ISLLAC: Journal of Intensive Studies on Language, Literature, Art, and Culture

Volume 9, Issue 1, 2025
Journal homepage:
https://journal-sastra.um.ac.id/index.php/isllac

THE SOCIOPRAGMATICS OF JAVANESE SWEARING: COMMON USE OF SWEARWORDS AND THE JAVANESE NORMS AND POLITENESS

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ARTICLE INFO

Article history:
Received: 19-4-2025
Accepted:19-4-2025
Published:30-6-2025

Keyword:
Javanese, swearwords, speech-styles, politeness, identity.

ABSTRACT

The importance of Javanese politeness norms with their intricate socio- pragmatic rules does not refrain the Javanese from expressing vulgarity and impoliteness using expressions excluded from the commonly known three speech levels of krama, madya, and ngoko. This paper examines varieties of coarse language and swearwords commonly used by different interlocutors in various Javanese speech events to express different intents. Library research, observations, and recorded interactions in social media in this study show the widespread use of swearwords among Javanese at some events by diverse interlocutors for different purposes. The usages of Javanese expletives and profane words not only express anger and frustration defying norms of politeness but also reveal positive pragmatic intents such as conveying witticisms, openness, and intimacy. As the use of Javanese krama is decreasing drastically among the younger generation, the widespread use of swearwords yearns for recognition of a different speech style that shapes norms of (im)politeness and consequently affects perceptions of Javanese identity

INTRODUCTION

Spoken by about 90 million people, mainly in Central and East Java, Javanese is the 10th largest language in the world, with its speakers being depicted as possessing complex

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pragmatic interactional systems emphasizing politeness norms (Geertz, 1960; Koentjoroningrat, 1984; Anderson, 1990; Poedjosoedarmo, 2006). This is evident in its linguistic system that has stratified speech levels with its honorific vocabularies and morphology. However, Javanese use in various speech communities reveals the decline of krama (H) and the popularity of Indonesian and ngoko (L) among increasing segments of Javanese speakers (Errington,1998; Oetomo, 1990; Wolff & Poejosoedarmo, 1982; Smith-Hefner, 2009). Furthermore, the popularity of social media has exposed Javanese speakers to the increasing use of coarse language and swearwords in their informal interactions.

Swearing uses expletives, profanity, and taboo words to express a state of intense emotion directed to affect the listeners (Jay 1992, 2000, 2009), where the emotional association or connotation is central in communicating the intended meanings (Jay & Danks, 1977). While the motives may be complex, Jay and Janschewitz (2006) confirmed that the frequent act of swearing in public places is primarily conversational, not very emotional, aggressive, or rude. As a matter of fact, swearing can either be polite, impolite, or neutral depending on the intended emotional meaning and context, such that it is difficult to judge an outsider without knowing the details of the contexts and the interlocutors.

This paper describes how the Javanese speakers use different types of coarse language and swearwords in various speech events and the possible effect it may have on Javanese norms of politeness and the Javanese sense of superior and refined identity (Anderson, 1990; Geertz, 1960). Although there are many terms used for swearing, such as foul language, obscenity, taboo, curse, and expletive, as well as profane, vulgar, and offensive words, for the purpose of this study, I will use "swearwords" covering all coarse language expressing impoliteness as well as the highly offensive words expressing anger. This study will specifically examine and describe the types, interlocutors, contexts, and intents, as well as their common usages that shape their connotative meanings and degrees of offensiveness. In addition to library research, this paper uses two different types of data: the recorded interactions accessible to the public, such as interactions and performances published on YouTube, and my notes on observations throughout my travels in Central and East Java during the winter breaks and summers in the past five years.

Javanese is a unique Indonesian local language comprising complex aspects of unggah-ungguh (etiquette) not only verbally but also para- linguistically (Errington, 1988 & 1998). Javanese has an honorific vocabulary referring to kinships, possessions, actions, and attributes. To speak Javanese appropriately, one must carefully observe not only the

interlocutors' status and social relationship but also the contexts, situations, and intents.

The complex propriety rule is primarily evident in the stratification of Javanese into three speech levels. First, krama is the highest one, constituting the most formal and polite speech; second, (krama) madya is the second, mixed level using semi-polite and semi-formal speech; and the third, ngoko, is the lowest level, which is linguistically neutral and commonly used as daily speech in informal contexts. Furthermore, there are also krama andap and karma inggil. Krama andap has honorific vocabularies for speaker humbling (high-level vocabularies that humble oneself) and krama inggil for addressee elevating (high-level vocabularies that esteem the other interlocutor) (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982; Poedjosoedarmo, 2006). Not understanding these linguistic manners is considered "durung Jawa" (not yet Javanese), because to be ideal human beings is to be a true Javanese equipped with knowledge and competence in honorifics, speech levels, and etiquettes performed in social interaction (Geertz, 1960).

