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## VARIETY LANGUAGES AT TRADITIONAL MARKET, INDONESIA

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### Abstract

The language of the sellers has its own uniqueness. This can be seen when the sellers offers herbal medicine namely *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* uses a variety of languages to lure buyers to happily buy herbs without feeling forced. Based on this, the focus of this research is the variety of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* languages. This research is a sociolinguistic studies with qualitative descriptive method. The research data is in the form of a *bakul jamu gendhong* speeches at the Magetan traditional Market, Indonesia. The results of the study 1) found two varieties of language, namely the variety of transactions and the variety of speech levels (*unggah-ungguh*) in Javanese.

**Keywords:** language variety, Javanese, traditional market, transaction, speech level

## VARIETAT D'IDIOMES EN EL MERCAT TRADICIONAL D'INDONÈSIA

### Resum

El llenguatge dels venedors té la seva pròpia singularitat. Això es pot veure quan els venedors ofereixen herbes medicinals, és a dir, *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* utilitza una varietat de llengües per atraure els compradors a comprar herbes sense sentir-se'n obligats. Aquesta investigació se centra en la multiplicitat de varietats de *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. Aquesta recerca és un estudi sociolingüístic que aplica un mètode descriptiu qualitatiu. Les dades de la investigació tenen la forma de discursos de *bakul jamu gendhong* al mercat tradicional de Magetan, Indonèsia. Els resultats de l'estudi van trobar dues varietats de llenguatge, és a dir, la varietat de transaccions i la varietat de nivells de parla (*unggah-ungguh*) en javanès.

**Paraules clau:** varietat lingüística, javanès, mercat tradicional, transacció, nivell de parla

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## VARIEDAD DE IDIOMAS EN EL MERCADO TRADICIONAL DE INDONESIA

### Resumen

El lenguaje de los vendedores tiene su propia singularidad. Esto puede verse cuando los vendedores ofrecen medicina herbal, a saber, *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* utiliza una variedad de lenguas para atraer a los compradores a comprar hierbas felizmente sin sentirse obligados. El enfoque de esta investigación es la multiplicidad de variedades de *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. Esta investigación es un estudio sociolingüístico que aplica un método descriptivo cualitativo. Los datos se encuentran en forma de discursos de *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* en el mercado tradicional de Magetan, Indonesia. Los resultados del estudio muestran dos variedades de lenguaje, a saber, la variedad de transacciones y la variedad de niveles de habla (*unggah-ungguh*) en javanés.

**Palabras clave:** variedad lingüística, javanés, mercado tradicional, transacción, nivel de habla

### 1. Introduction

Language is a tool used by humans to communicate. Through language, humans can convey thoughts, intentions, and feelings (cf. Nababan 1995: 1, Chaer 1995: 254, Pateda 1994: 4, Kridalaksana 1985: 2). The language used by humans is not only *verbal language* but also *nonverbal language*. For example, when a *bakul jamu gendhong* offers herbal medicine to a buyer named Paijo, *Jo, toko jamu apa ora?* (Jo, did you buy *jamu* or not?). Paijo only answered by shaking his head. What Paijo did was a *nonverbal language* that Paijo didn't want to buy *jamu* (herbs).

*Bakul jamu gendhong* is a person who sells herbal medicine by being carried on the back using a scarf. *Jamu* is a term for traditional medicine from Indonesia. Later popular as herbs or herbs. Herbal medicine is made from natural ingredients, in the form of parts of plants such as rhizomes (roots), leaves, bark, and fruit. This is 5 kinds of herbs sold by *Bakul jamu gendhong* and their benefits for health:

1) *Jamu kunyit asam* (the tamarind turmeric herb) is efficacious to relieve pain during menstruation. This herbal medicine is made from a mixture of turmeric, tamarind, palm sugar, water, and a little salt.

2) *Jamu beras kencur* (rice galangal herb) is made from ingredients such as rice, galangal, tamarind, lime, coconut sugar, and pandan leaves. The efficacy of herbal rice galangal includes relieving body aches, relieving coughs, increasing appetite, refreshing

the body, relieving flu and sore throat, tightening the stomach after giving birth, improving blood circulation.

