

Bòsò Walikan Malangan

Structure and development of a
Javanese reversed language

Published by

LOT
Kloveniersburgwal 48
1012 CX Amsterdam
The Netherlands

phone: +31 20 525 2461
e-mail: lot@uva.nl
<http://www.lotschool.nl>

Cover illustration: Ngalam Universe, by Eri Sidharta

ISBN: 978-94-6093-327-1
NUR: 616

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Javanese reversed language

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van
de graad van Doctor aan de Universiteit Leiden,
op gezag van Rector Magnificus prof. mr. C.J.J.M. Stolker,
volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties
te verdedigen op donderdag 24 oktober 2019
klokke 16.15 uur

door

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geboren te Malang, Indonesië
in 1984

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Ébés, émés, nawak-nawak, ruludes hébak, malas utas awij!

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Acknowledgements

Writing a dissertation is like embarking on a long adventure. I could have never reached the end of the journey without the help of these remarkable people. First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my promotor and supervisors, Prof. dr. Marian Klamer and Dr. Tom Hoogervorst. One could have never asked for better supervisors than both of you. Not only have you guided me tirelessly and meticulously in writing my dissertation, but you have also trusted me to be part of your other projects. Your brilliance, discipline, and kindness will always inspire me.

I am grateful for the valuable feedback and comments from the reading committee: Prof. dr. Maarten Mous, Prof. dr. Ben Arps, Dr. Jacomine Nortier, and Dr. Jozina Vander Klok. *Matur suwun ingkang kathah, hartelijk bedankt!* I am also very thankful for the people who have provided valuable feedback to the earlier states of the thesis: Dr. Felix Ameka, Prof. dr. Maarten Kossmann, Prof. dr. Marina Terkourafi, Dr. Cynthia Groff, Prof. dr. Abigail Cohn, Dr. Tom Connors, Dr. David Gil, and Dr. Els Bogaerts. And to Kate Bellamy, thank you for proof-reading the entire draft.

To my paranympths, Hanna Fricke and Sophie Villerius, thank you for the wonderful friendship that I will cherish forever. Hanna, thank you for reading my drafts, and for being a very motivating office-mate! Sophie, thank you for all the discussions we had on Javanese, and also for the beautiful Dutch summary!

Thank you to all the colleagues at LUCL: Carmen Ebner, Nazarudin, Min Liu, George Saad, Francesca Moro, Jiang Wu, Gulnaz Sibgatullina, Sara Petrollino, Elly Dutton, Andreea Geambasu, Jeremy Balukh, Arum Perwitasari, Xander Vertegaal, Cesko Voeten, Menghui Xi, Bouchra Alkhamees, Ernanda, Han Hu, Sima Zolfaghari, Aliza Glasbergen-Plas, Ami Okabe, and

Yunus Sulistyono. A special thank you is dedicated to Amanda Delgado Galvan, for introducing me to LaTeX; also to Bobby Ruijgrok, Martin Kroon, Owen Edwards, and Gereon Kaiping, for helping me with all LaTeX-related questions.

To the people in my home university: Maria Hidayati, Evi Laily, Inayatul Fariha, Nur Hayati, Nabhan Choiron, Niamika El Khoiri, Anik N. Wulyani, Evi Eliyanah, Dr. Suharmanto, Prof. dr. Yazid Basthomi, Prof. dr. Effendi Kadarisman, Prof. dr. Ali Saukah, and Prof. dr. Utami Widiati, thank you for your unwavering academic and moral support. I also deeply thank Dr. Johannes A. Prayogo and Dr. Suharyadi, for all their professional help during my study. To Prof. dr. Rofi'uddin and Dr. I Wayan Dasna, the rector and then-vice rector of UM, thank you for the financial support during the last year of my study.

I am also very grateful for the support from the people I have met in the Netherlands. Julinta Hutagalung, Mega Atria, Hari Nugroho, Kurniawan Saefullah, Taufiq Hanafi, Grace Leksana, Astri Kusumawardhani, Dito Manurung, Ruth Natasya, Fachrizal Affandi, Ruly Wiliandri, Julia, Ghamal Satya, Louie Buana, Melita Tarisa, Ajeng Arainikasih, Mubarika Nugraheni, Ayu Swaningrum, Yance Arizona, Wijayanto, Sudarmoko, Nor Ismah, Ade Jaya, Nurmaya Prahatmaja, Syahril Siddik, M. Fauzi, Shafa'atussara, Edegar de Conceição Savio, Eman Soge, Sisilia Astuti, Katriani, Syarifah Nadwah, Leidse 1922, PPI Leiden, Indonesische Vrouwen, INYS, the Education and Cultural Attache of KBRI Din Wahid, and everyone else whom I may not be able to mention in particular, someday our paths will cross again.

I will always be grateful for the kindness of everyone who has provided me a home far away from home: Sri Hartiningsih, Fred Mallinckrodt, Mar-diantio, Maaïke Dijkstra, Deni Ismail, Meira Setiawati, René Leidelmeijer, Retno Hartiwi, John van Winden, and Marina Isakh. To Pieter Paul Spoek and Inneke Tunderman, thank you for all the wonderful excursions! Aldian Irma, Helena Rocha, and Barbara Putz, thank you for being a part of our Van Swietenstraat-Marijkepoelstraat family.

I am indebted to everyone at the LUCL and LIAS management team, especially Prof. dr. Niels Schiller, Pia Teeuw, Katja Lubina, Jurgen Lingen, Alice Kurpershoek, and Maarit van Gammeren, for their help with the administrative and general affairs at Leiden University. To our DIKTI scholarship coordinator, Margreet van Till and her husband Roel van der Veen, thank you for the sincere support since day one.

And of course I would also like to thank all the speakers of Walikan for the fantastic enthusiasm. Toto Kamdani, Mirjam Anugerahwati, Rudy Satrio Lelono, Eka Yulianti, Justine Viddy, Tante Nuke and Oom Prasetyo, *mbak*

Desi Artupanes and many others. *Nuwus lop gawé ngarambesé!* Also thanks to all the research assistants: Natalia Wijayanti, Jimy Chandra Gunawan, Dian Novita, Cita Nuary Ishak, Lely Tri Wijayanti, Nadia, and Syahrul Rahman.

Many thanks to all my friends who have witnessed my ups and downs throughout the completion of this thesis: Hanief, Anita, Etrina, Tsuroyya, Dewhy, Arik, Fitri, Sisil, Vinna, Pipiet, and Grace. And to Tyas and family, thank you for all the help during my stay in the Netherlands.

To my whole family supporting me from home, thank you so much. My mom and dad —*Bu* Tab and *Pak* Nur, my sister and her family —*Depi*, *Yoyok*, and *Kyra*, my parent-in-law —*Bu* Haru and *Pak* Eri, my sister-in-law and her family —*Dita*, *Totok*, *Tristan*, and *Alin*, my brother-in-law —*mas* Ica, meeting all of you was always the highlight of my fieldwork trips.

Finally, I would like to thank my husband, Eri Sidharta, for always being there. *Dadi genaro Lòndò limang taun ndhik Leiden bareng umak iku rasané nggarai kadit kepingin hélum!*

Abbreviations

1	First Person	IMP	Imperative
2	Second Person	INCL	Inclusive
3	Third Person	INT	Intensifier
APPL	Applicative	MOD	Modifier
AV	Agent Voice	NEG	Negative
BEN	Benefactive	NMLZ	Nominalizer
CAUS	Causative	NP	Proper Noun
COMP	Comparative	N	Prenasalization
DEF	Definite Marker	PASS	Passive
DEM	Demonstrative	PL	Plural
DP	Discourse Particle	POSS	Possessive
EXCL	Exclamation	PREP	Preposition
EXIST	Existential	PROCL	Proclitic
HL	High Level	RDP	Reduplication
IL	Intermediate Level	REL	Relativizer
		SG	Singular

Orthography

The orthography used in this work adapts the current nationally acknowledged writing standard of Indonesian as well as the orthography of Javanese consonants and vowels in Errington (1998) and Ogloblin (2005). The loan phonemes are indicated between curly brackets.

Light		Heavy		Nasal	
IPA	Orthography	IPA	Orthography	IPA	Orthography
p	p	b	b	m	m
t̚	t	ɖ	d	n	n
		d	d	ɲ	ny
t̪	th	ɗ	dh	ŋ	ng
c	c	ʃ	j		
k	k	g	g		
ʔ	k/∅				
{f}	f				
{sʲ}	sy				
s	s	{z}	z		
{x}	kh	h	h		
		r	r		
		l	l		
		w	w		
		j	y		

TABLE 1: Consonant orthography

IPA Symbol	Orthography	Notes
i	i	
ɪ	i	
u	u	
ʊ	u	
e	é	
ɛ	é	
o	o	
ɔ	o	[ɔ] derived from /o/
ə	e	
a	a	
ɔ	ò	[ɔ] derived from /a/

TABLE 2: Vowel orthography

Transcription

Style	Language Source	Example
<i>italics</i>	(Malangan) Javanese	<i>mangan</i>
<i><u>italics and underlined</u></i>	(Malangan) Indone- sian	<u><i>makan</i></u>
<i><u><u>italics and double underlined</u></u></i>	Any other languages	<u><u><i>asrob</i></u></u>
SMALL CAPS	Walikan from Ja- vanese	SAM
<u>SMALL CAPS AND UNDERLINED</u>	Walikan from In- donesian	<u>NAKAM</u>
<u><u>SMALL CAPS AND DOUBLE UNDERLINED</u></u>	Walikan from other languages	<u><u>WOLES</u></u>

TABLE 1: Transcription distinguishing Malangan Javanese, Malangan Indone-
sian, Walikan and other languages

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

1.1 Aims of the Study

Bòsò Walikan Malangan (hereafter referred to as Walikan) is a term used by the people of Malang to refer to the word-reversal practice in their speech. The word *bòsò* means ‘language’, *walikan* means ‘reversed’, while *malang-an* ‘Malang style’ denotes its origin. Despite the use of the word *bòsò* ‘language’, Walikan is not a separate language; its structure is similar to Malangan Javanese, the localized variety of Javanese spoken in the area.

This study addresses four specific objectives. First, it describes Walikan from the perspective of youth languages (Chapter 2). Second, it explores the structural aspects of reversed words in Walikan against the background of the phonology of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian (Chapter 3 and 4). Third, it explores the sociolinguistic variability in use of Walikan (Chapter 5). Lastly, it describes the increased current use of Walikan in the media and public space (Chapter 6).

As part of this introduction chapter, §1.2 presents general information on the city of Malang and its surroundings. The linguistic background of the people of Malang is explored in §1.3, while previous studies of Walikan are discussed in §1.4. Further, §1.5 discusses the methodology, fieldwork, corpus of data, theoretical background, and overview of the present study.

1.2 Malang

1.2.1 Geographical Setting

Geographically, Malang is situated in the middle of East Java, Indonesia. See Figure 1.1.

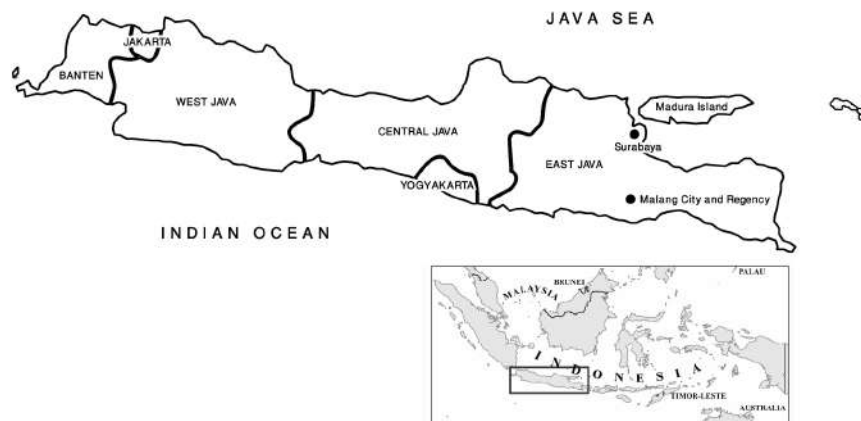


FIGURE 1.1: Provinces in Java

Malang is located approximately 90 km southwest of Surabaya, the capital city of East Java. There are two governance units in Malang: *Kota* Malang ‘Malang city’ and *Kabupaten* Malang ‘Malang regency’. Walikan is believed to have originated from the center of the city. The city stretches over an area of 11,006 square km (Sekilas Malang 2017). See Figure 1.2.



FIGURE 1.2: Malang City within the Malang Regency

The area of Malang city is divided into five districts (*kecamatan*), governing a total of 57 administrative villages (*kelurahan*). The five districts are Klojen, Blimbing, Kedungkandang, Lowokwaru, and Sukun. The broader Malang regency is divided into 33 districts and includes more than 60 administrative villages (Sekilas Malang 2017; Selayang Pandang 2017). The districts in Malang city and regency can be seen in Figures 1.2 and 1.3. This study mostly involves speakers from the five city districts, although a few are from districts in the broader regency.



FIGURE 1.3: Malang City

1.2.2 History of Malang

Before the Dutch colonial era, Malang was part of the Gajayana kingdom from 760 CE then the Singosari kingdom from the 11th century (Wojowasito 1978). Under the Dutch East Indies government, Malang was developed as a garrison as well as a holiday resort for people living in big cities such as Surabaya (Stadsgemeente Malang 1939:II). The city was equipped with European-style public buildings, and a railway linking Malang and Surabaya as early as 1879 to make sure the city was well connected (Stadsgemeente Malang 1939:II).

In 1942, during the second World War, the Japanese invaded the city. Later, Dutch troops returned to reclaim the city but the pro-Indonesian resistance troops of Tentara Republik Indonesia Pelajar (TRIP/Student Army of the Republic Indonesia) alongside the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI/ Indonesian National Army) fought hard to support the independence of Indonesia

as a nation (Widodo 2006). This battle, which took place in the years 1947 to 1948, has been cited as the origin of the Walikan language by the people of Malang, as discussed further in §2.6.

1.2.3 Social Setting

Malang city has 820,243 inhabitants (Sekilas Malang 2017), while the Malang regency has 2,544,315 inhabitants according to the 2015 census (Selayang Pandang 2017). Malang is the second most populous area in East Java after Surabaya.

Socio-geographically, Malang lies at a cultural intersection: between the Mataraman and the Pandalungan Javanese cultures. The former is used to describe the culture and dialects of people in the cities southwest of Malang, which is influenced by the courts in Yogyakarta and Surakarta (Oetomo 1987; Supriyanto 1996). The latter, on the other hand, is a mix of East Javanese and Madurese culture. Pandalungan Javanese culture is perceived to be more egalitarian, coarse, and straightforward by the Mataraman people (Oetomo 1987).

Malang has gained a national reputation as an educational city; it is often described as a center for higher education and learning (Basundoro et al. 2012; Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). Students come to Malang to study in junior and senior high schools, as well as in universities and colleges. The city is home to four state universities, and 46 private universities and colleges. Not only does this attract students, but it also provides jobs in education and opportunities in the business sector. The domestic migrants coming to Malang originate from other cities in Java and other local islands.

The majority of native Malang are Javanese, while minority groups in the city include Madurese, Chinese, and Arabs. Immigration in the past ten years has also brought in other Indonesian ethnic groups. In the old city center, an area division based on ethnic groups can be traced back to the colonial era.¹ At present, the division remains largely intact. *Embong Arab* ‘Arab street’, where many descendants of the Arab Indonesians reside is vibrant with furniture, oil, and restaurant businesses.

In general, the city of Malang is known for its comparatively egalitarian culture and peaceful atmosphere. Despite the different ethnic and religious backgrounds of its inhabitants, there has not been any serious religious or political conflict in the city.

¹Settlements in Malang and other colonial Javanese cities were divided into three general areas: 1) European, 2) *Vreemde Oosterlingen* ‘foreign orientals’ including Chinese and Arabs, and 3) *pribumi* ‘indigenous groups’ (Stadsgemeente Malang 1939).

1.3 Linguistic Background

In Indonesia, Standard Indonesian is regarded as the most prestigious language, normally used in very formal situations and learned through formal education, while colloquial Indonesian is used in a more informal contexts or in daily conversations (Arka 2013). One of its variants, colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, is the most popular and widely used language across the country (Englebretson 2003). Alongside colloquial Indonesian, we also find regional Malay varieties that are used as lingua francas for the corresponding regions (Paauw 2008). Finally, there are local or vernacular languages, which are considered to have lower prestige than colloquial Indonesian (Arka 2013). In Malang, Standard Indonesian and its localized colloquial variety have higher status than Javanese, which in turn has a higher status than Madurese.

Minority local languages are generally threatened by the dominance of Indonesian and regional Malay varieties (Arka 2013). A trend among young urban families is that parents introduce Indonesian as their children's first language (Sneddon 2003). Javanese, despite being a non-minority local language, also cannot escape the same fate. It undergoes language shift (Mueller 2009; Ravindranath and Cohn 2014), caused by several factors such as the dominance of Indonesian (Mueller 2009; Nurani 2015) and the global spread of English (Zentz 2015).

1.3.1 Malangan Javanese

Malangan Javanese refers to the local variety of Javanese spoken in Malang. Javanese (*bòsò Jòwò*, [ʔɔ̌.sɔ̌ ʔɔ̌.wɔ̌]) belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Horne 1961; Simons and Fennig 2018). It is the most widely spoken local language in Indonesia. In the wake of colonial and post-colonial migrations, Javanese has also become a minority language of immigrants in Malaysia, Suriname, the Netherlands, Singapore, and New Caledonia. In Indonesia, it is spoken by around 69 million native speakers, while across the globe its speakers amount to approximately 84 million people (Simons and Fennig 2018).

Javanese has three main dialects and a number of sub-dialects (Hatley 1984; Nothofer 1980; Nothofer 2006; Ras 1985). The three main dialects are Western Javanese, Central Javanese, and Eastern Javanese. Western Javanese is also popularly known as *Ngapak* by all other Javanese speakers; Central Javanese is called *Mbandhék* by Western Javanese speakers or *Mataraman* by

Eastern Javanese speakers; while Eastern Javanese is referred to as *Arék* or *Arékan* by other Javanese speakers, see Figure 1.4.

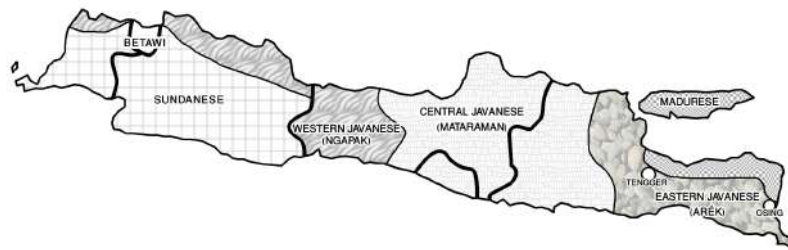


FIGURE 1.4: Javanese dialects with their dialect names in brackets

Among the three main dialects, Central Javanese is regarded as the most prestigious, as the two Javanese court cities, Yogyakarta and Surakarta are located in Central Java (Poedjosoedarmo 1968; Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982). The Central Javanese dialect is used as the basis of Standard Javanese, which is taught in Javanese primary schools. Central Javanese is known to Western Javanese and Eastern Javanese speakers, but Central Javanese speakers do not necessarily know Western and Eastern Javanese.

Malangan Javanese is a sub-dialect of Eastern Javanese. In order to understand the linguistic situation in Malang, it is important to first discuss the languages and dialects spoken in East Java (Figure 1.5).



FIGURE 1.5: Dialects in East Java (adapted from Hatley (1984:24))

Some cities in East Java, such as Kediri and Blitar, are part of the Central Javanese dialect continuum. The lexical items and phonological systems of Javanese in those cities correspond to those of Central Javanese. The *Tenger* sub-dialect is not part of the East Java dialect (Krauß 2017); it contains lexical, phonological, and morphological features that are derived from Old and Middle Javanese (Connors 2008). Further, the Eastern Javanese dialect is divided into five sub-dialects: 1) *Suròbòyòan/Surabayan* (Surabaya, Sidoarjo, Mojokerto); 2) *Lòr* (Gresik, Lamongan, Tuban, Bojonegoro); 3) *Malang-Pasuruan* (Malang and Pasuruan); 4) *Tapal Kuda* (Probolinggo, Jember, Lumajang); and 5) *Osing* (Banyuwangi, Tegaldlimo, Pesanggaran) (Krauß 2017:8).

In addition, Madurese is an Austronesian language related to, but not mutually intelligible with Javanese, spoken mainly on Madura island and Kangean island. The *Tapal Kuda* sub-dialect is Eastern Javanese that is heavily influenced by “Madurisms” (Hoogervorst 2008; Oetomo 1987).

Eastern Javanese has the same syntax as Central Javanese. The basic word order of Javanese is SVO, or Subject-Verb-Complement(s). In transitive clauses, the subject appears before the verb, which is followed by the object, and then by other complements (1a). Example (1b) shows an intransitive clause, which often takes a locative complement following the verb.

(1) a. Transitive clause in Malangan Javanese

Mòrò arék lanang iki mau m-bukak jendhélò.
come kid male DEM DEF N-open.AV window

‘Then the boy opened the window.’

(NY_06102016_ANDW2_jav_Frogstory)

b. Intransitive clause in Malangan Javanese

Lha awak-é arék iki mau malah ny-(c)anthol ndhik
DP body-DEF kid DEM DEF instead N-dangle.AV PREP
sirah-é kéwan iku.
head-DEF animal DEM

‘Look, the body of the boy dangled instead on the head of that animal.’

(NY_06102016_ANDW2_jav_Frogstory)

Malangan Javanese has a nasal prefix N- (discussed further in §3.2.10), which acts as an active verb marker for actor voice, making the actor the subject or topic, see (2a), (3a), and (4a). The proclitic *tak* marks undergoer voice

with first person actors (2b) and *mbòk* marks undergoer voice with second person actors (3b). In sentences with undergoer voice, the theme becomes the subject or topic.

- (2) a. First person actor voice

Aku n-(t)uku buku.
1SG N-buy.AV book

‘I buy a book.’

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

- b. First person undergoer voice

Buku-né wis tak tuku.
book-DEF already 1SG.PROCL buy

‘The book was bought by me.’

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

- (3) a. Second person actor voice

Koen m-buak barang-é.
2SG N-throw.away.AV stuff-DEF

‘You throw away the stuff.’

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

- b. Second person undergoer voice

Barang-é wis mbok buak.
stuff-DEF already 2SG.PROCL throw.away

‘The stuff has been thrown away by you.’

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

The prefix *di-* is used to express undergoer voice in third person passive constructions (4b). In (4c), the agent or actor can appear as an adjunct, with an optional preposition.

- (4) a. Third person actor voice

Udhin n-delok nang walik-é kayu iku maeng.
 NP N-look.AV PREP opposite-DEF wood DEM just.now

‘Udhin looked behind that piece of wood.’

(NY_22072016_INFA1_jav_Frogstory)

- b. Third person undergoer voice

Akhir-é kodhok-é di-gòwò mulih manéh.
 final-DEF frog-DEF PASS-bring go.home again

‘Finally the frog is brought back home again.’

(NY_06102016_ANDW2_jav_Frogstory)

- c. Third person undergoer voice

Akhir-é kodhok-é di-gòwò mulih (karo) Tònò.
 final-DEF frog-DEF PASS-bring go.home PREP NP

‘Finally the frog is brought back home (by) Tònò.’

(NY_31102016_ENLU2_Frogstory)

In Javanese, speakers are expected to show respect and politeness towards the addressee through the use of different speech levels (Poedjosoedarmo 1968). Javanese has three different speech levels: *Kròmò* (high), *Madyò* (intermediate), and *Ngoko* (low). The lower end of the continuum is the coarse/crude speech of *Ngoko*, spoken in informal situations among peers and towards someone younger or of lesser social status. The intermediate level is *Madyò*, which can be used to show more deference, but is still less courteous than *Kròmò* (Errington 1998:37). The speech levels can be seen as different ‘registers’ or ‘styles’ within the language, and they are signified by the use of different lexicon and morphemes (Poedjosoedarmo 1968). Adapted from Robson (2002), Table 1.1 illustrates some Malangan Javanese words from different speech levels.

<i>Ngoko</i>	<i>Madyò</i>	<i>Kròmò</i>	Gloss
<i>adus</i>	<i>adus/siram</i>	<i>siram</i>	‘to take a bath’
<i>aku, awakku</i>	<i>kulò</i>	<i>dalem</i>	‘I, me’
<i>di-</i>	<i>dipun-</i>	<i>dipun-</i>	‘PASS’
<i>kowé, koen, awakmu</i>	<i>sampéyan</i>	<i>panjenengan</i>	‘you’
<i>takon</i>	<i>takén, tanglet</i>	<i>ndangu</i>	‘to ask, enquire’
<i>te(turon)</i>	<i>te(tileman)</i>	<i>se(sarén)</i>	‘to be lying down’
<i>mati</i>	<i>pejah</i>	<i>sédò</i>	‘to die’
<i>wis</i>	<i>sampun</i>	<i>sampun</i>	‘already’

TABLE 1.1: Speech levels in Javanese lexicon

Eastern Javanese speakers do not maintain the use of the speech levels in everyday speech (Hoogervorst 2008; Krauß 2017). In Surabaya, younger speakers have limited knowledge of speech levels while the older speakers know the higher registers but use the lexicon inconsistently and inaccurately (Krauß 2017). The same situation is also observed in Malang. Examples (5a-5b) illustrate the use of mixed *Ngoko* and *Madyò* (glossed as Intermediate Level/IL) in a father and son interaction. Examples (5a) to (6b) are based on my observations.

(5) a. Malangan Javanese (Son)

Pak, sampéyan wis mangan a?
 father 2SG.IL already eat DP

‘Father, have you already eaten?’

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

b. Malangan Javanese (Father)

Iyò, iki terus aku katé siram.
 yes DEM continue 1SG will bathe.IL

‘Yes, and now I will take a bath.’

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

Examples (6a-6b) show how a son would have used *Kròmò* (glossed as High Level/HL) lexicon when speaking to his father in Central Javanese.

(6) a. Central Javanese (Son)

Pak, panjenengan sampun dhahar?
 father 2SG.HL already.HL eat.HL

‘Father, have you already eaten?’

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

b. Central Javanese (Father)

Iyò, iki terus aku arep siram.
 yes DEM continue 1SG will bathe.IL

‘Yes, and now I will take a bath.’

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

Phonologically, Malangan Javanese shows certain distinctive features, which will be discussed further in Chapter 3. One of the most notable differences with the Central Javanese dialect is the vowel lowering of the close vowels /i/ and /u/ in root-final closed syllable and the preceding open syllable into [ɪ] and [ʊ]. In Central Javanese, the vowel lowering only affects the final syllable (Table 1.2).

Words	Malangan Javanese	Central Javanese	Gloss
/putih/	[pʊ.tɪh]	[pu.tɪh]	‘white’
/pitik/	[pɪ.tɪʔ]	[pi.tɪʔ]	‘chicken’
/kucin/	[kʊ.ciŋ]	[ku.ciŋ]	‘cat’
/suruŋ/	[sʊ.ruŋ]	[su.ruŋ]	‘to push’

TABLE 1.2: Vowel lowering in Malangan Javanese and Central Javanese

Malangan Javanese also differs lexically from Central Javanese. Some of the words shown in Table 1.3 were considered quite coarse to an informant who originates from Tulungagung, East Java. Similar to other Eastern Javanese dialects, Malangan Javanese also contains more profanities than Central Javanese.

Malangan Javanese	Central Javanese	Gloss
<i>gendheng</i>	<i>sinting</i>	‘crazy’
<i>iku</i>	<i>kaé</i>	‘that’
<i>katé</i>	<i>arep</i>	‘will’
<i>kirik</i>	<i>asu</i>	‘dog’
<i>koen</i>	<i>kowé</i>	‘2sg’
<i>maték</i>	<i>modyar</i>	‘to die’ (coarse)
<i>mené</i>	<i>sésuk</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>nang endi</i>	<i>ning endi</i>	‘where’
<i>resek</i>	<i>regetan</i>	‘trash’
<i>riyòyò</i>	<i>bòdò</i>	‘Eid Al-Fitr/Eid Mubarak’
<i>waras</i>	<i>mari</i>	‘recover (from sickness)’
<i>yòkòpò</i>	<i>piyé</i>	‘how’

TABLE 1.3: Some lexical differences between Malangan Javanese and Central Javanese

In order to compare Malangan Javanese to the more closely related Surabayan Javanese, I asked one of my informants to read a list of Surabayan Javanese words mainly compiled from Hoogervorst (2008). I then asked him to provide the Malangan Javanese equivalents for the words if they are different (Table 1.4).

Malangan Javanese	Surabayan Javanese	Gloss
<i>cablak</i>	<i>blakkotang</i>	‘straightforward’
<i>jarnò</i>	<i>cikné</i>	‘so that’
<i>kluyur</i>	<i>kloyong</i>	‘to wander’
<i>lécék</i>	<i>gocik</i>	‘coward’
<i>mbadhog</i>	<i>njeglak</i>	‘to eat’
<i>mbrebes</i>	<i>ndhorak</i>	‘to cry’
<i>metuwék</i>	<i>nggapléki</i>	‘annoying (person)’
<i>nggragas</i>	<i>nyangap</i>	‘voracious’
<i>njaé</i>	<i>mbecong</i>	‘angry’
<i>rutuh</i>	<i>lugur</i>	‘to fall (objects)’

TABLE 1.4: Some lexical differences between Malangan Javanese and Surabayan Javanese

A different linguistic code that can be observed in Malang is Walikan, the topic of this thesis. Walikan refers to the use of reversed Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian words, with Malangan Javanese as the matrix language. Walikan may also include unreversed foreign and coined words (cf. Chapter 2). The line between Malangan Javanese and Walikan seems subtle; however, Walikan should not be confused with Malangan Javanese since the latter does not necessarily contain reversed words. The following examples illustrate the differences between a Malangan Javanese in *Ngoko/low* level utterance (7a) and its Walikan counterpart (7b).

(7) a. Ngoko Malangan Javanese

Pirò mas regò-né sepatu iki?
how.much older.brother price-DEF shoes DEM

‘How much do these shoes cost, bro?’

(NY_2015_Fieldnotes)

b. Walikan

ÒRIP SAM regò-né UTAPES iki?
how.much older.brother price-DEF shoes DEM

‘How much do these shoes cost, bro?’

(NY_2015_Fieldnotes)

As previously mentioned, the vitality of Javanese is currently being challenged. The functions of *Kròmò* Javanese are replaced by Indonesian (Poedjosoedarmo 2006), and the *Ngoko* level is perceived as an outdated variety that is under erasure (Zentz 2015). An assessment of language vitality on another variety of East Javanese, Paciran Javanese, shows that the position of its *Ngoko* level is stable, unlike its *Kròmò* level which is more vulnerable to endangerment (Vander Klok 2019). The same situation can be seen in Malang, where the *Ngoko* Malangan Javanese is used as the matrix language of Walikan. Speakers of Walikan are not embarrassed of displaying their mastery of *Ngoko* Javanese when they speak and use Walikan in public spaces as the language of pride, identity, and solidarity (see Chapter 2 and 6). This indicates that people in Malang in general have positive perspectives towards *Ngoko* level of Javanese.

1.3.2 Malangan Indonesian

The term Malangan Indonesian is used to refer to the localized dialect of Indonesian spoken in Malang. Indonesian is also referred to as *Bahasa Indonesia* [ba.'ha.sa ʔi.'do.'ne.si.ʔa], where the word *bahasa* means 'language'. Indonesian is one of the standardized dialects of Malay, the other one being the Malay language spoken in Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei. Indonesian was proclaimed as the language of a united Indonesia in 1928 (Montolalu and Suryadinata 2007).

Indonesian was chosen as the unifying language as opposed to Javanese, the mother tongue of the biggest ethnic group in the area, mainly because it was already used as a *lingua franca* across the archipelago. Moreover, it does not possess intricate speech levels and references to the speakers' social status, and there was an urgent need to unite the linguistically diverse nation (Badudu 1996; Sneddon 2003).

When Indonesia declared its independence on August 17, 1945, the position of Indonesian as the national language was officially acknowledged in the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In 1928, only around five per cent of Indonesians were considered speakers of the language, but a 1990 census confirmed that 83% of the population were able to speak Indonesian (Sneddon 2003). In short, Indonesian is a well-accepted language given that its speakers are growing in number each year.

Indonesian orthography has gone through different stages of reform. The first spelling is known as the Van Ophuijsen Spelling System, implemented before the establishment of the Republican Spelling System. Both of them were more or less influenced by Dutch orthography. For instance, the palatal stop sound /c/ is represented with a digraph <tj>. The Van Ophuijsen Spelling System was used from 1901 to 1947, while the Republican Spelling System was used from 17 March 1947 until the establishment of *Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan* (The Perfected Spelling System) in 1972 (Arifin and Tasai 1995; Montolalu and Suryadinata 2007). In 2015, the government released the newest spelling system, called *Pedoman Umum Ejaan Bahasa Indonesia* (The General Spelling of Indonesian Language). Knowledge of the Indonesian orthography is pertinent to the discussion in Chapter 5.

Standard Indonesian is the primary language of education, culture, science, technology, administration, religion, and economics (Montolalu and Suryadinata 2007). The people of Malang use Standard Indonesian only in formal situations, for example in education and business contexts. The youth in Malang also speak colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, although not all of them

are very comfortable with it. Manns (2014:57) notes that radio broadcasters in Malang like to include a few Jakartan lexemes or suffixes, but restrain themselves from using its characteristic pronouns *gue* ‘I’ or *lo* ‘you’.

Malangan Indonesian can be described as Indonesian spoken with a Malangan flavor. It is influenced by Malangan Javanese in terms of its phonology and choice of lexicon. While a detailed account of the phonology and phonotactics of Malangan Indonesian can be found in Chapter 3, the following are some of the most noticeable phonological characteristics of Malangan Indonesian. The stop consonants are acoustically voiceless in Malangan Indonesian and the preceding vowels are breathy except when the consonants are prenasalized. In addition, the glottal stop [ʔ] appears in Malangan Indonesian as the realization of /k/ in root-final position.

Malangan Indonesian also shows the presence of Javanese lexical material, a situation termed as *bahasa gadho-gadho* ‘language salad’ (Errington 1998:187). Malangan Indonesian is often preferred over Javanese by younger speakers when they address an older person. Although the use of *Ngoko* Malangan Javanese to an older addressee is generally acceptable among the people of Malang, sometimes they still find it impolite. In such a situation, instead of using Javanese, those who are not confident of their high level Javanese will resort to Malangan Indonesian. Being devoid of speech levels, Malangan Indonesian is a safe choice. In order to still show their deference, speakers might retain some *Madyò* or *Kròmò* Javanese pronouns in their Malangan Indonesian speech (8).

- (8) *Sampéyan sudah makan?*
2SG.HL already eat

‘Have you already eaten?’

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

In addition to Javanese pronouns, Malangan Indonesian also features Javanese nouns, verbs, tense adverbs, and adjectives (9a-9c).

- (9) a. Javanese Nouns in Malangan Indonesian

Gedhang-nya baru di-beli kemarin.
banana-DEF just PASS-buy yesterday

‘The banana has just been bought yesterday.’

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

Examples (8)-(11) represent how Javanese and Indonesian codes are mixed by the people in Malang. The combination of both Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian in the speech of the same person is commonly heard.

1.4 Previous Studies

Here I will briefly describe how Walikan has attracted the attention of scholars from linguistics, anthropology, history, and communication science.

One of the earliest accounts of Walikan is Suharto (1983), a newspaper article which describes Walikan as a street language commonly used among thugs or criminals. Providing 49 Walikan words in the article, Suharto (1983) asserts that the reversal rule of Walikan is mainly based on the orthography of the reversed word.

Widodo (2006) contains a chapter of a popular history book about Malang. It contains a collection of anecdotes about the history of Walikan. The chapter also includes 133 words of Walikan, compiled by the writer based on his own knowledge of the language.

Another list of Walikan words is provided by Pujileksono and Kartono (2007). They include more than 296 words of Walikan which are presented next to the original words, the language origin, as well as the semantic description, origin, and context of usage. The work describes the phenomenon of word reversal in Malang and its relation to cultural identity and social integration in the city.

Soenarno (2011) is a dictionary of Walikan, Malangan Javanese, and Malangan Indonesian. It includes approximately 700 Walikan words, however, I did not include them as data for this study (see §6.4.1). The Malangan Javanese words in this source were, however, helpful in the initial stage of compiling Malangan Javanese words.

Esprey-Conaway (2012) is a short anthropological report on Walikan. Using data collected mainly through interviews and surveys, it concludes that Walikan is not a slang, but a “place language” or *bahasa daerah* ‘local language’, one that is able to construct intimacy and solidarity. Learned either from parents or from school friends, Walikan is described as spoken by both younger and older generations, although the latter tend to limit their usage of Walikan. In addition, Esprey-Conaway (2013) discusses Walikan as a performance used by the speakers in an urban space to help them create a communal identity.

Rachmawaty (2012) refers to Walikan as Lawikan Malang. The word *lawikan* is another manipulation of *walikan* ‘reversed’ (see §2.3). The study focuses on the use of Walikan as a local tradition amidst globalization. Another study, Prayogi (2013), describes Walikan as one of the slangs in Malang and focuses on the formation process of the slang words. Its analysis presents different types of word reversal and a short list of 82 Walikan words.

More recently, Hoogervorst (2014) is a 25-page sociolinguistic analysis of youth languages in East Java. It compares Walikan to another East Javanese youth language spoken in the neighboring city, Surabaya. Providing 170 Walikan words mostly from elicitation, it discusses some characteristics of Walikan and connects word formation processes in Walikan to the phonology and phonotactics of Javanese.

A detailed description of Walikan has not been conducted before. This study provides a comprehensive linguistic analysis of Walikan words and their internal structure. It also presents the development and contemporary use of Walikan. As materials for this study, I collected spoken and written data of Walikan, while also making use of the extant word lists. The Walikan words from Suharto (1983), Widodo (2006), Pujileksono and Kartono (2007), Rachmawaty (2012), Prayogi (2013), and Hoogervorst (2014) were combined in a list of 423 words, which was later checked by my informants. Words that were not found in my own database but were confirmed by my informants were added to the final list of 725 Walikan words (see Appendix B).

1.5 The Present Study

1.5.1 Methodology and Data Collection

To collect data for this study, I conducted a total of ten months of fieldwork. My first fieldwork trip was in 2015, where I stayed in Malang from May to August 2015. The second fieldwork trip also took four months, from July to October 2016. From November 2017 to January 2018 I went back to Malang and met several informants, in order to check some data as well as to collect new additional material.

During my stay in Malang, I moved back to my parents' place in the Dinoyo district, not far from the city center area. It is located around 2 km from the campus quarter² and is well-connected to other parts of the city. In this way, I could easily meet most of my informants who were college students. Our meetings were usually in cafés or in campus facilities. Sometimes I also needed to travel further to meet with informants, but anywhere was easy to reach from the Dinoyo area.

²The State University of Malang, Brawijaya University, and Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University Malang are located relatively close to each other. The surroundings are full of students' boarding houses, cafés, and restaurants targeting young college students.

Malang is my hometown, the place where I was born and raised. It was also where I received my education up to the undergraduate level. I speak Malangan Javanese as a mother tongue, and am proficient in Standard Indonesian as well as colloquial Malangan Indonesian. I also understand Walikan and use it in daily conversation with close friends and family, though I am not very fluent.

In conducting this study, I have benefited from my background as a native speaker of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian. Although all words and texts in Walikan were collected through recording sessions, field notes, previous studies, and public media, I added Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian words from my own repertoire to the limited corpus of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian.

Walikan is mostly spoken in the central area of Malang city, so my fieldwork was conducted in the Malang city area. Most informants were born in Malang and were living in the city at the time of the study, although a number of them originate from the regency of Malang, or currently live there. A few of them come from outside of Malang because Walikan has been spread to other neighboring cities.

The ten months fieldwork involved several stages. The first fieldwork trip was aimed at getting to know the community and collecting as many data of Walikan, Malangan Javanese, and Malangan Indonesian as possible. In May 2015 I recruited people in my inner circle (family and friends) to participate as my informants, and asked them to connect me to their other circles. Starting in late June 2015, I created an online survey using Google Forms to find more participants outside of my inner circle. I then posted the forms into different WhatsApp groups, Facebook groups, and Twitter accounts. The link was circulated for a couple of days and I received feedback from hundreds of people. Those who indicated that they were willing to contribute to my study were then invited to recording sessions. From the first fieldwork trip, I gathered spoken data from 40 speakers, which consisted of around 18 hours of interviews, Frog stories, conversations, and monologues.

The main aim of the second fieldwork trip was to reach more participants from different genders and age groups. In doing so, I conducted a similar method as in the first year, finding informants from the inner circle and outer circle through the friend-of-a-friend technique and an improved Google Forms survey. I also met some informants from the first fieldwork trip and, when necessary, I conducted more recording sessions with them. In addition to the recording sessions, I watched a football game in the main stadium of Malang and spent some time in the street and cafés around the city, in order

to meet more people and to observe the use of Walikan more closely. By the end of the second fieldwork trip, I had gathered 28 hours of spoken data, including interviews, Frog stories, conversations, and monologues. The number of participants in total was 132, comprising 80 male speakers and 52 female speakers.

The third visit aimed to look for additional information that might have been overlooked. I only scheduled meetings with informants whom I missed in the previous fieldwork trips. I also had the chance to spend more time checking some previously collected data with speakers from the first and second fieldwork trips. In the third fieldwork I only added one new male participant. The final distribution of all my informants can be seen in Table 1.5.

During all three trips, I took pictures of any Walikan texts I spotted around the city. I also compiled a small corpus of written Walikan that includes printed and online newspaper columns, as well as conversations on the Internet/social media such as blogs, Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Besides, I compiled a collection of Walikan audios/videos, including Youtube videos, music videos, local TV videos, and local radio shows.

During the first fieldwork trip, I was part of a different project, funded by a research grant from DIKTI (Directorate General of Higher Education), Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Indonesia, under the *Hibah Bersaing* scheme managed by Universitas Negeri Malang's LP2M (Institute for Research and Community Services). The title of the project was *Kajian Linguistik Bahasa Walikan Malangan* 'The Linguistic Study of Bahasa Walikan Malangan'. With two other colleagues from my home university, Evynurul Laily Zen and Emalia Iragiliati, I built a corpus of spoken Walikan intended for future use by any member of the research team as well as other researchers interested in working with the language.

The funding received from the aforementioned project was mainly used to cover part of the informants' transportation fee and the transcription of a selection of texts. Those texts were then compiled and copied onto compact discs made available for public access in the library of Faculty of Letters and the main library of Universitas Negeri Malang. The number of texts I collected and included in that corpus are one fifth of the total data used for this dissertation. That project finished in December 2015, thus, my second and third fieldwork trips and the collection of four fifths of my data was fully funded by the DIKTI-Leiden scholarship.

1.5.2 The Corpus

Various types of data were collected during the fieldwork (§1.5.1), resulting in a corpus of spoken and written Walikan. The corpus consists of a total of 725 Walikan words.

1.5.2.1 Spoken Data of Walikan

The corpus of spoken data contains face-to-face collected data which amounts to 50 hours and 35 minutes of recording sessions. The sessions consist of interviews, conversations, elicitations, and Frog Story narratives. They were recorded using a Zoom H4n SP audio recorder and a Samsung NX Mini camera. In addition to this, the corpus also includes spoken forms of Walikan that are available in public media, consisting of approximately 3 hours of songs, video clips, YouTube videos, recordings of a local TV news and a radio show. The spoken data were first transcribed using ELAN (ELAN 2015) and then imported into FLEx (FLEx 2015) for glossing. All together, the spoken corpus yields 350 Walikan words.

The transcription of the texts was done with the help of several research assistants: Jimmy Chandra Gunawan, Dian Novita, and Cita Nuary Ishak during the first fieldwork trip; Lely Tri Wijayanti, Nadia, Natalia Wijayanti, and Syahrul Rahman during the second fieldwork trip. The assistants helped me with the initial transcription in ELAN, but I went through all the transcriptions, made the final corrections, and glossed them in FLEx.

Due to time constraints, not all spoken data were transcribed and glossed. Elicited words and Frog Story narratives were transcribed and glossed and then compiled in a FLEx file coded as *Malang Javanese*. A large number of conversations were also transcribed, glossed, and compiled in the same FLEx file. Those longer than seven minutes or involve more than three participants were not transcribed and glossed in detail, thus they are excluded from the FLEx file. The interviews were transcribed using Inqscribe, a software program which allows for a quick transcription process with a time code feature. The information from all the interviews was also available in an Excel file.