The Javanese language commonly spoken today is different from the elegant, refined, and complex interactional styles typically used in cultural centers such as Yogyakarta and Surakarta courts (Mulder, 1996; Koentjaraningrat, 1984). Historically, with the help of the Dutch, the high speech style (krama inggil), initially used only in courts, was expanded into the rural areas, where ngoko was commonly used (Errington, 1998). Thus, the change into the more common use of ngoko outside of prestigious cultural domains constitutes a return back to the ordinary Javanese (ngoko) outside of the courts. This decline in krama usage continues with formal and refined Javanese commonly used only in formal, traditional, or religious events and ceremonies as well as among the elderly (Smith-Hefner, 2009 & Poejosoedarmo, 2006, & Nurani, 2015).

Several factors have contributed to this trend. Errington (1998) and Oetomo (1990) argued that a shift from Javanese krama to ngoko and Indonesian is in line with the campaign of using good and right Indonesian in the 1970s, supported by the emergence of a new, educated middle class as well as the younger generation that spread the use of Indonesian (Samuel, 2000). Indonesian development, which has increased mobility and improved economic status, also contributed to the preference for using Indonesian (Goebel, 2005 & 2010). Poedjosoedarmo (2006) stated that Javanese younger generations are "not very competent at manipulating the levels, simply using the Indonesian language instead of Javanese in contexts where it is necessary to be formal and polite" (p. 117). More recent

studies support the trend of continuous decline in the younger generation's competence and interest in the use of krama, making ngoko the primary means of daily communication (e.g., Nurani, 2015).

Another possible reason rarely discussed is the continuing modernization that has led to the reform and democratization era. The increasing use of ngoko and Indonesian represents a move toward a more egalitarian, unmarked, and neutral linguistic means of communication that is more suitable for democratic exchanges. Since the reform era, after the fall of Soeharto's regime, there have been more open debates, increasing free speech, and criticism against the authority.

Studies on Javanese speech levels suggest that their complex rules and etiquettes serve as maintenance of the status quo of the traditional elite, called "*priyayi*" (Errington, 1998; Anderson, 1990). Emphasizing the importance of subtlety and refinement, the krama level is governed by ethical values of appropriate order, harmony, and inner peace. As Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo (1982: 41) argue, using krama, Javanese speakers are expected to refrain from openly expressing "one's feelings." The ngoko "lower" levels, however, are used when one desires to express one's feelings openly, such as when Javanese speakers are losing their temper (Errington, 1984). The use of krama andhap and krama inggil not only demands the speakers' humility and the addressee's elevation, but also focuses on self-control and face-saving as well as sensitivity in protecting the stability of the addressee's feeling (Errington, 1988). This elitist etiquette-focused krama use can hamper equal participation in political speech events, while the use of ngoko facilitates freer and equal argumentations necessary for democratic decision-making (Dhal, 2000; Arthur et al., 2017).

The preference to use ngoko partly constitutes defiance against krama as an elitist complex means of interaction loaded with propriety of politeness. Furthermore, in recent years of openness, there seems to have been an upsurge in vulgar or coarse forms of ngoko as well as swearwords, indicating further defiance against the importance of etiquette-loaded krama, creating speeches that express more directness, openness, and freedom, but lack self- control. This is in line with the argument that swearing becomes more acceptable as we become more democratic and individualist (Twenge, Van Landingham, Campbell, 2017). Therefore, this study also focuses on examining the use of these types of coarse language and swear words as well as their possible effects on the norms of Javanese politeness and Javanese identity in this era of democracy.

As we use language, we continue to modify our roles, relationships, and communicative strategies, defining our dynamic social identity (Ochs, 1996; Norris, 2007). Although we may have multiple identities and adjust our language to the appropriate speech events, our linguistic choices in these events also shape who we are (Gumperz, 1981; Edwards, 2009). Following this argument, traditional Javanese identity has, in the past, been shaped by honorific-loaded speech styles. However, the decline or absence of krama usage, as well as the preference to use ngoko, also shapes Javanese identity (Nurani, 2015). This study shows that recent uptakes in the use and publication of Javanese coarse language styles can further enhance the decline in Javanese norms of politeness and identity.

The following section discusses, based on the collected data, examples of the types and usages of coarse language and swear words commonly used among Javanese speakers.

METHOD

This study uses two methods of data collection: gathering the use of swearwords from social media and through observations. Following Crawley's (2007) suggestions, the data collection through observations was challenging, especially in obtaining speakers' use of swearwords in natural events and settings. Awareness of my presence in the scenes prevented the interlocutors from using coarse language and swearwords, confirming that swearwords are mainly used for in-group interaction among very familiar interlocutors, either jokingly or to express profound emotion.

