		13				
FR	32b.2	X	SAD	S	SK		14				
FR	48a.1	F	OY		I		17	11-20=3	14	0-20=16	76
FR	47c.2	X	OY		P		27	21-30=1	5	0-30=17	81
FR	50a.1	M	OY		P		45				
FR	50a.2	M	OY		P		50	41-50=2	10	0-50=19	90
FR	47a.1	M	OY		P		53	51-60=1	5	0-60=20	95
FR	47b.2	X	OY		P		100	91-100=1	5	0-100=21	100
	Ave.Diff.Ave's(Interl's1&2)=						15				
							11				

NOTE: See bottom of Appendix 1 for coding conventions.

APPENDIX 9: SPEAKING BEFORE AN AUDIENCE

Text. Part	Location	Lemes	Pa-ne-ngah	Kasar	Kasar Pisan	No. Terms	Ave. (Txt.Pt)	SPEAKER
Publ 36.1	Village						1.00	Village Head
Publ 36.2	Mosque						1.00	Committee Head
Publ 36.3	Mosque						1.00	Committee Head
Publ 36.4	Mosque						1.00	Committee Head
Publ 36.5	Mosque	33		1		34	.97	Visiting Speaker
Publ 38.3	Mosque	24		3		27	.89	Visiting Speaker
Publ 37.1	Mosque	14		2		16	.88	Visiting Speaker
Publ 39.1	Mosque	17		3		20	.85	Visiting Speaker
Publ 40.1	Mosque	19	1	4		24	.81	Visiting Speaker
Publ 38.1	Mosque	19	4	4		27	.78	Visiting Speaker
Publ 40.2	Mosque	8			1	9	.78	Visiting Speaker
Publ 38.2	Mosque	13		6		19	.68	Visiting Speaker
Publ 37.2	Mosque	11	1	59		71	.16	Visiting Speaker

COLUMN TOTALS =	158	6	82	1	247	
			Ave.(Public) =		.65	

SEQUENTIAL ORDERING:

Text. Part	Location	Lemes	Pa-ne-ngah	Kasar	Kasar Pisan	No. Terms	Ave. (Txt.Pt)	SPEAKER
Publ 36.1	Village						1.00	Village Head
Publ 36.2	Mosque						1.00	Committee Head
Publ 36.3	Mosque						1.00	Committee Head
Publ 36.4	Mosque						1.00	Committee Head
Publ 36.5	Mosque	33		1		34	.97	Visiting Speaker
Publ 37.1	Mosque	14		2		16	.88	Visiting Speaker
Publ 37.2	Mosque	11	1	59		71	.16	Visiting Speaker
Publ 38.1	Mosque	19	4	4		27	.78	Visiting Speaker
Publ 38.2	Mosque	13		6		19	.68	Visiting Speaker
Publ 38.3	Mosque	24		3		27	.89	Visiting Speaker
Publ 39.1	Mosque	17		3		20	.85	Visiting Speaker
Publ 40.1	Mosque	19	1	4		24	.81	Visiting Speaker
Publ 40.2	Mosque	8			1	9	.78	Visiting Speaker

NOTE: See bottom of Appendix 1 for coding conventions.

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