Now I will explain the nature of all the spoken data and how they were obtained. In each initial session, I asked the informant to fill out a consent form. The session then typically started with an interview (see Appendix C). The interview was based on a set of written sociolinguistic questions in a form, including a number of semi-open-ended questions such as a self-assessment of the speaker's fluency in Walikan, a question with whom the speaker usu-

ally uses Walikan, and an instruction to list as many popular Walikan words as possible that the speaker uses regularly. The informant was asked to write down their answers on the form before orally elaborating each question in a follow-up interview. The interview focused on unclear answers, and empty or blank responses. If the speakers did not answer the questions during the follow-up interview, the items were left blank. The duration of each interview differed for each informant. A few times when it was not possible to conduct an oral interview, for instance when meeting a group of Walikan speakers on the street, the informant only filled in the printed interview form quickly and incompletely. The interviews were conducted in different languages; mostly in Malangan Indonesian, sometimes in *Ngoko* Malangan Javanese, and rarely in Walikan. This was dependent on the sociolinguistic hierarchy and my closeness with the person.

After finishing the interview, I asked the person which follow-up task they felt more comfortable starting with: performing a Frog Story narrative or eliciting Walikan words. The Frog Story narrative is based on a children's story entitled "Frog Where are You", a sequel to "A Boy, a Dog, and a Frog" series written by Mayer (1969). The 30-page book contains only pictures, and no text. Informants were asked to look at a printed copy of the book and to narrate the whole story. It was chosen in the attempt of creating a corpus of narratives with unvaried topics, so that comparison of the use of Walikan across age groups and genders would be possible. This approach worked, as only on very few occasions would an informant not provide a Frog Story narrative and rather perform a narrative on another topic of their choice. Most narratives were delivered in Walikan, while ten of them were given completely in Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian, namely with no reversed words.

The next type of spoken data in the corpus is conversation. If there were two or more speakers of Walikan present during a session, I would ask them to start a conversation in either natural or forced situations. In forced situations, I provided a topic and briefly joined the conversation, but I made sure that I did not control the conversation and that my role there was only as a participant observer. In order to make the situation during the recording sessions more natural, I was accompanied by a research assistant who is fluent in Walikan or a friend who had introduced me to the participant. The number of tasks completed by an informant was based and dependent on the available time during the session, or the fluency of the speaker.

Walikan has existed since the 1960s or perhaps even the 1940s (see §2.4), which suggests that it is now used across different generations and by a large

group of people. My methodology of collecting face-to-face spoken forms of Walikan allowed me to put together data with a fair representation of participants, based on gender and age groups, within ten months. As shown in Table 1.5, there are 133 people (80 males and 53 females) across all age groups. A large corpus of spoken data is able to capture the development of the language.

Age/Gender	10-15	16-24	25-39	40-59	≥ 60	Total
Male	3	11	27	21	18	80
Female	0	8	20	14	10	52
Total	3	19	47	35	28	132

TABLE 1.5: Total informants distribution

In order to complete the whole spectrum of how Walikan is spoken at present, the corpus also incorporates spoken data of Walikan that were retrieved from public media. The first type of such data is taken from a television news program and a radio show. The television program selected was titled *Kowal-Kawil* ‘topsy-turvy’. The video was obtained during my visit to the Malang station of Jawa Timur Television (JTV) to interview the host of the program, Sam Ohim, in 2017. After the interview, he gave me a copy of two *Kowal-Kawil* episodes; one was aired on July 4, 2015, and the other one on June 13, 2015. Their duration is around 30 minutes each. The radio show being recorded was on Senaputra 104.1 FM. I also interviewed one of its broadcasters in 2017 but he did not give me access to an original recording of his show. Therefore, I listened to the radio only occasionally and was able to record a short part of the show *Bos Bal-Balan Bos* ‘football, boss’. The duration of this recording is around 20 minutes.

Additionally, I have collected YouTube videos where people are using Walikan. In total there are 11 videos in the form of song clips, trailers, and other general YouTube videos. Each video is around five minutes in duration. Finally, I also looked at a documentary video by Fitriah (2015), which focuses on the history and present use of Walikan. The documentary is produced by a student of Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta (Indonesian Art Institute in Yogyakarta) for her Master’s thesis. The issue is explored through interviews with a number of local public figures.

1.5.2.2 Written Data of Walikan

The written Walikan data set consists of local newspaper columns, printed texts on t-shirts, and pictures taken around the city's public spaces. The local newspaper columns are: 1) *Osiiii Ae Jes!*, published in the *Malang Ekspres*, a printed newspaper (I used the issues from June to August 2015), and 2) *Paitun Gundul*, published in the *Malang Voice*, an online newspaper (I used the issues from August 2015 to February 2016).

I also collected printed texts on t-shirts during encounters in the street or in shops, as well as from pictures on the Internet and also from illustrations in a folder issued by the owner of *Oyisam*, a Malang t-shirt shop. Digital stickers of Walikan were collected directly from an informant who happened to be the creator of the stickers. Other types of digital stickers for the same communication purposes were gathered through Internet search engines. In addition, I took pictures of Walikan words used in Malang's public spaces as I was riding around the city as a motorcycle passenger. Further, I also observed different online platforms using Walikan, particularly on Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp. From these Internet observations of Walikan, I collected screenshots from August 2014 to October 2017.

All in all, my written corpus of Walikan contains approximately 172 Walikan words. The combination of spoken and written corpus amount to 522 number of Walikan words. After the addition of Walikan words from previous studies that were not found in my own corpus but were confirmed to exist by my informants, a final list of 728 Walikan words is used in the present study. The pronunciation of the Walikan words found only in written forms are mainly provided by two main informants, Ersi (male, 31 years old), and Infa (female, 33 years old).

1.5.2.3 Data of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian

My description of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian is based on a total of ten Frog Story narratives. I also rely on the interview recordings described in §1.5.2.1. Additionally, there were elicitation sessions of the 100-word Swadesh list for Javanese that I conducted with six participants. Finally, I make use of fieldwork notes and my knowledge as a native speaker of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian.

1.5.2.4 Data Archiving

The data used in this research are accessible through <https://hdl.handle.net/10411/TIGXZT>, DataverseNL, V1. They include the sociolinguistic information of the participants, the recordings and transcriptions of spoken Walikan, as well as the collection of written Walikan.

1.5.3 Organization of the Study

In order to systematically describe different aspects of Walikan, a number of approaches are used in each chapter.

Chapter 2 uses Silverstein's (1985) concept of Total Linguistic Fact (TLF) to analyze Walikan from different angles, incorporating a description of its forms, current use, and language ideology. Here Walikan is discussed by referring to previous works on youth languages (Hoogervorst 2014; Kießling and Mous 2004; Nortier and Svendsen 2015).

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the phonological structure of Walikan. In chapter 3 I investigate the phonology and phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian. The methodology and structure of discussions in Chapter 3 draws on descriptive work in language grammars (Dixon 2009; Klammer 2010). In Chapter 4 I describe the word formation process in Walikan. The chapter focuses on how the reversal in Walikan reflects Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonology and phonotactics, as well as how it deviates from them.

Chapter 5 discusses the sociolinguistic aspects of Walikan. It analyzes how different genders and age groups use Walikan. It also reveals the phonological and/or lexical varieties of Walikan that can be found among speakers of different genders and age groups.

Finally, Chapter 6 explores the contemporary use of written and spoken forms of Walikan in the media and the public space by referring to studies on linguistic landscapes (Goebel et al. 2017; McLaughlin 2001). I demonstrate that at present Walikan has found its way into public spaces and legitimized its position as an urban language that is able to project the identity of the people of Malang.

CHAPTER 2

Walikan as a Youth Language

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter¹ is to explore the characteristics of Walikan by referring to studies on youth language as a sociolinguistic phenomenon (Djenar 2015; Kießling and Mous 2006; Nortier and Svendsen 2015). Walikan has distinctive forms and is dynamic in its capacity to reinvent itself through time, so this chapter discusses in which respects Walikan is similar to youth languages. In order to systematically investigate the complexities of Walikan, this chapter links Walikan forms to its practice by drawing on Silverstein's (1985) Total Linguistic Fact (TLF).

To quote Silverstein (1985), "The total linguistic fact, the datum for a science of language, is irreducibly dialectic in nature. It is an unstable mutual interaction of meaningful sign forms contextualized to situations of interested human use, mediated by the fact of cultural ideology" (p. 220). By combining detailed analysis of language forms with interpretation of contextualized usage and language ideologies, TLF dissects a language phenomenon both

¹A preliminary version of this chapter was published as Yannuar, N. (2018). Walikan: A Youth Linguistic Practice in East Java, Indonesia. In A. Ziegler (Ed.), *Jugend-sprachen: Aktuelle Perspektiven Internationaler Forschung (Youth Languages: Current Perspectives of International Research)* (pp. 559-574). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

synchronically and diachronically.

First, in §2.2 I introduce the definition of youth languages and their general characteristics by considering different types of youth languages around the world. §2.3 analyses the structure of Walikan and its language manipulation strategies. Linguistic form is related to the “phonological, grammatical, and other systematically distributed categories of language form” (Wortham 2008a:84). These forms do not have meaning unless they are seen in their contexts of use. In order to provide more contexts to the discussion of Walikan, §2.4 describes how Walikan was able to progress from a secret code to a solidarity language. Afterwards, §2.5 focuses on the contextual usage of Walikan as a language variety that bears the pride and identity of the speakers.

The meanings produced from such contextualized use can express both “a denotational meaning”, its general linguistic meaning, and “indexical meaning”, which is “grounded in an entirely different set of social, cultural, historical, and political bodies of knowledge and experience” (Blommaert 2015b:15). The latter type of meaning reflects the ideologies of language, that is “any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use” (Silverstein 1979:193). The ideology of Walikan is explored in §2.6. The chapter concludes that Walikan has undergone a sociolinguistic metamorphosis, from a once secret language to an anti-language, and finally to a language that expresses a shared identity, thereby losing its secrecy.

2.2 On Youth Languages

In this section, Walikan is explored through the lens of youth language, a term with a broad definition that covers different linguistic practices, styles, registers, and vernaculars performed by young speakers (Djenar 2015; Mous 2009; Nortier 2018b). In Walikan, speakers use Malangan Javanese language structure while at the same time incorporating special vocabularies created through word reversal processes. Walikan has been described as a slang, emphasizing its informal context and deviation from standard language (Bowden 2015; Hoogervorst 2014; Prayogi 2013). Walikan, similar to other youth related linguistic practices in Indonesia, such as Prokem (Dreyfuss 1983) and Gaul (Smith-Hefner 2007), is saliently characterized by its lexicon, which fits the category of special register described in Fox (2005).

Choosing a suitable term for a linguistic practice, however, should consider not only linguistic structure, but also how this practice is used and per-

ceived in the community (Mous 2009), especially given that language can be a social and ideological practice (Blommaert 1999; Djenar 2015; Svendsen and Quist 2010; Svendsen 2015). Carelessly labeling a language practice can lead to the associated speech community experiencing negative impacts in public discourse (Cornips et al. 2015). For example, it may result in the portrayal of an essentially vibrant practice as one that is limited to linguistic defiance and incompetent young speakers (Cornips et al. 2015). Therefore in this study, Walikan is not referred to as a slang, but as a linguistic practice, a language variety, or a language, although its grammatical structure is Malangan Javanese. Doing so accommodates the speakers' emic view of Walikan as a distinct language.

The concept of youth language is consulted here to objectively and carefully describe a language practice, referring to Djenar's (2015:3) definition of youth languages as "the many ways in which youth draw on linguistic resources from multiple levels, from word, phrase, construction, discourse, to paralinguistic and graphic representations, in order to construct meaning in spoken and written interaction".

Within youth language discourse, as in Nortier and Svendsen (2015), a number of etic or professional labels are introduced: Contemporary Urban Vernacular (Rampton 2015) is used to refer to a linguistic practice in London, while Urban Youth Speech Style is used in Dorleijn et al. (2015) to label multilingual urban youths' practices in Kenya and The Netherlands. The word 'vernacular' underlines that this practice stands in opposition to the standard language; the word 'urban' refers to its domain, while the word 'contemporary' highlights its distinction from traditional non-standard speech (Rampton 2015:177). Dorleijn et al. (2015) use the term Urban Youth Speech Style to highlight that the linguistic practice is a style confined to a certain group of speakers, the youth. Despite the different terminologies chosen, it can be inferred that they are actually referring to a similar type of linguistic practice, one that resides among the youth.

Youth languages are common linguistic practices in many parts of the world. In Africa, a number of youth languages have been identified by their speakers as separate languages and are ascribed their own names: Nouchi in Abidjan, Camfranglais in Yaounde-Douala, Indoubil and Lingala ya Bayankee in Brazzaville and Kinshasa, Iscamto in Johannesburg, as well as Sheng and Engsh in Nairobi and Kenya (Kießling and Mous 2004). In Europe, descriptions of youth languages include Straattaal and Moroccan Flavored Dutch in The Netherlands (Nortier and Dorleijn 2008; Nortier 2018a; Nortier 2018b); Verlan in France (Lefkowitz 1989; Lefkowitz 1991), as well as Kebabnorsk in

Norway, Perkerdansk in Denmark, and Kanakensprache in Germany (Nortier and Dorleijn 2013). In Asia youth languages include *Gaul* ‘social language’, an informal language variety that is used by the youth in Indonesia to express social/economic mobility and cosmopolitan culture (Smith-Hefner 2007), and a Malay *bahasa remaja* ‘youth language’ in West Malaysia (Hoogervorst 2015).

Youth languages in different parts of the world develop their own characteristics, which are subject to local social contexts (Nortier 2018b). Manipulated language forms are important features in youth languages to conceal messages, and the norms are changed rapidly to make the language more unintelligible to outsiders (Kießling and Mous 2004). In this light, certain youth languages comprise an ‘anti-language’ (Halliday 1976), a form of language that is generated by and belongs to a stigmatized community, including criminals, thugs, prostitutes, and ethnic minorities (Kießling and Mous 2004). As anti-languages, they contain a large number of derogatory words related to criminal activities, drugs, and sex (Hoogervorst 2014). The speakers’ motivation is to “create a separate language by manipulating the dominant language as an act of rebellion and as a manifestation of a separate youth culture” (Mous 2009:215).

Nouchi in Abidjan and Sheng in Nairobi underwent a process in which they developed from anti-language popular among criminals into an urban youth language, and further to a language used in broader contexts. A youth language, therefore, can originate from an anti-language and later can also stabilize into a common language used in wider communication (Kießling and Mous 2004).

Halliday’s (1976) anti-language elements, nevertheless, may not always materialize in every youth language (Nortier 2018b). The Gaul language in Indonesia is used to show speakers’ upward social mobility (Smith-Hefner 2007). There is also *bahasa gado-gado*, a mix of Indonesian and English, which is used to resist the persisting language ideology that standard Indonesian is the only true national language, but at the same time is used to project the young speakers’ construction of modernity (Martin-Anatias 2018).

A youth language may be defined as a multi-ethnolect, since it typically originates from a multilingual and multi-ethnic environment (Nortier 2018b). Such languages are often used to bridge ethnic boundaries in urban situations (Hoogervorst 2015; Kießling and Mous 2004). The multi-ethnic element is also apparent when a youth language incorporates its lexicon from other languages in the speakers’ repertoire (Djenar 2015; Hoogervorst 2014). These plurilingual aspects may characterize a youth language as part of language contact domain; nevertheless, a youth language is devoid of pidgin and cre-

ole properties (Kießling and Mous 2004:304).

It is worth noting that the level of multiethnicity in youth languages can vary. In the perspective of young Moroccan Dutch, Dutch *straattaal* is not a multi-ethnolect on the ideological level because its speakers associate the lexical items from Sranan as part of the Black community (Kossmann 2017). Mourigh (2017) reports that a multi-ethnolect in Gouda among indigenous Dutch youth cannot be considered a multi-ethnolect from the point of view of Moroccan youth. The latter group is not as ready as the former group to accept Sranan Tongo lexical items. There is also a youth language that is not constructed in a multi-ethnic setting (Nortier 2018b). Hedid (2011) describes a language mix of Arabic and French Verlan in Algeria, which is used among college students of no particular ethnic diversity.

The word ‘youth’ is essential to denote the age of the speakers who typically initiate youth languages (Djenar 2015; Mous 2009). The entire range of speakers of youth languages, however, extends beyond younger groups. The usage of London Contemporary Urban Vernacular, for example, is retained in adulthood (Rampton 2015). In Yanké, spoken in the Congolese capital Kinshasa, speakers are also observed to have used the language until they are older (Nassenstein 2014). The word ‘youth’, in this perspective, is used to index the young age of the speakers when acquiring the linguistic practice.

Youth languages in Africa are known to display a contrast between male and female domains (Kießling and Mous 2004:318). Young male groups are often described as more dominant speakers because they are more engaged in the anti-language discourse, while female speakers develop their own in-group register, albeit one that adheres to social norms (Kießling and Mous 2004). Regardless of this disposition, a Zimbabwean youth language described in Hollington and Makwabarara (2015) is used by both boys and girls. Boys and girls in this language have developed their own collection of words to describe the opposite sex, lovers, prostitutes, and intimate relations.

Youth languages have in common that they represent a shared identity (Kießling and Mous 2006; Nassenstein 2014; Nassenstein and Hollington 2015; Nortier 2018b). This way, speakers use their language to express intimacy with close friends (Hoogervorst 2014). The Zimbabwean youth language, for example, is used by the speakers to distinguish themselves from others who are older and live outside the urban centers (Hollington and Makwabarara 2015).

The following discussion will examine the use of manipulated language forms in Walikan (§2.3). Its existence may have begun with an anti-language element, but has since lost its marginalized status (§2.4). Walikan incorpo-

rates multilingual words but it does not show divisions among different ethnic groups (§2.3). Walikan is for the most part a medium for its speakers to express their in-group solidarity and to lessen the gap of communication between the older and the younger generations created by the Javanese cultural framework, with its emphasis on politeness. In other words, Walikan helps articulate young people's shared identity of belonging to the same local culture (§2.5 and §2.6).

2.3 Forms of Walikan

The word *walikan* in Javanese means 'reversed', referring to the most salient feature of the language: word reversal (Espree-Conaway 2012; Hoogervorst 2014). Formerly, people from Malang referred to this practice with inconsistent labels. Older speakers mentioned that they did not use any label for this word reversal practice in the past; for them it was only a strategy to manipulate speech and conceal secret information. A variety of terms such as *KIWALAN* and *LAWIKAN* also exist, which are manipulations of the word *walikan* 'reversed'. The word "walikan", however, is the most widely used by the speakers and in the media. Eighty percent of informants referred to the practice as Walikan in the sociolinguistic questionnaire I administered (see §1.5.2.1 for descriptions of the questionnaire).

The reversed words in Walikan originate from the linguistic repertoire of the speakers (see Table 2.1). Walikan includes reversed words from Malangan Javanese (*KÉRA* < *aré* 'kid'), Malangan Indonesia (*IGAP* < *pagi* 'morning'), and locally coined words (*NOLAB* < *balon* 'prostitute'). Other available codes are also present in the lexicon, such as Arabic (*NÉZ* < *zén* 'nice') and English (*WOLES* < *selow* 'slow'). Dutch words such as *RAMALEK* < *makelar* 'middleman' entered the repertoire through Javanese or Indonesian as a result of extensive borrowing in the past. Meanwhile, a small number of Arabic words are the result of contact with people of Arab descent, especially those residing in the Kampung Arab area (see §1.2.3). English words, on the other hand, were added more recently due to globalization (Sneddon 2003).

No	MJ words	MI words	Arabic words	English words	Local coinage
1	KÉRA arék ‘kid’	< IGAP < <i>pagi</i> ‘morning’	NÉZ < <i>zén</i> ‘nice’	WOLES < <i>selow</i> ‘slow’	NOLAB < <i>balon</i> ‘prostitute’
2	KÉTAM < <i>maték</i> ‘dead’	AGIT < <i>tiga</i> ‘three’	SÉBÉ < <i>ébé</i> ‘father’	SIOB <i>mbois</i> ‘boyish’	IDREK <i>kerdi</i> ‘to work’

TABLE 2.1: Examples of reversed words in Walikan and their origins (MJ= Malangan Javanese, MI= Malangan Indonesian)

My corpus consist of 725 Walikan words. Their origins are categorized as Malangan Javanese (56%), Malangan Indonesian (40%), English (0.9%), and Arabic (0.6%). In addition, there are also a small number of words that combine Malangan Javanese and Indonesian (1.9%) and Arabic and Malangan Javanese or Indonesian (0.6%). Locally coined words are coded as Malangan Javanese, while borrowings from Dutch, Portuguese, English, or other languages that have been completely assimilated are coded as either Malangan Javanese or Indonesian. The words are listed in Appendix B.

In order to differentiate the function and role of each donor language in Walikan, the terms ‘matrix language’ and ‘embedded language’ are used. A matrix language is the more dominant language which contributes structural forms, while an embedded language provides lexical items that can be added to the structure of the matrix language (Bell 2014; Myers-Scotton 1993). Walikan operates by inserting reversed words into a Malangan Javanese structure. In this way, Malangan Javanese serves as the matrix language for Walikan, while the other languages previously mentioned contribute as the embedded languages. Example (1a) shows a normal utterance in Ngoko Javanese, while (1a-b) exemplifies how reversed words are inserted into the Malangan Javanese structure.

(1) a. Ngoko Malangan Javanese

Énak yò koen wis kerjò ngono iku.
nice yes 2SG already work there DEM

‘Nice that you have already had a job.’

(NY_2015_Fieldnotes)

b. Walikan

KANÉ yò *UMAK* wis *ÒJREK* ngono iku.
 nice yes 2SG already work there DEM

‘Nice that you have already had a job.’

(NY_2015_Fieldnotes)

Examples (1a) and (1b) show a similar syntactic structure, which underlines that reversal does not affect the syntax of Javanese. Walikan takes place at the lexical level, affecting only certain words. The selection of which words and how many are reversed in an utterance seems to reflect the speaker’s personal choice. As such, speakers of Walikan can either opt for the use of only one Walikan word in his utterance, or as many Walikan words as are reversible, depending on their fluency and the message’s degree of secrecy. Nonetheless, it is not common to have a sentence containing full reversal for every word. Reversal is not a productive rule that can be applied to any word. In other words, the Walikan form used must be acceptable to the community of speakers.

Malangan Indonesian does not serve as the matrix language for Walikan, although it contributes a large number of lexical items. People may know a lot of Walikan words, but if they are unable to speak Javanese and can only use Indonesian, they are not regarded as full speakers of Walikan. During one of the Frog Story sessions, Riad (female, 19 years old)² refrained from her storytelling upon realizing that she was not proficient in Malangan Javanese. In the beginning the speaker, who is from Probolinggo, agreed to participate because she claimed to be familiar with many Walikan words but, as it transpired, she realized that she could not incorporate the Walikan words into her Probolinggo dialect.

Reversal can be applied to content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs), pronouns, and discourse particles. The 725 Walikan words in my corpus are dominated by nouns (40%), verbs (20%), adjectives (18%), proper nouns (10%), and numerals (7%). Content words convey the most substantive meaning of the utterance, which justifies the speakers’ inclination to reverse as many content words as possible. In order to intensify the degree of secrecy, speakers sometimes change the meaning of words after their reversal (see §2.3.2).

Numerals are also reversed in Walikan. They combine words originating

²As recorded in an interview on October 20, 2016.

from both Malangan Indonesian and Malangan Javanese (Table 2.2). The majority of numerals in Walikan consists of reversals from Malangan Indonesian.

Walikan	MI	Walikan	MJ	Meaning
<u>UTAS</u>	<u>satu</u>	IJIS, KOTIS	<i>siji, sitok</i>	‘one’
<u>AUD, HAUD</u>	<u>dua</u>	-	<i>loro</i>	‘two’
<u>AGIT</u>	<u>tiga</u>	-	<i>telu</i>	‘three’
<u>TAPME</u>	<u>empat</u>	TAPAP	<i>papat</i>	‘four’
<u>AMIL</u>	<u>lima</u>	ÒMIL	<i>limò</i>	‘five’
<u>MANÉ</u>	<u>enam</u>	-	<i>nem</i>	‘six’
<u>UJUT, HUJUT</u>	<u>tujuh</u>	-	<i>pitu</i>	‘seven’
<u>NAPALED</u>	<u>delapan</u>	OWUL	<i>wolu</i>	‘eight’
-	<u>sembilan</u>	ÒNGÒS	<i>sòngò</i>	‘nine’
<u>HULUPES</u>	<u>sepuluh</u>	HOLOPES	<i>sepuluh</i>	‘ten’
<u>SALEB</u>	<u>(se)belas</u>	-	<i>(se)welas</i>	‘eleven’
<u>AMIL SALEB</u>	<u>lima belas</u>	-	<i>limòlas</i>	‘fifteen’
<u>AUD HULUP, HAUD HULUP</u>	<u>dua puluh</u>	-	<i>rong puluh</i>	‘twenty’
-	<u>dua puluh lima</u>	ÉLAWES	<i>selawé</i>	‘twenty five’
<u>AGIT HULUP</u>	<u>tiga puluh</u>	-	<i>telung puluh</i>	‘thirty’
-	<u>lima puluh</u>	TEKÉS, TÉKES	<i>séket</i>	‘fifty’
<u>SUTAR</u>	<u>ratus</u>	-	<i>satus</i>	‘a hundred’
<u>UBIR</u>	<u>ribu</u>	UWÉS	<i>séwu</i>	‘a thousand’

TABLE 2.2: Numerals in Walikan (MJ= Malangan Javanese, MI= Malangan Indonesian)

The morphology of Walikan words remains the same as that of the matrix and embedded languages. This is illustrated by the reversal process of the word *makan-an*, which means ‘food’ in Indonesian. The noun is derived by attaching a nominalizer suffix *-an* to the verb *makan* ‘to eat’. The reversed

equivalent of the word in Walikan is NAKAM-an, showing that the suffix remains intact and does not undergo reversal. There are also a few exceptions where reversal extends beyond word boundaries, this chiefly affects lexicalized expressions such as ANAMID ‘where’ < di-mana ‘PREP-what’ and possessed nouns, such as UMAIR ‘your face’ < rai-mu ‘face-2s.POSS’. This is discussed further in Chapter 4.

When using Walikan, speakers often also incorporate local slang words, phrases, and expressions. Although only some of these contain Walikan words, speakers use them to increase the Malangan flavor of an utterance.

Expressions	Meaning	Origin
LADHUB- <i>kan</i>	‘go ahead’	<i>budhal</i> ‘to go’ + <i>kan</i> ‘TR’
LÉDOM- <i>é</i>	‘the style’	<i>modél</i> ‘style’ + <i>é</i> ‘DEF’
<i>malang santé sayang</i>	‘enjoyable Malang’	<i>malang</i> ‘Malang’ + <i>santé</i> ‘relax’ + <i>sayang</i> ‘dear’
ÒYI <i>thok wis</i>	‘definitely’	<i>iyò</i> ‘yes’ + <i>thok</i> ‘only’ + <i>wis</i> ‘already’
<i>arkamsi</i>	‘local people’	<i>aréK</i> ‘kid’ + <i>kampung</i> ‘neighborhood’ + <i>sini</i> ‘here’
<i>nasgithel</i>	‘sweet and thick (for coffee)’	<i>panas</i> ‘hot’ + <i>legi</i> ‘sweet’ + <i>kenthel</i> ‘thick’

TABLE 2.3: Local expressions in Malang

In many cases, Walikan speakers can immediately detect “incorrect” use of the language, including in written form. The following examples (2a-b), from a Facebook post, contain a set of attested Walikan words including UMAK (< *kamu*) ‘you’, HÉBAK (< *kabéh*) ‘all’, IPOK (< *kopi*) ‘coffee’, KADIT (< *tidak*) ‘no’, and ÒKET (< *tekò*) ‘from’. However, (2b) also includes words that are conventionally left unreversed, such as ÉBMOGN (< *ngombé*) ‘N-drink’ and IUPAT (< *tapui*) ‘slap.APPL’. This reversal process is mistaken because it reverses the nasal prefix in *ngombé* and the suffix *-i* in *tapui*. In Walikan, affixes should be left intact and are not reversed. The words *GNOMBÉ and *IRUBM also vi-

olate the basic rule that the reversal should be based on phonemes instead of graphemes. Only a number of lexicalized words are allowed to be reversed based on their orthography. More detail on this process will be given in §2.3.1. Finally, the word *jal*, a clipping from *jajal* ‘have a try’, is not commonly used in Malangan Javanese. Speakers associate it with the Central Javanese dialect, which changes the overall mood of the utterance. The words òYÒK < (*kòyò*) ‘like’ and ÉNAM < (*mané*) ‘again’ are also considered peculiar because in Malangan Javanese they are pronounced as [kɔ.jɔʔ] and [ma.nɛh], commonly written as *kòyòk* and *manéh*.

Example (2b) is considered wrong or inaccurate because it violates a number of rules. First, it reverses words that are not commonly reversed by the community, or are reversed inaccurately (indicated with asterisks). Further, it also includes a word that originates from another Javanese dialect (in bold).

(2) a. Unreversed version

Ny-(c)òba ùmpòmò kamu kabéh ng-ombé kopi tidak
 N-try.AV if 2SG all N-drink.AV coffee NEG
rokok-é, *jal* *rasa-né* *kòyò* *di-tapak-i* *tekò*
 cigarette-DEF try.IMP feel-DEF like PASS-slap-APPL from
mburi.. isuk-isuk *mané*.
 behind morning~RDP again

‘If you all try to drink coffee without smoking (afterwards), perhaps the feeling is like being slapped from the back, especially in the morning.’

(NY_2016_Facebook)

b. Inaccurate Walikan

Nyòba umpòmò UMAK HÉBAK *ÉBMOGN IPOK KADIT rokok-é,
jal *rasa-né* *ÒYÒK *di* *IUPAT ÒKET *IRUBM.. *isuk-isuk* *ÉNAM.

A closer look at Walikan words suggests that there are two degrees of linguistic manipulations, namely: 1) phonological manipulation; and 2) semantic manipulation. They are discussed in the following subsections.

2.3.1 Phonological Manipulation

Intentional linguistic modifications can result in changes that conceal the original message (Storch 2011). There are several categories of language manipulation whereby Walikan fits the description of a ‘play language’, defined

as one of the “rule-governed systems that are representations of ordinary language, which simply means that they use syntactic, phonological, and morphological systems of rules that govern the matrix languages from which they are derived” (Storch 2011:20). These rules have also been termed ‘ludlings’ by Laycock (1972), the regular and systematic transformation of a certain language form into a completely different one. In Conklin (1956), a similar process of changing the phonological structure of words is labeled ‘speech disguise’, which happens “when a speaker in conversation attempts to conceal the identity and hence the interpretation of what he says” (p. 136).

Ludlings are divided into three general groups: templatic, infixing, and reversing (Bagemihl 1988:181). Templatic ludlings make use of certain patterns which act as templates in the phonological transformation. For example, using the template CayCⁿCaəCa the Amharic word wark is manipulated into wayrk’ark ‘gold’ (Hudson 1993). The infixing ludling works by inserting a syllable into a word. In a ludling popular in Malang during the 1990s, the syllable –va is inserted into every open syllable. In closed syllables, the infix appeared before the final consonant. A simple Indonesian word such as makan ‘to eat’ for instance, would be transformed into mavakavan.³ Finally, reversing ludling, or reversal, is one that allows speakers to invert the position of all the phonemes in the word. ‘Speaking backwards’ is one of the most common ways to form play and secret languages (Bagemihl 1989; Gil 1996).

One of the best researched reversal-based language is Verlan, found in French-speaking countries, which mixes reversed words from French and languages spoken by immigrants. In Verlan, word reversal operates through different rules based on the number of syllables (Lefkowitz 1989; Lefkowitz 1991). Among others, bisyllabic words are reversed through Syllable Metathesis, thus bonjour becomes jourbon ‘hello’, and branché becomes chébran ‘trendy’ (Lefkowitz 1989). Monosyllabic words with open syllables, on the other hand, undergo Segment Metathesis such as in vu > uv ‘seen’ and fou > ouf ‘crazy’ (Lefkowitz 1989:315).

In the Bijlmer area in south-east Amsterdam, a speech style that is also characterized by word reversal has emerged. Referred to as Smibanese, it is mostly spoken among the Surinamese community of African descent. The Straattaal word for the area name Bijlmer is bims, which is then reversed into smib. A book containing a list of Smibanese words has been published (Soortkill 2017). Another reversal-based language is Golagat, spoken in the Philippines. It is created through a complete rearrangement of segments (Gil

³A similar practice was also common in Surabaya in the 1960s (Hoogervorst 2014).

1996). The name Golagat is derived from a complete reversal of the matrix language, Tagalog.

The universality of phonological manipulation through word reversal has been also attested in the Jakarta Youth Language of Jakarta, Indonesia (Dreyfuss 1983), the Bòsò Walikan Yogyakarta of Yogyakarta, Central Java (Jackson and Rahmat 2013), Cuna of Panama (Sherzer 1970), and Zuuja-go of Japanese (Itô et al. 1996).

Word reversal is typologically classified into ten different types: Transposition, Syllable Interchange, False Interchange, Segment Exchange, Sequence Exchange, Exchange with Nonsense Word, Total Syllable Reversal, Total Segment Reversal, False Syllable Reversal, and Permutation (Bagemihl 1989:482-483). Based on Bagemihl's classification, the most productive type of reversal in Walikan reflects the Total Segment Reversal strategy. In Total Segment Reversal, the phonemes of a word are fully reversed. This type of reversal is akin to "literally reading words in their mirror image" (Smith-Hefner 2007:191). An extensive account of the reversal rules in Walikan is given in Chapter 4.

In Walikan, Total Segment Reversal affects words exhibiting all syllable patterns in Malangan Indonesian and Malangan Javanese, both open and closed monosyllabic and polysyllabic roots. Example (3) illustrates the complete inversion of all segments in Walikan. The last segment of the original word becomes the initial segment of the reversed form, and so on.

(3) Total Segment Reversal in Walikan

<i>banyu</i>	[b̥a.nu]	>	UNYAB	[ʔu.nap]	'water'
<i>mas</i>	[mas]	>	SAM	[sam]	'older brother'
<i>maling</i>	[ma.lɪŋ]	>	NGILAM	[ɲi.lam]	'thief'

In (3), the word *banyu* 'water' is not reversed to *UYNAB, and *maling* 'thief' is not reversed to *GNILAM because Walikan is based on phonological segments rather than on orthography. Walikan in Malang is different from Bòsò Walikan Yogyakarta (The Reversed Language of Yogyakarta) that is spoken in Yogyakarta, Central Java. Word formation in Bòsò Walikan Yogyakarta takes place through the reversal of certain letters of the semi-syllabic Javanese script and is thus orthography-based (Hoogervorst 2014). At present no comprehensive description of this slang has been written.

Nonetheless, example (4) shows that the reversal may sometimes be based on the orthography of the words: the velar nasal is orthographically a digraph <ng>, which is reversed as such.

- (4) Digraph <ng> reversed to <gn>
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|---|----------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>orang</i> | [ʔɔ.raŋ] | > | <u>GENARO</u> | [ḡḡ.na.ro] | ‘person’ |
| <i>tukang</i> | [ʔu.kan] | > | <u>GENAKUT</u> | [ḡḡ.na.kuʔ] | ‘handyman’ |
| <i>utang</i> | [ʔu.ʔan] | > | <u>GENATU</u> | [ḡḡ.na.ʔu] | ‘debt’ |

Word reversal in Walikan shows conformity to Javanese phonology and phonotactics (see Chapter 4). The homorganic consonant cluster /mb/, which belongs to the same syllable in Javanese, for instance, typically remains intact after reversal in order to maintain Javanese phonology and phonotactics (5).

- (5) Homorganic consonant clusters remain intact
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|-----------|---|---------------|------------|---------|
| <i>klambi</i> | [kla.mbi] | > | <u>IMBLAK</u> | [ʔi.mblaʔ] | ‘shirt’ |
|---------------|-----------|---|---------------|------------|---------|

The attested reversed form of *klambi* ‘shirt’ is therefore IMBLAK, avoiding the resulted form of total segment reversal *IBMALK. There are several problems posed by the form IBMALK [ib.malk]. Firstly, /b/ does not occur in coda position in Javanese. Second, the form also shows the consonant cluster /lk/ in the coda position of the second syllable, while no consonant cluster can occur in coda position in Javanese. In order to produce a form that does not violate Javanese phonology and phonotactics, the homorganic consonant cluster /mb/ is retained and the consonant cluster /lk/ is split. As a result, IMBLAK [i.mblaʔ] ‘shirt’ is formed, a word that adheres to Javanese phonology and phonotactics and for this reason is easier to pronounce (see §4.3.2.4).

Additionally, a few exceptions in Walikan are manipulated through different techniques. Their total number is very small (36 out of 725 tokens). These non-Total Segment Reversal forms are unsystematic, but they may fall into one of the following three categories: 1) Transposition; 2) Sequence Exchange; and 3) Permutation.

Transposition involves the movement of the last or initial syllable or segment of a word to the beginning or the end of the word respectively (6).

- (6) Transposition in Walikan
- | | | | | | |
|-------------|----------|---|--------------|-----------|----------|
| <i>gaji</i> | [ḡa.ḡi] | > | <u>JIGA</u> | [ʔi.ḡa] | ‘salary’ |
| <i>grog</i> | [ḡrḡ.ḡi] | > | <u>IGROG</u> | [ʔi.ḡrḡk] | ‘groggy’ |

In addition to Transposition, a set of words is formed through Sequence Exchange, which refers to the swapping of sequences in a word (Bagemihl 1989). The first type of Sequence Exchange allows a reversal of only the first CVC sequence of the word (7).

(7) Exchange of CVC sequence

<u>maksud</u>	[maʔ.sʊʔ]	>	<u>KAMSUD</u>	[kamʔ.sʊʔ]	‘intention’
<u>walik</u>	[wa.liʔ]	>	<u>KIWAL</u>	[ki.wal]	‘to reverse’

The second type of sequence-based reversal inverts the final VC sequence of a word and transposes it to the initial position (8).

(8) Inversion of VC sequence

<u>hotél</u>	[hɔ.tɛl]	>	<u>LÉHOT</u>	[lɛ.hɔʔ]	‘hotel’
<u>lanang</u>	[la.naŋ]	>	<u>NGALAN</u>	[ŋa.lanʔ]	‘man’

The examples for Permutation are discussed in §4.5.

Note that the Transposition, Sequence Exchange, and Permutation strategies are rather rare. They are not applied to a lot of Walikan words, speakers rarely use them to form a new word, and sometimes a transposed word may also have another counterpart that is formed through the main reversal rule, Total Segment Reversal. The word *lanang* ‘man’ for example, has two reversed forms: NGALAN, that is formed through Sequence Exchange, shown in (8), and NGANAL, formed through Total Segment Reversal.

Albeit not prominently, the manipulation of forms in Walikan also affects acronyms. Acronyms are created by combining abbreviations of some parts of two different words (Nassenstein 2014), as shown in example (9).

(9) Acronyms in Walikan

<u>IDREK</u> hard'	'to work	<	<u>kerja</u>	'to work'	+	<u>rodi</u>	'corvée labour'		
<u>KIMCIL</u> vagina'	'small	<	<u>kimpet</u>	<	<u>tempik</u>	'vagina'	+	<u>cilik</u>	'small'
<u>NARKODÉW</u> and women'	'drugs	<	<u>narkoba</u>	'drugs'	+	<u>kodéw</u>	<	<u>wédòk</u>	'woman'

The first word in (9) is created by combining the initial syllable of the source words kerja ‘to work’ and the last syllable of the word rodi ‘corvée labour’, yielding a new form kerdi, which is then reversed to IDREK ‘to work hard’. In the word KIMCIL, first the original word tempik ‘vagina’ is reversed into KIMPET. Then, its initial syllable is combined with the initial syllable of another word, cilik ‘small’. A similar process takes place in the word KODÉW, which is a reversed form of wédok ‘woman’. The reversed word is attached after the two first syllables of the word narkoba ‘drugs’ to create the word NARKODÉW ‘drugs and women’.

2.3.1.1 Local Variations

In addition to the aforementioned forms, there are different sub-types of Walikan that are used by speakers from certain *kampungs* within the city.⁴ Aside from the basic rules described previously, they also have a number of additional rules. Walikan is a tool to conceal messages, and these locally developed varieties of Walikan were created in the same spirit. Speakers residing in certain *kampungs* further modify the general type of Walikan in order to disguise their conversation. Although these varieties are not widely spread, they reveal the creativity and ingenuity of the speakers, as well as the extent of their attempts to respect Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian phonotactics. These varieties are only used among people who belong to the same *kampung*. When people from different *kampungs* meet each other, they will use the general Walikan Malangan forms. Of all the three varieties observed, the variety in Kampung Celaket is the best known.

2.3.1.1.1 Kampung Gandhékan Gandhékan is an area located only a few meters away from the *Alun-alun* ‘city Square’ of Malang. The people living in the area have developed a different kind of Walikan by combining the Total Segment Reversal strategy that is already present in Walikan Malangan with the Transposition strategy.⁵ Speakers believe that this code had been changed five times before they settled for this most ingenious form of secret code because the general type of Walikan (Walikan Malangan) was already popular and extensively used.

Walikan Gandhékan works by transposing the final consonant of the word into a position preceding the final syllable, while also inserting the vowel /e/ after the aforementioned consonant. The rule can be applied to words from either Malangan Javanese, Malangan Indonesian, or generic Walikan Malangan. Examples (10) and (11) show the Walikan Gandhékan rule applied to Malangan Javanese and Walikan Malangan respectively.

- (10) Walikan Gandhékan from Malangan Javanese
- | | | | | | |
|---------|---------------|---|---------------|------------|------------|
| BULÉDHA | [b̥u.ˈle.ɖ̥a] | < | <i>budhal</i> | [ˈb̥u.ɖ̥a] | ‘to leave’ |
| LANGÉNA | [la.ˈŋe.na] | < | <i>lanang</i> | [ˈla.naŋ] | ‘male’ |

⁴A *kampung* is a densely populated neighborhood where small houses are built close to each other.

⁵During an interview session on August 15, 2015, Mumu (male, 70 years old) and Susu (male, 70 years old) shared their knowledge of the previously secret code.

(11) Walikan Gandhékan from Walikan Malangan

<u>KATÉDI</u>	[ka.'tɛ.ði]	<	<u>KADIT</u>	['ka.ðiɪ]	'no'
<u>NAMÉKA</u>	[na.'me.ka]	<	<u>NAKAM</u>	['na.kam]	'to eat'

The word KADIT and NAKAM in (11) are reversed from *tidak* and *makan* in Malangan Indonesian. This means that speakers must be proficient in Walikan Malangan first before they are able to produce Walikan Gandhékan words. They can, however, pick any word from the embedded languages depending on the addressee and the situation. As a result, a word can have more than one Walikan Gandhékan form (12).

(12) Alternate forms in Walikan Gandhékan

BÉKÉCA	[bɛ.'ke.ca]	<	bécak	['bɛ.caʔ]	'pedicab'
KABÉCA	[ka.'bɛ.ca]	<	KACÉB	['ka.cɛp]	'pedicab'

In (12), *bécak* is a Malangan Javanese word, while KACÉB is the reversed form of the former. Note that the Walikan Gandhékan form of ['bɛ.caʔ] is [be.'ke.ca], in which the vowel /ɛ/ in the original word is realized as /e/ in the reversed form. This shows how Javanese phonology and phonotactics are also reflected in Walikan Gandhékan.

Since the reversal rule in Walikan Gandhékan involves the transposition of word-final consonants, speakers naturally prefer to take words from the embedded languages that have a word-final consonant. Whenever confronted with a word that ends in a vowel, speakers will try to reverse it first. The word *mati* 'dead, die', is firstly reversed to ITAM before being further modified to IMÉTA.

Nowadays only people who are above fifty years old seem to be conversant in Walikan Gandhékan. The younger generation is more familiar to Walikan Malangan, but a number of Walikan Gandhékan words are still frequently used in the area (13).