Although I took notes on many speech events that used swearwords, as a distant bystander pretending not to pay attention to the interaction, the recorded conversations containing swearwords are minimal. For example, during my travel and observation took place in Malang on December 5, 2016, when I got off my bus at the bus stop looking for a becak ride, a food vendor shouted at a sleeping becak driver, saying: "*Ana penumpang ki lho, micek wae*" (there is a passenger, do not just sleep). The only swearword was *Micek* (a scornful word for "sleep"), used by highly familiar interlocutors. During my visit to Jombang on July 19, 2017, a worker down-loading bags of goods from a truck shouted at his co-worker: "*Gek ndang, ket mau mbadok ae.*" (Hurry up, do not just eat), with only one coarse word, mbadok (a humiliating word for "eat") being used. Similarly, while enjoying my coffee at a street vendor on Jalan Merdeka, Blitar, July 6, 2018, I witnessed the next-door vendor complaining about her unemployed husband: "*panggah kakean cangkem, tak kon minggat*"

(if he still talks too much, I will get out of the house), containing two swearwords: cangkem (mouth) and minggat (go away).

In the past five years, I have spent between a few days and a few months in the following cities in East Java: Trenggalek, Blitar, Malang, Mojokerto, and Surabaya; and in Central Java: Semarang, Magelang, Klaten, Salatiga, and Yogyakarta. During my observation, I encountered far fewer swearword usages in real-life interactions compared to the ones published on social media such as YouTube. This confirms that the Javanese use swearwords in highly familiar settings among conversant interlocutors.

While people from different parts of East and Central Java have similar perceptions about similar swearwords, some have different connotative effects depending on the contexts and speech communities. For example, one of the most popularly used Javanese swearwords is "*jancuk*" or "*dancuk*," the meaning of which is similar in function to the English word "*fuck*".[1] However, in many East Javanese cities, especially in metropolitan Surabaya, the use of this word among close friends is common and can show intimacy.[2] Many segments of Javanese speakers, not only youth but also school children as well as adults, use "*jancuk*" as their most common swearword in addition to "*asu*" (dog) with different intent, connotative meanings, and effects on the addressees. However, jancuk is less popular and pronounced "*damput*" in Yogyakarta. Due to the limited swearword collection from observations, this study relies on collected data from YouTube containing more varieties of swearwords in different speech events.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Javanese Swearwords in YouTubes

Swearwords used in social media are widespread, but most of them belong to specific or private groups and are inaccessible to the public. One of the most popular social media publications in Indonesia, including on the use of swearwords, is available to anyone on YouTube. The selected and transcribed YouTube posts in this study received at least 50

[1] An attempt to define "*jancuk*" as "*fuck*" in English. See for example a paper by a Khoirol Hasyim on the meaning of "*jancuk*" in https://www.academia.edu/3254183/discourse_analysis_about_jancok_or_dancok_in_discourse_semantic_and_pragmatic.

[2] The SW "juncuk" has also become a topic of discussion. See, for example in: https://www.republika.co.id/berita/selarung/suluh/19/02/07/pmihv8282-jancuk-antara-ungkapan-kemesraan-dan-makian

thousand views, and many had more than one million views. This study will focus on two types of swearword usage on YouTube: first, the use of swear words in entertainment, especially in songs and comedy, and second, the recorded and published real-life serious expressions of anger and frustration.

Swearwords in Javanese Songs

Surprisingly, there are many naturally occurring speech events on YouTube where coarse language or swear words are used in different contexts and for different purposes. Songs are among the most popular ones, with some receiving over a million views.

As the most popular swear word, "*jancuk*" has become the title or part of the titles of quite a few songs. Even a well-known Javanese writer, actor, and cultural performer, Sujiwo Tedjo also created a song titled "*jancuk*," sung by others, including famous singer Eny Sagita.[3] He also wrote a book entitled "*Republik Jancuker*" (The Republic of Jancuk People),[4] This shows critical direct openness in the era of democracy, but "*jancuk*" is the only swearword used.[5] A musical group called Rootslide also has a song entitled "Jancuk" with its main swear words: "*Jancuk, raimu koyo asu*" (Fuck you, your face is like a dog) repeated in every stanza.[6] Similarly, another song entitled "Jancuk" has a repeated phrase: "*Jancuk, aku keplencuk*" (Fuck, I got Fucked).[7] Both songs describe frustration about their women partners by mocking or making fun of them. Other Songs published on YouTube that also include "Jancuk" as part of the title include: Mantan Jancuk (Fuck Ex-partner), although no other swear word in the song,[8] as well as an amateur creation of a song titled Arema jancok (Fuck Arema), used only by Surabaya Soccer Club supporters to mock Arema Malang Soccer Club),[9] Moreover, Cewekku Jancuk (Fuck my girlfriend), mocking an ex-girlfriends).[10]