3) *Jamu paitan* (bitter herb), this herb has a very bitter taste. The bitter herbs are made from *brotowali*, bitter leaves, tamarind, ginger, and *lempuyang*. Although it has a bitter taste, this herb has many benefits, namely, to overcome itching, overcome diabetes, eliminate body odor, lower cholesterol, overcome flatulence, slimming the body, and relieve dizziness.

4) *Jamu daun sirih* (leaf betel herb), this herbal medicine is made from betel leaf, tamarind, and turmeric. Betel leaf herbal medicine has properties to treat vaginal discharge, eliminate body odor, shrink the stomach, strengthen bones and teeth.

5) *Jamu mengkudu laos* (galingale noni herb) is made from a mixture of noni, galingale, and galangal and the benefits: lowering blood pressure, improving blood circulation, warming the body, making the stomach feel comfortable, increasing appetite, launching menstruation, and refreshing the body.

Javanese is the language used by the Javanese people which reflects the high dignity of the Javanese people. The Javanese language has its own identity so that it is different from other regional languages. Poedjosoedarmo (1979: 59) says that one of the characteristics of the Javanese language is the existence of a speech level system (*unda usuk*), which is not owned by every language in this world. For people who do not really understand the Javanese language, they will say that the level of speech in Javanese is difficult and fosters undemocratic attitudes between speakers and speakers. However, if the philosophical value of the speech level is understood correctly, the Javanese speech level teaches Javanese people very deep human values, including *andhap asor*, *empan papan*, mutual respect, recognition of diversity, *aja dume*h and *tepa selira*. The Javanese speech level system is a sign of the importance of polite manners that establish the system of Javanese human relations.

Poedjosoedarmo's opinion emphasizes the location of the difference between the Javanese language and other languages. The Javanese language has a language system which contains deep human values, marked by the presence of Javanese language speech levels, namely Javanese *ngoko*, *madya*, and *krama*. The three speech

levels have their own philosophy. The Javanese *ngoko language* is used to talk to peers, familiar friends who have degrees, ranks, positions that are relatively the same as the speaker or to talk to people who have a lower social level/level than the speaker. Javanese *madya* is used to talk to people who are older than the speaker. Javanese *krama* are used to talk to parents and people who have a higher degree, rank, and position than the speaker.

There is a Javanese quote that has an extraordinary meaning, the quote reads *guneman kadya jemparing, yen wis mrucut tankena den tututi* which means that speech (language) is like an arrow, if the word (language) has been spoken it cannot be taken back. Therefore, the concept of *empan papan* in Javanese is very important to be embraced. Whatever speech (language) will be spoken must go through a process of deep thought and reflection.

Nowadays, there are many kinds of Javanese language used by the community. One of them is the variety of Javanese language used by the *bakul jamu gendhong* at traditional Market. The *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* uses a variety of Javanese language in their conversations to other *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*, to buyers, and to people around traditional Market. The *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* has its own characteristics and has its own uniqueness when it comes to attracting buyers, *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* uses various languages to attract herbal buyers. The language used by *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* is varied, as a bilingual *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* also often does code switching and code mixing. This is because the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* in traditional Market masters more than one language, namely Javanese, Indonesian, and a little Arabic and English.

Researchers are interested in investigating more deeply the language used by *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* in traditional Market because:

- 1) The language used is unique. *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* uses various languages to offer herbal medicine so that buyers are lured to buy herbal medicine. *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* always uses seductive sentences in the form of interrogative sentences to attract the attention of the interlocutor such as asking for the name, address, what is being, where, etc.,

2) The variety of language used by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* consists of transactional language variety and speech level language variety,

3) *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* is a bilingual who masters more than one language even though his mastery of B2 is not as good as B1 (Javanese) so there is code switching and code mixing,

4) *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* is a native of the city of Magetan who upholds wisdom. This can be seen from the isolect used when transacting with the speech partner.

Based on these reasons, the focus of research on the language of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* is What kinds of language is used by *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*, i.e. What variety of transactional language does *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* and what kinds of speech level languages are used by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*.