(13) Popular forms in Walikan Gandhékan

IMÉTA	['i.me.ɬa]	<	ITAM	['i.ɬam]	'dead, to die'
<u>KATÉDI</u>	[ka.'tɛ.ði]	<	<u>KADIT</u>	['ka.ðiɪ]	'no'
<u>NAMÉKA</u>	[na.'me.ka]	<	<u>NAKAM</u>	['na.kam]	'to eat'
NGAPÉLO	[ŋa.'pe.lo]	<	NGALUP	['ŋa.lup]	'to go home'
NGÉWO	['ŋe.wo]	<	wòng	['wɔŋ]	'person'
<u>RUTÉDI</u>	[ru.'tɛ.ði]	<	<u>RUDIT</u>	['ru.ðiɪ]	'to sleep'

2.3.1.1.2 Kampung Arjosari A little further from the center of the city, the people of Kampung Arjosari have also developed a distinct code. Walikan Arjosarian combines Total Segment Reversal in Walikan Malangan with the infixation type of ludlings (Bagemihl 1988). It requires the insertion of the segment *-ars-* into the middle of the final syllable (14).

- (14) Walikan Arjosarian
- | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|---|--------------|------------|----------|
| LOTARSOB | [lɔ.'ʔar.sɔpʔ] | < | LOTOB | [lɔ.'ʔɔpʔ] | 'bottle' |
| <u>NAKARSAM</u> | [na.'kar.samʔ] | < | <u>NAKAM</u> | [na.kamʔ] | 'to eat' |

In (14), the Walikan Arjosarian rule is applied to a Malangan Indonesian word that has undergone Total Segment Reversal. The word *LOTOB* is derived from *botol* while NAKAM is from *makan*. Similar to Walikan Gandhékan, Walikan Arjosarian also allows speakers to use words from Malangan Indonesian or Malangan Javanese (15).

- (15) Walikan Arjosarian
- | | | | | | |
|-----------------|----------------|---|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| <u>MAKARSAN</u> | [ma.'kar.sanʔ] | < | <i>makan</i> | [ma.kanʔ] | 'to eat' |
| <u>ROKARSOK</u> | [rɔ.'kar.sɔʔ] | < | <i>rokok</i> | [rɔ.kɔʔ] | 'cigarette' |

Walikan Arjosarian was used extensively in the past, but nowadays only a few people from the older generation can be heard using it. Disu (male, 50 years old)⁶ and his male friends use the in-group code when they hang out together in the neighborhood, mainly to engage in humorous conversations.

2.3.1.1.3 Kampung Celaket Celaket is located close to the General Hospital of Malang. This *kampung* is hidden behind big houses and office buildings in Jalan Jaksa Agung Suprpto, one of the city's main roads. Every year the kampung holds a cultural and art festival, which includes dance performances, traditional games, etc. The people living there are proud of their local code, which they refer to as Celaketan.⁷ Speakers believe that Celaketan is the most distinct code in Malang. It works mostly by adding unrelated syllable(s) after the first syllable of the original word (16).

⁶Recorded in an interview on January 16, 2018.

⁷On July 29, 2015, I had a chance to interview Bepr (male, 44 years old) and Esbr (male, 38 years old) to understand Celaketan better.

(16) Celaketan

MADRAS	[ˈma.ðras]	<	maték	[ˈma.tɛʔ]	‘to die, dead’
MURÉT	[ˈmu.reʔ]	<	muda	[ˈmu.ɖa]	‘young’
PERCÔDÉT	[pər.ˈcɔ.ðɛʔ]	<	percôyò	[pər.ˈcɔ.jɔ]	‘to believe’

This manipulation strategy is able to create new words that are almost completely different from the original. The similarity lies only in the initial part of both words. In some cases, the new word may resemble another word in one of the source languages, which creates confusion for others but entertainment for speakers. In (17) the word *gurem* in Indonesian means ‘small, minor’, while *kalong* means ‘bat’.

(17) Witty Celaketan words

GUREM	[ˈg̥u.rəm]	<	guru	[ˈg̥u.ru]	‘teacher’
KALONG	[ˈka.lɔŋ]	<	kalah	[ˈka.lah]	‘to lose, fail’

Outsiders will rarely guess the intended meaning of Celaketan speakers. As for the speakers, they find it funny and as such it can help to forge their friendship.

Celaketan rules mostly apply to Malangan Javanese and Indonesian words (16-17), although speakers can also make use of Walikan Malangan words (18).

(18) Celaketan derived from Walikan Malangan

KADAL	[ˈka.ɖal]	<	KADIT	[ˈka.ɖiʔ]	‘no’
KIMPOL	[ˈki.mɔl]	<	KIMPET	[ˈki.mɔʔ]	‘vagina’
SILVER	[ˈsil.fər]	<	SILUP	[ˈsi.lɔp]	‘policeman’

Nowadays Celaketan is still very popular among younger speakers and musicians in Malang. Its lack of systematicity, however, seems to prevent Celaketan from spreading to a wider community. Celaketan thus remains confined to people who are from Celaket or those who spend a lot of time with them.

2.3.2 Semantic Manipulation

In Walikan, speakers also change the meaning of the words. Semantic change is common in youth languages as it projects one of their functions as a tool to

conceal messages from outsiders (Nassenstein 2014). Such strategies are analytically significant because they can be used to distinguish youth languages from other types of automatic play language or ludling (Kießling and Mous 2006).

Similar to other youth languages, Walikan contains a large number of profanities. The East Javanese dialect in general is famous for its profanities compared to other Javanese dialects (Hoogervorst 2014). The Surabayan Javanese dialect featured in a local TV show, *Pojok Kampung*, contains coarse and rude words that do not conform to the Central Javanese standard. One of the words being used in the show is *maték* ‘dead’, which might not be suitable to refer to humans in the view of a Central Javanese speakers (Arps and Van Heeren 2006). In Walikan, these bad words are reversed to conceal the meanings, lessen their impact, or save the face of the interlocutor. For some speakers, however, they are used to stress their intention to mock or ridicule the addressee.

Profanities	Meaning	Origin
KÉAT	‘shit’	<i>taék</i> ‘shit’
KIMPET	‘vagina’	<i>tempik</i> ‘vagina’
MATÉK	‘dead’	<i>kétam</i> ‘dead’
NGONCÉB	‘transvestite’	<i>béncong</i> ‘transvestite’
ÒDUM	‘naked’	<i>mudò</i> ‘naked’
TÉNCRÉM	‘diarrhea’	<i>ménkrét</i> ‘diarrhea’
TILIS	‘anus’	<i>silit</i> ‘ass’
USUS	‘breast’	<i>susu</i> ‘breast’

TABLE 2.4: Profanities in Walikan

Table 2.5 shows that some profanities in Walikan are metaphors, they show “figurative usage based on resemblance” (Cruse 2000:112).

Metaphors	Origin	Figurative connection
HÉWOD ‘stupid person’	<i>n-dowéh</i> agape.AV’	‘N- a wide opened mouth shows confusion
IBAB ‘moron’	<i>babi</i> ‘pig’	a pig lives in dirt
KUNAM ‘penis’	<i>manuk</i> ‘bird’	a bird’s head physically resembles a penis
NOLAB ‘prostitute’	<i>balon</i> ‘balloon’	a balloon physically resembles a condom
SUDHÉ ‘lame-brained’	<i>wedhus</i> ‘sheep’	a sheep is easy to herd
TÉNYOM ‘buffoon’	<i>monyét</i> ‘monkey’	a monkey is less intelligent than human

TABLE 2.5: Metaphors in Walikan profanities

The word *ndowéh* literally means ‘agape’, or a state where one’s mouth is open in confusion. Malangan Javanese speakers use the word to refer to someone who appears ignorant or lacks knowledge about something. In Walikan, it is reversed to HÉWOD, which speakers use to conceal the metaphoric meaning of *ndowéh* when referring to a non-Walikan speaker. On the contrary, they use it to amplify their intention when the object of ridicule also understands Walikan.

Walikan speakers also make use of euphemisms, that is disguising taboo words and loaded concepts through more neutral concepts (Allan and Burridge 2006; Nassenstein 2014; Nassenstein and Hollington 2015).

Euphemisms	Meaning	Origin
<u>ASAIB</u>	‘prostitute’	<i>biasa</i> ‘common’
<u>KAWAB</u>	‘prostitute’	<i>bawak</i> ‘to bring along’
<u>KINTUS</u>	‘to have sex’	<i>suntik</i> ‘to inject’
<u>NASKIM</u>	‘to kill, rape’	<i>NAKAM</i> (< <i>makan</i>) ‘to eat’
<u>NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT</u>	‘to get high, have sex’	<i>séndhén</i> ‘to lean’ + <i>témbok</i> ‘wall’
<u>RAULEK</u>	‘to ejaculate’	<i>keluar</i> ‘to go out’
<u>TAHÉS KOMÉS</u>	‘sexually attractive’	<i>séhat</i> ‘healthy’ + <i>komés</i> ‘callipygian’

TABLE 2.6: Euphemisms in Walikan

In Table 2.6, the word *keluar* [kə.'lu.war] in Indonesian means ‘to go out’; however, speakers of Walikan use the reversed form of word, RAULEK [ra.'ʔu.lək], to also refer to a more taboo connotation, ‘to ejaculate’. The connection between ‘exiting’ and ‘discharging bodily fluids’ is obvious.

The semantics of some of these words, however, have changed through time. Younger speakers do not appear to have the same negative or taboo connotations with these words as the older speakers do. The terms have undergone enregisterment, described by Agha (2007) as the process when a certain linguistic practice becomes known to people, in which only the literal meanings are spread and used in the wider community. The word ASAIB which originally means ‘common’, for instance, was used by older speakers of Walikan to refer to prostitutes, or girls providing sexual services. Another word, KAWAB, literally means ‘to bring’, also carries the same connotation. Girls providing such services will typically be willing to be brought around. However, most younger speakers nowadays are only familiar to the literal meaning. A T-Shirt with the word GENARO ASAIB < (*orang* ‘person’ + *biasa* ‘common’) ‘common people’ written in big bold fonts was spotted in 2016, much to the dismay of the older speakers.

The phrase NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT [‘nɛ.ndɛs ‘kɔ.mbəʔ] < *séndhén témbok* [‘sɛ.ndɛn’ ‘tɛ.mboʔ] in Table 2.6 is one of the most popular phrases among younger speakers of Walikan (see Figure 2.1). The literal meaning of the phrase is ‘to lean against the wall’, but not to older speakers. In the past, the phrase was popular among addicts and drug users, denoting a situation when they are very intoxicated or high on drugs to the point that they need

to lean against a wall. It could also be used to refer to a situation where people are having intercourse with sex workers and they need to hide behind a wall. However, nowadays the phrase generally means ‘to relax’, or ‘to chill out’ to younger speakers.



FIGURE 2.1: *Néndhēs Kombét* as Internet meme

In the 1950s to 1960s, the word OKAK could be found in Walikan, and was quite popular.⁸ OKAK is a reversed form of *kko* [ka.'ka.ʔo], an abbreviation from *Korps Komando Operasi*, the former name of the Indonesian Marine Corps. At that time the corps recruited a number of young locals who appeared gallant and strong. They were often spotted in the city walking around with a marine's haircut looking fine and dandy. The other youngsters looked up to them, so that they invented a term to describe those who looked the part, namely OKAK 'marine, marine-like'.

Looking more closely at words that have been around for several generations, there are some that were shaped due to the social realities of the past (Table 2.7). Nowadays society has changed but the Walikan words remain and are still used by younger speakers who are oblivious to the story behind the formation of the words.

⁸As shared in an interview with Erer (male, 67 years old) on December 20, 2017.

Walikan words	Meaning	Origin
<u>IDREK</u>	‘to work’	<i>kerdi</i> < <i>kerja</i> + <i>rodi</i> ‘corvée labor’
<u>OJIR</u>	‘money’	<i>rijo</i> < <i>rai ijo</i> ‘green face’
<u>OKAK</u>	‘marine, marine like’	<u>Korps Komando Operasi</u> ‘Indonesian Marine Corps’

TABLE 2.7: Walikan words related to past events

The word IDREK is a reversal of *kerdi*, an abbreviation of *kerja* ‘to work’ and *rodi*, see (9). During the Dutch and Japanese occupation era, *kerja rodi* designated a situation in which natives were forced to work for the colonial governments. Indonesia is now an independent country, and *kerja rodi* ‘corvée labor’ no longer exists, but the term IDREK remains present in Walikan.

The form OJIR ‘money’, can be traced back to thirty years ago. It derives from the word *rijo*, a shortened form of *rai ijo* ‘green face’. Some believe that the word refers to the color of Indonesian paper money in the 1970s (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007), while some say that it refers to the face of a materialistic person who turns green when presented with money. The form and the meaning is still in use today, but younger speakers no longer have the notion of a green banknote or for that matter a green materialistic face in their mind.

The semantic shift in a number of Walikan words, especially from negative connotations to more literal meanings, suggests that Walikan is gradually losing its function as a secret language. More importantly, it also substantiates the idea that Walikan is not a newly emerged practice and has been around for generations. During its lifespan, popular words have appeared, have been assigned certain meanings, and may be assigned different meanings or even lose popularity and fall out of use.

2.4 The Changing Face of Walikan

Walikan has reinvented itself over time, from a secret code to a youth language, and then to a linguistic practice that expresses the shared identity of its speakers. In this section I describe the development of Walikan, largely on the basis of the stories shared by my consultants.

Most people in Malang are familiar with the story that Walikan was initially created as a secret code to pass messages between guerilla fighters during Indonesia's war for independence in 1947-1949 (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). The Malang soldiers were part of either the Tentara Republik Indonesia Pelajar (TRIP/ 'Student Army of the Republic Indonesia'), the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI/ 'Indonesian National Army'), or Gerilya Rakyat Kota ('Citizen Guerrilla'). They needed a code to conceal their messages from the Dutch colonizers. A more specific story mentions that in March 1949 the Dutch armies needed information on the whereabouts of the remaining troops, led by Major Hamid Roesdi, so they placed a number of spies among the fighters. In order to keep important messages from Dutch spies, the guerilla fighters invented a new code, in which words from known languages were inverted (Widodo 2006:166-167). The precise identity of the inventor is not very clear in the narrative, but a name is sometimes mentioned: Suyudi Raharno (Widodo 2006). As soon as the simple rules were applied, the fighters quickly became conversant in the code because they often spent time together. The spies did not mingle with the real guerrilla fighters, so they had a hard time understanding the secret messages (Widodo 2006).

The story of Major Hamid Roesdi is deeply rooted in the heart of the people and he is generally praised as an important figure behind the creation of Walikan. On Saturday May 5 2018, a theater group performed a musical drama that centered around the life of Major Hamid Roesdi and how Walikan was invented during the war (see Figure 2.2). The performance was sponsored by a number of institutions, including the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture and the Malang Tourism and Culture Office.



FIGURE 2.2: Musical drama on Walikan history

While investigating this urban legend, I collected a story from Nanas (male, 88 years old).⁹ According to him, word reversal had already been in use in the 1940s, during the Japanese occupation. It was popular among *makelar* (borrowed from Dutch *makelaar* ‘middleman’) in Kidul Pasar, a *kampung* around Pasar Besar, the biggest traditional market in the center of Malang. When Nanas served as a soldier in the late 1940s, he witnessed the same word manipulation strategy being used by the fighters.

A similar narrative is also found among younger speakers. Maru (male, 44 years old)¹⁰ mentioned an old man whom he knew personally; the man claimed to have witnessed Walikan being used to organize secret meetings during the war. Maru cited example (19) that this man once shared with him to illustrate the situation.

⁹I was not able to meet him in person, but I sent my interview questions to his great niece, who later relayed the answers to me through WhatsApp conversation on June 6, 2017.

¹⁰As recorded in an interview session on August 4, 2016

- (19) *Pertemuan nang HAMUR-é iki, INGEB-INGEB aé jam ÒRIP?*
 meeting PREP house.DEF DEM RDP~night just hour how.many
 ‘We are meeting tonight, what time?’
 (NY_04082016_MARU1_Interview)

Words such as NÒLÒ < *lòndò* ‘white person; Dutch’ and *ATAM KÉAT* < *taék mata* ‘spy’ are listed as having originated from this time because their meanings reflect a war-like situation (see Widodo 2006). The first word, *taék*, in Javanese means ‘excrement’. The subsequent word, *mata* is an Indonesian word that means ‘eye’;¹¹ the combined phrase means ‘spy’ because spies are likened to the dirt that clouds human vision (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007; Widodo 2006).

On the other hand, Tuge (female, 64 years old)¹² asserted that her older brothers went to the war as soldiers, but she had never heard them speaking in Walikan at all. Aside from these conflicting accounts, unfortunately, I did not find strong evidence to show that Walikan was innovated as a secret code in the war of independence. Nonetheless, it is a nice story in the eyes of the community, as it relates the linguistic creativity of the people to the spirit of nationality and independence.

That Walikan was used in 1950s among the socially stigmatized, however, is confirmed by a story told by Isis (male, 68 years old).¹³ In the 1950s, Isis lived in a house located in Kampung Gandhékan. The kampung was located in the heart of Malang city, just a few blocks away from the Alun Alun Pusat ‘central city square’. This area is believed to have been the cradle of Walikan; the language is always mentioned to have originated from the center of the city. Isis confirmed that he was speaking Walikan with his childhood friends when he still lived in the neighborhood. He used Walikan in order to fit in with his friends, but he would never use that same style of speaking with his parents because people at that time considered it as slang. To him, Walikan was associated with people with a poor educational background, and that most of the words used were profanities, such as *NOLAB* (< *balon*) ‘prostitute’.

On another occasion, I recorded Toka (male, 62 years old),¹⁴ who recounted how he first learned Walikan in the 1970s, when he came to Malang and joined a then-famous youth gang. They spent their days hanging out in

¹¹The Javanese word for ‘eye’ is [mɔ.tɔ], usually written as *moto*.

¹²Shared during an interview session on October 28, 2016.

¹³As shared in an interview session on July 7, 2015 in Malang.

¹⁴As recorded in an interview session on July 13, 2015 in Malang

the streets, and were involved in many fights with other youth gangs. Toka mentioned that Walikan was very popular among these gangs, and that it was the street slang used at the time.

Toka and Isis's reports are consistent with descriptions of Walikan as a register that was restricted to a particular stigmatized community in the past (thugs, prostitutes, thieves) (Hoogervorst 2009; Hoogervorst 2014; Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). However, over the years, Walikan's sociolinguistic status has changed, and therefore it no longer fits Halliday's (1976) category of an anti-language. Suharto (1983) records the process of how Walikan became more widely known and slowly lost its secrecy in the 1980s. This seems to have been caused mainly by students and football supporters (Hoogervorst 2014; Pujileksono and Kartono 2007).

My own field observations confirm that students are indeed very central agents in the process of changing the role of Walikan from a street language into a youth language. I spent a Sunday with a group of elderly Walikan speakers¹⁵ who were having a high school reunion. The meeting was also to prepare a bigger reunion involving more people. They used to study together in a well-known public senior high school located opposite Malang's city hall. During the meeting they used Walikan words to make jokes, or to refer to past actions. Later in the interview they shared that Walikan was very popular when they were high school students between 1969-1972, and that everyone in school was using Walikan if they wanted to be considered *gaul*, *kerén* 'cool' or 'hip'. The use of Walikan distinguished them from other groups in the school because Walikan was perceived as the cool way of speaking.

Other elderly speakers who are now in their 60s verified this. Armu (female, 65 years old)¹⁶ recalled how when she was a student during the 1960s, boys would use Walikan, while girls tried to imitate their style. In order to compete with the boys' secret code, the girls developed another form of manipulated language. Instead of reversing the lexical items that they wanted to conceal, they inserted an extra syllable -gV- after every syllable, where the vowel was copied from the previous syllable's nucleus. *Kamu* 'you' for instance, would become *ka-ga-mu-gu* (see §2.3.1). This kind of word manipulation has been described as a common ludling in Malayic languages (Gil 2002). In fact, it was still popular in the 1990s, but its use was mainly confined to school students, unlike Walikan, which by then had a wider domain.

In the 1970s, a group of musicians from Malang moved to Bulungan,

¹⁵It was on August 20, 2016.

¹⁶As recorded in an interview conducted on October 18, 2016.

South Jakarta. They maintained the use of Walikan in their speech among themselves and eventually were able to inspire the students of a nearby high school, namely SMAN 70. I met two graduates of this school on two separate occasions: Depa (male, 25 years old) and Igaz (female, 37 years old).¹⁷ Despite coming from different generations—the former graduated in 2008 while the latter graduated in 1998—they both confirmed the use of reversed words in what is labeled as ASAB KILAB (reversed from colloquial Indonesian words *Basa Balik*) ‘reversed language’.

Asab Kilab words	Meaning	Origin
<u>AGIT</u>	‘three’	<u>tiga</u> ‘three’
<u>AUD</u>	‘two’	<u>dua</u> ‘two’
<u>KÉMÉM</u>	‘vagina’	<u>mémék</u> ‘vagina’
<u>KÉWÉS</u>	‘girl’	<u>céwék</u> ‘girl’
<u>KOWOS</u>	‘boy’	<u>cowok</u> ‘boy’
<u>LÉPOK</u>	‘sharp edged chain’	<u>kopél</u> ‘sharp-edged chain’
<u>LIBOM</u>	‘car’	<u>mobil</u> ‘car’
<u>LOTNOK</u>	‘penis’	<u>kontol</u> ‘penis’
<u>NARACAP</u>	‘to date’	<u>pacaran</u> ‘to date’
<u>NGADEP</u>	‘sword’	<u>pedang</u> ‘sword’
<u>NGOKOR</u>	‘to smoke’	<u>ng-rokok</u> ‘to smoke.AV’
<u>OLAB</u>	‘ball’	<u>bola</u> ‘ball’
<u>ROTOM</u>	‘motorcycle’	<u>motor</u> ‘motorcycle’
<u>TUBIR</u>	‘noisy’	<u>ribut</u> ‘fight’

TABLE 2.8: Asab Kilab among SMAN 70 students

As shown in Table 2.8, Asab Kilab contains words that are related to youth culture and some profanities. A number of words, such as LÉPOK ‘sharp-edged chain’, NGADEP ‘sword’, and TUBIR ‘fight’ are considered very useful during *tawuran* ‘school fights’ with students from other schools. Asab Kilab is seen as the language of solidarity among these groups. In this light, it deserves pointing out that a Malangan Javanese diaspora community was able to introduce a Malangan linguistic practice among students in the capital city.

Recently, an increasing number of reversed words has entered colloquial Jakartan Indonesian.

¹⁷On June 26, 2016 and on May 24, 2017 respectively.

Walikan words	Meaning	Origin
<u>ÉUG</u>	‘I’	<u>gué</u> ‘I’
<u>HACEP</u>	‘broken’	<u>pecah</u> ‘broken’
<u>KUY</u>	‘come, go ahead’	<u>yuk</u> ‘come, go ahead’
<u>SABI</u>	‘finished’	<u>abis</u> ‘finished’
<u>SAIK</u>	‘fun’	<u>asik</u> ‘fun’
<u>UCUL</u>	‘funny’	<u>lucu</u> ‘funny’

TABLE 2.9: Walikan words in colloquial Jakartan Indonesian

It is not certain who first started using these words, nor whether they were students in Jakarta or in Malang. Nevertheless, the presence of these words is very apparent in the speech of the youth and in different social media platforms, especially Twitter. Similar to Asab Kilab, most words originate from Indonesian or colloquial Jakartan Indonesian. The word ÉUG ‘I’ for instance, is a reversed form of the colloquial Jakartan Indonesian pronoun for first person gué. This pronoun will never be used by Malangan Javanese speakers, unlike the word KUY ‘come’, a reversed form of yuk. In fact, yuk has been widely dispersed and is currently present in the speech of younger Walikan speakers in Malang. One can thus argue that this constitutes evidence for the dispersal of Walikan’s reversal strategy into colloquial Jakartan Indonesian. No longer a secret strategy fully confined to locals, word reversal has made its way into the national spotlight. The use of Walikan words by those who do not speak Walikan or Javanese is evidence that Walikan has spread beyond the domain of Walikan speakers, similar to the situation in France, where some Verlan words became well-known and nowadays are used by broader speakers of French (Nortier and Dorleijn 2013).

Aside from students, a second important distributor of Walikan is Aremania, that is the football supporters of Arema Football Club (FC). Arema FC is the biggest and most popular professional club in Malang. It was formed in order to accommodate the community spirit of the youth in Malang, hence the name, which is the abbreviation of the popular term *Arék Malang* ‘the kids of Malang’ (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). One of my informants, Tuge (female, 64 years old)¹⁸ reported that she lived very close to the headquarter of Aremania in the 1980s. From time to time she would overhear the players and the football supporters speaking in Malangan Javanese with an extensive usage of Walikan words. The use of Walikan is still pertinent within the

¹⁸As shared in an interview recorded on October 28, 2016.

group of supporters at present. I was in town when Aremania celebrated the 29th anniversary of their beloved football club on August 11 2016, and observed how the whole city was vibrant with posters and signs made by Aremania. The signs include a number of Walikan words related to football such as RÉTROPUS, a reversed form of *suporter* ‘supporter’ (see §6.2).

In addition to students and football supporters as important driving forces in the promotion of Walikan, there is another group of agents that contribute to the spread of Walikan as the language of solidarity. They are the Malang people more broadly, those who hope that Walikan will remain in use, mainly because it is a distinctive practice that can differentiate their speech from neighboring East Javanese dialects. Many of these people go beyond using Walikan as an oral practice: as the Internet becomes more accessible and more communication is conducted through this medium, they have started using Walikan on Facebook, Twitter, and Whatsapp, which as a result ensures the viability of the language. Others who want to promote Walikan also turn to alternative platforms, for instance newspaper columns and song lyrics. This topic will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

2.5 Today’s Use of Walikan: Projecting a Shared Identity

The intrinsic function of Walikan as a secret language still manifests itself on occasion in the interviews conducted as part of my research in 2015-2017 (§1.5.2). Most speakers mentioned how they would sometimes resort to Walikan when being in a situation where they need to communicate something confidential in the presence of others. With the exception of reversed words that have made their way to the Jakartan students’ Asab Kilab or CJI, a large number of reversed or manipulated words in Walikan still hinders non-speakers’ understanding of the language.

However, as Walikan words have become more widely used, the contemporary function of Walikan for most speakers is to exhibit a common identity, a characteristic that is shared across youth languages (Kießling and Mous 2006; Nassenstein 2014; Nassenstein and Hollington 2015; Nortier 2018b) by excluding those considered as non-speakers or outsiders. Identity, which can be defined as the “people’s source of meaning and experience” (Castells 1997:6), is dynamic, and can be constantly constructed through language use (Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Nortier 2018a). Through its distinctive reversed lexi-

con, speakers continuously emphasize the 'sameness' both in their individual and group identity.

Walikan is used mostly when speakers know each other, as it is seen as a tool to stress similarity among each other. Ersi (male, 32 years old),¹⁹ my main informant, was not able to start a conversation in Walikan with Agga (male, 56 years old), Basu (male, 66 years old), and Lupr (male, 56 years old). Not only did they believe that it was because Walikan was a spontaneous and informal practice, but also mainly because Ersi barely knew the three older speakers and did not have a common ground, which hampered their effort to initiate an intimate and friendly dialogue in Walikan.

When speakers are outside of Malang, however, Walikan appears as a tool to indicate their shared identity. By way of illustration, Baso (male, 62 years old)²⁰ shared an anecdotal story of how he managed to receive some discounts from sellers during his trip outside Malang. Upon bargaining for a certain item in Tanah Abang, Jakarta, he overheard the sellers whispering to each other in Walikan. He then instinctively replied to them in Walikan. Surprised, the sellers greeted him in excitement and offered him a big discount. On my own observation during an Arema FC football match in Gajayana Stadium,²¹ I overheard how Walikan was used by people who did not know each other during the game or outside the stadium among those who were wearing Arema FC jerseys, scarves, or other supporter attributes.

In order to show their identity, speakers not only focus on the similarities between each other, but also on their differences from those who are considered as outsiders (Bucholtz and Hall 2004). Along these lines, the speakers of Walikan distance themselves from outsiders by using Walikan words and the East Javanese dialect of Malang. A combination of Malangan Javanese words and reversed vocabularies is able to distinguish a Malangan Javanese speaker from other speakers of Javanese (Krauß 2017; Smith-Hefner 2007).

As described in §2.3, the matrix language of Walikan is Malangan Javanese, but it contains reversed words from a number of embedded languages such as Indonesian, Arabic, and English. Despite its mixed nature, Walikan does not allow the inclusion of words originating from other Javanese dialects. Table 2.10 shows Central Javanese words that should not be used in Walikan, as well as the Malangan Javanese counterparts preferred by Walikan speakers.

¹⁹ As shared in an interview session on September 23, 2016.

²⁰ As shared in an interview session on May 30, 2015

²¹ I went to the stadium on October 14, 2016.

CJ	MJ	Walikan
<i>bocah</i> ‘kid’	<i>aré</i> <i>k</i>	KÉRA ‘kid’
<i>cah</i> (from <i>bocah</i>)	<i>ré</i> <i>k</i>	KÉR ‘mate’ (from <i>kéra</i>)
<i>dab</i> (Walikan Yògyakarta for <i>sam</i> ‘older brother’)	<i>mas</i>	SAM ‘older brother’
<i>jal</i> (from <i>jajal</i> ‘have a try’)	<i>coba</i>	<i>cò</i> <i>ba</i> ‘try’ (unreversed)
<i>jal</i> (from <i>jajal</i> ‘DP’)	<i>béh</i>	HÉB ‘DP’
<i>piyé</i> ‘how’	<i>yò</i> <i>kò</i> <i>pò</i>	<i>yò</i> <i>kò</i> <i>pò</i> ‘how’ (unreversed)

TABLE 2.10: Words from other Javanese dialects (MJ= Malangan Javanese, MI= Malangan Indonesian)

Apart from the word NADÉ, no Central Javanese word is found in Walikan. The form NADÉ ‘mad, crazy’ is a reversal from *édan*; it is often used as a collocation next to the word *singò* ‘lion’. First, Aremania prefers the use of NADÉ instead of the Malangan Javanese counterpart *gendheng* ‘idiotic, crazy’ possibly for phonological reasons, as reversing the latter will not yield a new form. Second, NADÉ ‘mad, crazy’ was probably chosen because *gendheng* conveys a harsher meaning, namely ‘idiotic’. Nonetheless, Maru (male, 44 years old) and PrPr (male, 59 years old)²² expressed their opinion that the word NADÉ in ÔNGIS NADÉ does not seem like a natural choice in Malangan Javanese dialect.



FIGURE 2.3: ÔNGIS NADÉ as the slogan of Arema FC

The word *jal*, used to mark imperatives or as a discourse particle in Cen-

²²As shared in an interview session on August 4, 2018.

tral Javanese dialect, is a clipping from the word *jajal* 'have a try'. Malangan dialect, on the other hand, does not use the clipping *jal*. In imperative constructions, speakers prefer the use of the verb *cobak* 'try'. As a discourse particle, instead of *jal*, Malangan Javanese speakers use *béh* or its reversed form *HÉB*. If someone is caught using *jal*, he would instantly be labeled as an outsider, therefore his Walikan is inaccurate, as shown in example (2a) in §2.3.

Manns (2015) observes how Javanese speakers in Malang select the address terms *rék* in an attempt to underscore "a shared sense of Javanese identity outside the hierarchical Javanese frames" (p. 85). From this perspective, speakers of Walikan also express solidarity and identity when using the reversed form, *KÉR* < (*rék*) 'kid, mate'. The way speakers make sure that the discourse particle and address term are not those used in Central Javanese dialect shows how they perceive Walikan as a tool to establish common ground (Clyne et al. 2009; Svennevig 1999). The discourse particle and address term are used to address anyone who also belongs to the same group, and using terms from other Javanese dialects will hinder this intention.

The construction of identity is also achieved through the reversal of personal names of speakers. In Nassenstein and Hollington (2015), this is mentioned as a sign of "strong emblematic association" (p. 38). When these speakers adopt a reversed name as their personal names, they are establishing their status and social identity as part of the group. The following personal names in Table 2.11 illustrate the case.

Original names	Walikan names
<i>Agus</i>	> SUGA
<i>Mohamad</i>	> DAMAHOM
<i>Muklis</i>	> SIKLUM
<i>Rohim</i>	> MIHOR
<i>Rio</i>	> OIR
<i>Tio</i>	> OIT

TABLE 2.11: Personal Names in Walikan

For the speakers, Walikan is an emblem of their identity that merits broader attention. In a recent documentary movie entitled *NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT* (< *séndhén témbok* 'to relax'), a young vocalist of the ska band Youngster City Rockers revealed the writing process of his band's hit single, whose lyrics are written in Walikan (Fitriah 2015). He described that the idea for writing the song started when they were challenged by the Komunitas Pengamen

Jalanan 'Street Singers Community' in Bulungan, Jakarta, to write a song for the people of Malang community. It appeared to them that the reversed speech is the most salient identity marker of the people of Malang, thus they decided to write the song in Walikan. The song is entitled UGAL-UGALAN 'wild', possibly a reversal of *lagu-laguan* 'fake song'. It soon became one of the band's hit songs in Malang and beyond (Fitriah 2015). The lyrics of the songs refrain can be seen in (20).

(20) Lyrics of UGAL-UGALAN song

Urip wis angél òjòk di-gawé TÉWUR. Katé UKLAM
 life already difficult NEG.IMP PASS-use complicated will walk
nang SOTAM macak-é dukur. LÉDOM-é KÉRA enom saiki.
 to Matos dress.up high style-DEF kid young now
Ng-gòwò-né LIBOM, KODÉW-né SULUM. AYAS n-duwé-né
 N-bring.AV-DEF car woman-DEF smooth 1SG N-have.AV-DEF
ADAPES KÉWUT. Lungsur-an ébés NARACAP ambik
 motorcycle old move.down-NMLZ father dating with
émés. AMALATOK Kelenténg Talun ÒYÒNID UTAB. NGALUP
 mother Kotalama Kelenténg Talun Dinòyò Batu go.home
léwat NUKUS di-kejar SILUP. KÉAT KÉAT KÉAT KÉAT LOP.
 via Sukun PASS-chase police shit shit shit shit very
AYAS singit-an jebul-é Comboran. UKUT ÒGES IPOK gawé
 1SG hide-AV instead-DEF Comboran buy rice coffee for
jagong-an. Lha kok sing cangkruk yò lontong-lontong-an.
 speak-AV DP DP REL hang.out DP RDP~rice.cake-MOD
NAYAMUL n-delok KODÉW buyar-an HALOKES. KIPA KIPA
 pretty.good N-see.AV woman disperse-AV school good good
KIPA LOP.
 good very

'Life is already hard so don't complicate it. (Why) dressing up only to hang out in Matos. The style of the youth of today. driving a car, dating a sexy woman. What I have is an old motorcycle. Used by my dad and mom when they were dating. *Kotalama* Kelenténg Talun Dinòyò Batu. Going home via Sukun and being chased by a policeman. Deep shit shit shit shit. Finding a place to hide and reaching Comboran. Buying rice and coffee to hang out. But those hanging out are boys. It's not bad to spot girls (passing by) after school time. Very good good good.' ²³

(NY_2015_YCR_Song)

The song reflects how the power of music has helped spread the local Malang youth culture and language to a wider, national context. Chapter 6

²³Matos stands for Malang Town Square, a famous mall in the city. Kotalama, Kelenteng, Talun, Dinoyo, Batu, Sukun, and Comboran are all names of areas or neighborhoods around Malang. The latter is a famous place for thugs.

provides more illustrations as to how songs have become an important avenue for youth to maintain the use of Walikan. They can be analyzed as local practices which can contribute to the construction of a youth culture, both linguistically and beyond.

In a nutshell, Walikan is an emblem of identity and belonging for most of its speakers. The following Figure 2.4 illustrates that the people of Malang believe that those moving to Malang must show proficiency in Walikan if they intend to be part of the community.



FIGURE 2.4: A plea to speak Walikan

The writings on the T-Shirt read: *Kalau kamu sudah di Malang, bicaralah seperti arek Malang* “Boso Walikan”, which can be loosely translated into ‘When you are in Malang, talk like the people “Boso Walikan”’. It is a plea for newcomers to pay attention to how the locals speak, instead of how locals look or behave. If they intend to fit in, they must learn Walikan, a linguistic practice that is no longer seen as a slang, but rather as an important expression of the city’s identity.

2.6 Language Ideology

Language ideology refers to the ways social realities are projected and linked to language use (Wortham 2008b). Language ideologies are closely linked to the ways speakers use language to articulate their social surroundings (Eckert 2008). For a more comprehensive understanding of these dynamics, this section examines the language ideology of Walikan from the past to the present.

Linguistic forms are used by both speakers and addressees to create meaning (Goffman 1981; Silverstein 1992; Wortham 2008a; Wortham 2008b). The concept of meaning in Walikan is constructed through its manipulated linguistic forms: reversed words. These words can produce “denotational meaning”, or general linguistic meaning. In addition, they also express “indexical meaning”, that is meaning based in a different kind of “social, cultural, historical, and political bodies of knowledge and experience” (Blommaert 2015b). These indexical meanings provide reflections of language ideology that can be constructed by relating the manipulated forms to the speech community’s social knowledge and experience (Blommaert 2015b; Silverstein 1979).

As discussed in §2.3, the community believes in a deeply rooted urban legend concerning the history of Walikan, as a secret code among the fighters of Indonesian independence in the 1940s (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). This creation story articulates a strong message in the sense of language ideology. It projects rebellion against authority through a more powerful alliance from below. The war-related words that are used to support the legend such as *NÒLÒ < (lòndò)* ‘Dutch’ and *KÉAT ATAM < (taék mata)* ‘spy’ (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007; Widodo 2006) are symbols of patriotism and nationalism.

A YouTube trailer for the musical drama on the life of Major Hamid Roesdi described previously in §2.3 provides an outlet to delve deeper into Walikan words that people believe can portray Walikan as a wartime secret code. The video depicts a younger boy performing *silat*, an indigenous Indonesian martial art, while a woman is laying flowers on Major Hamid Roesdi’s burial place. In the background, a man is giving a speech of encouragement in Walikan (21).

- (21) *UMAK-UMAK HÉBAK, GENARO-GENARO sing mbois, kabéh penyerang,*
 RDP~you all RDP~person that cool all assailant
penjajah, awak-é kudu TAKIS. Masiò sampék KÉTAM,
 colonizer body-DEF must fight although until die
awak-é dhéwé kudu PAIS! Merdeka, merdeka, merdeka!
 body-DEF own must ready freedom freedom freedom

‘All the good people (of Malang), we must fight all the assailants and colonizers. Even if it kills us, we must be ready! Freedom, freedom, freedom!’

(NY_2018_YouTube)

The Sumpah Pemuda ‘Youth Pledge’ of Indonesia in 1928 stated the im-

portance of Indonesian language as an important tool to manage unity in a linguistically diverse region (Sneddon 2003). In light of this spirit, throughout the urban imaginary, Walikan is described as a distinct code that will not be understood by those who fought for the Dutch side. Despite the possible factual inaccuracy of this legend, for its speakers, Walikan is the actual embodiment of heroism achieved through the spirit of linguistic ingenuity. They can beat any powerful enemy as long as they unite and find a way to overcome their obstacles together.

A different past narrative of Walikan links it to elements of Halliday's (1976) anti-language, a sociolinguistic phenomenon characterized as a language of "socially conditioned disrespect and provocation, demarcation and exclusion; creation of a new social identity in opposition to an established order of values and norms textual; play with forms and competition" (Kießling and Mous 2006:365). During the 1950s and 1960s, Walikan only belonged to people whose social status was marginalized: thugs, criminals, and the street-dwelling community. This no longer applies to present-day Walikan; as shown in §2.4, Walikan has evolved into a widely accepted linguistic practice.

Another popular youth language in Indonesia, Gaul, is described as having an ideology that "articulates a rejection of what is viewed as the previous generation's orientation toward patrimonialism, formality, and fixed social hierarchy" (Smith-Hefner 2007:186). Walikan, like Gaul, is rarely used in face-to-face encounters with older people. Notwithstanding its tendency to be used among a group of people who share the same values or are considered insiders, Ersi (male, 32 years old) and Ansu (male, 27 years old) were both observed speaking in Walikan with their respective fathers. In Javanese, a speaker is expected to use *Kròmò* or *Madyò* level when speaking to an older addressee (see §1.3.1). In Walikan, however, one can keep the matrix language in low or *Ngoko* level of Javanese. Politeness, as it appears, is reflected differently in Walikan.

The reversed form of certain pronouns or address terms in Walikan are used to express linguistic politeness to different degrees when compared with those in Indonesian and Javanese (Yannuar et al. 2017). Address terms in Walikan are seen as tools to homogenize the intricate socio-cultural values of Javanese (see Table 2.12).

Javanese	Walikan
<i>aku</i> (1SG, <i>ngoko</i>)	<u>AYAS</u> (1SG)
<i>awakku</i> (1SG, <i>ngoko</i>)	
<i>kulò</i> (1SG, <i>madyò</i>)	
<i>dalem</i> (1SG, <i>kròmò</i>)	
<i>kowé</i> (2SG, <i>ngoko</i>)	<u>UMAK</u> (2SG/PL)
<i>koen</i> (2SG, <i>ngoko</i>)	<u>UMAK</u> SAM (<i>kamu</i> + <i>mas</i>) (2SG/PL/honorific)
<i>awakmu</i> (2SG, <i>ngoko</i>)	
<i>sampéyan</i> (2SG, <i>madyò</i>)	
<i>panjenengan</i> (2SG, <i>kròmò</i>)	

TABLE 2.12: Comparison of Address Terms in Javanese and Walikan (from Yannuar et al. 2017:116)

In addition to pronominal kinship terms such as *ébé*s, *ébé*s KODÉ, SAM, and KÉR (Yannuar et al. 2017), Table 2.12 shows that there are only two common address terms for pronouns in Walikan: AYAS as the singular first person pronoun, and UMAK ‘you’ or UMAK SAM (< *kamu* ‘you’ + *mas* ‘older brother’) as the singular and plural second person pronouns. UMAK SAM functions as an honorific term that can be used when speakers address older speakers, albeit still in a neutral sense when compared to other Javanese honorifics, such as *sampéyan* ‘2SG’ and *panjenengan* ‘2SG’. This indicates the egalitarian address system of Walikan, as opposed to that of its matrix and embedded languages (Yannuar et al. 2017). Walikan ideology, therefore, is a rejection the socio-linguistic hierarchy as it offers its speakers a more egalitarian way to communicate.

Walikan can also be seen as a form of linguistic practice that bridges the Malangan dialect of Javanese with Indonesian. Indonesian is not the mother tongue for most of the older generation in Malang. Mumu (male, 70 years old)²⁴ recalled that when he was young they used to make fun of people who spoke Indonesian. “Who are you? Why are you speaking Malay? Are you Javanese or not?”, he said, imitating one of his friends. This is indicative of how Indonesian was treated in the past. However, the existence of reversed words and address terms originating from Indonesian shows that this degree of resistance toward Indonesian has diminished gradually. Speaking Indonesian in informal contexts might still incite friends to smirk, even now, as they prefer Malangan Javanese; but the use of reversed Indonesian words in Walikan can

²⁴As recorded in an interview on July 10, 2015.

equally convey a sense of solidarity.

The majority of Walikan words originate from Malangan Javanese (56%), followed by words from Malangan Indonesian (40%). Interestingly, there are cases where only reversed forms of Indonesian words are attested, whereas reversals from Malangan Javanese are not accepted. The reversed words from Malangan Indonesian are represented in Table 2.13.

Walikan	MI	Meaning	MJ
<u>(N)ARANJEP</u>	<u>penjara</u>	'prison'	<i>bui</i>
<u>AYAS</u>	<u>saya</u>	'I'	<i>aku</i>
<u>HAMUR</u>	<u>rumah</u>	'house'	<i>omah</i>
<u>ISLA</u>	<u>asli</u>	'original'	<i>temenan</i>
<u>KADIT</u>	<u>tidak</u>	'no(t)'	<i>gak</i>
<u>KANYAB</u>	<u>banyak</u>	'many'	<i>akéh</i>
<u>KAWAB</u>	<u>bawak</u>	'to bring'	<i>gòwò</i>
<u>LICEK</u>	<u>kecil</u>	'small'	<i>cilik</i>
<u>LUKUP</u>	<u>pukul</u>	'to hit'	<i>antem</i>
<u>MUNYES</u>	<u>senyum</u>	'to smile'	<i>méseem</i>
<u>NAKAM</u>	<u>makan</u>	'to eat'	<i>mangan</i>
<u>ROLÉT</u>	<u>telur</u>	'egg'	<i>ndhog</i>
<u>RUDIT</u>	<u>tidur</u>	'to sleep'	<i>turu</i>

TABLE 2.13: Malangan Indonesian Words in Walikan (MJ = Malangan Javanese, MI = Malangan Indonesian)

On the other hand, there are also examples where Walikan words originating from Malangan Indonesian and Malangan Javanese can be used interchangeably. Some of these are shown in Table 2.14.