Serempet Gudal is a decent group band that only occasionally produces profane songs containing swearwords to express frustration, such as Kimcil[11] and Lagu Saru[12]. Kimcil is

[3] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=35QMgf2Gxu4
[4] Jancuker is Sudjiwo's imagined nation or community where there is direct, blunt, open, and critical interaction among its community members.
[5] See a short essay on this book at:
https://regional.kompas.com/read/2013/05/07/0152387/Budaya.Keterbukaan.a la.Presiden.Jancukers
[6] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=p-CQCWdK_KM
[7] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5EjTJC9P7xk&list=RD5EjTJC9P7xk&start_radio=1&t=127
[8] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8jWwO0z_o8g
[9] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Rqgj4jg-1lg
[10] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YVq7ZSlqqMI
[11] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Bdru2e3Lf_g
[12] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UUg7JbhMVxg.

an abbreviation of simple kecil (or small thigh), referring to the young sexual body parts of a teenage girl that the singer adored. Nonetheless, it sounds demeaning since those body parts are also used as swear words in different contexts. "Lagu Saru" (Profane Song) contains an invitation to use profane words in a fun and playful way. The song plays with words by asking the audience to finish or fill in the blanks of unfinished words with the last syllable of the previous words, producing profane swear words, such as "*tempik*' and "*kontol*." (female and male genitals).

Perhaps the most active group in producing songs loaded with profane, dirty swear words, mostly mocking women, is Nganchuk Crew (The Fucking Crew). Most of its songs are filled with profane swearwords on sexual issues, such as sexual acts as well as body parts (see 2nd column of table 1). Among its most profane songs containing such words are "Cenggur,"[13] an abbreviation of "ngaceng nganggur" (horny alone), "Koncoku Gathel"[14] (my friend is a Dick), and "Ngumbah moto"[15] (Sight-seeing - in a negative sexual sense). There are several others whose whole song is filled with profane and sexual swearwords, such as "We Wedok'an Lonthe" (sluts) by Ndolio Turet Coooey.[16]

Other singers do not particularly focus on swear words but use coarse language to criticize or mock others strongly. A singer, Angela Lee, sang a song titled Cangkemmu (Your mouth),[17] which contain body parts with an added suffix, a second possessive pronoun – MU, creating a swear words, such as cangkemmu and lambemu. Similarly, group called DPMB uses a body part plus suffix-MU as the title of a song ndasmu (see table 2).[18]

There are songs containing some common swearwords created to express genuine personal or social issues, such as "Kudu Misuh" (The Urge to Swear) by Dalang Poer.[19] The song constitutes an expression of anger and frustration by those who fail to reach an acceptable social status. In this song, the singer and author described all the strenuous efforts he made to achieve a sustainable life but repetitively failed, leading to being stuck at the same low-class level and urging him to swear frequently. The swearing is limited to "jancuk" and "gathel" but enough to create empathy and sympathy toward those who swear

[13] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=v_8c_jzEkAo
[14] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IuWVAye008g
[15] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-bYmX2J6MNs
[16] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RDMmlz5G1s4
[17] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S0uCB-vLeEc
[18] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6uU8MRUFQD0
[19] https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=O2Dvei1QzgE

due to frustrating failures.

Swearwords in Comedic Performances

There are at least three different domains where the presenters and comedians create jokes using swear words. First cultural and religious performances with religious or humanist speakers/presenters. The second is during the "Limbukan"[20] and "Goro-goro"[21], when guest stars, usually comedians, perform for one to two hours to entertain the audience with jokes to create laughter. The third is the same comedic performances combined with singing and dancing accompanied by campursari[22] and gamelan orchestra.

For the first category, the most popular ones speaking Javanese with jokes using someswearwords are Sujiwo Tedjo discussed above and Emha Ainun Najib, known as Cak Nun[23]. For these two speakers/entertainers, "jancuk" is also their most popular swearword, which they consider commonly used in many areas among some segments of Javanese and Indonesian native speakers.

To confirm the popularity of jancuk in various speech events in Surabaya, Cak Nun stated: "Nah, 'jancuk' itu sendiri ada banyak view ya, ada banyak sudut pandang, ya. Kalau orang melihat secara formal thok bahwa "jancuk" itu sebagai makian, mereka harus belajar ke Surabaya. Justru kemesraannya itu keluar dengan kata-kata itu." ("There are different views on the word "jancuk"; it depends on how you mean it. People who think of "jancuk" in a formal context that has offensive meaning, should go and study the Surabayans. As a matter of fact, people use the words to show intimacy.")