## 2. Theoretical review

### 2.1 Variety of Speech Levels (Unggah-ungguh)

The Javanese language has a deep philosophical value for human life. By speaking in Javanese *ngoko*, the speaker places himself at a higher level than the speaker. By speaking using Javanese *madya*, the speaker has an *andhap asor attitude* by placing the speaker at a higher level than the speaker. The principle of *empan papan* is the same as that of *angon basa*. The *empan papan* attitude is an attitude that shows considerations that do not conflict with place, time, and circumstances in behaving to maintain harmony in society. Javanese people are always required to be careful in language. In speaking, a person must consider what is being said, who is talking to, about what, where, under what circumstances, and how to speak so that there is no conflict with the other person. In language, the concept of *empan papan* becomes a special benchmark in communicating. The speaker will choose the appropriate speech level to talk to the speaker. The speech level chosen must be in accordance with the position of the speaker and the position of the speaker. Errors in

choosing a speech level can make the atmosphere uncomfortable and labeled as anchor and insolent.

Antunsohono (1953: 8-9) divides it into three levels (1) the variety of *ngoko* is divided into *ngoko kasar*, *ngoko wantah*, *ngoko andhap*, (2) the intermediate variety is divided into *madya ngoko*, *madyantara*, *madyakrama*, (3) the variety of *madya* is divided into *wredhakrama*, *kramantara*, *mudhakrama*, *krama inggil*, *krama ndesa*. Likewise with Poerwadarminta (1953: 42) which divides it into six levels, namely: (1) the *ngoko language* is divided into *ngoko wantah* and *ngoko andhap*, *ngoko andhap* is further divided into *antya basa* and *basa antya*, (2) intermediate language is divided into *madya ngoko*, *madyantara*, *madyakrama*, (3) *krama* is divided into *mudhakrama*, *kramantara*, *wredakrama*, (4) *krama inggil*, (5) *kedaton language* in Surakarta, (6) *bagongan language* in Kraton Ngajogjakarta.

The Javanese *ngoko language* is a language that is often used in Javanese society so that the Javanese *ngoko language* has more vocabulary than the Javanese *krama*. The Javanese *ngoko language* is used to talk to friends who are relatively the same age as the speaker and are already familiar and are also used to talk to speakers who have a lower degree/position than the speaker. By speaking in Javanese *ngoko*, speakers can speak without feeling awkward and shy.

Javanese *krama* is the highest language *upload in the Javanese language*. Javanese *madya* have extraordinary values of politeness and respectability. Javanese *krama* place the speaker higher than the speaker. Javanese *krama* teach politeness, humility, and honor to the addresser. Every Javanese man should be Javanese, in the sense of understanding the customary norms of Javanese politeness that govern all forms of direct interaction with the community. Nowadays, the Javanese language is increasingly abandoned by speakers because there are binding rules in the Javanese language, especially Javanese *krama* so that it seems complicated and difficult, while nowadays people are more advanced, people prefer things that are instant, fast, and easy.

In the pre-independence era, many elite families taught their children Javanese *krama* to their parents and respected people. This is done so that the children understand the *unggah-ungguh custom* well. However, because of the difficulty of

memorizing the Javanese *krama vocabulary* and the difficulty of understanding the philosophical meaning of the Javanese *krama* language, the Javanese *krama* began to be abandoned and chose to use the Javanese *ngoko language*. Today, the *ngoko Javanese language* is starting to be abandoned because it is pressed by the growing Indonesian and foreign languages.

## 2.2 Bilingualism

Grosjean (1982: 1) explains that bilingualism occurs because of language contact between two different language groups, exists in every country in the world, in all classes of society, and in all age groups. Therefore, it is difficult nowadays to find a truly monolingual society because there is no language group that is separate from other language groups.

Based on Grosjean's opinion, it can be said that in any part of the world bilingualism must occur because society tends to be heterogeneous consisting of several social classes, age levels, and education. So, the phenomenon of bilingualism is common everywhere except for rural people who are really far from other community groups, it is possible to still use monolingualism, but this is rarely found in any part of the world because of the rapid development of science and technology in remote areas — all over the country.

Mackey (1962: 12) states that bilingualism is the practice of using language alternately, from one language to another by a speaker, mastery of both languages must be of the same level. Referring to Mackey's opinion that a person can be said to be bilingual if he has the same ability in using two or more languages, mastery of B1 (first language or mother tongue) and B2 (second language) must be balanced. Mackey strictly limits the definition of bilingualism. So, people who cannot speak B2 well as well as speak using B1, then that person cannot be said to be bilingualism.

Mackey strictly limits the term bilingualism. His opinion is too binding, so it is difficult to find children or adults in Surabaya City and Magetan Regency who can use

B2 as well as using B1. This study limits the term bilingualism only to the receptive level so that it is easy to find data and get research subjects.