Walikan	MI	Walikan	MJ	Meaning
<u>ARADUS</u>	<u>sòdara</u>	RULUD	<i>dulur</i>	‘relative’
<u>AYAK</u>	<u>kaya</u>	HIGUS	<i>sugih</i>	‘rich’
<u>IGAP</u>	<u>pagi</u>	KUSI	<i>isuk</i>	‘morning’
<u>ILAKES</u>	<u>sekali</u>	LOP	<i>pol</i>	‘very’
<u>IRAL</u>	<u>lari</u>	ULAYEM	<i>mlayu</i>	‘to run’
<u>ISAN</u>	<u>nasi</u>	ÒGES	<i>segò</i>	‘cooked rice’
<u>ITAM</u>	<u>mati</u>	KÉTAM	<i>maték</i>	‘to die’
<u>KUSAM</u>	<u>masuk</u>	UBLEM	<i>mlebu</i>	‘to enter’
<u>LIHAM</u>	<u>hamil</u>	NGETEM	<i>meteng</i>	‘pregnant’
<u>NGALUP</u>	<u>pulang</u>	HÉLUM	<i>mulih</i>	‘to go home’
<u>RACAP</u>	<u>pacar</u>	OJOB	<i>bojo</i>	‘boy/girlfriend’
<u>TULUM</u>	<u>mulut</u>	ÉMBAL	<i>lambé</i>	‘mouth’

TABLE 2.14: Synonyms in Walikan (MJ= Malangan Javanese, MI= Malangan Indonesian)

For speakers, reversing Malangan Indonesian words, along with small numbers of Arabic and English words, is acceptable, but reversing words from other Javanese dialects is off-limits. In addition, the quantity of Walikan words from Malangan Indonesian shows recent growth. For instance, the word ILAKES (<sekali) ‘very’, was unheard of for older speakers. But nowadays it is popularly used among younger speakers. Ever since its establishment as the country’s sole national language, Indonesian has steadily taken on a prestigious status in the language ecology of Indonesia (Arka 2013; Sneddon 2003). At the other end of the scale, other Javanese dialects are seen to have the same, if not a lower status than Malangan Javanese within the city of Malang.

2.7 Conclusions

This chapter has explored the dynamic nature of Walikan through its forms, practice, and ideology, following Silverstein’s (1985) Total Linguistic Fact framework. The forms of Walikan are characterized by two degrees of linguistic manipulation: phonological manipulation and semantic manipulation. To manipulate sounds and conceal original messages, speakers of Walikan fully reverse the phonemes of each word, hence the name *Walikan* ‘reversed’. Apart

from this basic rule, there are locally developed varieties of Walikan that develop additional rules such as Walikan Gandhékan, which combines reversal with transposition of the word-final consonant. Paired with the vowel *é* /e/, the consonant is then inserted before the final syllable. A Malangan Javanese word such as *tidak* ‘no, not’, for instance, becomes KATÉDI. In applying the phonological manipulation strategies, speakers rely on the phonology and phonotactics of its matrix language, Malangan Javanese, a topic that will be discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

The second type of manipulation is semantic, which shows how speakers also alter the meaning of certain words, indicating that Walikan is not a mere automatic type of play language (Kießling and Mous 2006). A closer look at Walikan’s semantic can give insights to the society’s dynamic and fast-changing nature, as evidenced by the changing meanings of a handful of words and phrases, such as NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT ‘to chill out’ from ‘to get high on drugs’ and by the existence of words depicting past social situation, such as IDREK ‘to work’, which originates from the colonially-flavored term *kerdi*, (*kerja rodi*) ‘corvée labor’.

In order to speak proper Walikan, there is a set of accepted rules and norms that must be followed. Firstly, one can reverse as many words as possible as long as these are attested forms, so in general not every word in an utterance should be reversed. Secondly, Walikan incorporates words taken from the speakers’ linguistic repertoire, including Malangan Javanese, Malangan Indonesian, Arabic, and English; however, words from other Javanese dialects are not incorporated because they hinder the speaker’s identity construction as a Malangan person. Unlike Malangan Indonesian—whose language status is increasing and thus is allowed to contribute more words to Walikan—within the speech community other Javanese dialects are perceived to have a somewhat lower status than Malangan Javanese. Furthermore, aside from certain lexicalized expression, such as ANAMID ‘where’, affixes and possessive pronouns are not part of the reversal, instead they are attached to a reversed root. In addition, a speaker must be able to assess the semantic and social value of a Walikan word to know which reversal form will be acceptable depending on the situation and the addressee.

The chapter has described the formation and development of Walikan from a secretive slang to a marker of shared identity. Promoted by speakers of Walikan, word reversal strategies have become more widespread. Jakartan students are reported to have invented a reversed language inspired by a nearby musical community coming from Malang, and more recently, an increasing number of reversed words are found in Colloquial Jakartan Indone-

sian. At present, speakers use Walikan as a tool to find similarity and highlight differences with other groups, as well as an emblem for identity construction.

This chapter also demonstrates that Walikan ideology has shifted in line with social change. In the past, it showed elements of Halliday's (1976) anti-language; it was mainly used by gangsters and thugs, a situation which is still reflected in some of its vocabulary. A decade later, it gained ground among the youth, particularly among students, musicians, and football fans, at which point reversed words reflecting youth culture and football jargon began to form. Similar to Gaul (Smith-Hefner 2007), Walikan can be seen as an articulation of rejecting existing social hierarchy. Combined with the use of *Ngoko* 'low' Javanese level, the egalitarian system of address terms in Walikan has a homogenizing effect on the intricate Javanese socio-cultural hierarchies.

Finally, as we have seen in §2.2, Walikan is explored through the lens of youth language discourse, despite it having existed for generations. The sociolinguistic domain of Walikan, including how older speakers and younger speakers use Walikan differently is discussed in Chapter 5.

CHAPTER 3

Phonology of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian

3.1 Introduction

The phonology of Walikan is influenced by the dominant languages in the area: the local dialect of Javanese and the local variety of Indonesian. In this thesis, the varieties are referred to as Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian respectively. This chapter begins with a description of Malangan Javanese phonology in §3.2 and Malangan Indonesian phonology in §3.3, starting from the segment inventory, phonetic realization rules, then moving on to phonotactics, and stress. This provides the necessary background for the discussion of the reversal rules in Walikan in Chapter 4.

3.2 Malangan Javanese

Malangan Javanese is the local dialect of Javanese spoken in Malang. It belongs to the Eastern Javanese dialect grouping (see §1.3.1). The phonology of Surabayan Javanese, also part of the East Javanese dialect grouping, has recently been described by Hoogervorst (2008) and Krauß (2017). In addi-

tion, Conners (2008) has provided a description of the phonology of Tengger Javanese, a dialect also spoken in East Java. The phonology of Malangan Javanese, on the other hand, has not been described before.

3.2.1 Segment Inventory of Malangan Javanese

In this section, I discuss the segmental phonemes of Malangan Javanese. Malangan Javanese has 20 consonants, as presented in Table 3.1.

	Bila- bial	Den- tal	Alve- olar	Retro- flex	Pala- tal	Velar	Glottal
‘Light’ Stops	p	t̪		t̠	c	k	
‘Heavy’ Stops	b	d̪		d̠	ɟ <j>	g	
Nasals	m		n		ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Frica- tives			s				h
Trill			r				
Lat- eral			l				
Ap- proxi- mants	w				j <y>		

TABLE 3.1: Consonant inventory of Malangan Javanese (the orthographic representations of phonemes which differ from IPA are given in pointy brackets)

Unlike what is suggested by the orthography, Malangan Javanese stops are not differentiated by voicing. They are all acoustically voiceless, because the closure in both series does not involve a vibration of the vocal cords. The phonetic properties of /b, d̪, d̠, ɟ, g/ and /p, t̪, t̠, c, k/ in other Javanese varieties have been described as ‘lax’ and ‘tense’ (Brunelle 2010; Hayward 1999; Vander Klok et al. 2018), ‘heavy’ and ‘light’ (Fagan 1988; Hoogervorst 2009; Horne 1961), ‘slack voiced’ and ‘stiff voiced’ (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996; Thurgood 2004), as well as ‘breathy’ and ‘clear’ (Adisasmito-Smith 2004). I

use the terms ‘heavy’ and ‘light’ to describe the phonation type of the two contrasting sets.

Malangan Javanese also has a glottal stop [ʔ], but here, this consonant is analysed as non-phonemic. In general it is a realization of /k/ in root-final position, but it also appears as a result of competing historico-phonological processes explained in §3.2.2.1.5.

There are six vowels in Malangan Javanese. The inventory is listed in Table 3.2. The distribution of allophones is given later in Table 3.5.

	Front	Central	Back
High	i <i>		u <u>
High-Mid	e <é>		o <o>
Mid		ə <e>	
Low		a <a/ò>	

TABLE 3.2: Vowel Inventory of Malangan Javanese (the orthographic representation of phonemes which differ from IPA are given in pointy brackets)

The six vowel inventory is in line with earlier descriptions of Javanese (Adisasmito-Smith 2004; Dudas 1976; Hayward 1999; Nothofer 2006; Uhlenbeck 1978; Yallop 1982). Five of the vowels have different allophonic realizations depending on the environment, except for /ə/, which is realized as [ə] everywhere. The high-mid vowels /i/ and /u/ are realized as [i] and [ʊ] in a final closed syllable and its preceding syllable. The allophones [ɛ] and [ɔ] are realizations of /e/ and /o/ in a final closed syllable. [ɛ] and [ɔ] also appear in penultimate open syllables depending on the vowel in the subsequent syllable. In addition, [ɔ] is also an allophonic representation of /a/ in a word-final open syllable. For more detailed information about the vowels, see §3.3.3.

In the Eastern Javanese dialect of Surabaya, [ɛ] and [ɔ] are described as phonemic vowels (Hoogervorst 2008; Krauß 2017). In my description of Malangan Javanese, they are analysed as the allophones of /e/ and /o/ respectively. However, they are shown to be moving into the direction of gaining phonemic status, as will be shown in the analysis of a number of Walikan words in §4.3.2.6.

The high front vowels /i/ and /u/ each have the slightly more open allophone [ɪ] and [ʊ] respectively, which occur in a final closed syllable and a penultimate open syllable. Speakers sometimes pronounce them similarly to the high-mid vowels /e/ and /o/.

3.2.2 Description of the Consonants

3.2.2.1 The Stops

In Malangan Javanese, the ‘heavy’ stops /b, ɓ, ɗ, ʒ, g/ are produced with a wider opening of the vocal folds than their ‘light’ counterparts. The heavier sound is extended to the following segment (usually a vowel), where it causes a breathy voice. The distinctive breathy pronunciation is heard more in the following vowel rather than in the consonant. The narrower glottal opening of the ‘light’ stops /p, t, ʈ, c, k/, on the other hand, generates a lighter (non-breathy) sound in the subsequent vowel.¹

Heavy consonants are phonetically represented as [Ḑ], breathy vowels as [Ṽ]. Following a homorganic nasal, the heavy consonants become voiced, and the breathy vowels do not have breathy quality, such as in *lambé* [ˈla.mbe] ‘lip’.

3.2.2.1.1 The Bilabial Stops Example (1) shows the phonemic contrast between bilabial stops /p/ and /b/.

- (1) Contrast between bilabial stops /p/ and /b/
- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------|-----------|------------|
| #_ | <i>purik</i> | /purik/ | [ˈpʊ.rɪʔ] | ‘cranky’ |
| | <i>burik</i> | /burik/ | [ˈbʊ.rɪʔ] | ‘mottled’ |
| V_V | <i>rapi</i> | /rapi/ | [ra.pi] | ‘tidy’ |
| | <i>rabi</i> | /rabi/ | [ra.Ḑi] | ‘to marry’ |

In coda position, the light stop /p/ is unreleased and is realized as [p̚] in (2).

- (2) Examples of the bilabial /p/ in coda position
- | | | | | |
|----|--------------|---------|------------|------------------|
| _# | <i>karep</i> | /karəp/ | [ˈka.rəp̚] | ‘intention’ |
| | <i>idep</i> | /idəp/ | [ˈʔi.dəp̚] | ‘folded (hands)’ |

In the orthography preferred by the speakers, the grapheme in word-final and root-final position can be observed in a number of words, but it is realized as [p̚] (3). Word-final and root-final /b/ are found in words that are of Sanskrit and Arabic origins. In Walikan, a word with /b/ realized as [p̚] in

¹Acoustic investigations involving Central Javanese dialects speakers found that a heavy stop is followed by a breathy vowel and a light stop is followed by a modal vowel (Brunelle 2010; Vander Klok et al. 2018).

word-final position such as *abab* [ʔa.b̥ap] ‘breath’ is reversed into [b̥a.b̥a], indicating that the final consonant is underlyingly /b/ and not /p/.

(3) Grapheme in root-final position

<i>abab</i>	/abab/	[ʔa.b̥ap]	‘breath’
<i>abab-é</i>	/ababe/	[ʔa.b̥a.pe]	‘breath-DEF’
<i>muntab</i>	/munṭab/	[mu.nṭap]	‘to lose one’s temper’
<i>sebab</i>	/səbab/	[sə.b̥ap]	‘reason’

3.2.2.1.2 The Dental Stops The dental stops /ṭ/ and /ḍ/ in Malangan Javanese are pronounced by raising the tip of the tongue to touch the back of the upper front teeth. They can occur in word-initial and word-medial position as [ṭ] and [ḍ]. The phonemic contrast between /ṭ/ and /ḍ/ can be seen in (4).

(4) Contrast between the dentals /ṭ/ and /ḍ/ in onset position

#_	<i>tòwò</i>	/ṭawa/	[ṭɔ.wɔ]	‘to offer/bargain’
	<i>dòwò</i>	/ḍawa/	[ḍɔ.wɔ]	‘long’
V_V	<i>adus</i>	/aḍus/	[ʔa.ḍʊs]	‘take a bath’
	<i>atus</i>	/aṭus/	[ʔa.ṭʊs]	‘drip dry’

In coda position, the light dental stop /ṭ/ is produced as the unreleased light stop [ṭ̚] (5).

(5) Examples of the dental /ṭ/ in coda position

_#	<i>lulut</i>	/luluṭ/	[lʊ.lʊṭ̚]	‘tame’
	<i>welut</i>	/wəluṭ/	[wə.lʊṭ̚]	‘eel’

The grapheme <d> in root-final position is used in the orthography of some words, but it is always realized as [ṭ̚] both word-finally and root-finally (6). Similar to /b/, /ḍ/ in root-final and word-final position is found in words with Sanskrit and Arabic origins. The Walikan word *Kelud* [kə.lʊṭ̚] ‘name of a mountain’ becomes [ḍ̥u.ləʔ] or [n̥ḍ̥u.ləʔ] after an allophonic prenasalization (see §4.3.2.5). This suggests the original phoneme is /ḍ/ instead of /ṭ/.

(6) Grapheme <d> in root-final position

<i>murid</i>	/muriḁ/	[ˈmʊ.rɪḁ]	‘student’ (from Arabic)
<i>murid-é</i>	/muriḁe/	[ˈmʊ.rɪ.ḁe]	‘student-DEF’
<i>Kelud</i>	/kəluḁ/	[kə.ˈlʊḁ]	‘name of a mountain’
<i>abad</i>	/abad/	[ˈʔa.ḁaḁ]	‘century’ (from Arabic)

Younger speakers of Malangan Javanese can be heard pronouncing the dental stop /ḁ/ as the retroflex stop [ḁ], or an Indonesian alveolar stop [d] under influence of Malangan Indonesian. Younger speakers generally do not notice the difference in pronunciation, for example *dulur* ‘sibling’ may have different pronunciations: [ˈḁʊ.lʊr], [ˈḁʊlʊr], and [ˈḁʊ.lʊr].

3.2.2.1.3 The Retroflex Stops The /ṭ/ and /ḁ/ in Javanese are referred to as retroflex consonants in Suharno (1982), but they are less retracted than the retroflex consonants in Dravidian or Indo-Aryan languages (Blust 2013), and are described as apico-alveolar stops (Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982) or alveolar stops (Horne 1974). A palatographic investigation conducted with one male speaker of Central Javanese confirms the distinction between /ṭ, ḁ/ and /ṭ, ḁ/ (Hayward and Muljono 1991). The retroflex stops are articulated by raising the tip of the tongue so that it touches the back of the alveolar ridge. The /ṭ/ is more retracted than its heavy counterpart /ḁ/ (Hayward and Muljono 1991).

The retroflex stops /ṭ/ and /ḁ/ occur in word-initial and word-medial position, but never in word-final position. Retroflex /ṭ/ and /ḁ/ are attested as phonemes, distinct from their dental counterparts, as shown in (7) and (8).

(7) Contrast between retroflex /ḁ/ and dental /ḁ/ in onset position

#_	<i>dhodhol</i>	/ḁoḁol/	[ˈḁḁ.ḁḁ]	‘toffee-like dessert’
	<i>dodol</i>	/ḁoḁol/	[ˈḁḁ.ḁḁ]	‘to sell’
V_V	<i>wedhi</i>	/wəḁi/	[wə.ḁi]	‘sand’
	<i>wedi</i>	/wəḁi/	[wə.ḁi]	‘afraid’

(8) Contrast between retroflex /ṭ/ and dental /ṭ/ in onset position

V_V	<i>pathi</i>	/paṭi/	[ˈpa.ṭi]	‘quite’
	<i>pati</i>	/paṭi/	[ˈpa.ṭi]	‘starch’
V_V	<i>puthu</i>	/puṭu/	[ˈpu.ṭu]	‘dessert made of coconut’
	<i>putu</i>	/puṭu/	[ˈpu.ṭu]	‘grandchild’

Malangan Javanese speakers are able to differentiate the retroflex stops [ʈ, ɖ] from the dental stops [t̪, d̪], although they sometimes pronounce the (originally) light retroflex stop /t̪/ as the light dental stop [t̪], and the (originally) heavy dental stop /d̪/ as the heavy retroflex stop [ɖ]. Thus, [ˈpu.t̪u] ‘dessert made of coconut’ sometimes is realized as [ˈpu.t̪u], and [ˈb̥u.ɖaɭ] ‘to leave’ is realized as [ˈb̥u.ɖaɭ]. This might be due to influence from Malangan Indonesian, which has only one set of *t* and *d*, the former dental, the latter alveolar (cf. §3.3.2.1).²

The fluctuation between dental, alveolar, and retroflex stops in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian indicates an ongoing phonological change, but because this is not the topic of my dissertation, I will leave it for future research. It is worth noting that the distinction between dental and retroflex phonemes is also disappearing in Surinamese Javanese, where they are merged into a dental stop (Villierius 2019). In an acoustic study conducted by Zen (2019), young students in Malang and Blitar are shown to have merged the (originally) retroflex /t̪/ with the light dental stop [t̪], and the (originally) heavy dental stop /d̪/ into the heavy retroflex stop [ɖ].

Despite variation in speakers’ realizations, in this book I use three IPA symbols to represent the *d*: a dental stop /d̪/ or a retroflex stop /ɖ/ symbols for Javanese words, and an alveolar stop /d/ symbol for Indonesian words.

3.2.2.1.4 The Velar Stops The velar stops /k/ and /g/ in Malangan Javanese show phonemic contrasts in onset position, as shown in (9).

- (9) Contrast between the velars /k/ and /g/ in onset position
- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------|------------|----------------------|
| #_ | <i>Kelud</i> | /kəluɖ/ | [ˈkə.lɔ̃ʈ] | ‘name of a mountain’ |
| | <i>gelut</i> | /gəluʈ/ | [ˈgə.lɔ̃ʈ] | ‘to fight’ |
| V_V | <i>tuku</i> | /t̪uku/ | [ˈt̪u.ku] | ‘to buy’ |
| | <i>tugu</i> | /t̪ugu/ | [ˈt̪u.gu] | ‘monument’ |

In word-final position, the light velar stop /k/ is realized as the glottal stop [ʔ], while the heavy velar stop /g/ is realized as an unreleased light velar stop [k̚] (10).

²See Blust (2013:191) for a brief historical overview of dental and alveolar/retroflex stops in Javanese.

- (10) Contrast between the light velar stop /k/ and the heavy velar stop /g/ in coda position

_#	<i>tutug</i>	/tutug/	[t̚ʊ.t̚ʊk]	‘finished’
	<i>tutuk</i>	/tutuk/	[t̚ʊ.t̚ʊʔ]	‘from’
_#	<i>jejeg</i>	/jəjəg/	[j̚ə.j̚əʔk]	‘to stand firmly’
	<i>jejek</i>	/jəjək/	[j̚ə.j̚əʔ]	‘to kick’

Notice that the heavy velar stop /g/ is realized as an unreleased light velar stop [k] root-finally (11).

- (11) Examples of /k/ in root-final position

	<i>samblég</i>	/sambleg/	[sa.mblɛk]	‘to smack’
	<i>nyamblég-i</i>	/nyamblegi/	[ɲa.mblɛ.ki]	‘N-smack-APPL’
	<i>grojog</i>	/groʒog/	[gr̥ɔ.j̚ʔk]	‘water falling’
	<i>grojog-an</i>	/groʒogan/	[gr̥ɔ.j̚ʔ.kan]	‘water falling-NMLZ’

3.2.2.1.5 The Glottal Stop The glottal stop [ʔ] regularly appears as the realization of the light velar stop /k/ in word-final and root-final position (12).

- (12) The glottal stop [ʔ] in word-final and root-final position

	<i>bapak</i>	/bapak/	[b̚a.paʔ]	‘father’
	<i>bapak-é</i>	/bapake/	[b̚a.paʔ.e]	‘father-DEF’
	<i>kodhok</i>	/kodok/	[k̚ɔ.ʔ]	‘frog’
	<i>kodhok-ku</i>	/kodokku/	[k̚ɔ.ʔ.ku]	‘frog-POSS’
	<i>mbak-yu</i>	/mbakju/	[mbaʔ.ju]	‘older sister-pretty (older sister)’
	<i>pak-lik</i>	/paklik/	[paʔ.liʔ]	‘father-little (uncle)’
	<i>walik-an</i>	/walikan/	[wa.liʔ.an]	‘reverse-NMLZ’
	<i>yòk-òpò</i>	/jakapa/	[j̚ɔʔ.ʔɔ.pɔ]	‘yes-what (how)’

The glottal stop [ʔ] in Malangan Javanese occurs as the result of competing processes, as shown in (12 - 19). Firstly, the glottal stop can be seen in the root-final position of morphologically complex words, see (12). The word *mbakyu* is a compound formed from *mbak* [mbaʔ] ‘older sister’ and *ayu* [ʔa.ju] > *yu* [ju] ‘pretty’. In addition, *paklik* is from the words *pak* [paʔ] ‘father’ and *cilik* [ci.liʔ] > *lik* [liʔ] ‘small’. Note that the name of the language discussed in this work, *walikan*, is also pronounced with a glottal stop in the coda of its second syllable. The root form is [wa.liʔ] ‘to reverse’, which receives the modifier suffix *-an*, yielding the form [wa.liʔ.an] ‘reversed’.

Secondly, the glottal stop [ʔ] occurs phonetically before a vowel in word-initial position. It is not phonemic, and is not represented orthographically (13).

(13) Phonetic glottal stop in word-initial position

<i>òpò</i>	/apa/	[ʔɔ.pɔ]	‘what’
<i>aréḱ</i>	/arek/	[ʔa.rɛʔ]	‘kid’

Thirdly, the glottal stop [ʔ] is a colloquial realization of final nasals. This innovation is not regular. In a limited number of cases, words ending in /ɔn/ become /ɔʔ/, which can sometimes also change the preceding vowel from /a/ to /ɛ/ (14). Note that the forms with final nasals on the left side are still used in Central Javanese.

(14) Glottal stop replacing nasal endings

<i>wadon</i>	[wa.ɖɔn]	>	<i>wédok</i>	[wɛ.ɖɔʔ]	‘woman’
<i>katon</i>	[ka.tɔn]	>	<i>kétok</i>	[kɛ.tɔʔ]	‘seen’
<i>takon</i>	[ta.kɔn]	>	<i>takok</i>	[ta.kɔʔ]	‘to ask’
<i>ndeleng</i>	[ndə.ləŋ]	>	<i>ndelok</i>	[ndə.lɔʔ]	‘to see’

Fourthly, in a limited number of cases the glottal stop [ʔ] also appears after the vowel /ɔ/ in the word-final position of bisyllabic words (15).

(15) Glottal stop appearing after /ɔ/

<i>mòsò</i>	[mɔ.sɔ]	>	[mɔ.sɔʔ]	‘how can?’
<i>ònò</i>	[ʔɔ.nɔ]	>	[ʔɔ.nɔʔ]	‘there is’
<i>kòyò</i>	[kɔ.jɔ]	>	[kɔ.jɔʔ]	‘as,like’

This is not regular, as there are numerous instances where [ɔ] in word-final position is not followed by [ʔ] such as [ʔɔ.pɔ] ‘what’, [li.mɔ] ‘five’, [ʔi.jɔ] ‘yes’, etc. There is also an exceptional case where [ɔ] in both syllables of a word are transformed into [ɛ] before receiving a word-final glottal stop, for instance, *òlò* [ʔɔ.lɔ] becomes *élék* [ʔɛ.lɛʔ] ‘ugly’.

Fifth, a historically final open syllable with high vowel /u, i/ is realized as a closed syllable with final glottal stop and lowered vowel (16). This is not a regular pattern, and is only applied to a limited number of examples observed during my fieldwork. Note that the original forms in the examples below are still used in Central Javanese.

(16) Glottal stop and vowel lowering

<i>mélu</i>	[mɛ.lu]	>	<i>mélok</i>	[mɛ.lɔʔ]	‘to join’
<i>tiru</i>	[t̪i.ru]	>	<i>térok</i>	[t̪ɛ.rɔʔ]	‘to imitate’
<i>kari</i>	[ka.ri]	>	<i>karék</i>	[ka.rɛʔ]	‘to remain’
<i>mati</i>	[ma.t̪i]	>	<i>maték</i>	[ma.t̪ɛʔ]	‘dead’
<i>tai</i>	[t̪a.i]	>	<i>taék</i>	[t̪a.ɛʔ]	‘shit’

Further, in a small number of cases, the glottal stop [ʔ] may also replace the consonants /h/ and /t̪/ in word-final position, as shown in (17). This is not a regular pattern. The words on the left side are still used in Central Javanese.

(17) Glottal stop replacing word-final consonant

<i>isih</i>	[ʔɪ.sih]	>	<i>isik</i>	[ʔɪ.sɪʔ]	‘still’
<i>dhilut</i>	[d̪i.luʔ]	>	<i>dhiluk</i>	[d̪i.luʔ]	‘a moment’
<i>tepat</i>	[t̪ə.paʔ]	>	<i>tepak</i>	[t̪ə.paʔ]	‘exactly right’

Finally, glottal stop [ʔ] appears between two identical vowels in loanwords (18), and word-medially in between consonants in loanwords (19).

(18) Glottal stop in word-medial position

<i>suun</i>	/suʔun/	[su.ʔun]	‘glass noodles’ (from Hokkien)
<i>taat</i>	/t̪aʔat̪/	[t̪a.ʔat̪]	‘obedient’ (from Arabic)

(19) Glottal stop in word-medial position

<i>bakso</i>	/baʔso/	[b̪aʔ.so]	‘meatball’ (from Hokkien)
<i>bakmi</i>	/baʔmi/	[b̪aʔ.mi]	‘noodle’ (from Hokkien)

3.2.2.1.6 The Palatal Stops The palatal stops in Malangan Javanese are /c/ and /ɟ/. While neither phoneme can occur in coda position, their phonemic contrast in onset position is shown in (20).

(20) Contrast between the palatal stops /c/ and /ɟ/

#_	<i>cak</i>	/cak/	[caʔ]	‘older brother’
	<i>jak</i>	/ɟak/	[ɟaʔ]	‘to invite’
V_V	<i>cecek</i>	/cəcək/	[cə.cəʔ]	‘house lizard’
	<i>jejek</i>	/ɟəjək/	[ɟə.ɟəʔ]	‘to kick’

3.2.2.2 The Nasals

There are four nasals in Malangan Javanese, they are the bilabial nasal /m/, the alveolar nasal /n/, the palatal nasal /ɲ/, and the velar nasal /ŋ/.

3.2.2.2.1 The Bilabial and Alveolar Nasals The bilabial nasal /m/ and the alveolar nasal /n/ can occur in all positions. In word-final position, both phonemes are unreleased as [m̚] and [n̚] respectively. Their contrast is shown in (21).

- (21) Contrast between the nasals /m/ and /n/ in onset and coda position
- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------|------------|----------------|
| V_V | <i>gemah</i> | /gəmah/ | [g̚ə.'mah] | 'prosperous' |
| | <i>genah</i> | /gənah/ | [g̚ə.'nah] | 'well-behaved' |
| _# | <i>param</i> | /param/ | ['pa.ram̚] | 'ointment' |
| | <i>paran</i> | /paran/ | ['pa.ran̚] | 'destination' |

The bilabial nasal /m/ is observed in initial position in a number of roots. However, the alveolar nasal in initial position is usually the result of a nasal prefix (N-) that is added to the root (discussed in §3.2.10).

- (22) The nasals /m/ and /n/ in word-initial position
- | | | | | |
|----|--------------|--------|----------|-----------------|
| #_ | <i>mari</i> | /mari/ | ['ma.ri] | 'finished' |
| | <i>n-ari</i> | /nari/ | ['na.ri] | 'N-to dance.AV' |

3.2.2.2.2 The Palatal Nasal The palatal nasal /ɲ/ can occur in onset position, but not in coda position. The phonemic status of the palatal nasal /ɲ/ is shown by contrasting it with the palatal stop /ɟ/ in (23).

- (23) Contrast between palatal nasal /ɲ/ and palatal stop /ɟ/ in onset position
- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------|----------|----------|
| #_ | <i>nyòwò</i> | /ɲawa/ | ['ɲɔ.wɔ] | 'soul' |
| | <i>jòwò</i> | /ɟawa/ | ['ɟɔ.wɔ] | 'Java' |
| V_V | <i>penyu</i> | /pəɲu/ | [pə.'ɲu] | 'turtle' |
| | <i>peju</i> | /peɟu/ | [pə.'ɟu] | 'semen' |

3.2.2.2.3 The Velar Nasal The velar nasal /ŋ/ is realized as [ŋ] in both onset and coda position. Example (24) demonstrates the phonemic status of /ŋ/ by contrasting it with the alveolar nasal /n/.

- (24) Contrast between velar nasal /ŋ/ and alveolar nasal /n/ in onset and coda position
- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| V_V | <i>tangi</i> | /t̚aŋi/ | [t̚a.ŋi] | ‘to get up’ |
| | <i>tani</i> | /t̚ani/ | [t̚a.ni] | ‘farmer’ |
| _# | <i>tambang</i> | /t̚ambaŋ/ | [t̚a.mbaŋ] | ‘mine’ |
| | <i>tamban</i> | /t̚amban/ | [t̚a.mban] | ‘cure’ |

3.2.2.3 The Fricatives

Malangan Javanese has two fricatives: the alveolar fricative /s/ and the glottal fricative /h/. They both can occur in onset and coda position, as shown in (25).

- (25) Contrast between alveolar fricative /s/ and glottal fricative /h/ in onset position
- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------|----------|---------------|
| #_ | <i>salah</i> | /salah/ | [sa.lah] | ‘wrong’ |
| | <i>halah</i> | /halah/ | [ha.lah] | ‘exclamation’ |
| V_V | <i>sisir</i> | /sisir/ | [si.sir] | ‘comb’ |
| | <i>sihir</i> | /sihir/ | [si.hir] | ‘black magic’ |
| _# | <i>adhas</i> | /aɖas/ | [ʔa.ɖas] | ‘fennel’ |
| | <i>adhah</i> | /aɖah/ | [ʔa.ɖah] | ‘container’ |

Note that in fast speech, /h/ in word-final and root-final position may be omitted, thus *omah* /ɔmah/ ‘house’ may be pronounced as [ʔɔ.ma] and *omah-é* /ɔmahe/ ‘house-DEF’ as [ʔɔ.ma.e].

3.2.2.4 The Trill and the Lateral

The alveolar trill /r/ can occur in all positions, as can the alveolar lateral /l/. Their phonemic contrast is shown in example (26).

- (26) Contrast between alveolar trill /r/ and alveolar lateral /l/ in all positions

#_	<i>regò</i>	/rəga/	[rə.ḡə]	‘price’
	<i>legò</i>	/ləga/	[lə.ḡə]	‘relieved’
V_V	<i>tari</i>	/ṭari/	[ṭa.ri]	‘to dance’
	<i>tali</i>	/ṭali/	[ṭa.li]	‘rope’
_#	<i>gempar</i>	/gəmpar/	[ḡə.mpar]	‘chaos’
	<i>gempal</i>	/gəmpal/	[ḡə.mpal]	‘muscular’

3.2.2.5 The Approximants

There are two approximants in Malangan Javanese: the bilabial approximant /w/ and the palatal approximant /j/. Both have the same distribution: they can occur in onset position but never in coda position. The phonemic contrast between the approximants is shown in (27).

- (27) Contrast between bilabial approximant /w/ and palatal approximant /j/ in onset position

#_	<i>yak</i>	/yak/	[jaʔ]	‘yes’
	<i>wak</i>	/wak/	[waʔ]	‘sir/mam’
V_V	<i>ayu</i>	/ayu/	[ʔa.ju]	‘pretty’
	<i>awu</i>	/awu/	[ʔa.wu]	‘ash’

3.2.3 Description of the Vowels

3.2.3.1 The High Vowels

In Malangan Javanese, the vowel /i/ is a high front vowel that is realized as [i] in word-initial, medial, and final position in open syllables, as shown in (28).

- (28) Examples of the high front vowel /i/ in open syllables

#_	<i>iku</i>	/iku/	[ʔi.ku]	‘that’
C_C	<i>tibò</i>	/ṭiba/	[ṭi.bə]	‘fall’
_#	<i>mari</i>	/mari/	[ma.ri]	‘after, finished’

The phonemic status of /i/ is shown in example (29) by contrasting it with its phonetically close counterpart, the mid front vowel /e/. The minimal pairs in my data contrast both vowels in word-final position.

- (29) Contrast between the front vowels /i/ and /e/ in word-final position

_#	<i>pari</i>	/pari/	[pa.ri]	‘paddy’
	<i>paré</i>	/pare/	[pa.re]	‘bitter gourd’
_#	<i>sari</i>	/sari/	[sa.ri]	‘essence’
	<i>saré</i>	/sare/	[sa.re]	‘to sleep’

The high back rounded vowel /u/ is realized as [u] in word-initial, medial and final position in open syllables, as shown in (30).

- (30) Examples of the high back vowel /u/ in open syllables

#_	<i>udan</i>	/uɖan/	[ʔu.ɖan]	‘rain’
C_C	<i>туру</i>	/turu/	[tu.ru]	‘to sleep’
_#	<i>awu</i>	/awu/	[ʔa.wu]	‘ash’

The phonemic status of /u/ is shown in example (31), where it is contrasted with the high-mid back vowel /o/.

- (31) Contrast between the back vowels /u/ and /o/

C_C	<i>wulu</i>	/wulu/	[wu.lu]	‘feather’
	<i>wolu</i>	/wolu/	[wɔ.lu]	‘eight’
_#	<i>paru</i>	/paru/	[pa.ru]	‘beef lung chips’
	<i>paro</i>	/paro/	[pa.ro]	‘half’

In roots that end in closed syllables, /i/ and /u/ are lowered and realized as [ɪ] and [ʊ] respectively. This also affects the high vowel in the preceding syllable, as shown in (32) and (33).

- (32) Examples of allophonic [ɪ]

	<i>kirik</i>	/kirik/	[kɪ.rɪʔ]	‘dog’
	<i>sikil</i>	/sikil/	[sɪ.kɪl]	‘foot’
	<i>burik</i>	/burik/	[bʊ.rɪʔ]	‘mottled’

- (33) Examples of allophonic [ʊ]

	<i>mumbul</i>	/mumbul/	[mʊ.mɒʊl]	‘to hover’
	<i>surung</i>	/suruŋ/	[sʊ.rʊŋ]	‘to push’
	<i>irung</i>	/iruŋ/	[ɪ.rʊŋ]	‘nose’

It is worth noting that in a number of adjectives, the lowering of /i/ and /u/ into [ɪ] and [ʊ] exemplified in (32) and (33) is violated. Both vowels appear as their underlying forms in these following words (34).

- (34) Examples of non-lowered /i/ and /u/
- | | | | |
|----------------|-----------|------------|------------|
| <i>cilik</i> | /cilik/ | [ci.liʔ] | ‘small’ |
| <i>thithik</i> | /tʰitʰik/ | [tʰi.tʰiʔ] | ‘a little’ |
| <i>apik</i> | /apik/ | [ʔa.piʔ] | ‘good’ |
| <i>kecut</i> | /kəcutʰ/ | [kə.cuʔ] | ‘sour’ |

3.2.3.2 The High-Mid Vowels

Malangan Javanese has two high-mid vowels, including the high-mid front vowel /e/ and the high-mid back vowel /o/.

The high-mid front vowel /e/ is realized as [e] in open syllables (35).

- (35) Examples of the high-mid front vowel /e/
- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------|----------|---------------------|
| C_C | <i>pépe</i> | /pepe/ | [pe.pe] | ‘to lie in the sun’ |
| _# | <i>lambé</i> | /lambe/ | [la.mbe] | ‘mouth’ |

The phonemic status of /e/ is previously shown in example (29). Furthermore, example (36) shows the phonemic contrast between /e/ and /o/. The minimal pairs I found in my data contrast both vowels in word-final position.

- (36) Contrast between the high-mid vowels /e/ and /o/
- | | | | | |
|----|-------------|--------|---------|-----------------------|
| _# | <i>paré</i> | /pare/ | [pa.re] | ‘a kind of vegetable’ |
| | <i>paro</i> | /paro/ | [pa.ro] | ‘half’ |
| _# | <i>karé</i> | /kare/ | [ka.re] | ‘a kind of dish’ |
| | <i>karo</i> | /karo/ | [ka.ro] | ‘and, with’ |

The phonemic status of /o/ has been shown in example (31) by contrasting it with the high back vowel /u/. The high-mid back vowel /o/ is realized as [o] in open syllables depending on the following vowel (37).

- (37) Examples of the high-mid back vowel /o/ in open syllables
- | | | | | |
|----|-------------|--------|----------|---------------------|
| #_ | <i>ombé</i> | /ombe/ | [ʔo.mbe] | ‘drink’ |
| _# | <i>pélo</i> | /pelo/ | [pe.lo] | ‘speech impediment’ |

In closed syllables, the high-mid front vowel /e/ is lowered to [ɛ] (38) and the high-mid back vowel /o/ is lowered into [ɔ] (39). This is also the case with loanwords.

- (38) Examples of /e/ realized as [ɛ] in closed syllables

<i>térmos</i>	/termos/	[ʔɛr.məs]	‘vacuum flask’ (from Dutch)
<i>suwék</i>	/suwek/	[su.wɛʔ]	‘torn’
<i>kabéh</i>	/kabeh/	[ka.bɛh]	‘all’

- (39) Examples of /o/ realized as [ɔ] in closed syllables

<i>wortel</i>	/wortel/	[wɔr.təl]	‘carrot’ (from Dutch)
<i>abot</i>	/aboʔ/	[ʔa.bɔʔ]	‘heavy’
<i>berok</i>	/bərək/	[bɔ.rɔʔ]	‘to scream’

The lowering of /e/ to [ɛ] and /o/ to [ɔ] also takes place in an open syllable if the following closed syllable contains a high-mid vowel, a mid vowel or a low vowel, as shown in (40) and (41).

- (40) Examples of /e/ realized as [ɛ] before a closed syllable

<i>élék</i>	/elek/	[ʔɛ.lɛʔ]	‘ugly’
<i>kétok</i>	/keʔok/	[kɛ.tɔʔ]	‘seen’
<i>néker</i>	/nekər/	[nɛ.kər]	‘marble’
<i>éman</i>	/eman/	[ʔɛ.man]	‘unfortunate, regrettable’

- (41) Examples of /o/ realized as [ɔ] before a closed syllable

<i>bobok</i>	/bobok/	[bɔ.bɔʔ]	‘powder’
<i>korép</i>	/korep/	[kɔ.rɛp]	‘unshowered face’
<i>kober</i>	/kobər/	[kɔ.bɔr]	‘to have enough time’
<i>omah</i>	/omah/	[ʔɔ.mah]	‘house’

Further, the high-mid front vowel /e/ is realized as [ɛ] in an open syllable when the following open syllable has a high vowel or an [ɔ] which is underlyingly a low central vowel /a/ (42). The high-mid back vowel /o/ is also realized as [ɔ] in an open syllable when the following open syllable contains a high vowel or a low vowel (43).

- (42) Examples of /e/ realized as [ɛ] before an open syllable

<i>méri</i>	/meri/	[mɛ.ri]	‘jealous’
<i>séwu</i>	/sewu/	[sɛ.wu]	‘thousand’
<i>kérò</i>	/kera/	[kɛ.rɔ]	‘cross-eyed’
<i>déwò</i>	/dewa/	[dɛ.wɔ]	‘male deity’

- (43) Examples of /o/ realized as [ɔ] before an open syllable

<i>roti</i>	/ro.ti/	[rɔ.ti]	‘bread’
<i>wolu</i>	/wɔ.lu/	[ʷɔ.lu]	‘eight’
<i>ora</i>	/ora/	[ʔɔ.ra]	‘no/not’

3.2.3.3 The Mid Vowel

The mid-central vowel /ə/ occurs in both open and closed syllables. It does not occur in the final position of an open word-final syllable. See example (44).

- (44) Examples of the mid-central vowel /ə/

#_	<i>entut</i>	/ən.tut/	[ʔə.n̩.tʊt̚]	‘fart’
C_C	<i>wareg</i>	/warəg/	[ʷa.rək]	‘full, sated’

Example (45) shows schwa occurring in both syllables of bisyllabic roots. The stress is on the penultimate syllable containing the schwa.

- (45) Examples of the mid-central vowel /ə/ in both syllables

<i>geger</i>	/gəgər/	[g̊ə.g̊ər]	‘back’
<i>gendheng</i>	/gəndəŋ/	[g̊ə.ndəŋ]	‘crazy, idiotic’

In order to show that /ə/ is phonemic, it is contrasted with the low central vowel /a/, as presented in (46).

- (46) Contrast between the central vowels /ə/ and /a/

#_	<i>elus</i>	/əlus/	[ʔə.lʊs]	‘caress’
	<i>alus</i>	/alus/	[ʔa.lʊs]	‘smooth’
C_C	<i>legi</i>	/ləgi/	[lə.ɡ̊i]	‘sweet’
	<i>lagi</i>	/lagi/	[la.ɡ̊i]	‘again’

The schwa cannot form a cluster with another vowel, and it has no allophonic variants. It is also used as an optional epenthetic vowel that breaks up consonant clusters in loanwords, or other consonant clusters for ease of pronunciation. See example (47).

- (47) Examples of epenthetic [ə]

<i>brambang</i>	/bramban/	[b̥ɔ̃.ʔə.ra.mbaŋ]	‘shallot’
<i>klas</i>	/klas/	[kə.las]	‘class’ (from Dutch)
<i>klòsò</i>	/klasa/	[kə.lɔ.sɔ]	‘bamboo mat’

3.2.3.4 The Low Vowel

Malangan Javanese has one low vowel, that is the low central vowel /a/. It is realized as [a], as can be seen in (48).

(48) Examples of the low central vowel /a/

#_	<i>aré</i>	/arɛk/	[ʔa.rɛʔ]	‘child’
C_C	<i>abang</i>	/abaŋ/	[ʔa.b̞aŋ]	‘red’
_#	<i>ora</i>	/ɔra/	[ʔɔ.ra]	‘no/not’

The phonemic status of /a/ is demonstrated in (49), by contrasting /a/ with the high-mid front vowel /e/ and the high-mid back vowel /o/.