For the second category, Limbukan and Goro-goro have become the most popular and the most well-attended segments of wayang[24] performances. In these two segments, comedians compete to make the audience laugh, using various coarse language and swear words. Among the most popular swearwords is jancuk; comedians also agreed with Cak Nun's comment above that jancuk does not have to be an offensive word, as shown in this exchange between Percil (P) and Yudha (Y) below.

[20] Limbukan is an intermezzo during the first half of the wayang play.
[21] Goro-goro is an intermezzo plot during the second half of the wayang play.
[22] Campursari is a combination of traditional Javanese music (gamelan) and contemporary Indonesian music genre
[23] EmhaAinun Nadjib (Cak Nun) is a well-known Indonesian essayist, poet, and humanist motivational speaker
[24] Wayang is the oldest traditional dramatic show in Javanese. It is a shadow puppet theatre show that uses old and contemporary Javanese language to tell stories based on the Mahabharata Hindu epic.

Y: *Wong Surabaya kui, kata akrab, nek kepethuk kancane. Umpamane: "Cil, piye kabarmu, jancuk, suwi ra pethuk cuk." Akrab kui. 'Piye cuk, kabarmu, cuk?'*

P: *Raimu kui.*

Y: *Durung tau neng Suroboyo kowe. "Cuk" kui kata keakbraban.*

(Y: For the Surabayanese, that is an intimate word when meeting a friend. For example: "Cil, how are you, Jancuk (fuck) long time no see, cuk." That is intimate.

P: Your face (swear).

Y: You haven't been to Surabaya. Cuk is an intimate word.

Swearwords used in traditional comedic performances are nothing new and are usually limited to the common ones such as jancuk, raimu, dapurmu, dengkulmu mlocot, tak tapuk lambemu (see table 2). They tend to function more as a coarse language than offensive swear words.

For the third category, even religious preachers occasionally use coarse language to entertain their audience. They often tell stories of incidents or speech events where coarse language is used. For example, Kiyai Gali (KH. Abdul Qodir) told his story using the words bajingan, goblok, ndablek, and minggat[25]. Ustad Anwar Zahid uses similar words and coarse language, including the words "*lambemu*," "*bongko*," and "*modar*."[26]

Indonesian comedians also frequently use coarse language and swear words filled with pornographic themes and profanity, which easily create laughter among the audience. Using profanity is also common in many different parts of the world where swear words become part of artistic, rebellious, and funny ways of entertaining (Boskin, 1997; Seizer, 2011). However, my experience indicates that most Javanese comedians rely much more on sexual genres to create jokes. Many popular Javanese comedians, such as Rabies, Percil, and Kirun, are known to use coarse language or swear words with pornographic themes. Although their swearwords are limited to "jancuk," "asu," and "raimu," the themes of his narratives tend to be pornographic with explicit or implicit sexual content[27].

Swearwords as an Expression of Anger and Frustration

Different from the use of swearwords for mostly entertaining purposes, this section

[25] See, for example, his performance that contains many coarse words: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SxHSp81OWSU&t=434s

[26] See for example: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3eVVM0L8HOA

[27] See, for example, https://www.kidsclip.net/video/S_Oyi3_Zhf4/rabies-vs-wisky-dagelan-saru.html.

discusses real people expressing their anger and frustration using swearwords. Interestingly, the use of swear words to express shock, anger, and/or frustrations is every day in some contexts among many segments of Javanese speakers of all ages, including from housewives to preachers from children to the elderly, again with jancuk and asu, as the most commonly used swear words. Due to the difficulty of witnessing a real-life use of swear words to offend and express anger, I will rely on recorded naturally occurring speech events published on YouTube.

These individuals use the already commonly used swearwords, all of which are parts of the list of swearwords included in Table 1. A housewife expresses anger during a verbal confrontation with her neighbor using many different swear words, including: "lonte …asu tuwek, ngragas kontol" (old bitch, craving for a dick).[28] Other examples include: a schoolboy who screamed "jancuk" as he received an injection during immunization in front of school teachers;[29] a child screamed and angrily cried while swearing: "Jancuk, raimu asu (fuck your dog face);"[30] Moreover, an online taxi driver expressed anger to his passenger, saying: "lonthe… kakean cangkem" (sluts…talking too much). A Javanese migrant female worker expressed her rage due to an insulting comment in the media about her Facebook post. In her furious expressions, she mentioned most of the commonly used dirty and profane words such as jancuk (fuck), turuk (vagina), gathel (penis), asu (dog), picek (blind), cocot (mouth), and other words included in table 1.[31]