A binding opinion is also stated by Bloomfield (Aslinda 2007: 23) which states that a person can be called bilingual if he is able to use B1 (first language or mother tongue) and B2 (second language) equally well. Bloomfield's opinion asserts that the limitation of a person being called bilingual is if the person is able to speak B2 as well as B1. The limitations given by Bloomfield are very strict and cause many problems, the problem is how to measure the same ability of a speaker to mastery of the two languages used, is it possible for someone to use B2 with the same good quality as B1. This is still a question and material for consideration in this study.

Leaving Mackey and Bloomfield's opinion, following the opinion of Macnamara (1967) put forward a looser formulation of bilingualism. According to Macnamara, bilingualism or bilingualism refers to the ability to have at least a first language and a second language, even though the ability in a second language is only to a minimal extent. Based on Macnamara's opinion, Macnamara firmly said that a person can be said to be bilingual if he can master two or more languages without being limited to how much ability to master B2, as long as the speaker can speak using B2 then the speaker can already be said to be bilingual.

Research on the language of the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* at the traditional Market refers to Macnamara's opinion which says that there are no strict limits on the definition of bilingualism. The speaking community of Magetan Regency, especially in the Magetan Market, the majority can use more than one language even though their B2 skills are not as good as B1. Macnamara's formulation was followed by Haugen (1972) who stated that a bilingual does not need to master a second language actively and productively as required by Bloomfield, but rather if he has receptive skills in a second language. Haugen's opinion becomes even looser than Macnamara's opinion, Haugen states that a person can be said to be bilingual if he or she has at least a receptive ability in B2. Receptive language ability is the ability to understand the speaker's language, this understanding can be through sound or spoken and written.

By comparing the understanding of bilingualism from the experts above, the opinion of Haugen (1972) which is used as a conceptual framework in the study of the



*Bakul Jamu Gendhong* language at the traditional market. According to Haugen, the boundaries of bilingualism are very loose and non-binding. A person can be said to be bilingual if they have at least a receptive ability to B2. Haugen's opinion makes it easier for researchers to take data and determine research subjects.

### 3. Methods

Research on the language of the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* uses a sociolinguistic study with a qualitative descriptive method (cf. Moleong 2006: 4, Mahsun 2005: 233). The research data is in the form of a *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* speeches at the Magetan Market. The data collection technique used by the researcher was a tape recorder as a recording tool. The researcher followed the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* in approaching customers in the traditional Market and record important information, for example the context of the speech and the speech partners of the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*.

### 4. Discussion

#### 4.1 Language Variety

*Bakul Jamu Gendhong* language is divided into two sections, namely the transaction language variety and the speech level language variety (*unggah-ungguh*). The variety of transaction languages consists of various promotions, various offers, and various pleasantries. Meanwhile, the variety of speech level languages (*unggah-ungguh*) is divided into *ngoko* variety, *madya* variety, *krama* variety, and mixed variety. The following is a description of the various languages of the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* at the traditional market.

##### 4.1.1 Variety of Transaction Languages

The variety of transaction languages is the variety of languages used by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* when transacting with buyers. The variety of transactions consists of various promotions and offers, and various pleasantries.

#### 4.1.1a Variety Promotion and offers

Variety promotion is a variety of language used by *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* to promote the herbs to buyers. The language used by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* is communicative and attractive so that buyers are interested in buying herbal medicine. For buyers who are already known, the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* immediately calls the buyer's name such as *Ms. Mur, Ji, Bu, Hardi, Yupainem* and so on. The following is an example of an example of a *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* when promoting the herbal medicine:

- (1) BJG:       *Mbak Mur ngombe ra yu?*  
                   Mbak Mur drink or not?
- (2) BM:       *Jamu pait.*  
                   Bitter herbs.
- (3) BJG:       *Sing pait jamune suruh.*  
                   The bitter is leaf betel herb.
- (4) BM:       *Ya.*  
                   Yes.

Context:

Speeches (1) to (4) are utterances between the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* (BJG) and the *Bakul Mracang* (BM) (haberdasher).