(49) Contrast between low vowel /a/ and high-mid vowels /e, o/

C_C	<i>pélat</i>	/pɛlat̚/	[pɛ.laʔ]	‘lisp’
	<i>pélét</i>	/pɛleʔ/	[pɛ.lɛʔ]	‘voodoo’
C_C	<i>pacak</i>	/pacak/	[pa.caʔ]	‘nice arrangement’
	<i>pacok</i>	/pacok/	[pa.cɔʔ]	‘to match-make’

With the exception of one word *ora* ‘no/not’, exemplified in (43) and (48), in a word-final position /a/ is realized as [ɔ]. This rule is also extended to the preceding open syllable (50).

(50) Examples of /a/ realized as [ɔ]

_#	<i>kebò</i>	/kəba/	[kə.ʔɔ]	‘sack’
	<i>còrò</i>	/cara/	[cɔ.rɔ]	‘way’
	<i>bòndhò</i>	/banda/	[ʔɔ.ndɔ]	‘wealth’

The evidence for the underlying /a/ occurs in *bandha-né* [ʔa.nda.ne] ‘DEF-wealth’, in which the low vowel /a/ is realized as [a] and not lowered to [ɔ] when a suffix is attached to the word. In Malangan Javanese, however, the vowel-lowering process is no longer completely regular and productive, though it may still affect words with the applicative suffix *-(n)i* (51). Some words with this suffix seem to preserve an older root form, while others do not (52).

- (51) Examples of /a/ realized as [a] after suffixation

<i>mòrò</i>	[mɔ.rɔ]	<i>mara-ni</i>	[ma.'ra.ni]
	'to approach (intr.)'	<i>mara-APPL</i>	'to approach (tr.)'
<i>n-jògò</i>	[nɔ.ɟɔ]	<i>njaga-ni</i>	[nɔ.ɟa.ni]
	'to guard'	<i>n-jaga-APPL</i>	'to prevent.AV'

- (52) Examples of /a/ realized as [ɔ] after suffixation

<i>tòmbò</i>	[tɔ.mɔ]	<i>tòmbò-né</i>	[tɔ.mɔ.ne]
	'cure'	<i>tòmbò-DEF</i>	'the cure'
<i>kòncò</i>	[kɔ.ncɔ]	<i>kòncò-ku</i>	[kɔ.ncɔ.ku]
	'friend'	<i>kòncò-1SG.POSS</i>	'my friend'
<i>mòtò</i>	[mɔ.tɔ]	<i>mòtò-mu</i>	[mɔ.tɔ.mu]
	'eye'	<i>eye-2SG.POSS</i>	'your eye'

In addition, Malangan Javanese also has at least one example where speakers realize /a/ in a root final position as both [ɔ] and [a] (53).

- (53) Examples of /a/ realized as both [ɔ] and [a]

<i>sepurò-né</i>	/sepura-ne/	[sə.'pu.rɔ.ne]	[sə.'pu.ra.ne]
<i>sorry-DEF</i>	'sorry'	'sorry'	'sorry'

Examples (52)-(53) highlight the interchangeable nature of [a] and [ɔ]. This fluctuation can be evidence of ongoing language change, which indicates that speakers no longer associate [ɔ] as deriving from /a/ in root-final position. This is also supported by several examples in Walikan, as shown in §4.3.2.6.4.

3.2.3.5 Loan Consonants

Malangan Javanese and Indonesian have a large number of loanwords; many of them come from Arabic, Dutch, Portuguese, as well as English. Some loanwords contain consonants that are not present in the original segment inventory, namely /f x z s^h/. Here, loanwords in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian are discussed together because they are treated similarly by speakers. Older speakers tend to assimilate these loan phonemes with Malangan Javanese/Indonesian phonemes that have the same or closest manner and place of articulation.

The labiodental fricative /f/ is realized as [p]. This is illustrated in two examples of Dutch loanwords in (54).

- (54) Examples of /f/ realized as [p]
afdruk /afdruk/ [ʔap.ḍrʊʔ] ‘copy’
foto /foʔo/ [ʔpo.ʔo] ‘photo’

The fricative velar /x/ has two Javanese/Indonesian realizations, [k] or [h] in onset and coda position, as shown in these Arabic loanwords (55).

- (55) Examples of /x/ realized as [k] and [h]
khotib /xoʔib/ [ʔhɔ.ʔip] [ʔkɔ.ʔip] ‘preacher’
akhlak /axlak/ [ʔah.laʔ] [ʔak.laʔ] ‘morals’

The fricative /z/ is realized as [s] or [ʃ]. It is [ʃ] in word-initial position and [s] in word-medial position. Illustrations are the Arabic loans in (56).

- (56) Examples of /z/ realized as [ʃ] and [s]
ziarah /zizarah/ [ʃi.ʔa.rah] ‘pilgrimage’
zakat /zakaʔ/ [ʃa.kaʔ] ‘alm’
ijazah /ijazah/ [ʔi.ʃa.sah] ‘diploma’

The pharyngealized voiceless alveolar sibilant consonant /sʕ/ is realized as [s], as illustrated in words borrowed from Arabic in (57). It occurs in word-initial and word-medial position.

- (57) Examples of /sʕ/ realized as [s]
solat /sʕolat/ [ʔsɔ.laʔ] ‘prayers’
asar /asʕar/ [ʔa.sar] ‘afternoon prayer’

3.2.4 Phonotactics

3.2.4.1 Consonants

All consonants can occur in both word-initial and word-medial positions. In coda position, certain consonants cannot occur. A number of heavy stops, /b ɖ g/, appear in word-final position of Arabic and Sanskrit loanwords and are realized there as their light counterparts /p, t, k/. This is in line with the result

of an acoustic investigation on a Central Javanese dialect, where heavy stops and light stops show no distinction in pitch and phonation type in word-final position (Vander Klok et al. 2018).

Table 3.3 shows the phonetic realizations of the consonants in different positions.

Position	p	b	t̪	d̪	ʈ	ɖ	c	ɟ	k	g	s	h	m	n	ɲ	ɳ	r	l	w	j
Syllable level																				
onset	p	b	t̪	d̪	ʈ	ɖ	c	ɟ	k	g	s	h	m	n	ɲ	ɳ	r	l	w	j
coda	p̚	p̚	t̪̚	d̪̚	-	-	-	-	ʔ	k̚	s̚	h̚	m̚	n̚	-	ɳ̚	r̚	l̚	-	-
Word level																				
initial	p	b	t̪	d̪	ʈ	ɖ	c	ɟ	k	g	s	h	m	n	ɲ	ɳ	r	l	w	j
medial	p	b	t̪	d̪	ʈ	ɖ	c	ɟ	k	g	s	h	m	n	ɲ	ɳ	r	l	w	j
final	p̚	p̚	t̪̚	d̪̚	-	-	-	-	ʔ	k̚	s̚	h̚	m̚	n̚	-	ɳ̚	r̚	l̚	-	-

TABLE 3.3: Phonetic realizations of Malangan Javanese consonants (–= unattested)

The distribution and phonetic realizations of Malangan Javanese consonants are summarized in (58).

(58) Distribution of consonants in Malangan Javanese

1. The heavy retroflex stops /ʈ, ɖ/, the palatal stops /c, ɟ/, the palatal nasal /ɲ/, and the approximants /w, j/ do not occur in coda and word-final position.
2. The phonation type distinction in bilabial, dental, and velar stops is neutralized in coda and word-final position, whereby /b/ is realized as [p̚], /d̪/ is realized as [t̪̚], and /g/ is realized as [k̚].
3. The glottal stop [ʔ] appears as the realization of /k/ in coda and word-final position.

The loan consonants can all occur in both onset and coda position.

3.2.4.2 Vowels

All vowels occur in all positions, except for the mid-central vowel /ə/, which cannot appear in word-final position if the syllable is open, as shown in Table 3.4.

Position	i	u	e	o	ə	a
word-initial	x	x	x	x	x	x
word-medial	x	x	x	x	x	x
word-final	x	x	x	x	-	x

TABLE 3.4: Malangan Javanese vowels (x= attested, -= unattested)

The high vowels /u, i/, the high-mid vowels /e, o/ and the low central vowel /a/ in Malangan Javanese each have an allophone that appears based on the type and position of the syllable, or the type of vowel that occurs in the adjacent syllable. The combinations are shown in Table 3.5. The schwa, however, does not have any allophone.

Phoneme	Penultimate closed syllable	Subsequent syllable	Example
/i/	[ɪ]	[V]	[ˈsɪr.sətʃ] ‘soursop’
/u/	[ʊ]	[V]	[ˈkʊr.mɔ] ‘date (fruit)’
/e/	[ɛ]	[V]	[ˈt̪er.mɔs] ‘thermosfles’
/o/	[ɔ]	[V]	[ˈwɔr.t̪əl] ‘carrot’
Phoneme	Penultimate open syllable	Final closed syllable	Example
/i/	[V]	[ɪ]	[wa.ˈlɪʔ] ‘to reverse’
/u/	[V]	[ʊ]	[ˈsa.rʊŋ] ‘sarong’
/i/	[ɪ]	[ɪ, ʊ]	[ˈsɪ.kɪl] ‘foot’
/u/	[ʊ]	[ʊ, ɪ]	[ˈsʊ.rʊŋ] ‘to push’
/e/	[V]	[ɛ]	[ˈsu.wɛʔ] ‘torn’
/o/	[V]	[ɔ]	[ˈʔa.b̥oʔ] ‘heavy’
/e/	[ɛ]	[ɛ, ɔ, ə, a]	[ˈsɛ.paʔ] ‘to kick’
/o/	[ɔ]	[ɔ, ɛ, ə, a]	[ˈkɔ.rɛp] ‘unshowered face’
Phoneme	Penultimate open syllable	Final open syllable	Example
/e/	[ɛ]	[i, u, ɔ]	[ˈsɛ.wu] ‘thousand’
/o/	[ɔ]	[i, u, a]	[ˈwɔ.lu] ‘eight’
/a/	[V]	[ɔ]	[kə.ˈb̥ɔ] ‘sack’
/a/	[ɔ]	[ɔ]	[ˈcɔ.rɔ] ‘way’

TABLE 3.5: Malangan Javanese allophones (V = any other vowel)

In any other position or distribution not illustrated in Table 3.5, the phonemes appear in their underlying form. The distribution of Malangan Javanese vowels is summarized in (59).

(59) Distribution of vowels in Malangan Javanese

1. The mid central vowel /ə/ does not occur in the final position of an open word-final syllable.
2. The high vowels /i/ and /u/ are realized as [ɪ] and [ʊ] respectively in closed syllables.
3. The high vowels /i/ and /u/ are realized as [ɪ] and [ʊ] respectively in a penultimate open syllable preceding a closed syllable that contains a high vowel.
4. The high-mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are realized as [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively in closed syllables.
5. The high-mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are realized as [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively in a penultimate open syllable preceding a closed syllable that has a non-high (high-mid, mid, or low) vowel.
6. The high-mid front vowel /e/ is realized as [ɛ] in a penultimate open syllable preceding an open syllable that has a high vowel, or a low vowel.
7. The high-mid back vowel /o/ is realized as [ɔ] in a penultimate open syllable preceding an open syllable that has a high vowel or a low vowel.
8. The low central vowel /a/ is realized as [ɔ] word-finally.
9. The low central vowel /a/ is realized as [ɔ] in a penultimate open syllable preceding an open syllable that has a low vowel.
10. In any other positions, the phonemes appear as their underlying forms.

3.2.5 Syllable Structure

Malangan Javanese syllables have an optional onset, and the syllables can either be open or closed. The syllable structure is (C)(C)(C)V(C). The onset generally consists of one consonant, but it can also contain a consonant cluster. Diphthongs are not acceptable; there is only one vowel in the nucleus of a syllable. An overview of the syllable types is presented in (60).

(60) Overview of syllable types in Malangan Javanese

Onset	Nucleus	Coda	Position
C	V		word-initial/medial
	V		word-initial/medial
C	V	C	word-initial/medial
	V	C	word-initial/medial
CC	V		word-initial/medial
CC	V	C	word-initial/medial
CCC	V		word-initial/medial
CCC	V	C	word-initial/medial

In a cluster of two consonants, the first consonant can be an obstruent (stop/fricative), a nasal, or a glide, while the second consonant can either be an obstruent, a liquid, or a glide. The first consonant in a cluster of three consonants can be a nasal or an obstruent. The second consonant is always an obstruent, while the third consonant is a liquid. In clusters of two and three consonants that have two obstruents, the first consonant is a fricative and the second a stop. The combination of complex onsets is represented in (61).

(61) Overview of complex onsets in Malangan Javanese

Onset		Nucleus	Coda
C _{obstruent}	C _{liquid}	V	(C)
C _{obstruent}	C _{glide}	V	(C)
C _{fricative}	C _{stop}	V	(C)
C _{nasal}	C _{obstruent}	V	(C)
C _{nasal}	C _{liquid}	V	(C)
C _{glide}	C _{liquid}	V	(C)
C _{nasal}	C _{obstruent}	C _{liquid}	V (C)
C _{fricative}	C _{stop}	C _{liquid}	V (C)

The cluster of three consonants composed of nasal + obstruent + liquid cannot occur in root-initial position, while the fricative + stop + liquid combination can be found in both root-initial and root-medial positions. The distribution of consonant clusters is discussed in §3.2.7.

3.2.6 Root

Malangan Javanese roots can be monosyllabic (Table 3.6).

Type	Example	Transcription	Gloss
CV	<i>yò</i>	/ja/	‘yes’
CVC	<i>dol</i>	/dol/	‘to sell’
CCV	<i>sri</i>	/sri/	‘goddess’
CCVC	<i>blas</i>	/blas/	‘at all’
CCCVC	<i>strip</i>	/strip/	‘stripe’ (from Dutch)

TABLE 3.6: Monosyllabic roots in Malangan Javanese

However, roots are generally bisyllabic, containing a single foot. The typical shape of a Malangan Javanese root is (C)(C)V(C)(C)(C)V(C), which is similar to other dialects of Javanese (Adisasmito-Smith 2004; Uhlenbeck 1978). Although a simple onset with one consonant is most frequent in native words, they can have a maximal cluster of two consonants in root-initial position. A maximum of three consonants can occur in the root-initial position of loanwords. The root-medial position allows a three consonant sequence, if the first consonant is a nasal or a fricative (Table 3.7).

Type	Example	Transcription	Gloss
V.V	<i>aé</i>	/a.e/	‘just’
V.VC	<i>aib</i>	/a.ib/	‘secret’ (from Arabic)
V.CV	<i>iki</i>	/i.ki/	‘this’
V.CVC	<i>élék</i>	/e.lek/	‘ugly’
V.CCV	<i>asri</i>	/a.sri/	‘beautiful’
V.CCVC	<i>abrit</i>	/a.brit/	‘red’
V.CCCV	<i>istri</i>	/i.stri/	‘wife’
V.CCCVC	<i>amblas</i>	/a.mblas/	‘gone, finished’
VC.CV	<i>arti</i>	/ar.ti/	‘meaning’
VC.CVC	<i>arwah</i>	/ar.wah/	‘spirit’
CV.V	<i>rai</i>	/ra.i/	‘face’
CV.VC	<i>taék</i>	/ta.ek/	‘shit’
CV.CV	<i>lemu</i>	/lə.mu/	‘fat’
CV.CVC	<i>wegah</i>	/wə.gah/	‘hesitant’
CV.CCV	<i>mambu</i>	/ma.mbu/	‘smelly’
CV.CCVC	<i>jeglong</i>	/jə.glon/	‘hole’
CV.CCCV	<i>mantra</i>	/ma.n̩tra/	‘magic words’
CV.CCCVC	<i>listrik</i>	/li.strik/	‘electricity’ (from English)
CVC.CV	<i>mergi</i>	/mər.gi/	‘road’

Type	Example	Transcription	Gloss
CVC.CVC	<i>mercon</i>	/mər.con/	‘firework’
CCV.V	<i>prau</i>	/pra.u/	‘boat’
CCV.VC	<i>blaén</i>	/bla.en/	‘worrisome’
CCV.CV	<i>driji</i>	/dri.ʃi/	‘finger’
CCV.CVC	<i>gragal</i>	/gra.gal/	‘gravel’
CCV.CCV	<i>kròndhò</i>	/kra.nɖa/	‘coffin’
CCV.CCVC	<i>brambang</i>	/bra.mbaŋ/	‘onion’
CCV.CCCV	<i>sléndro</i>	/sle.nɖro/	‘crazy/sloppy’
CCV.CCCVC	<i>bléndrang</i>	/ble.nɖraŋ/	‘mix of leftover food’
CCVC.CVC	<i>prakték</i>	/prakˈtek/	‘practice’ (from Dutch)

TABLE 3.7: Bisyllabic roots in Malangan Javanese

The first consonant of a cluster that occurs in root-medial position is not analyzed as the final consonant of the preceding syllable. Evidence for this comes from Walikan, where the cluster remains intact after reversal, such as /u.mbam/ from /ma.mbu/ ‘smelly’ and /ki.stril/ from /li.ʃtrik/ ‘electricity’.

There are also some words comprising three or more syllables. They represent loanwords, toponyms, or compounds, as presented in Table 3.8.

Type	Example	Transcription	Gloss
Loanword			
CV.CV.CV	<i>sepatu</i>	/sə.pa.ʈu/	‘shoes’
Toponym			
CV.CV.CV	<i>madhura</i>	/ma.ɖu.ra/	‘an island’
Compounds			
CV.CCVC.CVC	<i>sembahyang</i>	/sə.mbah.jaŋ/	‘to pray’
CV.CV.CV.CV	<i>mòròtuwò</i>	/ma.ra.ʈu.a/	‘parent-in-law’

TABLE 3.8: Roots with more than two syllables

The word *sepatu* is a loanword from Portuguese *sapato*. The word *sembahyang* is a compound from *sembah* ‘worship’ and a borrowing from Sanskrit, *hyang* ‘god’, while *mòròtuwò* is from the Javanese words *mòrò* ‘to approach’ and *tuwò* ‘old’.

3.2.7 Consonant Clusters

The term consonant cluster refers to a sequence of more than one consonant that occurs in the same syllable. Consonant clusters are particularly interesting for this study because in Walikan their position can be reversed, yielding clusters that were originally prohibited (see §4.3.2.4). This section describes the types of cluster that are attested in Malangan Javanese. Loanwords are also included to show that language contact and borrowing have expanded the amount of possible clusters. The next chapter (§4.3.2.4) examines which of these are also attested in reversed forms.

Malangan Javanese syllables generally allow clusters of two consonants (but see (76) and (77) for examples of three-consonant clusters). There are two categories of consonant clusters. The first category is a consonant cluster that is part of the root and discussed in this section. The second category is a consonant cluster that is formed by a nasal prefix and discussed in §3.2.10.

In general there are six types of the first category of clusters of two consonants: 1) obstruent + liquid; 2) obstruent + glide; 3) fricative + stop; 4) nasal + obstruent; 5) nasal + liquid; and 6) glide + liquid. The overview of clusters of two consonants in my data is presented in Table 3.9.

	/p/	/b/	/t̪/	/d̪/	/t/	/d/	/c/	/ɟ/	/k/	/g/	/s/	/r/	/l/	/w/	/j/
/p/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/pr/	/pl/	-	/pj/
/b/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/br/	/bl/	-	/bj/
/t̪/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/tr̪/	/tl̪/	-	/tj̪/
/d̪/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/dr̪/	/dl̪/	/dw̪/	/dj̪/
/t/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/tr/	-	-	-
/d/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/dr/	-	-	/dj/
/c/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/cr/	/cl/	-	-
/ɟ/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/ɟr/	/ɟl/	/ɟw/	-
/k/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/kr/	/kl/	/kw/	/kj/
/g/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/gr/	/gl/	-	/gj/
/m/	/mp/	/mb/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/mr/	/ml/	-	-
/n/	-	-	/nt̪/	/nd̪/	/nt/	/nd/	/nc/	/nɟ/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/ɲ/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/ɲk/	/ɲg/	/ɲs/	/ɲr/	/ɲl/	-	-
/s/	/sp/	/st̪/	-	-	-	-	-	-	/sk/	-	-	/sr/	/sl/	/sw/	-
/w/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/wr/	/wl/	-	-

TABLE 3.9: Clusters of two consonants in Malangan Javanese

The combination of the two-consonant clusters is summarized in (62).

(62) Constraints on consonant cluster combinations in Malangan Javanese

1. All stops can occur as the initial consonant in a cluster.
2. The nasals /m, n, ŋ/, the fricative /s/, or the glide /w/ can also occur as the initial consonant in a cluster.
3. When the first consonant of a cluster is an obstruent (stop, fricative), the following consonant is a liquid (trill, lateral) or a glide.
4. A consonant cluster consisting of a fricative followed by a stop, /sp/ and /st/, is also possible (mostly in loanwords).
5. When the first consonant of a cluster is a nasal (/m, n, ŋ/), the following consonant is either an obstruent or a liquid.
6. When the first consonant of a cluster is a glide (/w/), the following consonant is a liquid.

The first type of consonant cluster is an obstruent that is followed by a liquid. This type can be found in root-initial and root-medial position (63) - (64).

(63) Obstruent + liquid cluster in root-initial position

/pr/	<i>praoto</i>	[pra.o.to]	‘truck’
/pl/	<i>plaur</i>	[pla.ʊr]	‘troublesome’
/br/	<i>brambang</i>	[br̥a.mbaŋ]	‘shallot’
/bl/	<i>blimbing</i>	[bl̥i.mbiŋ]	‘star fruit’
/tr/	<i>trimò</i>	[tri.mɔ]	‘to accept’
/tl/	<i>tlògò</i>	[t̥lɔ.gɔ]	‘lake’
/dr/	<i>driji</i>	[d̥ri.ji]	‘finger’
/dl/	<i>dluwang</i>	[dl̥u.waŋ]	‘paper’
/tr/	<i>throthol</i>	[tr̥ɔ.tɔl]	‘to peck here and there’
/dr/	<i>dhrodhog</i>	[d̥r̥ɔ.d̥ɔk]	‘to shiver’
/cr/	<i>cranthél</i>	[cra.n̥ɛl]	‘hanging everywhere’
/cl/	<i>clakep</i>	[cla.kəp]	‘to stop talking’
/ʃr/	<i>jrngot</i>	[ʃr̥ɔ.ŋɔt̥]	‘to stick out’
/jl/	<i>jléntréh</i>	[jl̥ɛ.n̥tr̥ɛh]	‘to explain’

/kr/	<i>krokot</i>	[ˈkrɔ.kɔʔ]	‘to chew on’
/kl/	<i>klambi</i>	[ˈkla.mbi]	‘shirt’
/gr/	<i>gragal</i>	[ˈgɾa.gəl]	‘gravel’
/gl/	<i>glagep</i>	[ˈgɾa.gəp]	‘to be lost for words’
/sr/	<i>srabi</i>	[ˈsra.βi]	‘a kind of pancake’
/sl/	<i>slendro</i>	[ˈsle.ɳdro]	‘sloppy’

(64) Obstruent + liquid cluster in root-medial position

/pr/	<i>kepruk</i>	[kə.ˈprɔʔ]	‘to smash’
/pl/	<i>jeplak</i>	[ʔə.ˈplaʔ]	‘to open up’
/br/	<i>sabrang</i>	[ˈsa.βraŋ]	‘the other side’
/bl/	<i>ceblok</i>	[cə.ˈβlɔʔ]	‘to fall out’
/tr/	<i>satru</i>	[ˈsa.ʈru]	‘to be at odds with’
/tl/	<i>potlot</i>	[ˈpɔ.ʈlɔʔ]	‘pencil’ (from Dutch)
/dr/	<i>budreg</i>	[ˈbɔ.ɖrɛk]	‘high blood pressure’
/cr/	<i>kecrit</i>	[kə.ˈcrit]	‘to eject in small quantity’
/cl/	<i>keclap</i>	[kə.ˈclap]	‘a glimpse’
/ʃr/	<i>ajrih</i>	[ˈʔa.ʃrɪh]	‘fear’
/ʃl/	<i>gojlog</i>	[ˈgɔ.ʃlɔk]	‘bully’
/kr/	<i>pòkrò</i>	[pɔ.krɔ]	‘sane’
/kl/	<i>cuklék</i>	[ˈcu.klɛʔ]	‘to break into two’
/gr/	<i>bògrég</i>	[ˈbɔ.gɾɛk]	‘broken’
/gl/	<i>jeglong</i>	[ʔə.ˈgɾɔŋ]	‘hole’
/sr/	<i>asri</i>	[ˈʔa.sri]	‘beautiful’
/sl/	<i>aslep</i>	[ˈʔa.slɛp]	‘to enter’

The list in (64) shows that the /dl/, /tr/, and /dr/ clusters do not occur in root-medial position.

The second type of consonant cluster is an obstruent followed by a glide, as shown in (65) and (66).

(65) Obstruent + glide cluster in root-initial position

/pj/	<i>pyaji</i>	[ˈpja.ji]	‘elite class’
/bj/	<i>byayak</i>	[ˈbja.jaʔ]	‘careless’
/tj/	<i>tyang</i>	[ˈtjaŋ]	‘person.IL’
/dw/	<i>dwi</i>	[ˈdwi]	‘two’ (literary)
/dj/	<i>dhyah</i>	[ˈdjaḥ]	‘noble lady’
/ɟw/	<i>jwawut</i>	[ˈɟwa.wɔʔ]	‘millet’
/kw/	<i>kwaci</i>	[ˈkwa.ci]	‘salted seed’ (from Hokkien)
/kj/	<i>kyai</i>	[ˈkja.i]	‘respected male’
/sw/	<i>swiwi</i>	[ˈswi.wi]	‘wing’

(66) Obstruent + glide cluster in root-medial position

/pj/	<i>kepyur</i>	[kə.ˈpjʊr]	‘in little drops’
/bj/	<i>gebyog</i>	[gə.ˈbjaʔk]	‘wooden wall’
/tj/	<i>setyò</i>	[sə.ˈtja]	‘faithful’
/dj/	<i>madyò</i>	[ma.ˈdja]	‘middle’
/kw/	<i>takwa</i>	[ˈta.kwa]	‘Javanese jacket’
/kj/	<i>bakyak</i>	[ˈba.kjaʔ]	‘wooden sandal’

The clusters /dj/, /ɟw/ and /sw/ do not occur in root-medial position. A root-medial sequence /sw/ is observed in the word *yuswò* ‘age’, but its syllabification is [jʊs.wɔ]. The /u/ in the first syllable is lowered to [ʊ] because it occurs in a closed syllable.

Another type of consonant cluster, attested in loanwords, consists of an obstruent followed by another obstruent. In this case the first obstruent is a fricative, and the second a stop. They can occur in root-initial and root-medial position, as shown in (67) and (68).

(67) Fricative + stop cluster in root-initial position

/sp/	<i>spirtus</i>	[ˈsprɪ.tʊs]	‘liquid for lamp’ (from Dutch)
/st/	<i>stang</i>	[ˈstaŋ]	‘handlebar of a bike’ (from Dutch)
/sk/	<i>skop</i>	[ˈskɔp]	‘spade’ (from Dutch)

(68) Fricative + stop cluster in root-medial position

/sp/	<i>kaspé</i>	[ˈka.spɛ]	‘cassava’ (from Portuguese)
/st/	<i>kasti</i>	[ˈka.sti]	‘a kind of baseball’ (from Dutch)
/sk/	<i>béskap</i>	[ˈbɛ.skap]	‘double breasted jacket’ (from English)

The next type of consonant cluster, a nasal followed by an obstruent, mostly appears in root-medial position (69). This type is also referred to as a homorganic cluster, because the nasal consonant has the same place of articulation as the obstruent.

(69) Nasal + obstruent cluster in root-medial position

/mp/	<i>témpé</i>	[ʔe.mpe]	‘soybean cake’
/mb/	<i>tòmbò</i>	[ʔɔ.mbo]	‘cure’
/nt/	<i>genti</i>	[ʔə.nʔi]	‘change’
/nd/	<i>tandur</i>	[ʔa.ndʊr]	‘to plant’
/nt/	<i>kanthil</i>	[ka.nʔɪl]	‘to dangle’
/nd/	<i>bòndhò</i>	[bɔ.ndɔ]	‘wealth’
/nc/	<i>réncang</i>	[re.ncan]	‘friend’
/nʃ/	<i>benjut</i>	[bɛ.ʔnʃʊʔ]	‘lump on the head’
/ŋk/	<i>bungkuk</i>	[bʊ.ŋkʊʔ]	‘crooked’
/ŋg/	<i>tònggò</i>	[ʔɔ.ŋgɔ]	‘neighbor’
/ŋs/	<i>bungsu</i>	[bʊ.ŋsu]	‘last born’

Earlier descriptions of Javanese, e.g. Suharno (1982), describe clusters of a nasal + obstruent sequence in root-medial position as heterosyllabic, but in a later study by Adisasmito-Smith (2004) they are analysed as tautosyllabic (i.e. belonging to the same syllable) based on phonological patterns and acoustic analysis. The latter analysis is able to explain the historical vowel lowering process observed in words displaying this cluster, which is triggered by tautosyllabicity. The description of Walikan’s reversal rules in Chapter 4 will show that speakers consider them to be tautosyllabic; instead of being separated by syllable boundaries, they are treated as both being part of the second syllable.

In root-initial position, a small number of clusters consisting of a nasal followed by an obstruent can be observed in the abbreviated forms of longer words (70).

(70) Nasal + obstruent cluster in root-initial position

<i>mbah</i>	[mbah]	< [si.mbah]	‘grandparent’
<i>ndòrò</i>	[ndɔ.rɔ]	< [bɛ.ʔndɔ.rɔ]	‘boss’
<i>nggon</i>	[ŋgɔn]	< [ə.ŋgɔn]	‘place’

The same type of cluster in word-initial position also appears in the realization of certain place names (71).

- (71) Nasal + obstruent cluster in root-initial position
- | | | | |
|---------------|----------|--------------|--------------|
| <i>Bali</i> | /bali/ | [ˈmba.li] | ‘place name’ |
| <i>Blitar</i> | /blitar/ | [ˈmbli.ʈar] | ‘place name’ |
| <i>Dinòyò</i> | /ḍinaja/ | [nḍi.ˈnɔ.jɔ] | ‘place name’ |

The fifth type of consonant cluster, a nasal that is followed by a liquid, can appear both in root-initial and root-medial position (72)-(73). Note that the clusters /ŋr/ and /ŋl/ do not appear in root-initial position.

- (72) Nasal + liquid cluster in root-initial position
- | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------|--------|
| /mr/ | <i>mripat</i> | [ˈmri.paʈ] | ‘eye’ |
| /ml/ | <i>mlarat</i> | [ˈmla.raʈ] | ‘poor’ |
- (73) Nasal + liquid cluster in root-medial position
- | | | | |
|------|-----------------|------------|------------------------|
| /mr/ | <i>amrin</i> | [ˈʔa.mrim] | ‘boy/girlfriend’ |
| /ml/ | <i>jumlah</i> | [ʃɯ.mlah] | ‘sum’ |
| /ŋr/ | <i>angrem</i> | [ˈʔa.ŋrəm] | ‘to sit on eggs’ |
| /ŋl/ | <i>pangling</i> | [pa.ŋlm] | ‘to fail to recognize’ |

In §3.2.10, a different type of consonant cluster with a nasal in word-initial position is described. They are different from the clusters I describe here, because they are formed as a result of a nasal prefix (N-), an active verb marker, whereas the nasals in the clusters in (72) and (73) are part of the root.

Further, another type of cluster of two consonants is a glide followed by a liquid (74). In root-medial position, the cluster /wr/ is very rare, and /wl/ is not attested (75).

- (74) Glide + liquid cluster in root-initial position
- | | | | |
|------|---------------|-----------|--------------|
| /wr/ | <i>wrenò</i> | [wrə.ˈnɔ] | ‘color’ |
| /wl/ | <i>wlingi</i> | [ˈwli.ŋi] | ‘place name’ |
- (75) Glide + liquid cluster in root-medial position
- | | | | |
|------|---------------|------------|-------------|
| /wr/ | <i>kawruh</i> | [ˈka.wrɔh] | ‘knowledge’ |
|------|---------------|------------|-------------|

In root-medial position, Malangan Javanese allows for a maximum of three consonants to occur in sequence. In native words, the first consonant in the sequence can be a homorganic nasal consonant or a fricative. The second consonant is either a stop or a fricative, while the third consonant is a liquid (76).

(76) Three consonant cluster in root-medial position

/mbj/	<i>ambyar</i>	[ʔa.mbjar]	‘shattered’
/ɲʃl/	<i>anjlog</i>	[ʔa.ɲʃlɔk]	‘plummeted’
/ndr/	<i>slendro</i>	[sle.ndro]	‘sloppy’
/ɲsl/	<i>méngslé</i>	[me.ɲsle]	‘not straight’
/str/	<i>istri</i>	[i.s̺tri]	‘wife’
/str/	<i>listrik</i>	[l̪i.s̺triʔ]	‘electricity’ (from Dutch)

A three consonant cluster with a fricative as the first consonant of the sequence also appears in the root-initial position of a number of loanwords (77).

(77) Three consonant cluster in root-initial position

/spr/	<i>spréntò</i>	[sprɛ.n̺tɔ]	‘jumping rope’ (from Dutch)
/str/	<i>strip</i>	[s̺triʔ]	‘stripe’ (from Dutch)
/skr/	<i>skripsi</i>	[skrip̺.si]	‘thesis’ (from Dutch)

In the next chapter, where the rules of reversal in Walikan are discussed, we will revisit which attested clusters in Malangan Javanese are permitted in a reversed language. They can be seen in Table 4.2 and 4.3 of §4.3.2.4.

3.2.8 Sequences of Consonants

The term ‘consonant sequences’ is used here to refer to two consonants that are adjacent to each other but that are heterosyllabic. In other words, they are separated by a syllable boundary.

Malangan Javanese words have sequences of a liquid in coda position that is followed by either an obstruent, a nasal, or a glide in the onset of the following syllable (78). This follows the Sonority Sequencing Principle, in which segments with a higher sonority precede those with a lower sonority (Clements 1990).

(78) Heterosyllabic liquid + obstruent/glide/nasal sequences

/r.t̚/	<i>arti</i>	[ʔar.t̚i]	‘meaning’
/r.d̚/	<i>pardhi</i>	[ʔar.ɖi]	‘a name’
/r.c/	<i>mercon</i>	[mər.ˈcɔn]	‘fireworks’
/r.k/	<i>murkò</i>	[mʊr.kɔ]	‘greedy’
/r.g/	<i>mergi</i>	[mər.ˈg̊i]	‘road’
/r.s/	<i>kersò</i>	[kər.ˈsɔ]	‘to want’
/r.m/	<i>germò</i>	[g̊ər.ˈmɔ]	‘pimp’
/r.w/	<i>garwò</i>	[g̊ər.wɔ]	‘spouse’

The other type of heterosyllabic consonant sequences in Malangan Javanese constitutes an obstruent in coda position followed by another obstruent in the onset of the following syllable, in loanwords only (79).

(79) Heterosyllabic obstruent + obstruent sequences

/k.t̚/	<i>praktek</i>	[prak.t̚ɛk]	‘practice’ (from Dutch)
/b.s/	<i>absara</i>	[ʔap.ˈsa.ra]	‘god, deity’ (from Sanskrit)

3.2.9 Sequences of Vowels

Vowel sequences in Malangan Javanese are separated into two syllable peaks (80).

(80) Examples of two-vowel sequences

<i>taék</i>	/t̚aɛk/	[t̚a.ɛʔ]	‘excrement’
<i>sinau</i>	/sinau/	[ˈsi.na.u]	‘study’
<i>préi</i>	/prei/	[pre.i]	‘holiday’

Diphthongs can be found in a handful of loanwords, as shown in the following examples from Hokkien (81).

(81) Examples of diphthongs in loanwords

<i>cincao</i>	/cincao/	[cin.ˈcaʊ]	‘sweet gelatinous drink’
<i>capcai</i>	/capcai/	[ˈcap.ˈcaɪ]	‘stir-fried vegetables’
<i>lihai</i>	/lihai/	[li.ˈhaɪ]	‘sly’

3.2.10 Nasal Prefix (N₋)

Malangan Javanese has a nasal prefix (represented here as N-) that acts as an active verb marker, glossed as ‘AV’ below. The prefix N- is attached to the initial consonant of a bisyllabic root, and assimilates in terms of place of articulation with the following consonant when that consonant is a heavy stop. As shown in Table 3.12, the assimilated prefix N- does not replace the root-initial consonant.

Word-initial consonant	Realization of N-	Example	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
/b/	[mb-]	/baʃiŋ/	‘squirrel’	[ˈmba.ʃiŋ]	‘to mug.AV’
/d̥/	[nd-]	/d̥uŋo/	‘prayer’	[ˈnd̥u.ŋo]	‘to pray.AV’
/d/	[nd̥-]	/d̥akon/	‘a children’s game’	[ˈnd̥a.kon]	‘to play the game.AV’
/ʃ/	[nʃ-]	/ʃajan/	‘snack’	[ˈnʃa.ʃan]	‘to snack.AV’
/g/	[ŋg-]	/golek/	‘to find’	[ˈŋgo.lɛʔ]	‘to find.AV’

TABLE 3.12: Roots with heavy stops in root-initial position taking prefix N- ‘AV’

When the following consonant is a light stop or a fricative, it is completely replaced or deleted, see Table 3.13. This nasal substitution process is common in many Austronesian languages (Blust 2004; Cohn 1990; Kurniawan 2016).

Word-initial consonant	Realization of N-	Example	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
/p/	[m-]	/paŋan/	‘to eat’	[‘ma.ŋan’]	‘to eat.AV’
/t̚/	[n-]	/t̚ekəl/	‘tile’	[‘nɛ.kəl]	‘to put tile.AV’
/t/	[n-]	/tuʈuk/	‘to knock’	[‘nʊ.tʊʔ]	‘to knock.AV’
/c/	[ɲ-]	/cikrak/	‘waste-basket’	[‘ɲi.kraʔ]	‘to put the waste in the basket.AV’
/k/	[ŋ-]	/kəmpit̚/	‘to carry under arm’	[‘ŋə.mpit̚]	‘to carry under arm.AV’
/s/	[ɲ-]	/suruŋ/	‘to push’	[‘ɲʊ.rʊŋ]	‘to push.AV’
/h/	[ŋ-]	/hojag/	‘to shake’	[‘ɲʊ.jak]	‘to shake.AV’

TABLE 3.13: Roots with light stops and fricatives in root-initial position taking prefix N- ‘AV’

In Table 3.14, the prefix N- is realized as a velar nasal before root-initial consonants that are either the liquids /r, l/ or the approximant /j/. When the root-initial consonant is the approximant /w/, the prefix N- is realized as [m].

Word-initial consonant	Realization of N-	Example	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
/r/	[ŋr-]	/rabi/	‘to marry’	[ŋra.b̥i]	‘to marry someone.AV’
/l/	[ŋl-]	/laut̚/	‘sea’	[ŋla.ut̚]	‘to sail.AV’
/l/	[ml-]	/laju/	‘run’	[mlaju]	‘to run.AV’
/j/	[ŋj-]	/jakin/	‘to believe’	[ŋja.ki.ni]	‘to believe in something.AV’
/w/	[m-]	/wedok/	‘woman’	[mɛ.ḍɔʔ]	‘to have an affair.AV’

TABLE 3.14: Roots with sonorants in root-initial position taking prefix N-‘AV’

In a number roots with initial /l/, such as *mlayu* ‘to run’, *mlaku* ‘to walk’, and *mlebu* ‘to enter’, the attached nasal prefix is [m-] instead of [ŋ-]. In this case speakers no longer realize that the initial [m-] is a prefix (and historically an infix [-um-]) and consider it part of the root. A more detailed explanation of the prefixes can be seen in Appendix D.

Table 3.15 shows that when the root is monosyllabic, or when the stem has a vowel in its initial position, the nasal prefix marker is always the velar nasal /ŋ/. Note that the monosyllabic stem receives an epenthetic vowel, /ə/, after the nasal prefix.

Root	Gloss	Realization N-	Derived of form	Gloss
/dol/	‘to sell’	[ŋə-]	[ŋə.ḍɔl]	‘to sell.AV’
/pek/	‘to take away’	[ŋə-]	[ŋə.pɛʔ]	‘to take away.AV’
/adah/	‘container’	[ŋ-]	[ŋa.ḍa.hi]	‘to put in the container.AV’

TABLE 3.15: Nasal prefix /ŋ-/

When the nasal prefix is attached to a root with two consonants in the initial onset position, they form clusters of three consonants in word-initial position, as illustrated in Table 3.16.

Root	Gloss	Nasal pre- fix	Derived form	Gloss
/blakrak/	‘to roam’	[m-]	[‘mbla.kraʔ]	‘to roam.AV’
/gladrah/	‘nonsense’	[ŋ-]	[‘ŋgla.ḍraḥ]	‘to do nonsense.AV’
/jronot/	‘to stick out’	[n-]	[‘nɾɔ.ŋɔʔ]	‘to stick out.AV’

TABLE 3.16: Clusters of three consonants

In sum, the nasal prefix in Malangan Javanese forms numerous words with a nasal consonant in the initial position. It also creates clusters of two or three consonants with a nasal as the first consonant in the initial position. However, they should be differentiated from consonant clusters that occur within the roots, discussed in §3.2.7.

3.2.11 Reduplication

Reduplication is a feature often found in languages across the Austronesian family (Blust 2013; Klamer 2002). It can be defined as “the repetition of a word or phonological material within a word for semantic or grammatical purposes” (Miyake 2011:46). Reduplication patterns can be seen as a type of affixation, but “since they arise from copying the base, reduplication patterns

occupy an ambivalent position between morphology and phonology...” (Blust 2013:406). There are three types of reduplication in Malangan Javanese: 1) full reduplication of a root or derived word; 2) full reduplication that is accompanied by vowel alternation; and 3) partial reduplication. Partial reduplication is not discussed here because it does not appear in my Walikan data.

Full reduplication of roots in Javanese can be applied to nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and numerals. Reduplication is used to express different meanings, such as plurality, resemblance, repetition, manner, attenuation, intensity, or sequence (82).³

³See Miyake (2011) for a more detailed discussion on the semantic function of full reduplication and reduplication with vowel alternation in Javanese.

(82) Reduplications in Malangan Javanese

Nominal base	<i>kòncò</i>	‘friend’
	<i>kòncò-kòncò</i>	‘friends’
	RDP~friend	(indicating plurality)
Nominal base	<i>ibu</i>	‘mother’
	<i>ibu-ibu</i> ⁴	‘resembling a woman’
	RDP~mother	(indicating resemblance)
Verbal base	<i>bengok</i>	‘to scream’
	<i>bengok-bengok</i>	‘to scream on and on’
	RDP~scream	(indicating repetition)
Adverbial base	<i>alon</i>	‘slow’
	<i>alon-alon</i>	‘slowly’
	RDP~slowly	(indicating manner)
Adjectival base	<i>ijo</i>	‘green’
	<i>ijo-ijo</i>	‘greenish’
	RDP~green	(indicating attenuuity)
Adjectival base	<i>isuk</i>	‘morning’
	<i>isuk-isuk</i>	‘very early in the morning’
	RDP~morning	(indicating intensity)
Numeral base	<i>telu</i>	‘three’
	<i>telu-telu</i>	‘three by three’
	RDP~three	(indicating sequence)

⁴Note that *ibu-ibu* and related examples can also indicate plurality (‘mothers, ladies’), depending on the context of usage.

Affixes are attached after reduplication, indicating that they are not part of the reduplicated base (83).

- (83) Reduplication of roots
- | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------|
| Nominal base | <i>kòncò-kòncò-né</i> | ‘his/her friends’ |
| | [RDP~friend]-3SG.POSS | |
| Nominal base | <i>bal-bal-an</i> | ‘to play football’ |
| | [RDP~ball]-MOD | |
| Nominal base | <i>uwong-uwongan</i> | ‘doll’ |
| | [RDP~person]-an | |
| Verbal base | <i>ke-pisah-pisah</i> | ‘being separated to many parts’ |
| | PASS-[RDP~separate] | |

The second example in (83) shows that the suffix *-an*⁵ is attached after reduplication. The pattern reduplication + *-an* is used to derive an inanimate meaning from an animate being (Miyake 2011). In (84), the suffix *-an* is used as a nominalizer to change a verb into a noun. In this case *-an* is attached before reduplication to express plurality.