While most religious preachers intend to use swear words for entertainment purposes, there are some exceptions. For example, a religious preacher, Sugi Nur Raharja, also known as Gus Nur, expressed his anger against his portrayed enemies using common swear phrases, such as "jancuk jaran," (fucking horse), "mbokne dobol (your mother's asshole)," "matamu picek (your eyes are blinded)."[32] Unlike other preachers who narrated others when using the swearwords, Gus Nur used these swearwords as personal serious emotional expressions.[33]

[28] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=At05qCvo1Ag&t=2s
[29] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Q4kEhVPBm5E
[30] See: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hVtUBDODLcY
[31] See her complete speech at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SMH4WFHmU6w
[32] See one of his published videos at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ebZE8rneeVo
[33] See a compilation of his swearwords at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=THYL_zkACTM

From Polite Words to Coarse language and Swearwords: Types and Speech levels

While notes from observations and transcripts from selected YouTube posts show many different swearwords and phrases, the interlocutors used the same common, frequently used swear words. When the swearwords are collected and classified in terms of themes as well as class of words, some of the most popular topics for Javanese swearwords include names of animals, body parts, and genitals in different classes of words, including nouns, verbs, and adjectives. Table 1 below contains a list of words based on themes and class of words, all of which were taken from the data collection described above and may not include all Javanese swearwords from other sources or different regions.

Animals	**Body parts**	**Verbs**	**Adjectives**	**Genitals**	**Other nouns**
asu (dog)	*cangkem cocot congor* (mouth)	*nggaglak*, *mbadhok*, *nyosor* (eat)	*matek modar bongko* (dead, die)	*Konthol* (scrotum)	*lonthe* (prostitute)
kirik (puppy)	*cengel* (back of neck)	*micek* (sleep)	*goblog geblek pekok* (stupid)	*turok tempik* (vagina)	*bajingan* (bastard)
celeng (feral pig)	*dengkul* (knee)	*gablek* (have/own)		*juh (pejuh)* (semen)	
babi (pig)	*mata* (eye)	*minggat* (go away)	*tuwek* (old)	*itil* (clitoris)	
wedhus (goat)	*ndas* (head)	*mangap/ njeplak nyocot* (talk)	*muduk* (full, satisfied)	*jembut* (pubic hair)	
munyuk/ kethek (monkey)	*rai* (face)		*Gemblung edan* (crazy)	*gathel* (male genital)	

jangkrik (cricket)	*lambe* (lip)		*asem* (sour)	*silit* (asshole)	
kampret (a type of bat)	*bathuk* (forehead)		*dobol (hemorrhoid)*		

Table 1. The thematic vocabulary of Javanese coarse and/or swear words

While some body part nouns can have denotative neutral meaning, with the proper context and intent, body part nouns become especially offensive when combined with second person possessive pronoun –mu (you are), as shown in the second column of Table 2 below. The third column gives examples of common idiomatic expressions commonly used as coarse language or swear phrases.

Ngoko that can be neutral	*Ngoko* that becomes coarse or swear words	Example of common swear idiomatic expressions
cangkem (mouth)	*cangkemmu* (your mouth)	*Cangkemu amoh* (your mouth is broken)
dengkul (knee)	*dengkulmu* (your knee)	*Dengkulmu mlocot (your knee injured)*
mata (eye)	*matamu* (your eye)	*Matamu picek (your eyes blinded)*
ndas (head)	*ndasmu* (your head)	*Ndasmu pecah (your head broken)*
rai (face)	*raimu* (your face)	*Raimu (kaya) asu (your face is like a dog)*
lambe (lip)	*lambemu (your lips)*	*Lambemu suwek (your lips are torn apart)*

Table 2. Nouns that become swear words with second person possessive pronoun suffix -MU

There are different ways of showing the intensity of the word offensiveness to show the speakers' intent, not only using the forceful tone but also in pronouncing the swearwords. For example, to show intensity and forcefulness, Javanese speakers insert a /u/ or /i/ sound to mostly the first vowel in the first syllable but sometimes also on the second or last syllable, creating a diphthong, as shown in Table 3 below.