The story (1) *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* promotes herbal medicine to *Mbak Mur*, *bakul mracang* (haberdasher). *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* and *bakul mracang* have known each other, it is proven that when promoting herbal medicine to *bakul mracang*, *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* calls her by the name *Mbak Mur*. *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* asked the interlocutor "do you drink herbal medicine or not?" and the speech partner answered with yes which means that the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* has succeeded in attracting the *bakul mracang* to buy herbal medicine. So, one of the

ways that the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* attracts buyers is by calling the buyer's name. Similar utterances are also found in the following speech.

- (5) BJG:       *Ndang Ji sagelas ae Ji.*  
                  *Kae lo mbah Bayan prentah! Ji sagelas ya... ya...*  
                  Come on Ji just one glass Ji.  
                  That's *mbah Bayan* orders! Ji one glass, yes... yes...
- (6) KG:        *Ya.*  
                  Yes.

Context:

Speech (5) and (6) are utterances between the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* (BJG) and *Kuli Gendhong* (KG) (porter).

*The Bakul Jamu Gendhong* seduced the porter to buy the herbs. This is shown by the speech (5) *ndang Ji sagelas ae Ji. Kae lo mbah Bayan prentah! Ji sagelas, ya... ya...* The *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* persuaded the porter to be ready for the herbs. The seduction was emphasized again with the word *ya...ya...*, which means pleading, alluring, and persuading the porter to be willing to buy *herbal medicine*.

In addition to attracting by calling names, *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* also attracts by way of praise. The following is the story of the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* "Yu Painem".

- (7) BJG:       *Yu Painem kamu cantike yu Painem.*  
                  Mbak Painem you are very beautiful Ms Painem.

Context:

Speech (7) is an utterance of a *kamu cantike yu Painem* (BJG) to Yu Painem, Yu Painem is a snack seller at the traditional Market.

One strategy to promote *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* is to lure buyers with praise. This was done by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* to Yu Painem. *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* said "beautiful" to Yu Painem, of course Yu Painem was happy. In fact, Yu Painem was already 57 years old and at that age it was very rare for people to compliment the middle-aged woman by saying she was beautiful. Yu Painem was very happy and ordered a glass of herb.

Based on the utterances of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* when promoting herbal medicine, it can be concluded that *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* uses various strategies to promote herbal medicine, including by calling the name of the buyer, asking “Have you been drinking herbal medicine?”, then seduce and praise the buyer and mention the types of herbs slinging.

Variety deals on *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* is a variety of price offers. Various offers are available at the beginning of the transaction and the end of the transaction. The variety of offers occurs because of the buyer’s ignorance of the price of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. The following is an example of a variety of offerings for a *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* with *kuli gendhong* (porter) at the end of the transaction.

- (8) BJG: *Nggawa sitoke ta? Loro? Nek wis oleh obat kuat kaya ngono ta? Ayo nggawaa sitoke kilo kunir asem.*  
Bring one? Two? If you have got such strong medicine?  
Come on, just bring this one, this is turmeric tamarind.
- (9) KG: *Ora nggawa, ayo utang saanue sagelas.*  
Don’t bring it, let’s just debt for one glass.
- (10) BJG: *Gah aku nek utang sagelas aluwung sagendol.*  
You can’t if you owe one glass, it’s better to go straight to one bottle.
- (11) KG: *Ra utang aku.*  
I’m not in debt.
- (12) BJG: *Sasenengmu, kowe mau toko apa?*  
It’s up to you, what did you buy?
- (13) KG: *Toko rambutan.*  
Buy rambutan.
- (14) BJG: *Kikuk kikuk kikuk kikuk kikuk...*  
Kikuk kikuk kikuk kikuk kikuk...
- (15) KG: *Isine apa? Beras kencur?*  
What’s in it? rice galangal herb?
- (16) BJG: *Kunir asem.*  
tamarind turmeric herb.
- (17) KG: *Kuninge enak.*  
turmeric is delicious.
- (18) BJG: *Ireng sansaya enak.*  
Black herb is even better.
- (19) KG: *Pira? Rong ewu?*  
How much? two thousand?
- (20) BJG: *Limang ewu, apalane rong ewu ae.*  
Five thousand, not two thousand.

(21) KG: *mung sitok iki ne.*

Just this one.

(22) BJG: *Apalane... njuk kresek pa ra pak?*

You can't... ask for crackles or not, sir?

Context:

Speeches (8) and (22) are utterances between the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* (BJG) and *Kuli Gendhong* (KG) (porter).