- (84) Reduplication of derived words
- | | | |
|--------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| Nominal base | <i>pangan</i> | ‘to eat’ |
| | <i>pangan-an</i> | ‘food’ |
| | [food-NMLZ] | |
| | <i>panganan-panganan</i> | ‘a lot of food’ |
| | RDP~[food-NMLZ] | |
| Nominal base | <i>dulin</i> | ‘to play’ |
| | <i>dulin-an</i> | ‘toy’ |
| | [toy-NMLZ] | |
| | <i>dulinan-dulinan</i> | ‘many toys’ |
| | RDP~[toy-NMLZ] | |

The reduplicated part of a verbal base may have a different vowel than the root base. This principle in Javanese is called *dwilinggò salin swòrò* ‘reduplication with vowel alteration’, and is used to express repetitive movement.

⁵*-an* is productive in Javanese. It can be attached to nouns, verbs, and adjectives, with a range of different functions. See Robson (2002) for its functions in standard Javanese.

The final vowel in the root base is replaced with /a/ to create the reduplicated form. If the penultimate vowel of the base is /a/, it becomes /ɔ/ in this type of reduplication. The reduplicated form is put before the original form (85).

- (85) Reduplication with different vowel
- | | | |
|-------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| Verbal base | <i>tuku</i> | ‘to buy’ |
| | <i>tuka-tuku</i> | ‘to buy again and again’ |
| | RDP~buy | |
| Verbal base | <i>walik</i> | ‘to reverse’ |
| | <i>wòlak-walik</i> | ‘to reverse on and on’ |
| | RDP~reverse | |
| Verbal base | <i>mlayu</i> | ‘to run’ |
| | <i>mloya-mlayu</i> | ‘to run here and there’ |
| | RDP~run | |

In Walikan, reduplication is used in the same way and to express the same types of meaning (see §4.4) as in Malangan Javanese.

3.2.12 Stress

Word stress does not affect the meaning of words in Malangan Javanese, nor in Javanese varieties in general. The penultimate syllable in Malangan Javanese is generally stressed.⁶ When the penultimate syllable contains /ə/, the stress is moved to the final syllable, except in two conditions: 1) if the final syllable also has a schwa, and 2) if the final syllable has an NC cluster. In such situations the stress remains in the penultimate syllable. This general pattern is applied to bisyllabic and trisyllabic words (86).

- (86) Stress patterns in bisyllabic and trisyllabic words
- | | | | |
|-----------------|------------|--------------|---------------------|
| <i>manuk</i> | /manuk/ | [ˈma.nʊʔ] | ‘bird’ |
| <i>telu</i> | /təlu/ | [təˈlu] | ‘three’ |
| <i>thekel</i> | /təkəl/ | [təˈkəl] | ‘muscular’ |
| <i>Madhura</i> | /maɖura/ | [ma.ˈɖu.ra] | ‘place name’ |
| <i>tembelek</i> | /təmbələk/ | [təˈmbəˈləʔ] | ‘chicken droppings’ |

⁶This is consistent with the stress patterns of most Austronesian languages (see Klammer (2002:937); Blust (2013:251)).

In quadrisyllabic compound words (as discussed in §3.2.6), stress patterns are applied to each base root in its penultimate syllable.

- (87) Stress patterns in words with more than two syllables
kòlòmònggò /kalamangka/ [ˈkɔ.lɔ.ˈmɔ.ŋɡɔ] ‘spider’
mòròtuwò /maraṭua/ [ˈmɔ.rɔ.ˈtʰu.ʷɔ] ‘parent-in-law’

Stress is confined within the root to which affixes are attached. This means that attaching prefixes or affixes does not affect the stress patterns of the root (88).

- (88) Stress patterns based on roots
pangan /paŋan/ [ˈpa.ŋan] ‘eat’
di-pangan /dɪpaŋan/ [dɪ.ˈpa.ŋan] ‘PASS-eat’
pangan-an /paŋanan/ [ˈpa.ŋa.nan] ‘eat-NMLZ’

3.3 **Malangan Indonesian**

Malangan Indonesian refers to the local dialect of Indonesian that is spoken in the area of Malang. The people of Malang are bilingual in Javanese and Indonesian. For most of them, Malangan Javanese is their mother tongue. They generally learn standard Indonesian in school and colloquial Indonesian from the media and their peers (see §1.3.2).

The following subsections describe the phonology of Malangan Indonesian with a focus on how it differs from Malangan Javanese, but also how the two varieties influence each other.

3.3.1 **Segment Inventory**

In this section I discuss the phonemes of Malangan Indonesian. Malangan Indonesian has 18 consonants, as presented in Table 3.17.

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
‘Light Stops’	p	t̚		c	k	
‘Heavy Stops’	b		d̪	ɟ <j>	g	
Nasals	m		n	ɲ <ny>	ŋ <ng>	
Fricatives			s			h
Trill			r			
Lateral			l			
Ap-proxi-mants	w			j <y>		

TABLE 3.17: Consonant inventory of Malangan Indonesian (the orthographic representations of phonemes which differ from IPA are given in pointy brackets)

There are six vowels in Malangan Indonesian. The inventory is listed in Table 3.18. The distribution of allophones is given later in Table 3.21.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
High-Mid	e <é>		o
Mid		ə <e>	
Low		a	

TABLE 3.18: Vowel inventory of Malangan Indonesian (the orthographic representations of phonemes which differ from IPA are given in pointy brackets)

Similar to Malangan Javanese, the high vowels /i/ and /u/ each have a slightly lower allophone [ɪ] and [ʊ] respectively. Similar to Malangan Javanese, [ɛ] and [ɔ] are allophones of the high-mid vowels /e/ and /o/. The allophones are conditioned by the syllable structure of the root: they appear in closed syllables and in open syllables before a closed syllable containing a high-mid vowel, a mid vowel, or a low vowel. The allophones also appear in an open syllable when the following open syllable has a high vowel or a low vowel.

3.3.2 Description of the Consonants

3.3.2.1 The Stops

The stops in Malangan Indonesian comprise the following sets: /p, t, c, k/ and /b, d, ɟ, g/. Descriptions of Indonesian varieties have characterized both sets as voiced and voiceless respectively (Lapoliwa 1981; Soderberg and Olson 2008). However, based on my fieldwork observations, Malangan Indonesian speakers who speak Javanese as their first language realize both sets as voiceless and differentiate them in tenseness. Similar to the stops in Malangan Javanese, the breathy pronunciation can be heard in the vowels that occur after heavy stop consonants (cf. §3.2.2.1). The heavy voiced consonants are represented with an added superscript [Ḑ].

The stops in Malangan Indonesian occur at five places of articulation: bilabial, dental, alveolar, palatal, and velar. The /t/ in Malangan Indonesian is dental, while the /d/ is a heavy alveolar stop. The /d/ is realized by raising the tongue tip touching the alveolar ridge. This is different from Malangan Javanese, which has a set of heavy and light dental stops /t, d/ and a set of heavy and light retroflex stops /ṭ, ḍ/.

The phonemic contrast between the stops in Malangan Indonesian in word-initial and word-medial position is shown in (89) and (90).

(89) Contrast between the stops in word-initial position

/p/ - /b/	<i>pagi</i>	/pɑgi/	[ˈpa.ḡi]	‘morning’
	<i>bagi</i>	/baɡi/	[ˈba.ḡi]	‘to share’
/t/ - /d/	<i>tahan</i>	/ṭahan/	[ˈṭa.han]	‘hold’
	<i>dahan</i>	/daɦan/	[ˈḏa.han]	‘branch’
/c/ - /ɟ/	<i>cari</i>	/caɾi/	[ˈca.ri]	‘to find’
	<i>jari</i>	/jaɾi/	[ˈja.ri]	‘finger’
/k/ - /g/	<i>kali</i>	/kaɭi/	[ˈka.li]	‘time’
	<i>gali</i>	/gaɭi/	[ˈḡa.li]	‘to dig’

(90) Contrast between the stops in word-medial position

/p/ - /b/	<i>kapur</i>	/kapur/	[ka.pʊr]	‘chalk’
	<i>kabur</i>	/kabur/	[ka.bʊr]	‘to run away’
/t/ - /d/	<i>roti</i>	/roṭi/	[rɔ.ṭi]	‘bread’
	<i>rodi</i>	/roḍi/	[rɔ.ḍi]	‘forced labour’
/c/ - /ɟ/	<i>kecap</i>	/kəcap/	[kə.ˈcap]	‘to taste’
	<i>kejap</i>	/kəɟap/	[kə.ˈɟap]	‘to wink’
/k/ - /g/	<i>akar</i>	/akar/	[ʔa.kar]	‘root’
	<i>agar</i>	/agar/	[ʔa.ɡar]	‘in order that’

In word-final position, the light stops /p/ and /t/ are unreleased and realized as [p̚] and [t̚] (91).

(91) Examples of /p/ and /t/ in coda position

_#	<i>asap</i>	/asap/	[ʔa.sap̚]	‘smoke’
	<i>kabut</i>	/kabuṭ/	[ka.bʊṭ̚]	‘fog’

Similar to Malangan Javanese, in word-final position the palatal stops /c/ and /ɟ/ are not permitted. In root-final position the heavy stops /b/ and /d/ are always realized as their light stop counterparts (92).

(92) Examples of /b/ and /d/ in coda and root-final position

	<i>jawab</i>	/jawab/	[ʔa.wap̚]	‘to answer’ (from Arabic)
	<i>jawab-an</i>	/jawab-an/	[ʔa.wa.pan̚]	‘an answer’
	<i>abjad</i>	/abjad/	[ʔap̚.ɟaṭ̚]	‘alphabet’ (from Arabic)
	<i>peng-abjad-an</i>	/pəŋabjadan/	[pə.ŋap̚.ɟa.ṭan̚]	‘alphabetization’

The heavy velar stop /g/ is also realized as the light velar stop [k] in word-final position, including in loanwords such as *blog* [ˈblɔk] ‘weblog’ and *wig* [ˈwik] ‘artificial hair’. On the other hand, the light velar stop /k/ is realized as a glottal stop [ʔ] in root-final position (93) as is the case in Malangan Javanese. Likewise, the glottal stop [ʔ] also occurs phonetically before a vowel-initial onset, such as in *akan* [ʔa.kan̚] ‘will’.

(93) Examples of [ʔ] in root-final position

_#	<i>tarik</i>	/tarik/	[ṭa.rɪʔ]	‘to pull’
	<i>tarik-an</i>	/ṭarikan/	[ṭa.rɪʔ.an̚]	‘pulling lever’
	<i>gerak</i>	/gərak/	[ɡ̊ə.ˈraʔ]	‘to move’
	<i>gerak-an</i>	/gərakan/	[ɡ̊ə.ˈraʔ.an̚]	‘movement’

Malangan Indonesian speakers can be distinguished from monolingual Indonesian speakers or Indonesian speakers of other regional origins on the basis of their breathy pronunciation of a vowel that occurs after a heavy stop consonant, as well as their tendency to realize /k/ as [ʔ] in root-final position and phonetically before a word-initial vowel. Due to the voiceless stops and the tendency of realizing /k/ as a glottal stop, Malangan Indonesian speakers are considered *medhòk*, a Javanese word that means ‘provincial, heavily accented’ (also see Adisasmito-Smith (2004:29)).

3.3.2.2 The Nasals

The nasals /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ in Malangan Indonesian can occur in word-initial and word-medial position, similar to the nasals in Malangan Javanese. Their phonemic contrasts are shown in (94) and (95).

(94) Contrast between nasals in word-initial position

/m/ - /n/	<i>mémék</i>	/memek/	[mɛ.mɛʔ]	‘vagina’
	<i>nénék</i>	/nenek/	[nɛ.nɛʔ]	‘grandmother’
/ɲ/ - /ʃ/	<i>nyala</i>	/ɲala/	[ɲa.la]	‘flame’
	<i>jala</i>	/ʃala/	[ʃa.la]	‘fish net’
/ŋ/ - /k/	<i>ngéong</i>	/ŋeɔŋ/	[ŋɛ.jɔŋ]	‘to meow’
	<i>kéong</i>	/keɔŋ/	[kɛ.jɔŋ]	‘shell’

(95) Contrast between nasals in word-medial position

/m/ - /n/	<i>semang</i>	/səmaŋ/	[sə.maŋ]	‘host’
	<i>senang</i>	/sənaŋ/	[sə.naŋ]	‘happy’
/ɲ/ - /ʃ/	<i>punya</i>	/puɲa/	[pu.ɲa]	‘have’
	<i>puja</i>	/puʃa/	[pu.ʃa]	‘to worship’
/ŋ/ - /g/	<i>dengan</i>	/dəŋan/	[də.ŋan]	‘with’
	<i>degan</i>	/dəgan/	[də.ɡan]	‘young coconut’

All nasals can occur in word-final position, except for the palatal nasal /ɲ/. In word-final position /m/ and /n/ are unreleased as [m̚] and [n̚] respectively (96).

(96) Contrast between nasals in word-final position

/m/ - /n/	<i>awam</i>	/awam/	[ʔa.wam]	‘common’
	<i>awan</i>	/awan/	[ʔa.wan]	‘cloud’
/ŋ/ - /m/	<i>serang</i>	/səraŋ/	[sə.ʔaŋ]	‘to attack’
	<i>seram</i>	/seram/	[sə.ʔa.m]	‘scary’
/ŋ/ - /n/	<i>sarang</i>	/saraŋ/	[sa.ʔaŋ]	‘nest’
	<i>saran</i>	/saran/	[sa.ʔa.n]	‘advise’

3.3.2.3 The Fricatives

Malangan Indonesian has two fricatives, the alveolar fricative /s/ and the glottal fricative /h/. Both can occur in all positions, as shown in the examples in (97).

(97) Contrast between the alveolar fricative /s/ and the glottal fricative /h/ in all positions

#_	<i>sama</i>	/sama/	[sa.ma]	‘alike’
	<i>hama</i>	/hama/	[ha.ma]	‘pest’
V_V	<i>dasi</i>	/dasi/	[d̥a.si]	‘tie’
	<i>dahi</i>	/dahi/	[d̥a.hi]	‘forehead’
_#	<i>tumpas</i>	/tumpas/	[tu.mpas]	‘to annihilate’
	<i>tumpah</i>	/tumpah/	[tu.mpah]	‘spilled’

3.3.2.4 The Trill and the Lateral

The alveolar trill /r/ occurs in all positions, as does the alveolar lateral /l/. Their phonemic contrast is shown in (98).

(98) Contrast between alveolar trill /r/ and alveolar lateral /l/ in all positions

#_	<i>rusa</i>	/rusa/	[ru.sa]	‘deer’
	<i>lusa</i>	/lusa/	[lu.sa]	‘day after tomorrow’
V_V	<i>beri</i>	/bəri/	[b̥ə.ʔi]	‘to give’
	<i>beli</i>	/bəli/	[b̥ə.ʔi]	‘to buy’
_#	<i>akar</i>	/akar/	[ʔa.kar]	‘root’
	<i>akal</i>	/akal/	[ʔa.kal]	‘sense’

3.3.2.5 The Approximants

There are two approximants in Malangan Indonesian, the bilabial approximant /w/ and the palatal approximant /j/. Both have a similar distribution: they can occur in onset position but never in coda position. The phonemic contrast between the approximants is shown in (99).

- (99) Contrast between bilabial approximant /w/ and palatal approximant /j/ in onset position

#_	<i>wawasan</i>	/wawasan/	[wa.'wa.sañ]	'insight'
	<i>yayasan</i>	/jajasan/	[ja.'ja.sañ]	'foundation'
V_V	<i>rawa</i>	/rawa/	[ra.wa]	'swamp'
	<i>raya</i>	/raja/	[ra.ja]	'large, great'

3.3.3 Description of the Vowels

3.3.3.1 The High Vowels

There are two high vowels in Malangan Indonesian, the unrounded front vowel /i/ and the rounded back vowel /u/. In both onset and coda position, /i/ is realized as [i] (100), and /u/ as [u] (101).

- (100) Examples of the high front vowel /i/ in open syllables

#_	<i>ini</i>	/ini/	[ʔi.ni]	'this'
C_C	<i>silang</i>	/silañ/	[si.lañ]	'to cross'
_#	<i>jari</i>	/jari/	[jã.ri]	'finger'

- (101) Examples of the high back vowel /u/ in open syllables

#_	<i>udang</i>	/udañ/	[ʔu.ɖañ]	'shrimp'
C_C	<i>kubah</i>	/kubah/	[ku.ɓah̃]	'dome'
_#	<i>baru</i>	/baru/	[bã.ru]	'new'

The phonemic status of /i/ is shown in example (102) by contrasting it with its phonetically close counterpart, the mid front vowel /e/. The minimal pair in (102) contrasts both vowels in coda position.

- (102) Contrast between the front vowels /i/ and /e/ in coda position

C_C	<i>bio</i>	/bio/	[ʔi.ʲo]	‘organic’ (from Dutch)
	<i>béo</i>	/beo/	[ʔe.ʲo]	‘a kind of bird’
_#	<i>tapi</i>	/tapi/	[ʔa.pi]	‘but’
	<i>tapé</i>	/tape/	[ʔa.pe]	‘fermented cassava’

The phonemic status of /u/ is shown in example (103) by contrasting it with the open-mid back vowel /o/.

- (103) Contrast between the back vowels /u/ and /o/

#_	<i>ulah</i>	/ulah/	[ʔu.lah]	‘act’
	<i>olah</i>	/olah/	[ʔo.lah]	‘to process’
C_C	<i>pula</i>	/pula/	[pu.la]	‘also’
	<i>pola</i>	/pola/	[po.la]	‘pattern’

Following the vowel lowering rules in Malangan Javanese, in a closed syllable and its preceding syllable both vowels can be lowered into [ɪ] and [ʊ]. Malangan Indonesian speakers may realize *burung* [ʔu.ruŋ] ‘bird’ as [ʔʊ.ruŋ] and *bibir* [ʔi.bɪr] ‘lip’ as [ʔʊ.bɪr].

3.3.3.2 The High-Mid Vowels

Malangan Indonesian has two high-mid vowels, the high-mid front vowel /e/ and the high-mid back vowel /o/. The phonemic status of /e/ was previously shown in example (102). The high-mid front unrounded vowel /e/ is realized as [e] in an open syllable, as exemplified in (104).

- (104) Examples of the high-mid front vowel /e/

C_C	<i>béda</i>	/beda/	[ʔe.ɖa]	‘different’
_#	<i>soré</i>	/sore/	[so.re]	‘evening’

The phonemic status of /o/ has been shown in example (103). The high-mid rounded vowel /o/ is realized as a high-mid back rounded vowel [o] in an open syllable (105).

- (105) Examples of the high-mid back vowel /o/

#_	<i>oléh</i>	/oleh/	[ʔo.leh]	‘by’
C_C	<i>soré</i>	/sore/	[so.re]	‘evening’
_#	<i>teko</i>	/teko/	[te.ko]	‘jug’

In closed syllables, Malangan Indonesian speakers tend to lower and centralize /e/ into [ɛ] and /o/ into [ɔ] (106).

- (106) Examples of /e/, /o/ realized as [ɛ], [ɔ] in closed syllables
- | | | | |
|---------------|----------|-----------|-------------------------|
| <i>sersan</i> | /sersan/ | [sɛr.san] | 'sergeant' (from Dutch) |
| <i>borgol</i> | /borgol/ | [bɔr.ɡɔl] | 'handcuffs' |
| <i>karet</i> | /karet/ | [ka.rɛt] | 'plastic' |
| <i>lapor</i> | /lapor/ | [la.pɔr] | 'to report' |

The process is also extended to the vowel of an open syllable that occurs before a closed syllables containing a high-mid or a low vowel (107).

- (107) Examples of /e/, /o/ realized as [ɛ], [ɔ] before a closed syllable
- | | | | |
|---------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| <i>bérés</i> | /beres/ | [bɛ.rɛs] | 'ready' |
| <i>tolong</i> | /tolonɣ/ | [tɔ.lɔŋ] | 'to help' |
| <i>énak</i> | /enak/ | [ɛ.naʔ] | 'delicious' |

The allophones [ɛ] and [ɔ] also occur in an open syllable if the following syllable is an open syllable that contains a high or low vowel (108).

- (108) Examples of /e/, /o/ realized as [ɛ], [ɔ] before an open syllable
- | | | | |
|--------------|---------|----------|----------------------------|
| <i>kéju</i> | /keʝu/ | [kɛ.ʝu] | 'cheese' (from Portuguese) |
| <i>péta</i> | /peʈa/ | [pɛ.ʈa] | 'map' (from Sanskrit) |
| <i>rompi</i> | /rompi/ | [rɔ.mpi] | 'waistcoat' (from Dutch) |
| <i>kota</i> | /koʈa/ | [kɔ.ʈa] | 'city' (from Sanskrit) |

3.3.3.3 The Mid Vowel

The mid central vowel /ə/ occurs in word-initial and word-medial position of both open and closed syllable. It does not occur in word-final position. See example (109).

- (109) Examples of the mid central vowel /ə/
- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------|------------|------------|
| #_ | <i>entah</i> | /ənʈah/ | [ʔə.nʈah] | 'either' |
| C_C | <i>bandel</i> | /bandəl/ | [b̞ə.ndəl] | 'stubborn' |

The schwa has no allophonic variants. It is also used as an epenthetic vowel to break up consonant clusters in loanwords, or other consonant clusters for ease of pronunciation, for example in *gréja/geréja* [gə.ʔɛ.ja] ‘church’, which is borrowed from Portuguese *igreja* ‘church’.

In order to show that /ə/ is phonemic, it is contrasted with the low central vowel /a/ (110).

- (110) Contrast between the central vowels /ə/ and /a/
- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------|------------|----------------|
| #_ | <i>entah</i> | /əntəh/ | [ʔə.n̩təh] | ‘either’ |
| | <i>antah</i> | /antəh/ | [ʔa.n̩təh] | ‘unknown land’ |
| C_C | <i>tebu</i> | /təbu/ | [tə.b̥u] | ‘sugarcane’ |
| | <i>tabu</i> | /tabu/ | [ta.b̥u] | ‘taboo’ |

3.3.3.4 The Low Vowel

Malangan Indonesian has one low vowel, the low central vowel /a/. It occurs in all positions, as can be seen in (111).

- (111) Examples of the low central vowel /a/
- | | | | | |
|-----|----------------|----------|-----------|--------|
| #_ | <i>aku</i> | /aku/ | [ʔa.ku] | ‘I’ |
| C_C | <i>kandang</i> | /kandaŋ/ | [ka.ndaŋ] | ‘cage’ |
| _# | <i>tanda</i> | /tanda/ | [ta.nda] | ‘sign’ |

The phonemic status of /a/ was demonstrated in (110) by contrasting /a/ with the mid central vowel /ə/.

3.3.4 Phonotactics

3.3.4.1 Consonants

The number of places of articulation in Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian stops is not the same. Malangan Javanese has two contrastive sets: the dental stops /t̪, d̪/ and the retroflex stops /ɖ, ɗ/. However, Malangan Indonesian does not have retroflex stops, and only a dental /t̪/ and an alveolar /d/. The rest of the consonants have the same distribution as their Malangan Javanese counterparts. They can all occur in word-initial and word-medial positions. In coda and word-final position, the palatal stops /c, ɟ/, the palatal nasal /ɲ/, and the approximants /w, j/ do not occur.

Table 3.19 shows the phonetic realizations of the consonants in different positions.

Position	p	b	t̚	d	c	ɟ	k	g	s	h	m	n	ɲ	r	l	w	j
Syllable level																	
onset	p	b	t̚	d	c	ɟ	k	g	s	h	m	n	ɲ	r	l	w	j
coda	pʰ	pʰ	t̚	-	-	-	ʔ	kʰ	s	h	mʰ	nʰ	-	ɲ	r	l	-
Word level																	
initial	p	b	t̚	d	c	ɟ	k	g	s	h	m	n	ɲ	r	l	w	j
medial	p	b	t̚	d	c	ɟ	k	g	s	h	m	n	ɲ	r	l	w	j
final	pʰ	pʰ	t̚	-	-	-	ʔ	kʰ	s	h	mʰ	nʰ	-	ɲ	r	l	-

TABLE 3.19: Phonetic realizations of Malangan Indonesian consonants (=-unattested)

Similar to Malangan Javanese, Malangan Indonesian shows neutralization of heavy and light stops in root-final position. In this position, the heavy bilabial stop /b/ is realized as the light bilabial stop [p] and the alveolar stop /d/ is realized as the light dental stop [t̚]. In addition, the heavy velar stop /g/ is realized as the light velar stop [k].

It is important to note that the glottal stop [ʔ] is not included in the consonant inventory, but similar to in Malangan Javanese, it phonetically appears before word-initial vowels, and it is also the realization of /k/ in root-final position.

3.3.4.2 Vowels

Malangan Indonesian has six vowels, as in many other Indonesian varieties (Adisasmito-Smith 2004; Soderberg and Olson 2008). Almost all Malangan Indonesian vowels can occur in onset and coda position. In word-final position, /ə/ is not permitted (Table 3.20).

Similar to the situation in Malangan Javanese, the high vowels /i, u/ and the high-mid vowels /e, o/ in Malangan Indonesian each have an allophone. Their distribution is governed by the type and position of the syllable, as well as the type of vowel that appears in the adjacent syllable (Table 3.21).

Position	i	u	e	o	ə	a
word-initial	x	x	x	x	x	x
word-medial	x	x	x	x	x	x
word-final	x	x	x	x	-	x

TABLE 3.20: Malangan Javanese vowels (x= attested, -= unattested)

Phoneme	Penultimate closed syllable	Subsequent syllable	Example
/i/	[ɪ]	[V]	[ʔɪ.l.b̥ap] ‘headscarf’
/u/	[ʊ]	[V]	[ʔʊ.r.ɡ̊a] ‘heaven’
/e/	[ɛ]	[V]	[ʔɛ.r.san] ‘sergeant’
/o/	[ɔ]	[V]	[ʔɔ.r.ɡ̊ɔl] ‘handcuffs’
Phoneme	Penultimate open syllable	Final closed syllable	Example
/i/	[V]	[ɪ]	[ʔa.b̥ɪr] ‘screen, curtain’
/u/	[V]	[ʊ]	[ʔa.b̥ʊr] ‘to run away’
/i/	[ɪ]	[ɪ, ʊ]	[ʔɪ.b̥ɪr] ‘lip’
/u/	[ʊ]	[ʊ, ɪ]	[ʔʊ.r.ʊŋ] ‘bird’
/e/	[V]	[ɛ]	[ʔa.rɛʔ] ‘plastic’
/o/	[V]	[ɔ]	[ʔa.pɔr] ‘to report’
/e/	[ɛ]	[ɛ, ɔ, ə, a]	[ʔɛ.rɛs] ‘ready’
/o/	[ɔ]	[ɔ, ɛ, ə, a]	[ʔɔ.lɔŋ] ‘to help’
Phoneme	Penultimate open syllable	Final open syllable	Example
/e/	[ɛ]	[i, u, a]	[pɛ.ʔa] ‘map’
/o/	[ɔ]	[i, u, a]	[kɔ.ʔa] ‘city’

TABLE 3.21: Malangan Indonesian allophones (V = any other vowels)

In a closed syllable, as in Malangan Javanese, the high vowels /i/ and /u/

in Malangan Indonesian are lowered to [ɪ] and [ʊ] respectively in a closed syllable. The lowering may also affect the /i/ and /u/ that occurs in the preceding open syllable.

Furthermore, the high-mid vowels /e, o/ are realized as [ɛ, ɔ] respectively in a closed syllable. The allophones [ɛ] and [ɔ] in a penultimate open syllable are triggered by a subsequent closed syllable that contains either a high-mid vowel, a mid vowel, or a low vowel. Next, the allophones [ɛ, ɔ] also appear in an open syllable preceding an open syllable that has a high vowel or a low vowel.

In addition, in word-final position, [ɛ] and [ɔ] sometimes appear as the realization of diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ (see §3.3.9). Different from the situation in Malangan Javanese, the low vowel /a/ in Malangan Indonesian does not have a different allophonic realization.

In any other positions and distributions not illustrated in Table 3.21, the phonemes appear as themselves and not as their allophones.

3.3.5 Syllable Structure

The typical structures of Malangan Indonesian syllables are (C)V(C). The preferred onset consists of one consonant and the nucleus consists of one vowel.

When it comes to loanwords, syllables show more complex onset structures. Sometimes speakers break the clusters with an epenthetic vowel or delete a consonant. However, generally a maximum of three consonants in the onset of a syllable, both in word-initial and word-medial position, is accommodated in Malangan Indonesian. On the other hand, a consonant cluster in root-final position is still not preferred.

All syllable types can occur in both word-initial and word-final position. The overview of syllable types in Malangan Indonesian is presented in (112).

(112) Overview of syllable types

Onset	Nucleus	Coda	Position
C	V		word-initial/medial
	V		word-initial/medial
C	V	C	word-initial/medial
	V	C	word-initial/medial
CC	V		word-initial/medial
CC	V	C	word-initial/medial
CCC	V		word-initial/medial
CCC	V	C	word-initial/medial

The combination of complex onsets in Malangan Indonesian is very similar to that of Malangan Javanese. It is represented in (113).

(113) Overview of complex onsets

Onset			Nucleus	Coda
C _{obstruent}	C _{liquid}		V	(C)
C _{obstruent}	C _{glide}		V	(C)
C _{fricative}	C _{stop}		V	(C)
C _{nasal}	C _{obstruent}		V	(C)
C _{nasal}	C _{liquid}		V	(C)
C _{nasal}	C _{obstruent}	C _{liquid}	V	(C)
C _{fricative}	C _{stop}	C _{liquid}	V	(C)

Note that Malangan Javanese has a cluster that consists of a glide followed by a liquid, which is not found in Malangan Indonesian.

As in Malangan Javanese, the cluster of three consonants with nasal + obstruent + liquid composition cannot occur in root-initial position in Malangan Indonesian while the fricative + stop + liquid composition can be found in both root-initial and root-medial positions. This is discussed further in §3.3.7.

3.3.6 Root Structure

Monosyllabic Malangan Indonesian roots from loanwords (Table 3.22).

Type	Example	Transcription	Gloss
CVC	<i>cap</i>	/cap/	‘seal’ (from Hindi)
CCVC	<i>krim</i>	/krim/	‘cream’ (from English)
CCCVC	<i>strés</i>	/stres/	‘stress’ (from English)

TABLE 3.22: Monosyllabic roots in Malangan Indonesian

The majority of roots in Malangan Indonesian is bisyllabic (Table 3.23). The permitted shape is (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C)V(C), similar to Malangan Javanese.

Type	Example	Transcription	Gloss
V.V	<i>ia</i>	/i.a/	‘3sg’
V.VC	<i>air</i>	/a.ir/	‘water’
V.CV	<i>apa</i>	/a.pa/	‘what’
V.CVC	<i>orang</i>	/o.raŋ/	‘person’
V.CCV	<i>asli</i>	/a.sli/	‘real’ (from Arabic)
V.CCVC	<i>iklan</i>	/i.klan/	‘advertisement’ (from Arabic)
V.CCCV	<i>indra</i>	/i.ndra/	‘senses’ (from Javanese)
V.CCCVC	<i>astral</i>	/a.s̺tral/	‘like stars’ (from Dutch)
VC.CV	<i>ilmu</i>	/il.mu/	‘science’ (from Arabic)
VC.CVC	<i>arsip</i>	/ar.sip/	‘archive’ (from Dutch)
VC.CCCVC	<i>abstrak</i>	/ab.s̺trak/	‘abstract’ (from Dutch)
CV.V	<i>dua</i>	/du.a/	‘two’
CV.VC	<i>baik</i>	/ba.ik/	‘nice’
CV.CV	<i>jemu</i>	/jə.mu/	‘bored’
CV.CVC	<i>bakar</i>	/ba.kar/	‘burn’
CV.CCV	<i>rambu</i>	/ra.mbu/	‘sign’
CV.CCVC	<i>tabrak</i>	/ṭa.brak/	‘to collide with’ (from Javanese)
CV.CCCV	<i>santri</i>	/sa.n̺tri/	‘Islamic school students’ (from Sanskrit)
CV.CCCVC	<i>listrik</i>	/li.s̺trik/	‘electricity’ (from Dutch)
CVC.CV	<i>pergi</i>	/pər.gi/	‘to go’
CVC.CVC	<i>terkam</i>	/ṭər.kam/	‘to bite (for animal)’
CCV.V	<i>pria</i>	/pri.a/	‘man’
CCV.CV	<i>skala</i>	/ska.la/	‘scale’ (from Dutch)
CCV.CVC	<i>status</i>	/s̺ta.ṭus/	‘status’ (from Dutch)
CCV.CCV	<i>presto</i>	/pre.s̺to/	‘pressured cooking’ (from English)
CCV.CCVC	<i>trampil</i>	/ṭra.mpil/	‘skillful’
CCVC.CVC	<i>traktir</i>	/ṭrak.ṭir/	‘treat’ (from Dutch)

TABLE 3.23: Bisyllabic roots in Malangan Indonesian

As in Malangan Javanese, the first consonant of a cluster occurring in root-medial position is not analyzed as the final consonant of the preceding syllable. However, the number of possible bisyllabic root structure in Malangan Indonesian is fewer than Malangan Javanese.

Malangan Indonesian has trisyllabic roots, as shown in Table 3.24. Many of them are loanwords. The following list may not be complete due to the limited Malangan Indonesian corpus in this study and the number of loanwords incorporated to Malangan Indonesian.

Root	Example	Transcription	Gloss
V.CV.CV	<i>udara</i>	/u.da.ra/	‘air’ (from Sanskrit)
V.CVC.CV	<i>alergi</i>	/a.ler.gi/	‘allergy’ (from Dutch)
VC.CV.CV	<i>alpaka</i>	/al.pa.ka/	‘alpaca’ (from Dutch)
VC.CV.VC	<i>ikhtiar</i>	/ik̚.t̪i.ar/	‘effort’ (from Arabic)
VC.CV.CVC	<i>alkohol</i>	/al.ko.hol/	‘alcohol’ (from Dutch)
V.CCV.CV	<i>istana</i>	/i.s̪ta.na/	‘palace’ (from Sanskrit)
CV.V.CV	<i>suami</i>	/su.a.mi/	‘husband’ (from Sanskrit)
CV.V.CVC	<i>pailit</i>	/pa.i.li̯t/	‘bankrupt’ (from Dutch)
CV.CV.CV	<i>bahasa</i>	/ba.ha.sa/	‘language’ (from Sanskrit)
CV.CV.CVC	<i>kalimat</i>	/ka.li.ma̯t/	‘sentence’ (from Arabic)
CV.CCV.CV	<i>bandara</i>	/ba.nda.ra/	‘airport’ (from Portuguese)
CV.CV.CCV	<i>kelinci</i>	/kə.li.n̪ci/	‘rabbit’ (from Dutch)
CCV.CV.CV	<i>tragedi</i>	/t̪ra.ge.di/	‘tragedy’ (from Dutch)
CCCV.CV.CV	<i>strategi</i>	/s̪tra.t̪ə.gi/	‘strategy’ (from Dutch)

TABLE 3.24: Trisyllabic roots in Malangan Indonesian

3.3.7 Consonant Clusters

This section describes the types of cluster that are attested in Malangan Indonesian. Loanwords are also included to show that language contact and borrowing have expanded the amount of possible clusters. The next chapter (§4.3.2.4) examines which of these clusters are also attested in reversed forms.

As shown in Section 3.3.5, Malangan Indonesian allows clusters of two consonants in root-initial and root-medial position, but only one consonant in root-final position. There are only two loanwords from English *boks* ‘box’ and *séks* ‘sex’, which have a /ks/ cluster in word-final position.

Table 3.25 shows that the same combinations on Malangan Javanese clusters of two consonants discussed in §3.2.7 can also be seen in Malangan Indonesian, with the exception of clusters of glide + liquid. They can be categorized into cluster of: 1) obstruent + liquid; 2) obstruent + glide; 3) fricative + stop; 4) nasal + obstruent; and 5) nasal + liquid.

	/p/	/b/	/t̪/	/d̪/	/c/	/ɟ/	/k/	/g/	/s/	/r/	/l/	/w/	/j/
/p/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/pr/	/pl/	-	-
/b/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/br/	/bl/	-	/bj/
/t̪/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/tr̪/	/tl̪/	-	-
/d̪/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/dr̪/	-	-	-
/ɟ/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/jr̪/	/jl̪/	-	-
/k/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/kr/	/kl/	/kw/	-
/g/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/gr/	/gl/	-	-
/m/	/mp/	/mb/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	/mr/	/ml/	-	-
/n/	-	-	/nt̪/	/nd̪/	/nc/	/nɟ/	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/ɲ/	-	-	-	-	-	-	/ɲk/	/ɲg/	/ɲs/	/ɲr/	/ɲl/	-	-
/s/	/sp/	/st/	-	-	-	-	/sk/	-	-	/sr/	/sl/	/sw/	-

TABLE 3.25: Clusters of two consonants in Malangan Indonesian

The first type of consonant cluster found in Malangan Javanese is an obstruent followed by a liquid. Although they do not appear as frequently as in Malangan Javanese, they can occur in root-initial and root-medial position (114) - (115).

(114) Obstruent + liquid cluster in root-initial position

/pr/	<i>prangko</i>	[ˈpr̩ŋ.ko]	‘postage’ (from Dutch)
/pl/	<i>plakat</i>	[ˈpla.kat̪]	‘placard’ (from Dutch)
/br/	<i>brosur</i>	[ˈbr̩ʊ.sur]	‘brochure’ (from Dutch)
/bl/	<i>blaster</i>	[ˈbl̩ʌ.st̩ər]	‘mixed descent’ (from Dutch)
/tr/	<i>tradisi</i>	[ˈtra.ɖi.si]	‘tradition’ (from Dutch)
/dr/	<i>drama</i>	[ˈɖra.ma]	‘drama’ (from Dutch)
/kl/	<i>klakson</i>	[ˈklak̪.sɔn̪]	‘horn’ (from Dutch)
/gr/	<i>gratis</i>	[ˈɡra.ʈis]	‘free’ (from Dutch)
/gl/	<i>gladi</i>	[ˈɡl̩ʌ.ɖi]	‘to exercise’
/sr/	<i>sriti</i>	[ˈsri.ʈi]	‘a kind of bird’
/sl/	<i>slogan</i>	[ˈsl̩ɔ.ɡ̊an̪]	‘slogan’ (from English)

(115) Obstruent + liquid cluster in root-medial position

/pr/	<i>kaprah</i>	[kə.ˈpr̩ah]	‘ordinary’
/pl/	<i>taplak</i>	[ˈta.plaʔ]	‘tablecloth’ (from Dutch)
/br/	<i>dobrak</i>	[ˈɖɔ.braʔ]	‘to smash’ (from Dutch)
/bl/	<i>coblos</i>	[ˈcɔ.bl̩ʊs]	‘to make a small hole’
/tr/	<i>katrol</i>	[ˈka.ʈr̩ɔl]	‘pulley’ (from Dutch)
/dr/	<i>kodrat</i>	[ˈkɔ.ɖraʈ̪]	‘original characters’ (from Arabic)
/ʃr/	<i>hijrah</i>	[ˈhi.ʃr̩ah]	‘to migrate’ (from Arabic)
/kr/	<i>cakra</i>	[ˈca.kra]	‘gear’ (from Sanskrit)
/kl/	<i>takluk</i>	[ˈta.kl̩ʊʔ]	‘to surrender’ (from Arabic)
/gr/	<i>migrasi</i>	[mi.ˈɡra̰.si]	‘migration’ (from Dutch)
/gl/	<i>iglo</i>	[ˈʔi.ɡ̊l̩ɔ]	‘iglo’ (from Dutch)
/sr/	<i>asrama</i>	[ʔa.ˈsra.ma]	‘dormitory’ (from Sanskrit)
/sl/	<i>muslim</i>	[ˈmu.slm̪]	‘Islam followers’ (from Arabic)

Words that seem to have the potential consonant clusters /cr/, /cl/, and /kl/ optionally often receive vowel epenthesis to break the cluster in root-initial position. Therefore, *clònò* ‘trousers’ in Malangan Javanese is *celana* [cə.ˈla.na] in Malangan Indonesian.

The second type of consonant cluster in Malangan Indonesian is an obstruent followed by a glide, shown in (116) and (117).

(116) Obstruent + glide cluster in root-initial position

/kw/	<i>kwitansi</i>	[ˈkwi.ʈan̪̚.si]	‘bill’ (from Dutch)
/sw/	<i>swasta</i>	[ˈswa.sʈa]	‘private sector’ (from Sanskrit)

- (117) Obstruent + glide cluster in root-medial position
 /bj/ *subyek* ['su.bjɛk] 'subject' (from Dutch)
 /sw/ *siswa* ['si.swa] 'student' (from Sanskrit)

Some more clusters of this combination that only occur in Javanese loan-words, such as /tj/ and /gj/, are not included here, because they are already discussed in §3.2.7.

Thirdly, consonant clusters that consist of a fricative followed by a stop can occur in root-initial and root-medial position, as shown in (118) and (119).

- (118) Fricative + stop cluster in root-medial position
 /sp/ *spasi* ['spa.si] 'space' (from Dutch)
 /st/ *stadion* ['st̪a.di.ɔn] 'stadium' (from Dutch)
 /sk/ *skala* ['ska.la] 'scale' (from Dutch)
- (119) Fricative + stop cluster in root-medial position
 /sp/ *inspirasi* ['ʔin'.spi.ra.si] 'inspiration' (from Dutch)
 /st/ *pésta* ['pɛ.st̪a] 'party' (from Portuguese)
 /sk/ *baskét* ['ba.skɛt̪] 'basketball' (from English)

Further, Malangan Indonesian also has a nasal followed by an obstruent cluster in root-medial position (120). In root-initial position, this type of cluster only includes words that originate from Malangan Javanese (70).

- (120) Nasal + obstruent cluster in root-medial position
 /mp/ *tumpah* ['tu.mpah] 'spilled'
 /mb/ *gambar* ['g̃a.mbar] 'picture'
 /n̪t/ *cantik* ['ca.n̪tiʔ] 'pretty'
 /nd/ *tanda* ['ta.n̪da] 'sign'
 /nc/ *kencang* ['kə.ncaŋ] 'tight'
 /n̪j/ *panjang* ['pa.n̪jaŋ] 'long'
 /ŋk/ *lengkap* ['lɛ.ŋkap] 'complete'
 /ŋg/ *bangga* ['ba.ŋg̃a] 'proud'
 /ŋs/ *angsur* ['ʔa.ŋsɯr] 'to pay in installments'

The next type of consonant cluster is a nasal followed by a liquid. Unlike in Malangan Javanese, in Malangan Indonesian this cluster can only occur in root-medial position (121).

(121) Nasal + liquid cluster in root-initial position

/mr/	<i>pamrih</i>	[pa.mrih]	‘strings attached’
/ml/	<i>imlek</i>	[ʔi.mleʔ]	‘Chinese New Year’ (from Hokkien)
/ŋr/	<i>ningrat</i>	[ni.ŋraʔ]	‘nobility’
/ŋl/	<i>pungli</i>	[pu.ŋli]	‘extortion’

The nasal followed by obstruent sequence and the nasal followed by liquid sequence in root-initial position might have been described as heterosyllabic (Lapoliwa 1981) due to the sonority principle (Clements 1990) mentioned in §3.2.8. Speakers of Malangan Indonesian, however, are influenced by Malangan Javanese, and realize these sequences as tautosyllabic. This behavior is in line with Adisasmito-Smith (2004)’s description that they are tautosyllabic, or occurring in the same syllable, especially in the speech of Javanese speakers.

In Malangan Indonesian, clusters of three consonants are necessarily loanwords from Javanese, Dutch, or English. The nasal + stop + liquid sequence can only be found in root-medial position. In root-initial and root-medial position, the fricative + stop + liquid combination occurs more frequently than in Javanese. They have been exemplified in (76) and (77).

In addition, influenced by Malangan Javanese, another type of consonant cluster is also found in Malangan Indonesian. This type includes homorganic consonant clusters that take place in the initial position of words through the addition of nasal prefixes. The distribution and realization of the nasal prefix (N-) is similar to that in Malangan Javanese (see §3.2.10).

The occurrence of this nasal prefix is not as regular as in Malangan Javanese. However, when Malangan Javanese speakers speak Indonesian, they sometimes replace the verbal prefix *meN-* in Standard Indonesian with the prefix *N-* that is used in Malangan Javanese. Some of these are exemplified in Table 3.26 but note that the assimilation process for different types of root-initial consonant have already been illustrated in §3.2.10.