The swear word	Neutral/normal pronunciation	Pronunciation with strong emphasis, adding /u/ or /i/ insertion	Meaning
asu	[ɒsu]	[uɒsu]	dog
goblog	[gɔblɔʔ]	[guɔblɔʔ]	stupid
modar	[moðɒr]	[muoðɒr]	die/dead
pekok	[pəkɔʔ]	[puəkɔʔ]	stupid
jancuk	[d͡ʒuɒnt͡ʃoʔ] / [d͡ʒɒnt͡ʃoʔ].	[d͡ʒuɒnt͡ʃoʔ] / [d͡ʒiɒnt͡ʃoʔ]/ [d͡ʒɒnt͡ʃuoʔ]/	fuck/fuck you

Table 3. Pronunciation with /u/ or /i/ insertion to show intensive intent

Swear words as the lowest and fourth Javanese speech level

Most recent Javanese linguists have described Javanese as consisting of three speech levels, with egalitarian and neutral ngoko as the third or lowest level. I want to argue that this description left out an important speech style below the ngoko level that is gaining popularity among segments of Javanese speakers. That is the coarse language and swear words. Stratified based on etiquette and norms of politeness, krama is the politest, while coarse and swear words are the most impolite. It is important to include this commonly excluded speech style to describe the Javanese as spoken by all segments of speakers in various contexts. Below are examples of a limited number of coarse and swear words laid out as the fourth level of the Javanese speech styles.

Speech Levels	Verbs				
Krama	dahar	sare	kagungan	tindak	ngedika
Madya	neda	tilem	gadah	kesah	ngedika
Ngoko	mangan	turu	nduwe	lungo	ngomong
Coarse/ Swear Words	nggaglak, mbadhok, nyosor	micek	gablek	minggat	mangap njeplak nyocot

Translation	eat	sleep	possess/ have	go, go away	to speak

Table 4. Examples of verbs are Javanese coarse or swear words at the fourth speech level

Speech Leves	Nouns (body parts)			
Krama	*paningal*	*tutuk*	*mustaka*	*pasuryan*
Madya	*mripat*	*tutuk*	*sirah*	*rai*
Ngoko	*mripat/mata*	*cangkem*	*ndas*	*rai*
Coarse/ Swear Words	*mata*	*cangkem/ cocot congor*	*ndas/ gundul*	*rai dapur*
Translation	eye	mouth	head/bald head	face

Table 5. Example of nouns as Javanese coarse or swear words and the fourth speech level.

Class of words	Adjective/ (int. verb)	Adj.	Adj.	Adj.	Adj.	Aux.	2nd person Pro.
Speech Levels							
Krama	*seda*	*bodho*	*sepuh*	*tuwuk*	*kersa dahar punapa2*	*saged*	*paduka /panjenengan*
Madya	*nilar/ ninggal*	*bodho*	*sepuh*	*tuwuk*		*saged*	*sampeyan*
Ngoko	*mati*	*bodho goblog*	*tuwo*	*wareg*	*nggragas*	*isa*	*kowe awakmu*
Coarse /	*matek modar*	*goblog pekok*	*tuwek*	*muduk*	*cluthak*	*godak pecus/*	*dapurmu raimu*

Swear words	*bongko*					*becus*	*ndasmu*
Trans.	dead (to die)	stupid	old	full/ satisfied	eager to eat anything	can/able to	you

Table 6. Example of Javanese adjectives as swearwords and the fourth speech level.

Swearing is an inherent part of most, if not all, world languages and cultures (Dewaele, 2010) and Javanese is no exception. For this language that emphasizes norms of politeness, however, the widespread use of swearwords in various shows and performances is astounding. The popularity of swearwords from the social media listed above has some possible ramifications linguistically as well as in terms of the future of the Javanese language, norms of politeness, and Javanese traditional identity. First, the use of ngoko and swearwords, as shown on YouTube, is widespread due to its entertaining appeal. In addition to the younger generation using ngoko, lacking competence in krama, they are exposed to swearwords more than krama. One of the proofs is the growing popularity of limbukan and gara-gara, where more coarse language and ngoko are used, leaving less time for refined krama use during other episodes. The increasing time allotted for these two plots in wayang performances gives exposure to the use of coarse language and phrases that have been commonly understood as offensive.

The publication of performances, including songs, on YouTube attracted the interest of many different types of viewers, indicating that the Javanese public understands the different cultural functions of swearwords either as an expression of anger or to show closeness and entertaining jokes. This is true that even young Javanese children know when and how to swear. While Jay and Janschewitz (2006) argue that the frequent act of swearing in public places is primarily conversational, not very emotional, aggressive, or rude, the Javanese swearing and swearwords are important parts of entertaining performances.

Second, many of these swearwords have their counterparts at the higher Javanese levels, such that they can be considered part of the lowest speech level. Linguists who have avoided discussing these taboo words should consider taking this genre as part of the Javanese speech styles that provide additional choices in using the language as part of the Javanese culture. Scholars should describe Javanese speakers not only in terms of norms of politeness inherent in the higher speech levels, which have declined in usage and popularity

but also based on the fact that most Javanese speak only ngoko, who are familiar with or use swearwords in their daily informal interaction.