The above statement shows the various forms of offers made by porter to *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. In speech (19) the porter offered the price of one bottle of herbal medicine for two thousand rupiah, but the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* did not agree because the price of one bottle of gendhong herbal medicine was five thousand rupiah. The offer made by the porter was not approved by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*, so to complete the transaction the porter agreed that the price for one bottle of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* was five thousand rupiah. The variety of offers made by buyers to the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* can also be seen in the following speech.

(23) KG: *Heh!*

Hey!

(24) BJG: *Aja ha heh, reneo sik ta wis ta.*

Don't ha heh, come here for a second.

(25) KG: *Sesok, ya.*

Tomorrow.

(26) BJG: *Ya.*

Yes.

Context:

Speeches (23) to (26) are utterances between the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* (BJG) and *Kuli Gendhong* (KG) (porter).

The variety of offers seen in the speech above is shown by the porter in the speech (25) *sesok ya* (tomorrow)". The utterance means that the porter already knows the price of a glass of herbal medicine that has been drunk but the porter can't pay for the herbs at this time so they say "sesok ya". *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* agreed to this without suspicion because the two speakers already knew each other. Porter are one of the customers of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*.

Based on several utterances made by *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*, it can be concluded that the variety of offers that occur in the sale and purchase of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* are 1) various price offers that occur at the beginning or end of the speech due to the buyer's ignorance of the price of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*, 2) various offers for payment for *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*.

#### 4.1.1b Variety of Pleasantries

Various pleasantries are used by *the Bakul Jamu Gendhong* to familiarize themselves with the buyers. *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* believes that good relations with traders and buyers will increase sales of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. The following are the various pleasantries made by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* for buyers at the traditional Market.

- (27) BJG: *Prei? brambang murah nggih niki?*  
Holiday? cheap red onions huh?
- (28) BBB: *Murah papat setengah.*  
Cheap four thousand five hundred.
- (29) BJG: *Larang bawang, gendul apa plastik, nek plastik mlethos.*  
Garlic is expensive, or plastic bottles, if the plastic breaks.
- (30) BBB: *Campur karo beras kencur, pait ngene iki moh.*  
Mixed with rice galangal, bitter like this do not want.
- (31) BJG: *Cah nom tambah seneng, samene ya?*  
Young people are getting happier, is it like this?
- (32) BBB: *Ya.*  
Yes.

Context:

Speeches (27) to (32) are utterances between *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* (BJG) and *Bakul Brambang Bawang* (BBB) (garlic and onion seller).

Speech (27) to (32) is a form of pleasantries from a *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* to a garlic and onion seller. *The* garlic and onion seller is one of the customers of the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. To open the conversation, the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* asked the price of onions. This can be seen in the speech (27) *Prei, brambang murah nggih niki?*, then the seller answered with *murah papat setengah*. The garlic and onion seller bought the herbs brought by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. This is evidenced by the speech (29)

*larang bawange, gendul apa plastik, nek plastik mlethos. Bakul Jamu Gendhong* gave the choice to seller that the herbs were placed in bottles or in plastic, if in plastic it was prone to bursting. The following utterance is also a variety of pleasantries made by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* to one of the buyers at traditional Market.

(33) BJG: *Akui nek mlencer ki mbak neng sepur apa neng bus sing tak goleki gendul ngene iki. Aku nggawa kresek gedhe neng sepur kuwi... tenan. Neng sepur wi wong padha rakaruan ta mbak, padha ngguwaki gendul kuwi. Aku diseneni tanah ya golek rosok lo gek gendule ke nyis nyis lo tapi, anu sing tak jukuki sing aqua thok sing mizone ora gelem. Iki ditambahi beras kencur ora?*

I went, Ms. on the train or on the bus. I was looking for bottles like this. I carried a big bag on that train... that's right. On the train, people are crazy, miss, throwing the bottle away. I was scolded, yes, I looked for the bottom of the bottle, but I only took the aqua, which Mizone didn't want. Does this add rice galangal?

(34) WB: *Mboten sah, ngoten mawon.*  
No need, just like that.

Context:

Speech (33) and (34) are utterances between the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* (BJG) and *wong blanja* (WB) (buyer).