Word-initial consonant	Realization of N-	Example	Gloss	Derived form	Gloss
/b/	[mb-]	/baca/	‘to read’	[mba.ca]	‘to read.AV’
/b/	[ŋg-]	/gam-bar/	‘picture’	[ŋga.mbar]	‘to draw.AV’
/l/	[ŋl-]	/lamar/	‘to propose’	[ŋla.mar]	‘to propose.AV’

TABLE 3.26: Nasal prefix *N-* in Malangan Indonesian

In the next chapter, where the rules of reversal in Walikan are discussed, we will revisit which attested clusters in Malangan Indonesian are permitted in a reversed language. They can be seen in Table 4.2 and 4.3 of §4.3.2.4.

3.3.8 Sequences of Consonants

The term consonant sequences is used here to refer to two consonants that are adjacent to each other but that are heterosyllabic. In other words, they are separated by a syllable boundary.

Malangan Indonesian words, like those of Malangan Javanese, also have consonant sequences that are heterosyllabic, or separated by syllable boundaries. They can take the form of a liquid in coda position that is followed by either an obstruent, a nasal, or a glide in the onset of the following syllable (122), or an obstruent in coda position that is followed by another obstruent in the onset of the following syllable (123).

(122) Heterosyllabic liquid + obstruent/glide/nasal sequences

/r.t̚/	<i>gertak</i>	[g̊ər.t̚aʔ]	‘to bluff’
/r.d/	<i>gardu</i>	[g̊ər.ɗu]	‘substation’ (from Portuguese)
/r.c/	<i>cercah</i>	[cər.cah]	‘glimmer’
/r.k/	<i>berkas</i>	[b̥ər.kas]	‘file’
/r.g/	<i>harga</i>	[har.g̊a]	‘price’ (from Sanskrit)
/r.s/	<i>kursi</i>	[k̚ər.si]	‘chair’ (from Arabic)
/r.m/	<i>kurma</i>	[k̚ər.ma]	‘dates’ (from Persian)
/r.w/	<i>arwana</i>	[ʔar.wa.na]	‘a kind of fish’

- (123) Heterosyllabic obstruent + obstruent sequences
 /k.t̚/ *sakti* ['sak.t̚i] 'magic' (from Sanskrit)
 /b.s/ *absén* ['ʔap.sɛn] 'absent' (from Dutch)

3.3.9 Sequences of Vowels

Malangan Indonesian syllables prefer one vowel only. Native words do not have diphthongs, and a vowel cluster will naturally be split into different syllables, sometimes by adding an epenthetic glide consonant (124).

- (124) Examples of two-vowel sequence
dua /dua/ ['d̥u.wa] 'two'
buah /buah/ ['b̥u.wah] 'fruit'
liat /liat/ ['li.ʔat̚] 'to watch'

Similar to the situation in Malangan Javanese, in Malangan Indonesian diphthongs are mostly found in loanwords from Hokkien, as shown in (81). The diphthongs /ai/ and /au/ in Standard Indonesian in word-final position, such as in *ramai* ['ra.maⁱ] 'noisy' and *kalau* ['ka.la^u] 'if', are realized as [e/ɛ] and [o/ɔ].

Table 3.27 shows the realization of diphthongs in Malangan Indonesian.

Words	Standard Indonesian	Malangan Indonesian	Gloss
<i>ramai</i>	['ra.ma ⁱ]	['ra.me]	'noisy'
<i>gulai</i>	['gu.la ⁱ]	['gu.le]	'curry'
<i>pantai</i>	['pa.nta ⁱ]	['pa.ntɛ]	'beach'
<i>sungai</i>	['su.ŋa ⁱ]	['su.ŋɛ]	'river'
<i>kalau</i>	['ka.la ^u]	['ka.lo]	'if'
<i>pulau</i>	['pu.la ^u]	['pu.lɔ]	'island'

TABLE 3.27: Examples of the disappearance of diphthongs

3.3.10 Reduplication

Along with Malangan Javanese, Malangan Indonesian has three types of reduplication: 1) full reduplication of a root or derived word; 2) full reduplication that is accompanied by vowel alternation; and 3) partial reduplication. The

latter form of reduplication does not appear in the Walikan data, so is not further discussed here.

Full reduplication of roots in Malangan Indonesian can be applied to nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, and numerals. Reduplication is used to express different meanings, such as plurality, resemblance, repetition, manner, attenuation, intensity, or sequence (125).

(125) Reduplications in Malangan Indonesian

Nominal base	<i>kawan</i>	‘friend’
	<i>kawan-kawan</i>	‘friends’
	RDP~friend	(indicating plurality)
Nominal base	<i>bapak</i>	‘father’
	<i>bapak-bapak</i>	‘resembling a man’
	RDP~father	(indicating resemblance)
Verbal base	<i>panggil</i>	‘to call’
	<i>panggil-panggil</i>	‘to call again and again’
	RDP~call	(indicating repetition)
Adverbial base	<i>cepat</i>	‘quick’
	<i>cepat-cepat</i>	‘quickly’
	RDP~quick	(indicating manner)
Adjectival base	<i>hitam</i>	‘black’
	<i>hitam-hitam</i>	‘somewhat black’
	RDP~black	(indicating attenuuity)
Adjectival base	<i>pagi</i>	‘morning’
	<i>pagi-pagi</i>	‘very early in the morning’
	RDP~morning	(indicating intensity)
Numeral base	<i>satu</i>	‘one’
	<i>satu-satu</i>	‘one by one’
	RDP~one	(indicating sequence)

Affixes are attached after reduplication, indicating that they are not part of the reduplicated base (126).

- (126) Reduplication of roots
- | | | |
|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| Nominal base | <i>teman-teman-ku</i> | ‘my friends’ |
| | [RDP~friend]-1SG.POSS | |
| Nominal base | <i>orang-orangan</i> | ‘doll’ |
| | [RDP~person]-an | |
| Verbal base | <i>di-buang-buang</i> | ‘be thrown away many times’ |
| | PASS-[RDP~throw away] | |

The function of the suffix *-an* in the second example in (126) is the same as in Malangan Javanese.

Further, in (127), the reduplication of derived words is exemplified.

- (127) Reduplication of derived words
- | | | |
|--------------|------------------------|-----------------|
| Nominal base | <i>makan</i> | ‘to eat’ |
| | <i>makan-an</i> | ‘food’ |
| | [food-NMLZ] | |
| | <i>makanan-makanan</i> | ‘a lot of food’ |
| | RDP~[food-NMLZ] | |
| Nominal base | <i>main</i> | ‘to play’ |
| | <i>main-an</i> | ‘toy’ |
| | [toy-NMLZ] | |
| | <i>mainan-mainan</i> | ‘many toys’ |
| | RDP~[toy-NMLZ] | |

Next, Malangan Indonesian also exhibits a type of reduplication in which the reduplicated part of a verbal base displays a different vowel than the root base (see §3.2.11), although the occurrence in my corpus is not as frequent as in Malangan Javanese.

It follows the same principle in Malangan Javanese. The final vowel in the root base is replaced with /a/ to create the reduplicated form. If the penultimate vowel of the base is /a/, it becomes /ɔ/ in this type of reduplication. The reduplicated form is put before the original form (128).

- (128) Reduplication with different vowel
 Verbal base *balik* ‘to reverse’
 bolak-balik ‘to reverse on and on’
 RDP~reverse

3.3.11 Stress

Malangan Indonesian, similar to Malangan Javanese, does not have phonemic word stress. Regular stress falls on the penultimate syllable of bisyllabic and trisyllabic words. When the penultimate syllable contains a schwa, the stress is moved to the final syllable. If the final syllable also has a schwa or an NC cluster, the stress remains on the penultimate syllable (129).

- (129) Stress in Malangan Indonesian
- | | | | |
|----------------|------------|-------------|------------|
| <i>sabun</i> | /sabun/ | [ˈsa.bʊn̩] | ‘soap’ |
| <i>kalimat</i> | /kalimat̩/ | [ka.li.maʔ] | ‘sentence’ |
| <i>benang</i> | /bənaŋ/ | [bə.naŋ] | ‘thread’ |
| <i>kedelé</i> | /kədəle/ | [kə.ʔə.le] | ‘soy’ |
| <i>empat</i> | /empat/ | [ˈʔə.mpaʔ] | ‘four’ |

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter has described the phonologies of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian and has underlined how the two systems influence each other.

The influence of Malangan Indonesian on Malangan Javanese can be seen in the realization of Malangan Javanese retroflex stops /t̚, d̚/ and dental stops /t̪, d̪/. The light retroflex stop /t̚/ is sometimes realized as the light dental stop [t̪], and the heavy dental stop /d̪/ as the heavy alveolar stop [d]. This is because in Malangan Indonesian, the *t* is dental and the *d* is alveolar. The same influence is also described in an acoustic study by Zen (2019).

However, the influence of Malangan Javanese on Malangan Indonesian is greater. Following the realization of Malangan Javanese stops, the stops in Malangan Indonesian are acoustically voiceless. The heavy stops are followed by breathy vowels except when they are prenasalized. In root-final position, the heavy stops are neutralized as their light counterparts.

The glottal stop [ʔ] appears in both Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian as the realization of /k/ in root-final and word final position. It is also the result of a number of other processes in Malangan Javanese.

Malangan Javanese has also influenced Malangan Indonesian vowels and their allophonic realizations. These allophones are conditioned by the segments that follow them. Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian vowels and allophones seem to have the same distributions, except for the word-final low central vowel /a/, which in Malangan Indonesian remains [a] and is not realized as [ɔ] as was historically the case in Malangan Javanese.⁷

The majority of native Malangan Javanese and Indonesian roots are bisyllabic. In general, syllables have one consonant in the onset and coda, and one vowel in the nucleus. However, a maximum of three consonants can occur in the onset of a syllable, both in root-initial and root-medial positions. The root-final position cannot hold any consonant cluster, except in recent loanwords. The word-medial homorganic consonant clusters in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian are not separated by syllable boundaries.

Malangan Indonesian consonant clusters have more or less the same combinations as Malangan Javanese, with the exception of a glide followed by a liquid (/wr/, /wl/). This type of cluster is only found in Malangan Javanese.

The discussion on the structure of Walikan in Chapter 4 will refer back to certain phonological features of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian phonologies in this chapter. Some of the key issues discussed in §4.3.2 are the neutralization of final consonants in §4.3.2.1, the realization of velar and glottal consonants in §4.3.2.2, the reversal of consonant sequences and clusters in §4.3.2.4, and the realization of vowels and their allophones in §4.3.2.6.

⁷Vowel lowering in syllables preceding a closed syllable (*[ʔḡu.nuŋ] > [ʔḡu.nuŋ]) ‘mountain’ is not attested, for example, in Jakarta Malay (Wallace 1976) and eastern Indonesian Malay varieties (Pauw 2008). It occurs in Jambi Malay (Yanti 2010) and Papua Malay (Kluge 2014), but the underlying historical processes are unrelated.

CHAPTER 4

Reversal in Walikan

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses reversal strategies and word structure in Walikan. It starts by giving an overview of the attested reversal rules (§4.2), then proceeds to discuss each type of the reversal. §4.3 discusses the most productive type of reversal, Total Segment Reversal. §4.3.1 explores the additional reversal rules, while the way in which all types of reversal reflect the phonology and phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian is described in §4.3.2.

4.2 Overview of Reversal Rules in Walikan

Lexical items in Walikan are created through a process of reversal, which involves exchanging and/or reversing segments at word level. The term reversal is used here in accordance with the name of the variety, *Walikan*, which in Javanese means ‘reversed’. The term ‘reversed language’ has been used in previous linguistic studies of similar type of languages (Bagemihl 1988; Bagemihl 1989; Dreyfuss 1983; Hoogervorst 2014; Lefkowitz 1989; Lefkowitz 1991). It is a linguistic manipulation strategy that can be defined as deliberately rever-

sing linguistic forms according to linguistic rules, as well as cultural and social contexts (Storch 2011). Word reversal is a widespread phenomenon that can be observed in many different languages. A typological description of word reversal and a framework which categorizes reversal into ten different types can be found in Bagemihl (1989).

This chapter adopts Bagemihl's (1989) terminology to describe the word reversal processes observable in Walikan, as shown in Table 4.1.

No	Type of reversal	Original word	Reversed word	Gloss
1	Total Segment Reversal	<i>édan</i>	NADE	'I'
2	Transposition	<i>grog</i>	IGROG	'groggy'
3	Sequence Exchange	<i>hamil</i>	LIHAM	'pregnant'
4	Permutation	<i>abis</i>	SIBUN	'all gone, used up'

TABLE 4.1: Reversal types in Walikan

For this thesis I collected a corpus of spoken and written forms of Walikan (see §1.5.2). The most productive type of reversal in my corpus of Walikan is Total Segment Reversal (95%). The other 5% (36 out of 725 tokens) deviate from the Total Segment Reversal rule and fall under the Transposition, Sequence Exchange, and Permutation reversal types. They will be discussed in §4.5.

It is important to note that some reversal processes in Walikan also correspond to the linguistic process of metathesis, which involves a phonological reordering of sounds. However, metathesis never involves the total reversal of segments in a word.

There is good evidence that Walikan speakers base themselves on the underlying phonemic form of a word to be reversed rather than its phonetic realization. For example, the word-final light velar stop /k/ realized as [ʔ] in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian (refer to §3.2.2.1.5) appears as /k/ in the word-initial position of a reversed word. After the reversal, the newly created word must conform again to the phonology and phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian.

4.3 Total Segment Reversal

Total Segment Reversal is the most salient reversal rule in Walikan. It allows for complete inversion of all the segments in a word. This means that the last segment of the original word will be the first segment of the reversed form, the penultimate segment will be the second segment, and so on. The process is represented in Figure 4.1.

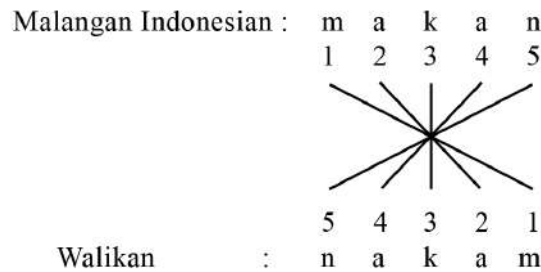


FIGURE 4.1: Total Segment Reversal in the word makan 'to eat'

This type of reversal is also found in other languages, although typologically a total reversal of word segments is a rare strategy (Bagemihl 1989). In Walikan, Total Segment Reversal affects both monosyllabic and polysyllabic words. Most native words in both Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian are bisyllabic, as they are in Walikan. Examples (1) - (4) show the distribution of Total Segment Reversal in all syllable types.

(1) Monosyllabic words

$C_1V_2C_3 \rightarrow C_3V_2C_1$
mas ['mas] → *SAM* ['sam] 'older brother'
bir ['bɪr] → *RIB* ['rip] 'beer'

(2) Bisyllabic words

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4 \rightarrow V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
tahu ['t̪a.hu] → *UHAT* ['ʔu.haʔ] 'tofu'
pagi ['pa.ɡi] → *IGAP* ['ʔi.ɡap] 'morning'

$V_1.C_2V_3C_4 \rightarrow C_4V_3.C_2V_1$
aré [ʔa.rɛʔ] → KÉRA [kɛ.ra] 'kid'
utang [ʔu.tɔŋ] → NGATU [ŋa.tu] 'debt'

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
kabar [ka.b̥aʔ] → RABAK [ra.b̥aʔ] 'news'
suwun [su.wʊnʔ] → NUWUS [nʊ.wʊs] 'thank you'

(3) Trisyllabic words

$C_1V_2.V_3.C_4V_5 \rightarrow V_5.C_4V_3.V_2C_1$
biasa [b̥i.ʔa.sa] → ASAIB [ʔa.'sa.ip] 'ordinary'
siapa [si.ʔa.pa] → APAIS [ʔa.'pa.is] 'who'

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4.C_5V_6C_7 \rightarrow C_7V_6.C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
mohamad [mɔ.'ha.maʔ] → DAMAHOM [d̥a.'ma.hɔm] 'a name'
selamat [sə.'la.maʔ] → TAMALES [t̥a.'ma.ləs] 'a greeting'

(4) Quadrisyllabic words

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4.C_5V_6.C_7V_8 \rightarrow V_8.C_7V_6.C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
kotalama [kɔ.t̥a.'la.ma] → AMALATOK [ʔa.ma.'la.t̥ɔʔ] 'a place name'
surabaya [su.ra.'b̥a.ja] → AYABARUS [ʔa.ja.'b̥a.rus] 'a place name'

$C_1V_2C_3.C_4V_5.C_6V_7.C_8V_9 \rightarrow V_9.C_8V_7.C_6V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$
merjòsari [mər.ʔɔ.sa.'ri] → IRASÒJREM [ʔi.ra.'sɔ.ʔrɔm] 'a place name'
mergòsònò [mər.ʔɔ.sɔ.'nɔ] → ÒNÒSÒGREM [ʔɔ.nɔ.'sɔ.ʔrɔm] 'a place name'

Quadrisyllabic words (4) that are place names undergo Total Segment Reversal. However, compound words are reversed based on each root. In (5), *mòròtuwò* consists of *mòrò* 'to approach' and *tuwò* 'old' and *kòcòmòtò* consists of *kòcò* 'glass' and *mòtò* 'eye'. Both parts of the compound are reversed independently.

(5) Compound words

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4.C_5V_6.C_7V_8 \rightarrow V_4.C_3V_2.C_1V_7.V_6C_5$
mòròtuwò [mɔ.rɔ.'tu.wɔ] → ÒRÒMAUT [ʔɔ.rɔ.'ma.ʔuʔ] 'parent-in-law'
kòcòmòtò [kɔ.cɔ.'mɔ.t̥ɔ] → ÒCÒKÒTÒM [ʔɔ.cɔ.'kɔ.t̥ɔm] 'eyeglasses'

The total restructuring of the segments or phonemes also affects the syllabification of words. As shown in (2), when a word with CV.CV syllabification undergoes Total Segment Reversal, the reversed word will have an onset-less initial syllable and a closed final syllable. In contrast, a word with V.CVC syllabification will have a reversed form with a CV.CV structure.

In addition, example (4) shows that reversing a sequence of consonants across syllable boundaries, as in CVC.CV.CV.CV, may create a consonant cluster in syllable-onset position.

Examples (1) - (4) do not include any unreversed words with consonant clusters, but in §4.3.2.4 I will discuss the effects of Total Segment Reversal for consonant clusters.

So far, the following general principles of Total Segment Reversal in Walikan can be proposed (6).

(6) Rules for Total Segment Reversal

1. Total Segment Reversal can be applied to words with all possible syllabification patterns in Malangan Indonesian and Malangan Javanese (i.e. monosyllabic, bisyllabic, trisyllabic and quadrisyllabic words).
2. Total Segment Reversal results in the reordering of syllable patterns.
3. Total Segment Reversal of a consonant sequence across syllable boundaries may create a consonant cluster in syllable onset position.
4. The reversal of compound words is applied on each of the roots separately.

4.3.1 Modifications in Total Segment Reversal

The Total Segment Reversal rule requires the order of segments in words to be fully inverted. However, in a number of cases some modifications can be observed. There are three main modification strategies employed by speakers, namely: 1) Segment Addition; 2) Segment Deletion; and 3) Segment Exchange.

Segment Addition allows speakers to add a segment to a word that has undergone Total Segment Reversal. In some cases two or more segments can be added instead of only one, in order to repair an onset-less syllable (7).

(7) Consonant Addition in onset position

<i>sepéda</i>	[sə.ˈpɛ.ɗa]	→	<i>HADÉPES</i>	[ha.ˈɗɛ.pəs]	‘bicycle’
<i>mutia</i>	[mu.ˈtʰi.ˈa]	→	<i>HAITUM</i>	[ha.ˈi.tum]	‘a name’
<i>dua</i>	[ˈɗu.ˈa]	→	<i>HAUD</i>	[ˈha.ɯ]	‘two’
<i>dhéwé</i>	[ˈɗɛ.wɛ]	→	<i>HÉWÉDH</i>	[ˈhɛ.wɛɗ]	‘by oneself, alone’
<i>gedhé</i>	[ˈɡɛ.ˈɗɛ]	→	<i>HÉDHEG</i>	[ˈhɛ.ɗɛk]	‘big’
<i>penjara</i>	[pə.ˈɲa.ra]	→	<i>NARANJEP</i>	[na.ˈra.ɲɛp]	‘jail, prison’

The second type, Segment Deletion, allows speakers to delete one or more segments of a word that has undergone Total Segment Reversal. This is commonly attested in words containing consonant clusters. The word [ˈsu.ɲkan], for example, loses the velar nasal /ŋ/ in the reversal, which yields the form [ˈna.kʊs]. The several types and functions of Segment Deletion are shown in (8).

(8) Consonant deletion in word-medial clusters¹

<i>tentara</i>	[tə.ˈnta.ra]	→	<i>ARANÉT</i>	[a.ˈra.nɛɗ]	‘soldier’
<i>sungkan</i>	[ˈsu.ɲkan]	→	<i>NAKUS</i>	[ˈna.kʊs]	‘shy’
<i>béncong</i>	[ˈbɛ.ncɔŋ]	→	<i>NGOCÉB</i>	[ˈŋɔ.cɛp]	‘transvestite’

Consonant deletion in word-final clusters

<i>mbah</i>	[ˈmbah]	→	<i>HAM</i>	[ˈham]	‘grandparent’
<i>ndowéh</i>	[ˈndɔ.wɛh]	→	<i>HÉWOD</i>	[ˈhɛ.wɔɗ]	‘confused’
<i>mbakyu</i>	[ˈmbaʔ.ju]	→	<i>UYAB</i>	[ˈʔu.jap]	‘older sister’

Consonant deletion in onset position

<i>rokok</i>	[ˈrɔ.kɔʔ]	→	<i>OKÉR</i>	[ˈʔɔ.kɛr]	‘cigarette’
<i>tujuh</i>	[ˈtʰɔ.ʔɯh]	→	<i>UJUT</i>	[ˈʔu.ʔɯɗ]	‘seven’
<i>karcis</i>	[ˈkar.cɪs]	→	<i>ITRAK</i>	[ˈʔi.ɗraʔ]	‘ticket’

Consonant deletion in coda position

<i>wédok</i>	[ˈwɛ.ɗɔʔ]	→	<i>KODÉ</i>	[ˈkɔ.ɗɛ]	‘woman’
<i>wédhus</i>	[ˈwɛ.ɗʊs]	→	<i>SUDHÉ</i>	[ˈsu.ɗɛ]	‘sheep/lame-brained’

The third strategy, Segment Exchange, is a process where one or more segments exchange positions within a word. The examples in (9) illustrate the

¹Note that the formation of [a.ˈra.nɛɗ] involves vowel alternation, which will be explained in §4.3.2.6. Also, the formation of [ˈʔɔ.kɛr] from [ˈrɔ.kɔʔ] is the result of an unsystematic process.

types of Segment Exchange that are observed after Total Segment Reversal. The attested Walikan word for *bingung* ‘perplexed’, for example, is *NGINGUB*, which shows that the position of the vowels /i/ and /u/ is not affected after the entire word is completely reversed. It is possible that this happens because speakers reverse the entire word but unconsciously leave out certain segments in their original positions.

In the reversal of *mlebu* ‘to enter’, *mlaku* ‘to walk’, and *klambi* ‘shirt’, Segment Exchange takes place in order to repair the unpermitted cluster in coda position, as discussed in (36) - (38) and (40) - (41).

(9) Segment Exchange: Vowel

<i>kotalama</i>	[kɔ.ʔa.la.ma]	→	<i>AMALOTAK</i>	[ʔa.ma.lɔ.ʔaʔ]	‘a place name’
<i>manéh</i>	[ˈma.nɛh]	→	<i>HANÉM</i>	[ˈha.nɛm]	‘again’
<i>mélók</i>	[ˈmɛ.lɔʔ]	→	<i>KÉLOM</i>	[ˈkɛ.lɔm]	‘to follow’
<i>tempik</i>	[ˈʔɛ.mɪʔ]	→	<i>KEMPIT</i>	[ˈkɛ.mɪʔ]	‘vagina’
<i>betul</i>	[bɛ.ʔɔl]	→	<i>LETUB</i>	[lɛ.ʔɔp]	‘correct’
<i>rebut</i>	[rɛ.ʔɔʔ]	→	<i>TEBUR</i>	[ʔɛ.ʔɔʔ]	‘take away’
<i>bingung</i>	[ˈbɪ.ŋʊŋ]	→	<i>NGINGUB</i>	[ˈŋɪ.ŋʊp]	‘perplexed’
<i>raimu</i>	[ra.i.mu]	→	<i>UMAIR</i>	[ˈʔu.ma.ir]	‘your face’
<i>sodara</i>	[sɔ.ʔɔ.ra]	→	<i>ARODES</i>	[ʔa.ro.ʔɔs]	‘family’
<i>sedikit</i>	[sɛ.ʔɔ.kɪʔ]	→	<i>TEKEDIS</i>	[ʔɛ.kɛ.ʔɔs]	‘few’

Segment Exchange: Consonant

<i>surabaya</i>	[su.ra.ʔa.ja]	→	<i>AYARABUS</i>	[a.ja.ra.ʔɔs]	‘a place name’
<i>selawé</i>	[sɛ.la.wɛ]	→	<i>ÉLAWES</i>	[ʔɛ.la.wɛs]	‘twenty five’ ²
<i>juragan</i>	[ʔɪ.ʔa.ʔaŋ]	→	<i>NARAGUJ</i>	[na.ʔa.ʔɔʔ]	‘boss’
<i>sarapan</i>	[sa.ʔa.pan]	→	<i>NARAPAS</i>	[na.ʔa.pas]	‘breakfast’
<i>selamat</i>	[sɛ.la.mat]	→	<i>TALAMES</i>	[ʔa.la.mɛs]	‘a greeting’
<i>setuju</i>	[sɛ.ʔu.ʔɪ]	→	<i>UTUJES</i>	[u.ʔu.ʔɛs]	‘agree’
<i>mlebu</i>	[mlɛ.ʔɪ]	→	<i>UBLEM</i>	[ˈʔu.blɛm]	‘to enter’
<i>mlaku</i>	[ˈmla.ku]	→	<i>UKLAM</i>	[ˈʔu.klam]	‘to walk’
<i>klambi</i>	[ˈkla.mbi]	→	<i>IMBLAK</i>	[ˈʔi.mblaʔ]	‘shirt’

²Note that the formation of [ʔɛ.la.wɛs] also involves vowel alternation. This will be explained in §4.3.2.6.

4.3.2 The Role of Phonology and Phonotactics

This section focuses on how the phonology and phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian influence the Total Segment Reversal process. The phonological properties discussed are: 1) neutralization of final consonants (§4.3.2.1); 2) realization of velar and glottal consonants (§4.3.2.2); 3) palatal stops and bilabial approximant consonants (§4.3.2.3); 4) consonant sequences and clusters (§4.3.2.4); 5) prenasalized stops (§4.3.2.5); and 6) vowel alternation (§4.3.2.6).

4.3.2.1 Neutralization of Final Consonants

As discussed in Chapter 3, stops in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian are distinguished not by their voicing, but rather by the opening of the vocal folds. As a result, the phoneme inventory shows two sets of stops: heavy stops /b, ɖ, d, ɗ, ʃ, g/ and light stops /p, t̪, t, c, k/. In Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, the phonation type distinction in heavy and light stops is neutralized in final position, for instance: /b/ → [p]/_#.

When a word with a heavy consonant in initial position undergoes Total Segment Reversal, it moves the heavy consonant to word-final position. Following Malangan Javanese rules, the heavy consonant in word-final position is then pronounced as the light counterpart.

Word-final neutralization of the heavy bilabial stop /b/ in word-final position can be observed in (10). In word-final position, /b/ is realized as an unreleased light bilabial stop [p̚].

- (10) /b/ realized as [p̚]
 $C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
bécak [ʔḅḅ.caʔ] → KACÉB [ˈka.ɕɛp̚] ‘pedicab’
beras [ḅḅ̚ˈras] → SAREB [ˈsa.rəp̚] ‘rice’

Word-final neutralization of the heavy dental stop /ɖ/, the heavy alveolar stop /d/, and the heavy retroflex stop /ɗ/ in word-final position can be observed in (11). In word-final position, /ɖ, d, ɗ/ are realized as the unreleased light dental stop [t̪̚].

- (11) /ɖ/, /d/, and /ɗ/ realized as [t̪̚]
 $C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
dulur [ḁḁ̚.l̪ʊr] → RULUD [ˈrʊ.lʊt̪̚] ‘sibling/relative’
dhusun [ḁḁ̚.sʊn̚] → NUSUDH [ˈnʊ.sʊt̪̚] ‘village’

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
C_1V_2.C_3V_4 \rightarrow V_4.C_3V_2C_1 \\
dhéwé \quad [d̥ɛ.we] \rightarrow \acute{E}WÉDH \quad [ɛ.wɛ́t̚] \quad \text{'by oneself, alone'}^3 \\
dinò \quad [d̥i.no] \rightarrow \grave{O}NID \quad [ʔɔ.nít̚] \quad \text{'day'}
\end{array}$$

In word-final position, the light alveolar stop /t/ is realized as an unreleased light dental stop [t̚], as shown in (12).

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
(12) \quad /t/ \text{ realized as } [t̚] \\
C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1 \\
thithik \quad [t̥i.t̥iʔ] \rightarrow KITHITH \quad [ki.t̥ít̚] \quad \text{'a few'}^4
\end{array}$$

Example (13) shows the word-final neutralization process for the heavy velar stop /g/ in word-final position. In this position, /g/ is realized as the unreleased light velar stop [k̚].

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
(13) \quad /g/ \text{ realized as } [k̚] \\
C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1 \\
gadis \quad [g̥a.d̥is] \rightarrow \acute{S}IDAG \quad [si.d̥ák̚] \quad \text{'girl'} \\
goréng \quad [g̥ɔ.rɛŋ] \rightarrow \acute{N}GÉROG \quad [ŋɛ.rɔ́k̚] \quad \text{'fried'} \\
\\
C_1V_2C_3.C_4V_5 \rightarrow V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1 \\
germò \quad [g̥ər.mɔ] \rightarrow \grave{O}MREG \quad [ʔɔ.mrək̚] \quad \text{'pimp'}^5
\end{array}$$

The same process also applies to heavy consonants that occur in the word-final position of an unreversed word and are realized as light consonants. Total Segment Reversal will move the consonant into word-initial position, where it appears with its underlying heavy quality. As is the case in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, the vowels following heavy consonants are breathy (14). This reveals that these consonants are still regarded as distinct from their light equivalents in the Malangan Javanese dialect, despite their identical realization in word-final position.

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
(14) \quad \text{Heavy consonants in word-initial position} \\
V_1.C_2V_3C_4 \rightarrow C_4V_3.C_2V_1 \\
arab \quad [ʔa.rap̚] \rightarrow \acute{B}ARA \quad [b̥a̰.ra] \quad \text{'Arab'} \\
abab \quad [ʔa.b̥ap̚] \rightarrow \acute{B}ABA \quad [b̥a̰.b̥a̰] \quad \text{'breath'}
\end{array}$$

³The vowel alternation process involving [e] and [ɛ] in [ʔɛ.wɛ́t̚] is discussed in §4.3.2.6.

⁴The constant retention of [i] in [ki.t̥ít̚] and [ʔɔ.nít̚] is discussed in §4.3.2.6.

⁵The maintenance of [ɔ] in [ʔɔ.mrək̚] is discussed in §4.3.2.6.5.

4.3.2.2 Velar and Glottal Consonants

This subsection discusses the correlation between /k/ and [ʔ] in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian. In addition, it will also discuss the status of glottal fricative /h/ in word-final position in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian.

The phonemic status of the glottal stop in Javanese is debatable. It is described as a phoneme in descriptions of another East Javanese dialect, Surabayan Javanese (Hoogervorst 2008; Krauß 2017). In Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian, the glottal stop [ʔ] is the allophonic realization of /k/ in root-final position (see §3.2.2.1.4 and §3.3.2.1). Besides, [ʔ] also appears as the result of other phonological processes (see §3.2.2.1.5).

The Walikan data presented here provides evidence for the non-phonemic status of [ʔ] in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian. The allophonic relation between /k/ and [ʔ] is shown in Walikan (15) - (17).

First, example (15) shows how an original light velar stop /k/ in word-initial position becomes [ʔ] in word-final position after the word has undergone the Total Segment Reversal process.

- (15) /k/ realized as [ʔ]
 $C_1V_2.C_3V_4 \rightarrow V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
kiwò [ki.wɔ] → òWIK [ʔɔ.wɪʔ] ‘left’
 $C_1V_2C_3.C_4V_5C_6 \rightarrow C_6V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$
kontrol [kɔ.nɬɔl] → LONTOK [lɔ.nɬɔʔ] ‘male genitals’

The same alternation also affects original words with /k/ in word-final position. In this position, /k/ in Malangan Javanese is realized as [ʔ]. After being moved to the word-initial position through Total Segment Reversal, its realization changes to [k] (16).

- (16) [ʔ] realized as [k]
 $C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
mabuk [ma.bʊʔ] → KUBAM [ku.bʌm] ‘drunk’
bécak [bɛ.caʔ] → KACÉB [ka.cɛp] ‘pedicab’

A glottal stop is added in word-final position for a number of Malangan Indonesian words after a final open syllable. In standard Indonesian the words are pronounced without a word-final glottal stop. When such words are reversed, the word-final glottal stop appears as /k/ in word-initial position.

- (17) [ʔ] realized as [k]
 $C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
maték [ma.tɛʔ] → *KÉTAM* [kɛ.tam] ‘to die, dead’

$C_1V_2.C_3C_4V_5C_6 \rightarrow C_6V_5C_4.C_3V_2C_1$
mintak [mi.ntaʔ] → *KATNIM* [kaʔ.nim] ‘to ask’⁶

In (18), the glottal stop in the coda position of the initial syllable in a loanword also changes to /k/ after reversal.

- (18) [ʔ] realized as [k]
 $C_1V_2C_3.C_4V_5 \rightarrow V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$
bakso [ʔaʔ.so] → *OSKAB* [ʔɔ.skap] ‘meatball’

Note that there are exceptional cases, where /k/ in word-initial position remains as [k] in word-final position after Total Segment Reversal (19). They appear due to the influence of the orthography.

- (19) /k/ realized as [k]
 $C_1V_2C_3.C_4V_5C_6 \rightarrow C_6V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$
kerjò [kər.ʔɔ] → *ÒJREK* [ʔɔ.jrək] ‘to work’
kerdi [kər.ði] → *IDREK* [ʔi.drək] ‘to work’

Despite some exceptions in (19), examples (15)-(17) show that /k/ is realized differently depending on its position in a word: it is realized as [k] in word-initial position, and as [ʔ] in word-final position. The glottal stop [ʔ] in word-final position is thus an allophone of /k/, and not an independent phoneme.

In addition, the alternation of /k/ and [ʔ] also provides evidence that Walikan speakers take the underlying phonemic form of a word as input for the reversal process. Following the reversal, the phoneme is realized in a way that reflects Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonology.

In Malangan Javanese, the glottal fricative /h/ in word-final position is pronounced as [h] (see §3.2.2.3), unlike in Surabayan Javanese and other dialects around Surabaya where it is dropped in this position (Hoogervorst 2008; Kisyani-Laksono 1998; Krauße 2017). This is further confirmed in Walikan,

⁶Homorganic consonant clusters in Walikan are retained, see §4.3.2.4. The words *KATNIM* ‘to ask’, *LOTNOK* ‘penis’, and *TAPME* ‘four’ are exceptions. There are only three words in my data that exhibit the reversed order of homorganic clusters.

where a word-final /h/ in an unreversed word appears in the initial position of the reversed word (20).

(20) /h/ in Walikan

$$C_1V_2C_3.C_4V_5 \rightarrow V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$$

<u>tujuh</u>	[tu.juh]	→	<u>HUJUT</u>	[hu.jut]	‘seven’
<u>sekolah</u>	[sə.'kɔ.lah]	→	<u>HALOKES</u>	[ha.'lɔ.kes]	‘school’
<u>rumah</u>	[ru.mah]	→	<u>HAMUR</u>	[ha.mur]	‘house’

Interestingly, /h/ also appears in the initial position of another set of Walikan words, which originate from words with no /h/ in word-final position (21).

(21) /h/ in Walikan

$$C_1V_2C_3.C_4V_5 \rightarrow V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$$

<u>sepéda</u>	[sə.'pɛ.da]	→	<u>HADÉPES</u>	[ha.'dɛ.pəs]	‘bicycle’
<u>mutia</u>	[mu.ti.'a]	→	<u>HAITUM</u>	[ha.'ʔi.tum]	‘a name’

In the above examples, the attestation of a glottal fricative /h/ reflects the older pronunciations, sepédah and mutiah, which are not used by younger speakers but occur among older speakers. The word-initial /h/ does not reflect orthographical influence, as the forms are spelled without a word-final /h/. In the case of sepéda(h), ADÉPES is also attested.

4.3.2.3 Palatal Stops and Bilabial Approximant Consonants

Malangan Javanese phonotactics does not allow palatal stops /c, ɟ/ or a bilabial approximant /w/ in word-final position. In Walikan, word-final palatal consonants /c/ and /ɟ/ are realized as a phoneme with the closest corresponding place of articulation, that is the unreleased light dental stop [t̚] (22).

(22) /c/ and /ɟ/ realized as [t̚]

$$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5.C_6V_7 \rightarrow V_7.C_6C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

<u>jakarta</u>	[ʃa.'kar.t̚a]	→	<u>ATRAKAJ</u>	[a.'tra.kat̚]	‘a place name’
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$$C_1V_2.C_3V_4.C_5V_6 \rightarrow V_6.C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

<u>celana</u>	[cə.'la.na]	→	<u>ANALEC</u>	[ʔa.'na.lət̚]	‘trousers’
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The bilabial approximant /w/, that is supposed to appear in word-final position, is realized as an unreleased light bilabial stop [p̚] (23) after Total Segment Reversal.

- (23) /w/ realized as [p̚]
 $C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
wédok [wɛ.ḍəʔ] → KODÉB [kɔ.ḍɛp̚] ‘woman’

In (23), the /w/ in word-final position is realized as an unreleased [p̚] via an earlier [b]. In Javanese, the alternation of /w/ and /b/ is common. The word [wɛ.nɛh] ‘to give’ in Malangan Javanese for example, is sometimes also realized as [bɛ.nɛh], especially by older speakers.

Alternatively, speakers may also apply Consonant Deletion, so that [wɛ.ḍəʔ] becomes [kɔ.ḍɛ] (8).

4.3.2.4 Consonant Sequences and Clusters

Both consonant clusters and sequences can potentially cause problems in word reversal. For example, Total Segment Reversal may yield a cluster or a sequence that is not permitted in Malangan Javanese or Malangan Indonesian phonology and phonotactics. This section discusses how Walikan deals with such sequences and clusters.

First, consonant sequences across syllable boundaries that undergo Total Segment Reversal may form new sequences. No additional rule is needed when the cluster formed does not violate Malangan Javanese or Malangan Indonesian phonotactics.

Consonant sequences consisting of a liquid in coda position followed by an obstruent in the onset of the following syllable become consonant clusters in the onset position of syllable word-medially after Total Segment Reversal. These clusters consist of an obstruent followed by a liquid, which is a permitted onset structure in both Malangan Javanese and Indonesian (24).

(24) Forming a new cluster

$C_1V_2C_3.C_4V_5 \rightarrow V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$					
<i>kerdi</i>	[kər.ˈði]	→	<u>IDREK</u>	[ˈʔi.ḍrək]	‘to work’
<i>marsò</i>	[mar.sə]	→	ÒSRAM	[ˈʔə.sram]	‘a name’
<i>ngerti</i>	[ŋər.ˈʔi]	→	ITRENG	[ˈʔi.trəŋ]	‘to understand.av’
<i>germò</i>	[gər.ˈmə]	→	ÒMREG	[ˈʔə.mrək]	‘pimp’
<i>bakso</i>	[ˈbək.sə]	→	OSKAB	[ˈʔə.skap]	‘meatball’
<i>palsu</i>	[pal.su]	→	<u>USLAP</u>	[ˈʔu.slap]	‘fake’
$C_1V_2C_3.C_4V_5C_6 \rightarrow C_6V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$					
<i>berkat</i>	[ˈbək.kat]	→	TAKREB	[ˈʔa.krəp]	‘blessed food’
$C_1V_2.C_3V_4.V_5C_6.C_7V_8 \rightarrow V_8.C_7C_6V_5.V_4.C_3V_2C_1$					
<i>keluarga</i>	[kə.lu.ˈwər.ɡə]	→	<u>AGRAULEK</u>	[ˈʔa.ɡrə.u.ləʔ]	‘family’

The process is exemplified in (25).

(25) *marsò* [mar.sə] ‘a name’

Original Word	:	m	a	r	.	s	ə
Walikan	:	ə	.	s	r	a	m

The following discussion concerns consonant clusters defined as a sequence of more than one consonant that occurs in the same syllable. In Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian, consonant clusters occur in word-initial and word-medial positions but never in word-final position (see §3.2.7 and §3.3.7).

With the application of Total Segment Reversal a consonant cluster in word-initial position will be transposed to word-final position, which is not permitted phonotactically. In addition, Total Segment Reversal may also create clusters with with consonant combinations that are not permitted.

Walikan deals with the reversal of consonant clusters by employing different strategies depending on the type and position of the clusters. They include: 1) maintenance of clusters; 2) Segment Deletion; and 3) Segment Exchange.

The first strategy is the maintenance of clusters, which is applied to the following clusters: nasal + obstruent, obstruent + liquid, fricative + stop, and fricative + stop + liquid. They all remain intact in root-medial position.

The nasal + obstruent cluster is also referred to as a homorganic cluster, that is, a cluster of consonants of the same or neighboring place of articulation, which is a salient feature of Javanese (see §3.2.7). Example (26) illustrates

how homorganic consonant clusters stay intact even after Total Segment Reversal in Walikan.

- (26) Homorganic consonant cluster remains intact

/mb/

$C_1V_2.C_3C_4V_5 \rightarrow V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$

mambu [ma.mbu] → UMBAM [ʔu.mbam] ‘smelly’

rambut [ra.mbuʔ] → TUMBAR [ʔu.mbar] ‘to pray’

/mp/

$C_1V_2.C_3C_4V_5C_6 \rightarrow C_6V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$

sémpak [sɛ.mpak] → KAMPÉS [ka.mpes] ‘underwear’

tempik [tə.mpiʔ] → KIMPET [ki.mpəʔ] ‘vagina’

/nʔ/

$C_1V_2.C_3C_4V_5C_6 \rightarrow C_6V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$

suntik [sʊ.nʔiʔ] → KINTUS [ki.nʔʊs] ‘to inject’

kontrol [kʊ.nʔɔl] → LONTOK [lʊ.nʔʊʔ] ‘male genitals’

/nd/

$C_1V_2.C_3C_4V_5C_6 \rightarrow C_6V_5.C_4C_3V_2C_1$

sandal [sa.ndal] → LANDAS [la.ndas] ‘sandal’

pendhék [pə.ndɛʔ] → KÉNDHEP [kɛ.ndɛp] ‘short’

A famous phrase in Walikan often cited by the community of speakers is *néndhés kombét* ‘to have sex/ to get high on drugs’, which is derived from the Javanese phrase *séndhén témbok* ‘to lean on a wall’. Speakers use this phrase when they want to chill out or calm themselves down in difficult situations. Literally, *séndhén* means ‘to lean’, while *témbok* means ‘wall’. The reversal process of the phrase can be seen in (27) and (28).