Third, socio-pragmatically, there are denotative vs. connotative meanings of swearwords that depend on tones, context, interlocutors, and intents. As Jayand and Danks (1977) argue, emotional association or connotation is central to communicating the complexity of the intended meanings of swearwords. Body parts (cangkem (mouth), ndas (head), and mata (eye) can have either a neutral or offensive meanings; the same applies to animals, such as asu (dog), jaran (horse), and babi (pig). With the proper grammatical context, pragmatic tone, and emotional intensity, these words can become strong swearwords.

Fourth, there seems to be a connection between the democratization era and the increased publication of swearing. This popularity of swearwords among the Javanese younger generation as part of their freedom of expression through songs and comedic performances constitutes a defiance of the maintenance of the status quo of the priyayi, krama speaker traditional elite (Errington, 1998; Anderson, 1990). The popularity of swear words also challenges linguistic etiquettes of subtlety and refinement as well as authoritative needs for order and harmony, requiring respect and self-control (Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo, 1982). Far from practicing Javanese speech humility, these young Javanese speakers also demean their addressees, albeit, in many cases, creating amusement.

Even when these singers and performers mixed their Javanese with Indonesian, their Indonesian was different from that of Soeharto's era, when the political culture of Indonesia prior to the 1990s employed a language style that maintained the status quo of the dominant Javanese governing culture (Anderson, 1990). Java-centered language use of Indonesian did not conform to the modern Western-style system of decision-making. However, it was based on traditional principles of the power-mediated Javanese cultural system, which is reflected in the Javanese language styles. The maintenance of the Javanese language and culture during Suharto's regime, despite the use of a more egalitarian and unifying Indonesian language, is realized in the powerful influence of the hierarchical and authoritarian culture of the Javanese official system.

Since the reform era, Indonesia has been reshaping itself, becoming the third-largest democracy and one of the most democratic majority Muslim countries in the world. Following the principles of democracy that inspire debates and criticism as well as freedom

of speech, it is a challenge to put into practice the principle of Javanese etiquettes in krama. This is mainly because freedom of expression, debates, disagreements, and criticism involves openness in expressing one's opinion (Dhal, 2000; Arthur et al., 2017), emboldening speakers to neglect the appropriate order, calm inner peace, and the stability of the feeling of the addressees that are required when speaking krama. As Twenge, Van Landingham, and Campbell (2017) argue, swearing becomes more acceptable as we become more democratic and individualist.

Finally, the phenomenon of widespread use and publication of coarse Javanese language and swearwords as part of freedom of expression can also affect Javanese norms of politeness and perception of their identity. Democratization that helps enhance younger generation Javanese speakers to neglect elitist krama and embrace ngoko and Indonesian is not only losing the old-fashioned traditional norms of politeness but also their traditional Javanese identity. The culture of socio-pragmatic defiance against elitist language styles and the prevailing consumption of coarse language and swearwords published in social media through different genres may help shape Javanese culture and the identity of the future generations of Javanese.

CONCLUSION

This paper attempts to describe different coarse language and swearwords ordinarily used by Javanese speakers in various speech events and to discuss their possible ramifications on the Javanese norms of politeness and identity. The examined uses of swearwords confirm that they do not always express anger and frustration but also convey openness, closeness, and intimacy, as well as entertaining jokes.

The consumption and production of swearwords in Javanese involve Javanese speakers from different ages and occupations. This suggests that Javanese coarse and swear words have been a part of the Javanese pragmatic system, albeit they belong to the lowest Javanese speech styles because most of these swearwords have counterparts in higher Javanese speech levels. Context and intent are very important in determining the speech level of these words because some of the words from regular ngoko, with the right intention, can become swearwords.

The socio-pragmatic function of Javanese krama hinges on unggah- ungguh (etiquette). However, the drastic declines in krama usage and the widespread use of

swearwords in informal conversations and various performances constitute a form of defiance against Javanese norms of politeness. Swearwords have become popular because they provide linguistic choices not only for expressing anger and engendering entertainment but also, after the reform era, for creativity and freedom of expression.

The ramification of this phenomenon is a significant redefinition of Javanese identity as it continues to adjust to modernity and democracy that demand better equality in participative communication. The increasingly acceptable use of coarse Javanese is in line with the Indonesians, who are becoming more democratic and individualist, enhancing a more critical and egalitarian Javanese communicative style. In addition, with the popularity of various social media, Indonesian language use is now less loaded with traditional principles of Javanese etiquette and cultural power systems.

Despite the observations, the field notes contain limited use of swearwords, so this study relies heavily on recorded and published swearwords on YouTube. The discussion on the decline in the norm of politeness due to the decline in krama and the increase in swearword usage that reshaped the Javanese sense of superior identity solely relies on previous studies. More fieldwork on Javanese community members' daily interactions across different social groups in different speech events is needed.

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