In addition to joking and asking about things related to the buyer, the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* also made small talk by telling his life history to the buyer. This is done so that buyers feel sympathy and feel sorry for them, so they are willing to buy herbs sold by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. In the story (33) the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* tells that whenever he goes out of town by train, the first thing he always does is collect used bottles. The used bottles will later be washed and reused as a place for herbal medicine. Collecting used bottles is an effort of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* to reduce spending on buying herbal bottles. This is what the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* hopes can attract the sympathy of buyers to feel sorry for themselves who are unable and need money to survive.

#### 4.1.2 Variety of Speech Levels

The variety of speech levels carried out by *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* consisted of the *ngoko* variety, the *madya* variety, the *krama* variety, and mixed variety (cf. Antunsuhono 1953: 8-9).

##### 4.1.2a Variety of *Ngoko*

*Ngoko* Javanese is a language that is often used in daily conversation. *Ngoko* Javanese is the easiest and most popular language in Javanese because it does not pay attention to social status, age and gender. The following is the variety of Javanese *ngoko* language used by *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* when speaking with buyers.

- (35) BJG: *Njuk neh ra Mbah, Mbah Gondor? Njuk neh pa ra?*  
Do you want it or not, Mbah Gondor? What else do you want?
- (36) BJ: *Ora, jamumu lulang.*  
No, your herbs are *lulang*.
- (37) BJG: *Lulang... iya diulu terus ilang.*  
Lulang ... yes drink then disappear “
- (38) BJ: *Jamune lujik ya tak tuku. Hla jik piye jamune?*  
The herbal medicine is *lujik*, I'll buy it.  
Do you still have the herbs?
- (39) BJG: *Jik, tak jukukne mbah.*  
Still, I'll get Mbah.

Context:

Speeches (35) to (39) are utterances between *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* (BJG) and *bakul janganan* (BJ) (vegetable seller).

The variety of *ngoko* can be seen in the utterance of the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* with the vegetable seller. The basket of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* and the vegetable seller both speak the Javanese *ngoko* language. This is because the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* and seller be familiar with each other and have the same social status, namely both being traders at the Magetan Market despite the fact in the speech (35) *Njuk neh ra Mbah, Mbah Gondor? Njuk neh pa ra?* It is proven that the seller be older than the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. This seems to be ignored by both speakers. Here's another



example of the variety of *ngoko* that the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* uses with *creditor* at the traditional Market.

- (40) BJG: *Dhuwit ngene iki... kuelet ngenei kilo. Dhek ingi ki dhuwit patang ewu malih limang ewu, ora ruh ta wong kelet. Hla wonge wis ngalih ta arep tak celuk.*  
Money like this... sticky like this hlo. Yesterday the four thousand turned into five thousand, I don't know because it's sticky. Hla the person was already gone when I was about to call.
- (41) TK: *Iki lima ya.*  
It's five.
- (42) BJG: *Pek en aku ra anu no.*  
Just take me it's okay.
- (43) TK: *Iki udan.*  
It's raining.
- (44) BJG: *Kaya dhek ingi yahene wis blarutan.*  
Like yesterday the hour is already heavy.

Context:

Speeches (40) to (44) are utterances between the *basket of herbal medicine gendhong* (BJG) and *Tukang Kredit (TK)* (creditor).

*Bakul Jamu Gendhong* and *creditor* both speak the Javanese *ngoko language*. Gender differences do not make them shy away from one another. The two of them have known each other for a long time because every day *creditors* come to the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* to ask for a deposit.

The variety of Javanese *ngoko* is indeed often used by *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* to talk to its regular customers at traditional Market. The Javanese *ngoko language* used by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* serves to familiarize themselves with their customers so that they feel close like family and can strengthen kinship ties.

#### 4.1.2b Variety of *Madya*

Javanese is between *ngoko Javanese* and *krama Javanese*. *Madya* Javanese language has a characteristic that it only treats subjects, verbs, and possessions. The following is the form of the *madya* variety used in the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* at traditional Market.

- (45) WB: "Sing ireng menika saking napa?"  
"What is the black one made of?"
- (46) BJG: *Sambiroto. Sambirotoi nek wong kene sing ngesoki wong Mediun mbak...*  
Sambiroto. This Sambiroto was imported from the Mediun people, sis...
- (47) WB: *Menawi ijo?*  
What about green?
- (48) BJG: *Godhong kates. Sambirotoi larang mbak.*  
Papaya leaves. Sambiroto is expensive, sis.
- (49) WB: *Sambiroto niku napa?*  
What is Sambiroto?
- (50) BJG: *Godhong, sampeyan rung ruh? Iki ya iju ngko nek dipepe ireng.*  
Leaf, you don't know yet? It's green when it's dried it turns black.
- (51) WB: *Pinten?*  
How many?
- (52) BJG: *Larang sekilone saiki sepuluh ewu, rendheng iki lak telat mbak...tambane napa?*  
One kilo is expensive now, ten thousand, this rainy season is late, sis... What's the bitter taste remover?
- (53) WB: *Paite...*  
It's bitter...
- (54) BJG: *Jamu...*  
herb...

Context:

Speeches (45) to (54) are utterances between the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* (BJG) and *wong blanja* (WB) (buyer).

When speaking with buyer, the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* chooses to use the *madya* Javanese language. This was done by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* because the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* was not familiar with the buyer, so to appreciate it, the *v* used the *madya* Javanese language. Speech (50) *Godhong, sampeyan rung ruh? Iki ya iju ngko nek dipepe ireng* the word *sampeyan* in the speech is a form of *madya* Javanese language. *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* does not use the words *kowe* or *awakmu* (you) for buyer because it is considered that these words are impolite when spoken to new people.

#### 4.1.2c Variety of *Krama*

Javanese *manners* are the highest level of speech in Javanese. Javanese manners place the speaker higher than the speaker. Javanese *krama* teach politeness, humility, and honor to the addresser. The following is one of the forms of Javanese *krama* found in the utterance of the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* at traditional Market.

(55) BJG: *Ngunjuk mriki napa beta kondur? Mboten kunir asem riyin? Kunir asem riyin nggih mengke beras kencure kagem tamba.*

Drink here or take it home? not turmeric sour first? Turmeric tamarind first, then the rice galangal will be used as a bitter taste reliever.

(56) BSJ: *Inggih.*

Yes.

Context:

Speeches (55) and (56) are utterances between *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* (BJG) and *Bakul Segi Jagung* (BSJ) (corn rice seller).

The utterance is the utterance between the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* and corn rice seller. In speech (55), the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* uses the Javanese *krama language* for the seller. This is done to appreciate and respect the seller which in fact has an older age than the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*.

#### 4.1.2d Mixed Variety

Mixed variety occurs because the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* masters more than one language, namely Javanese, Indonesian, a little Arabic and English. The variety of mixtures used by the *bakul jamu gendhong* consists of *ngoko-madya*, *ngoko-krama*, *ngoko-Indonesia*, *ngoko-Arabic*, *ngoko-English*, *krama-ngoko*, *krama-Indonesia*, *Indonesia-krama-ngoko*, and *krama-ngoko-English* (cf. Wijana & Rohmadi 2006: 56, Chaer 2004: 84, Basir 2002: 22). The following is an example of a variety of mixtures used by *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* at traditional Market.

- (57) BJG: Aku dua hari gak ketemu.  
I haven't seen you in two days.
- (58) TK: Kemana Bu?  
Where's ma'am?
- (59) BJG: Kemana Bu.  
Yes, keep on selling.
- (60) TK: O... *jadwale*.  
O... the schedule.
- (61) BJG: *Jadwale ra tepat*.  
The schedule isn't right.
- (62) TK: *Ngisi ping loro*.  
Twice charge.
- (63) BJG: *Ya, ra pethuk*.  
Yes, didn't meet.

Context:

Speeches (57) to (63) are utterances between the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* (BJG) and the *Tukang Kredit* (TK) (creditor).

Speech (57) to (63) is a form of mixed variety performed by the *Bakul Jamu Gendhong*. Speech (57) to (63) is a form of the variety of *ngoko* Indonesian. In addition to mastering the Javanese language *ngoko* *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* also speaks Indonesian, so that when speaking, *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* can use two languages at the same time. The variety of Indonesian is shown in the speech (57) and (59) while the variety of *ngoko* is shown in the speech (61) and (63).

## 5. Conclusion

The conclusions from the study of the traditional *Bakul Jamu Gendhong* at the traditional Market are: Variety of *Bakul Jamu Gendhong Languages* used, i.e. variety of transactions consisting of various promotions and offers, various pleasantries, while the variety of speech levels (*unggah-ungguh*) consists of the variety of *ngoko*, the variety of *madya*, the variety of *krama*, and the mixed variety.

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