- (27) *séndhén* [sɛ.ndɛn] ‘to lean’

Original Word : s ε . n d ε n

↓ ↓

Walikan : n ε . n d ε s

- (28) *témbok* [ʔɛ.mboʔ] ‘wall’

Original Word : ʔ ε . m b ɔ k

↓ ↓

Walikan : k ɔ . m b ε ʔ

(29) Obstruent + liquid cluster remains intact

(30) *muklis* ['mʊ.klɪs] 'a name'

(31) Fricative + stop cluster remains intact

(32) *pésta* ['pɛ.st̪a] 'party'

(33) Consonant cluster remains intact

$C_1V_2.C_3C_4C_5V_6C_7 \rightarrow C_7V_6.C_3C_4C_5V_2C_1$			
<i>ménkrét</i>	[mɛ.nkrɛt̪]	→	TÉNCRÉM [tɛ.nkrɛm]
<i>listrik</i>	[li.strik]	→	KISTRIL [ki.stril]
			‘diarrhea’
			‘electricity’

(34) *listrik* [lɪ.s̺tɾik] ‘electricity’
Original Word : l i . s t r i k

Walikan : k i . s t r i l

(35) Segment Deletion
 $C_1C_2V_3C_4 \rightarrow C_4V_2C_1$
mbah ['mbah] $\rightarrow$ HAM ['ham] 'grandparent'
 $C_1C_2V_3C_4.C_5V_6 \rightarrow V_6.C_5V_3C_2$
mbakyu ['mbaʔ.ju] $\rightarrow$ UYAB ['ʔu.jap] 'older sister'

Next, the second strategy to reverse consonant clusters is Consonant Exchange. It refers to the reordering of consonant positions in a word that has undergone Total Segment Reversal, in order to create well-formed onsets and avoid unacceptable codas. In (36), the prohibited consonant cluster in word-final position is reordered. Note that these forms contain a nasal prefix.

(36) Consonant Exchange
 $C_1C_2V_3.C_4V_5 \rightarrow V_5.C_4C_2V_3C_1$
mlebu [mlə.ˈb̥u] → UBLEM ['ʔu.bləm] 'to enter'
mlaku ['mla.ku] → UKLAM ['ʔu.klam] 'to walk'

The process of the reversal can be seen in (37) and (38).

- (37) *mlebu* [mlə.ʔu] ‘to enter’
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|
| Original Word | : | m | l | ə | . | b | u |
| Total Segment Reversal | : | *u | . | b | ə | l | m |
| Walikan | : | u | . | b | l | ə | m |

- (38) *mlaku* [mla.ku] ‘to walk’
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|
| Original Word | : | m | l | a | . | k | u |
| Total Segment Reversal | : | *u | . | k | a | l | m |
| Walikan | : | u | . | k | l | a | m |

In (37), Total Segment Reversal creates *UBELM, a form that has an ill-formed coda in the final syllable. The cluster /lm/ in word-final position is not permitted. After reordering, an attested Walikan word UBLEM is formed. The cluster /bl/ in the onset of a word-medial syllable is considered acceptable. This strategy also works for UKLAM (38).

Another word with the /ml/ cluster in original word-initial position is not treated with the same strategy, as shown in (39).

- (39) *mlayu* [mla.ju] ‘to run’
- | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|----|---|---|---|---|---|
| Original Word | : | m | l | a | . | j | u |
| Total Segment Reversal | : | *u | . | j | a | l | m |
| Segment Exchange | : | *u | . | j | l | a | m |
| Walikan | : | u | . | l | a | . | j ə m |

In example (39), the consonant exchange or reordering will only yield a prohibited type of cluster, /jl/. The permitted Walikan word is therefore formed by Vowel Addition and Segment Exchange. The epenthesis of /ə/ is commonly used in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian to break up a consonant cluster (see §3.2.3.3 and 3.3.3.3).

Furthermore, there is another case where further adjustment needs to be applied in order to form the attested Walikan word. In (40), the reversal of a Javanese word with a consonant cluster in its initial position is accomplished through the maintenance of the homorganic cluster /mb/ and an adjustment for the prohibited cluster /lk/ in coda position.

(40) Segment Exchange

$$C_1C_2V_3.C_4C_5V_6 \rightarrow V_6.C_4C_5C_2V_3C_1$$

klambi ['kla.mbi] → IMBLAK ['ʔi.mblaʔ] 'shirt'

The detailed process of the reversal is shown in (41).

(41) *klambi* ['kla.mbi] 'shirt'

Original Word	:	k	l	a	.	m	b	i
Total Segment Reversal	:	*i	.	m	b	a	l	k
Segment Exchange	:	i	.	m	b	l	a	ʔ

In (41), the word *klambi* 'shirt' is transformed into *IBMALK through Total Segment Reversal. However, the homorganic cluster /mb/ needs to be retained because it is treated as one segment, thus the word would become *IMBALK. However, since the cluster /lk/ is not a good coda, the consonant /l/ is moved to become part of the syllable onset in the attested Walikan word IMBLAK ['ʔi.mblaʔ].

In summary, most of the clusters remain intact (Table 4.2). In addition, there are eight consonant sequences in my data that are separated by a syllable boundary which can form consonant clusters after Total Segment Reversal (Table 4.3). Finally, Table 4.4 shows clusters that are reduced or separated after Total Segment Reversal.

Source	Example	Walikan	Example	Gloss
/mb/	['ma.mbu]	/mb/	['ʔu.mbam]	'smelly'
/mp/	['sɛ.mpaʔ]	/mp/	['ka.mpɛs]	'underwear'
/nt/	['sɔ.nɪʔ]	/nt/	['ki.nɪʔɔs]	'to inject'
/nd/	['pə.ndɛʔ]	/nd/	['kɛ.ndəp]	'short'
/kl/	['mɔ.klɪs]	/kl/	['si.klɔm]	'a name'
/kr/	['sɔ.krɔn]	/kr/	['nɔ.krus]	'a name'
/st/	['pɛ.sta]	/st/	['ʔa.stɛp]	'party'
/ncr/	['mɛ.ncrɛʔ]	/ncr/	['ʔɛ.ncrɛm]	'diarrhea'
/str/	['lɪ.strɪʔ]	/str/	['kɪ.strɪl]	'electricity'

TABLE 4.2: Consonant clusters that remain intact

Source	Example	Walikan	Example	Gloss
/r.t̚/	[ŋər.ʔi]	/t̚r/	[ʔi.t̚rəŋ]	‘to understand.AV’
/r.d/	[kər.ʔdi]	/dr/	[ʔi.ḍrək]	‘to work’
/r.k/	[ʔər.kat̚]	/kr/	[ʔa.krəp]	‘blessed food’
/r.g/	[kə.lu.ʷar.ɡa]	/gr/	[ʔa.ɡrə.u.ləʔ]	‘family’
/r.m/	[ʔər.mə]	/mr/	[ʔə.mrək]	‘pimp’
/r.s/	[mar.sə]	/sr/	[ʔə.sram]	‘a name’
/k.s/	[ʔəʔ.sə]	/sk/	[ʔə.skap]	‘meatball’
/l.s/	[pal.su]	/sl/	[ʔu.sləp]	‘fake’

TABLE 4.3: Consonant sequences that generate new clusters

Source	Example	Walikan	Example	Unpermitted cluster
/mbVC/	[mbah] ‘grandparent’	/VCm/	[ham̐] ‘grandparent’	*/bm/
/mIVCV/	[mlə.ʔu] ‘to enter’	/VCIVm/	[ʔu.bləm̐] ‘to enter’	*/lm/
/kIVCCV/	[kla.mbi] ‘shirt’	/VCCIVk/	[ʔi.mblaʔ] ‘shirt’	*/lk/

TABLE 4.4: Consonant clusters that are reduced or separated

In the previous chapter, in §3.2.7 and §3.3.7, all the attested clusters and sequences in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian were described. They function as the model for how speakers can treat consonant clusters and consonants in Walikan. This investigation of Walikan can suggest which clusters are alive and used by the speakers. The retained clusters in Walikan are evidence that speakers are using them in real and spontaneous situations, and that the clusters have entered the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and In-

donesian (Table 4.3 and 4.2). Table 4.4 also shows that certain clusters that are not permitted in the Malangan Javanese and Indonesian model are separated or reduced by the speakers as they perform Walikan.

4.3.2.5 Prenasalized Stops

Malangan Javanese often prenasalizes the word-initial heavy stops /b, ɖ, d, ʃ, g/ of locations (see (71) in Chapter 3). As a result, reversed toponyms in Walikan are also prenasalized (whereas prepositions are never reversed) (42).

(42) Prenasalization of word-initial consonants

$$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_6C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

kelud [kə.'lʊɸ] → NDULEK ['nɖu.ləʔ] 'a place name'

4.3.2.6 Vowel Alternation

The vowels in both Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian have different phonetic realizations based on their position in the root syllable and the type of vowel that occurs in the adjacent syllable (see §3.2.4 and 3.3.4). Discussing their occurrence after reversal in Walikan may provide an interesting insight as to how vowels with distributional restrictions in the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian are treated.

4.3.2.6.1 /i/ and /u/ In Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, the high vowels /i/ and /u/ are realized as [ɪ] and [ʊ] respectively in word-final closed syllables, and the lowering also affects high vowels in the preceding open syllables. In other conditions, /i/ and /u/ are realized as [i] and [u] (see §3.2.3.1 and 3.3.3.1). The same phonological process can be observed in Walikan.

Example (43) shows how /i/ and /u/, which are realized as [ɪ] and [ʊ], in the second syllable of the original word are moved into the first syllable after Total Segment Reversal. The reversal process causes /i/ and /u/ to occur in an open syllable. Since there is no high vowel in the following closed syllable, they are no longer realized as [ɪ] and [ʊ], but as [u] and [i].

- (43) /i/ and /u/ realized as [i] and [u] in a penultimate open syllable

$$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

<i>sakit</i>	[sa.kɪʔ]	→	TIKAS	[ʔi.kas]	‘sick’
<i>pakis</i>	[pa.kɪs]	→	SIKAP	[ʔi.kap]	‘a place name’
<i>petis</i>	[pə.ʔɪs]	→	SITEP	[ʔi.ʔəp]	‘shrimp paste’
<i>maling</i>	[ma.lɪŋ]	→	NGILAM	[ŋi.lam]	‘thief’

$$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

<i>mabuk</i>	[ma.bʊʔ]	→	KUBAM	[ku.bʌm]	‘drunk’
<i>masuk</i>	[ma.sʊʔ]	→	KUSAM	[ku.sam]	‘to enter’
<i>manuk</i>	[ma.nʊʔ]	→	KUNAM	[ku.nam]	‘penis’
<i>tidur</i>	[ʔi.ʔɪr]	→	RUDIT	[ru.ʔiʔ]	‘to enter’

Interestingly, when the reversal yields the high vowels /i/ and /u/ in a closed syllable, then vowel lowering does not take place. In other words, the speakers retain /i/ and /u/ in closed syllable as [i] and [u]. They are no longer realized as their allophones, [ɪ] and [ʊ], as would happen in Malangan Javanese (44).⁷

- (44) /i/ and /u/ realized as [i] and [u] in a final closed syllable

$$C_1V_2.C_3V_4 \rightarrow V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

<i>pirò</i>	[pi.rɔ]	→	òRIP	[ʔɔ.rip]	‘how much’
<i>sinò</i>	[si.ŋɔ]	→	òNGIS	[ʔɔ.ŋis]	‘lion’
<i>limò</i>	[li.mɔ]	→	òMIL	[ʔɔ.mil]	‘five’
<i>dinò</i>	[ʔi.nɔ]	→	òNID	[ʔɔ.niʔ]	‘day’

$$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

<i>tidur</i>	[ʔi.ʔɪr]	→	RUDIT	[ru.ʔiʔ]	‘to enter’
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$$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

<i>ruwet</i>	[ru.wəʔ]	→	TÉWUR	[ʔɛ.wur]	‘complicated’ ⁸
<i>pulang</i>	[pu.laŋ]	→	NGALUP	[ŋa.lup]	‘to go home’
<i>budhal</i>	[bʊ.ʔal]	→	LADHUB	[la.ʔup]	‘to depart’

⁷An exception applies to the word *ònét* [ʔɔ.nɛʔ] ‘Chinese’, which is a reversal from *cinò* [ci.nɔ]. In this case the high front vowel /i/ in the final closed-syllable is reinterpreted as the low mid front vowel [ɛ] in the Walikan form.

⁸The vowel alternation process involving /e/ and /ə/ is discussed in §4.3.2.6.3.

However, the vowel lowering process does occur when the high vowels /i/ and /u/ appear twice, i.e. in both syllables of bisyllabic words, whether they are open or closed (45).

- (45) /i/ and /u/ realized as [i] and [u] in both syllables

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
pitik [pi.tiʔ] → KITIP [ki.tɪp] ‘chicken’
sikil [si.kɪl] → LIKIS [li.kɪs] ‘foot’

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
pukul [pʊ.kʊl] → LUKUP [lʊ.kʊp] ‘to hit’
sukun [sʊ.kʊn] → NUKUS [nʊ.kʊs] ‘a place name’

The same rule, however, does not apply to Malangan Javanese words. They do not exhibit lowering of a high front vowel /i/ in a final closed syllable and its preceding open syllable (see (34) in Chapter 3). In (46) the realization of /i/ is indeed not affected by the vowel lowering process.

- (46) /i/ remains [i] in a closed syllable

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
thithik [ʔi.tiʔ] → KITHITH [ki.tiʔ] ‘a few’

4.3.2.6.2 /e/ and [ɛ] In Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, the high-mid front vowel /e/ is realized as [ɛ] in closed syllables. The vowel /e/ is realized as [ɛ] in open syllables under two conditions: 1) when it precedes an open syllable with a high vowel; and 2) when it precedes a closed syllable with a high-mid vowel, a mid central vowel, and a low central vowel (see §3.2.4.2 and §3.3.4.2).

As shown in (47), when Total Segment Reversal yields the high-mid front vowel /e/ in a penultimate open syllable preceding a closed syllable with /e/, /ə/, and /a/, /e/ is realized as [ɛ]. This shows conformity to the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian.

- (47) /e/ realized as [ɛ] in word-initial position

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4 \rightarrow V_4.C_3V_2C_1$
gedhé [gɛ.ʔɛ] → ÉDHEG [ʔɛ.ʔɛk] ‘big’
saté [sa.tɛ] → ÉTAS [ʔɛ.tas] ‘satay’
dhéwé [ʔɛ.we] → ÉWÉDH [ʔɛ.wɛʔ] ‘by oneself, alone’

The reversal of [ʔɛ.wɛɫ̚] from [d̪ɛ.we] ‘by oneself, alone’, shows that the high-mid front vowel /e/ in the final closed syllable is also realized as [ɛ], following the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese.

On the other hand, in (48), the realization of /e/ in the penultimate open syllable follows the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, but the high vowel /u/ in the following closed syllable does not. In Malangan Javanese, /u/ in this position would be realized as [ʊ].

- (48) /e/ realized as [ɛ] in word-initial position

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4 \rightarrow V_4.C_3V_2C_1$					
<i>gulé</i>	[g̊ɥ̥.le]	→	ÉLUG	[ʔɛ.luk]	‘curry’
<i>bulé</i>	[b̊ɥ̥.le]	→	ÉLUB	[ʔɛ.lup]	‘white people’
<i>suwé</i>	[su.we]	→	ÉWUS	[ʔɛ.wus]	‘long (time)’

In a final open syllable, /e/ appears as [e]. In (49) the high-mid front vowel /e/ in word-initial position is realized as [ɛ], but after being moved into word-final position it is realized as [e].

- (49) /e/ realized as [e] in word-final position

$V_1.C_2V_3C_4 \rightarrow C_4V_3.C_2V_1$					
<i>énak</i>	[ʔɛ.naʔ]	→	KANÉ	[ʔka.ne]	‘delicious, nice’
<i>édan</i>	[ʔɛ.d̪an̚]	→	NADÉ	[ʔna.d̪e]	‘crazy’

Examples (47) to (49) support the analysis that [ɛ] is the allophone of /e/ that appears in predictable positions.

However, some speakers realize /e/ as [e] in a position where it should have been realized as [ɛ] according to the Malangan Javanese allophonic distribution, namely a closed syllable, and an open syllable preceding a closed syllable that contains /e/, /ə/, and /a/. Example (50) lists the alternative realizations of a number of Walikan words. This shows that, in Walikan, the allophonic relation between /e/~[ɛ] is becoming less rigid.

- (50) Interchangeable realizations of /e/ as [ɛ] and [e]

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4 \rightarrow V_4.C_3V_2C_1$					
<i>dhéwé</i>	[d̪ɛ.we]	→	ÉWÉDH	[ʔɛ.wɛɫ̚]	‘by oneself, alone’
<i>dhéwé</i>	[d̪ɛ.we]	→	ÉWÉDH	[ʔe.wɛɫ̚]	‘by oneself, alone’
<i>saté</i>	[sa.ɬe]	→	ÉTAS	[ʔɛ.ɬas]	‘satay’
<i>saté</i>	[sa.ɬe]	→	ÉTAS	[ʔe.ɬas]	‘satay’

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
C_1V_2.C_3V_4.C_5V_6 \rightarrow V_6.C_3V_4.C_5V_2C_1 \\
selawé \quad [sə.'la.we] \rightarrow \acute{E}LAWES \quad ['ʔe.'la.wəs] \quad \text{'twenty five'} \\
selawé \quad [sə.'la.we] \rightarrow \acute{E}LAWES \quad ['ʔe.'la.wəs] \quad \text{'twenty five'}
\end{array}$$

In addition, there are also Walikan words where [ɛ] appears in positions that violate Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonotactics. In (51), Total Segment Reversal yields an [ɛ] in a final open syllable and its preceding open syllable. In such a position, the high-mid front vowel should have been realized as [e] in Malangan Javanese. However, the following examples demonstrate that a number of Walikan forms indeed display structures that were originally impossible.

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
(51) \quad [\epsilon] \text{ and } [\ə] \text{ in prohibited position} \\
V_1.C_2V_3C_4 \rightarrow C_4V_3.C_2V_1 \\
\acute{e}b\acute{e}s \quad ['ʔe.b̥əs] \rightarrow \acute{S}\acute{E}B\acute{E} \quad ['sɛ.b̥ɛ] \quad \text{'father'} \\
élék \quad ['ʔe.lɛʔ] \rightarrow KÉLÉ \quad ['kɛ.lɛ] \quad \text{'ugly'}
\end{array}$$

The Walikan forms in (51) are the only accepted forms, which means that other forms that conform to the phonotactic rules, such as ['se.b̥ɛ] and ['ke.le], are not observed. Therefore, ['sɛ.b̥ɛ] and ['kɛ.lɛ] could be seen as evidence that [ɛ] is steadily gaining phonemic status in Malangan Javanese.

To sum up, sometimes speakers do not strictly follow the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese regarding the distribution of [e] and [ɛ]. Examples (47) to (49) show that [e] and [ɛ] are still considered by speakers as originating from the same phoneme, thus they can be used interchangeably, but (50) and (51) indicate phonological change in progress, where speakers perceive [ɛ] as independent from /e/.

4.3.2.6.3 /e/ and /ə/ The next discussion concerns the mid central vowel /ə/. It is described as an independent phoneme in Malangan Javanese (see §3.2.3.3). However, in a number of Walikan words, it shows an unexpected exchange with /e/. The mid central vowel /ə/ is realized as [ɛ] in (52).

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
(52) \quad /ə/ \text{ realized as } [\epsilon] \\
V_1.C_2V_3C_4 \rightarrow C_4V_3.C_2V_1 \\
enom \quad ['ʔə.nəm] \rightarrow \text{MONÉ} \quad ['mɔ.nɛ] \quad \text{'young'} \\
enam \quad ['ʔə.nam] \rightarrow \text{MANÉ} \quad ['ma.nɛ] \quad \text{'six'}
\end{array}$$

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$					
<i>ruwet</i>	[ru.wəʔ]	→	TÉWUR	[tɛ.wʊr]	‘complicated’
<i>macet</i>	[ma.cəʔ]	→	TÉCAM	[tɛ.cam]	‘jammed’
$C_1V_2.C_3V_4.C_5V_6C_7 \rightarrow C_7V_6.C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$					
<i>kebalén</i>	[kə.ʔa.lən]	→	NÉLABEK	[nɛ.ʔa.ləʔ]	‘a place name’
<i>kebalén</i>	[kə.ʔa.lən]	→	NÉLABÉK	[nɛ.ʔa.ləʔ]	‘a place name’
$C_1V_2.C_3V_4.C_5V_6 \rightarrow V_6.C_3V_4.C_5V_2C_1$					
<i>selawé</i>	[sə.ʔa.we]	→	ÉLAWES	[ʔɛ.ʔa.wəs]	‘twenty five’
<i>selawé</i>	[sə.ʔa.we]	→	ÉLAWÉS	[ʔɛ.ʔa.wəs]	‘twenty five’
$C_1V_2.C_3C_4V_5.C_6V_6C_7 \rightarrow V_7.C_6V_5.C_3V_2C_1$					
<i>tentara</i>	[tə.ʔa.ra]	→	ARANET	[ʔa.ʔa.nəʔ]	‘soldier’
<i>tentara</i>	[tə.ʔa.ra]	→	ARANÉT	[ʔa.ʔa.nəʔ]	‘soldier’

The words in (52) show that, after reversal, the mid central vowel /ə/ in the word-final position is realized as [ɛ], as in the reversal of the words *enom* ‘young’ and *enam* ‘six’. This is because /ə/ in word-final position is not allowed in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian.

In the reversal of *ruwet* ‘complicated’ and *macet* ‘jammed’, /ə/ is also always realized as [ɛ]. Furthermore, in the reversal of the following words, *kebalén* ‘a place name’, *selawé* ‘twenty five’, and *tentara* ‘soldier’, /ə/ in a final closed syllable can have two different realizations: as both [ə] and [ɛ]. This might be due to the fact that /ə/ and /e/ are written with the same grapheme in the orthography: <e>. As shown in §3.2.3.3 and 3.3.3.3, they are different phonemes and do not have allophonic relations.

4.3.2.6.4 /o/ and /a/ In Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, the high-mid back vowel /o/ is realized as [ɔ] in closed syllables. It remains [o] in open syllables. It is realized as [ɔ] in an open syllable only when it: 1) precedes an open syllable with a high vowel; or 2) precedes a closed syllable with a high-mid vowel, a mid central vowel, and a low central vowel (see §3.2.4.2 and §3.3.4.2).

In (53), Total Segment Reversal yields words with /o/ in word-final open syllables. Following Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian phonotactics, it is realized as [o].⁹

⁹Note that the formation of *orang* into [ŋə.ʔa.ro] and *omong* into [ŋə.ʔa.mo] is an exception, as explained in (88).

- (53) /o/ realized as [o] in a word-final open syllable

$$V_1.C_2V_3C_4 \rightarrow C_5C_4V_3.C_2V_1$$

<u>orang</u>	['ʔɔ.raŋ]	→	<u>GENARO</u>	[g̊ɔ̌.'na.ro]	'person'
<u>omong</u>	['ɔ.mɔŋ]	→	<u>GENOMO</u>	[g̊ɔ̌.'no.mo]	'to speak'

Moreover, (54) exemplifies /o/ that is realized as [ɔ] because it occurs in a closed syllable, as well as the preceding open syllable after reversal.

- (54) /o/ realized as [ɔ] in a closed syllable

$$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

<i>botoł</i>	[b̥ɔ̌.tɔɫ]	→	LOTOB	[lɔ̌.tɔp]	'bottle'
<i>bokong</i>	[b̥ɔ̌.kɔŋ]	→	NGOKOB	[ŋɔ̌.kɔp]	'buttocks'

Meanwhile, (55) shows /o/ realized as [ɔ] in an open syllable that precedes a closed syllable with a low central vowel.

- (55) /o/ realized as [ɔ] in an open syllable

$$C_1V_2.C_3V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

<i>balon</i>	[b̥ɔ̌.lɔŋ]	→	NOLAB	[nɔ̌.lap]	'prostitute'
<i>takon</i>	[t̥ɔ̌.kɔŋ]	→	NOKAT	[nɔ̌.kat̚]	'to ask'

Examples (53) to (55) support the analysis that [ɔ] is the allophone of /o/ that appears in predictable positions.

Further, some speakers realize /o/ as [o] in a position where /o/ should have been realized as [ɔ], namely a closed syllable, and in an open syllable preceding a closed syllable that contains /e/, /ə/, and /a/. Example (56) shows sets of alternative realizations of a number of Walikan words.

- (56) Interchangeable realizations of /o/ as [ɔ] and [o]

$$C_1V_2.C_3V_4 \rightarrow V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

<u>toko</u>	[t̥ɔ̌.ko]	→	<u>OKOT</u>	[ʔɔ̌.kɔt̚]	'store'
<u>toko</u>	[t̥ɔ̌.ko]	→	<u>OKOT</u>	[ʔǒ.kɔt̚]	'store'
<i>soto</i>	[sǒ.tɔ]	→	OTOS	[ʔɔ̌.tɔs]	'kind of soup'
<i>soto</i>	[sǒ.tɔ]	→	OTOS	[ʔǒ.tɔs]	'kind of soup'
<i>solo</i>	[sǒ.lo]	→	OLOS	[ʔɔ̌.lɔs]	'a place name'
<i>solo</i>	[sǒ.lo]	→	OLOS	[ʔǒ.lɔs]	'a place name'

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
C_1V_2.C_3V_4.C_5V_6 \rightarrow V_6.C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1 \\
\underline{sodara} \quad [sɔ.ɖ̥a.ra] \rightarrow \underline{ARADOS} \quad [ʔa.ra.ɖ̥s] \quad \text{'relative'} \\
\underline{sodara} \quad [sɔ.ɖ̥a.ra] \rightarrow \underline{ARADOS} \quad [ʔa.ra.ɖ̥s] \quad \text{'relative'}
\end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
C_1V_2.C_3V_4.C_5V_6C_7 \rightarrow C_7V_6.C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1 \\
\underline{sekolah} \quad [sə.'kɔ.lah] \rightarrow \underline{HALOKES} \quad [ha.'lɔ.kəs] \quad \text{'school'} \\
\underline{sekolah} \quad [sə.'kɔ.lah] \rightarrow \underline{HALOKES} \quad [ha.'lɔ.kəs] \quad \text{'school'}
\end{array}$$

The words in (56) show that sometimes speakers do not strictly follow the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese regarding the distribution of [o] and [ɔ]. In spite of the violation, they still show that [o] and [ɔ] are considered by speakers as originating from the same phoneme, and thus exhibit higher levels of interchangeability.

There are two Walikan words that show /o/ realized as [o] in a word-final closed syllable and its preceding open syllable, which violate the phonotactics of Malangan Indonesian (57).

(57) /o/ realized as [o] in closed syllables

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
V_1.C_2V_3C_4 \rightarrow C_4V_3.C_2V_1 \\
\underline{bojo} \quad [ʔɔ.ʔɔ] \rightarrow \underline{OJOB} \quad [ʔo.ʔɔp] \quad \text{'spouse'} \\
\underline{foto} \quad [ʔo.ʔo] \rightarrow \underline{OTOF} \quad [ʔo.ʔop] \quad \text{'photograph' (from Dutch)}
\end{array}$$

The forms in (57) are the only accepted forms, which means that other forms that follow the Malangan Javanese phonotactics, such as [ʔɔ.ʔɔp] and [ʔɔ.ʔop], are not observed. This can indicate that /o/ is increasingly seen as a distinct phoneme.

4.3.2.6.5 /a/ and /ɔ/ In Malangan Javanese, as described in §3.2.3.4, the low central vowel /a/ is realized as [ɔ] in word-final open syllables. The same rule applies to /a/ in the open syllable preceding a word-final /a/ realized as [ɔ]. In any other positions, /a/ is realized as [a].

This allophonic situation is not shared by Walikan. Example (58) shows that in Walikan, /a/ in word-final position is realized as [a] instead of [ɔ].

(58) /a/ and [ɔ] in Walikan

$$\begin{array}{lcl}
V_1.C_2V_3C_4 \rightarrow C_4V_3.C_2V_1 \\
\underline{anak} \quad [ʔa.naʔ] \rightarrow \underline{KANA} \quad [ka.na] \quad \text{'child'} \\
\underline{aré} \quad [ʔa.rɛʔ] \rightarrow \underline{KÉRA} \quad [kɛ.ra] \quad \text{'kid'}
\end{array}$$

The first word in example (58), [ka.na], is a reversal of an Indonesian word [ʔa.naʔ], which suggests that the /a/ in word-final position does not need to be realized as [ɔ] because it is an Indonesian word. Because the source word is Indonesian, it follows Indonesian phonology, whereby /a/ in word-final position remains [a].

For the second word in (58), it can be suggested that the reversal of [ʔa.rɛʔ] is [kɛ.ra] and not [kɛ.rɔ] because the latter has another meaning in Javanese, namely ‘cross eyed’.

However, all other examples confirm the analysis that [ɔ] has become more than just an allophone of /a/. The Walikan words in (58) and (59) show that when a word-final [ɔ] is moved into word-initial position, it retains its realization as [ɔ].

(59) /a/ and [ɔ] in Walikan

$C_1V_2.C_3V_4 \rightarrow V_4.C_3V_2C_1$					
<i>sòpò</i>	[sɔ.pɔ]	→	òpòs	[ʔɔ.pɔs]	‘who’
<i>lapò</i>	[la.pɔ]	→	òPAL	[ʔɔ.pal]	‘what are you doing?’
<i>tibò</i>	[ti.bɔ]	→	òBIT	[ʔɔ.biʔ]	‘to fall’

In the first example in (59), òpòs [ʔɔ.pɔs], the underlying phoneme /a/ in the final closed syllable is realized as [ɔ], which according to the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese should have been realized as [a]. In òBIT [ʔɔ.biʔ], the underlying phoneme /a/ in the penultimate open syllable should have been realized as [a] instead of [ɔ].

This indicates that speakers no longer treat the [ɔ] in (58) and (59) as derived from /a/. The maintenance of [ɔ] is evidence that it is losing its allophony with /a/. In other words, [ɔ] as a separate vowel from /a/ is steadily gaining a phonemic status in Malangan Javanese.

4.3.3 Loanwords

This section considers how loanwords enter Walikan. It focuses on how speakers reverse loans, and whether or not they follow Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonotactics and phonology.

In (60) we can see that assimilated loanwords obey Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian phonology and phonotactics during the reversal process.

- (60) Loanword from Arabic

$$C_1V_2C_3 \rightarrow C_3V_2C_1$$

$$\underline{\text{zén}} \quad [\text{'sɛn}] \quad \rightarrow \quad \underline{\text{NÉZ}} \quad [\text{'nɛs}] \quad \text{'nice'}$$

The loan phoneme /z/ is realized as [s] or [ʃ] in word-initial position (see §3.2.3.5). When the word is reversed, the /z/ is moved into word-final position and is also realized as [s] in (60). I found only one example of this in Arabic. Other Arabic loanwords are found in Malangan Javanese, but they are not reversed (see Chapter 2).

Loanwords that have only recently made their way into the repertoire of Walikan speakers are also adapted to Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian phonology. Most of them are English words, which are quite popular among the younger generation (61).

- (61) Loanwords from English

$$C_1C_2V_3C_4 \rightarrow C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

$$\underline{\text{slow}} \quad [\text{'sə.ləw}] \quad \rightarrow \quad \underline{\text{WOLES}} \quad [\text{'wɔ.ləs}] \quad \text{'slow'}$$

$$C_1C_2V_3.C_4V_5C_6 \rightarrow C_6C_5V_4.C_3V_2C_1$$

$$\underline{\text{riléks}} \quad [\text{'ri.lɛks}] \quad \rightarrow \quad \underline{\text{SKELIR}} \quad [\text{'sə.kə.lɪr}] \quad \text{'relax'}$$

$$C_1C_2V_3.V_4C_5 \rightarrow C_5V_4.V_3C_1$$

$$\underline{\text{mbois}} \quad [\text{'mbɔ.is}] \quad \rightarrow \quad \underline{\text{SIOB}} \quad [\text{'si.ʔɔp}] \quad \text{'cool'}$$

Speakers pronounce *slow* as [sə.ləw] 'slow', the consonant cluster in the word-initial position is avoided by inserting a schwa. The schwa is also present in the reversed form [wɔ.ləs]. In [sə.kə.lɪr], speakers also optionally insert [ə] in between the consonant cluster /sk/ in word-initial position. Note that the subsequent /ɛ/ is affected and is also realized as [ə]. In the next example, [mbɔ.is], originated from the English word *boyish*, is reversed into [si.ʔɔp]. The prenasalization in the initial position of the unreversed word is no longer present in the reversed form.

There are also instances where the English loanwords are reversed based on the orthography of the unreversed words instead of the way they are pronounced by Malangan Javanese speakers (62).

- (62) Loanwords from English based on orthography

$$C_1C_2V_3 \rightarrow C_3V_2.C_4C_1$$

$$\underline{\text{tour}} \quad [\text{'tʊr}] \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{ruot} \quad [\text{'ru.ʷɔɽ}] \quad \text{'tour'}$$

$$C_1V_2C_3.C_4V_5C_6 \rightarrow C_6V_5.C_4V_3C_1$$

riding [rai.ɗɪŋ] → NGIDIR [ɲɪ.ɗɪr] ‘to ride a motorcycle’

4.4 Affixation and Reduplication

As a rule, reversal in Walikan only affects the root of lexical items and not morphologically complex forms or phrases. The norm is that Walikan operates only within the domain of the root and the speaker recognizes the morphological boundary of a word. This is shown in (63)-(68).

Exceptions are a number of fixed expressions that are considered to be single entities (69) and words with a historical nasal prefix *m-* that have been discussed in §3.2.10.

In (63), prefixes are not reversed, rather they are attached to a reversed root. It is shown that the original word *cekel* is reversed using Total Segment Reversal rule and it becomes *lekec*. The /c/ in word-final position is realized as /t/, as explained previously in §4.3.2.3.

- (63) Unreversed prefixes
 LEKEC [lə.kəɕ] ‘to catch’ → *ke*-LEKEC [kə.lə.kəɕ] ‘caught’
 PASS-catch

The reversal and prefixation process can be seen in (64).

- (64) Prefixes attached after reversal
- | | | | | | | | | | | |
|------------------------|---|-----|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Original Word | : | | c | ə | . | k | ə | l | | |
| Total Segment Reversal | : | | l | ə | . | k | ə | c | | |
| Prefixation | : | [k] | [ə] | . | l | ə | . | k | ə | c |

Likewise, suffixes are not reversed, but are attached to a reversed root (65). The word *man* is shown to have first undergone Total Segment Reversal and becomes *NAKAM* before receiving the suffix *-an*.

- (65) Unreversed suffixes
NAKAM [na.kam] ‘to eat’ → NAKAM-an [na.ka.man] ‘food’
 food-NMLZ

The reversal and suffixation process can be seen in (66).

(66) Suffixes attached after reversal

Original Word	:	m	a	.	k	a	n	
Total Segment Reversal	:	n	a	.	k	a	m	
Suffixation	:	n	a	.	k	a	.	m a n

Examples (67) - (69) provide more instances of affixes being attached to reversed roots. Note that these examples include a number of common affixes in Malangan Javanese, such as *-i*, *-nò*, *-e*, *ke-*, *-an*, *-mu*, and *pa-*, as well as the Malangan Indonesian affixes *-kan*, *se-*, and *di-*. The function and distribution of these affixes is listed in Appendix D.

(67) Affixation to reversed roots

<u>ISAK</u>	['ʔi.saʔ]	→	<u>ISAK</u> - <i>i</i>	['ʔi.saʔ.i]
'to give'			'be given'	
<u>NGALUP</u>	['ŋa.lup]	→	<u>NGALUP</u> - <i>nò</i>	['ŋa.lup'.nò]
'to go home'			'to bring home'	
<u>LADHUB</u>	['la.ɖup]	→	<u>LADHUB</u> - <i>kan</i>	['la.ɖup'.kan]
'to depart'			'go ahead'	
<u>LÉDOM</u>	['lɛ.ɖəm]	→	<u>LÉDOM</u> - <i>é</i>	['lɛ.ɖəme]
'style'			'the style'	
<u>NOLAB</u>	['nɔ.lap]	→	<i>pa</i> - <u>NOLAB</u> - <i>an</i>	[pa.'nɔ.la.pan]
'prostitute'			'prostitution district'	
<u>INDAM</u>	['ʔin.ɖam]	→	<i>pa</i> - <u>NGINDAM</u> - <i>an</i>	[pa.'ŋin.ɖa.man]
'to take a bath'			'bathing place'	

Example (68) lists instances where nasal prefixes that function as active verb markers can be added to the initial position of a reversed root. The realization of the nasal prefix depends on the word-initial consonant of the reversed root (see §3.2.10). Note that the first word in each pair is the source word, while the following word is its Walikan form.

(68) Nasal prefixes in Walikan

<i>kopi</i>	[kɔ.pi]	→	<i>ng-opi</i>	[ŋɔ.pi]
IPOK	[ʔi.pɔʔ]	→	<i>ng-IPOK</i>	[ŋi.pɔʔ]
‘coffee’			‘to drink coffee.AV’	
<i>rokok</i>	[rɔ.kɔʔ]	→	<i>ng-rokok</i>	[ŋrɔ.kɔʔ]
OKÉR	[ʔɔ.kɛr]	→	<i>ng-OKÉR</i>	[ŋɔ.kɛr]
‘cigarette’			‘to smoke.AV’	
<i>wédok</i>	[wɛ.ḍɔʔ]	→	<i>m-édok</i>	[mɛ.ḍɔʔ]
KODÉ	[kɔ.ḍɛ]	→	<i>ng-ODÉ</i>	[ŋɔ.ḍɛ]
‘woman’			‘to have an affair.AV’	
<i>bayar</i>	[b̥a.jar]	→	<i>m-bayar</i>	[mba.jar]
RAYAB	[ra.japʔ]	→	<i>ng-RAYAB</i>	[ŋra.japʔ]
‘to pay’			‘to pay.AV’	

In (68) the nasal prefix of the source word and that of the Walikan form are the same, as in [ŋɔ.pi] and [ŋi.pɔʔ] ‘to drink coffee.AV’. However, they can also be different, such as in [mba.jar] and [ŋra.japʔ]. This is because the roots of both forms have different word-initial consonants.

Note that in words such as *mlaku* ‘to walk’, *mlebu* ‘to enter’, and *mlayu* ‘to run’, speakers consider the historical nasal prefix *m-* as part of the root. Therefore, unlike in 68, the nasal prefix *m-* becomes part of the reversal (see examples (36) and (39) in Chapter 3).

Furthermore, there are also a number of exceptional cases where the reversal affects the roots and the prefixes, suffixes, and particles (69). This involves words that have become fixed expressions in Malangan Javanese or Indonesian and hence are considered as single entities.

(69) Phrases reversed as words

<i>rai-mu</i>	[ra.ʔi.mu]	→	UMIAR	[ʔu.mi.ʔar]	‘your face’
face-2SG.POSS					
<i>di-mana</i>	[ḍi.ma.na]	→	ANAMID	[ʔa.na.miṭ]	‘where’
PREP-where					
<i>se-dulur</i>	[se.ḍʊ.lɔr]	→	RULUDES	[ru.lu.ḍʊs]	‘relative’
one-relative					
<i>ke-temon</i>	[kə.tə.mɔnʔ]	→	NOMETEK	[nɔ.mə.təkʔ]	‘arrested’
‘PASS-find					

The evidence that Walikan operates within the domain of the root can also be observed in the following. Example (70) and (71) show that the reduplication rule in Malangan Javanese in (§3.2.11) is obeyed.

- (70) Reduplications in Walikan
- | | | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| Verbal base | UKLAM < <i>mlaku</i> | ‘to walk’ |
| | UKLAM-UKLAM | ‘to walk around’ |
| | RDP~walk | |
| Nominal base | <u>NAWAK</u> < <i>kawan</i> | ‘friend’ |
| | <u>NAWAK-NAWAK</u> -é | ‘the friends’ |
| | RDP~friend-DEF | |
| Adjectival base | ÉWUS < <i>suwé</i> | ‘long’ |
| | <i>di</i> -ÉWUS-ÉWUS- <i>nò</i> | ‘PASS-delayed’ |
| | RDP~PASS-long-BEN | |

Further, (71) shows how derived words are reversed in Walikan.

- (71) Reduplication of derived words
- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>kopi</i> | > IPOK | ‘coffee’ |
| <i>ng-opi</i> | > <i>ng</i> -IPOK | ‘to drink coffee.AV’ |
| NGIPOK | NGIPOK-NGIPOK | ‘to drink coffee/hang out’ |
| | RDP~drink.coffee | |

The principle of *dwilinggò salin swòrò* in Javanese, that is reduplication with vowel alternation, described in §3.2.11 can also be seen in Walikan (72), even though only one example is in frequent use.

- (72) Vowel alternation in reduplication
- | | | |
|---------------|--------------------|------------------------|
| Source word | <i>walik</i> | ‘to reverse’ |
| | <i>wolak-walik</i> | ‘to reverse on and on’ |
| | RDP~reverse | |
| Reversed word | KAWIL | ‘to reverse’ |
| | KOWAL-KAWIL | ‘to reverse on and on’ |
| | RDP~reverse | |

The most common type of reversal in Walikan is Total Segment Reversal; however, the Walikan word described in (72) is formed through Permutation. The word used is the title of a news program in a local television station, and the reason for the use of Permutation can be seen in §6.3.1.

4.5 Other Forms of Reversal

This section describes other reversed forms in Walikan that can be regarded as exceptions to the Total Segment Reversal rule. Their total number is very small (36 out of 725 tokens). Most of them are not systematic, but some of them undergo a reversal process of: 1) Transposition; 2) Sequence Exchange; or 3) Permutation.

Transposition involves the movement of the last or initial syllable (73) or segment of a word to the beginning or the end of the word respectively (74).

- (73) *gaji* ['g̊a.ʃi] 'salary'
 Original Word : g a ʃ i
 Walikan : ʃ i g a

- (74) *groggi* ['gr̥.ɡ̊i] 'groggy'
 Original Word : g r ɔ̥ . g i
 Walikan : i . g r ɔ̥ g

Several other Walikan words in my data that undergo this reversal process are listed in (75):

- (75) Transposition
critò ['cri.t̥ɔ̥] → òCRIT ['ʔɔ̥.criʔ] 'story'
kamu ['ka.mu] → UKAM ['ʔu.kamʔ] 'you'
pirò ['pi.r̥ɔ̥] → òPIR ['ʔɔ̥.pir] 'how much'

In addition to Transposition, another exception is called Sequence Exchange, which allows for the swapping of sequences in a word (Bagemihl 1989). The first type of Sequence Exchange allows a reversal of only the first CVC sequence of the word (76) and (77).

- (76) *maksud* ['maʔ.sʊʔ] 'intention'
 Original Word : m a k . s u t̥
 Walikan : k a m . s u t̥

(77) *walik* ['wa.lɪʔ] 'to reverse'

Original Word	:	w	a	.	l	i	ʔ
Walikan	:	l	a	.	w	i	ʔ

The second type of sequence-based reversal inverts the final VC sequence of a word and transposes it to the initial position (78).

(78) *hotél* [hɔ.t̪ɛl] 'hotel'

Original Word	:	h	ɔ	.	t̪	ɛ	l
Walikan	:	l	ɛ	.	h	ɔ	t̪

Other Walikan words in my data that undergo this reversal process are listed in (79):

(79) Sequence Exchange

<i>lanang</i>	['la.naŋ]	→	NGALAN	['ŋa.lanʔ]	'man'
<i>walik</i>	['wa.lɪʔ]	→	KIWAL	['ki.wal]	'to reverse'
<i>hamil</i>	['ha.mɪl]	→	LIHAM	['li.hamʔ]	'pregnant'
<i>makelar</i>	[ma.kə.'lar]	→	RAMALEK	[ra.'ma.ləʔ]	'middleman'

In my data, the word *walik* has different Walikan forms through two Sequence Exchange processes: LAWIK and KI WAL. They are used interchangeably by speakers. But like many Walikan words with more than one attested variant, they can sometimes be determined by social factors (also see §4.6). Further, Permutation refers to the process in which segments are reordered in an unsystematic way. Sometimes they are also replaced with other segments that do not stem from the source word (80).

(80) Permutation

<i>walik</i>	['wa.lɪʔ]	→	KAWIL	['ka.wɪl]	'to reverse'
<i>abis</i>	['ʔa.b̥ɪs]	→	SIBUN	['si.b̥ɪnʔ]	'all gone, used up'
<i>parkir</i>	['par.kɪr]	→	SIKRAP	['si.krapʔ]	'to park'
<i>roti</i>	['rɔ.t̪i]	→	SITOR	['si.t̪ɔr]	'bread'
<i>abah</i>	['ʔa.b̥əh]	→	ÉBÉS	['ʔɛ.b̥ɛs]	'father'

The first example in (80), KAWIL, is previously discussed in (72). It was only observed in the particular TV show mentioned in §6.3.1.

The remaining examples in (80) seem to have been influenced by another type of slang in East Java. One of the rules in a Surabayan gay slang is the

use of prefix *si-* to be combined with the initial syllable of a source word (Oetomo 1990). Words such as *banci* ‘transvestite’ will be changed into *siban*, and *lanang* ‘male’ into *silan*. The final syllable of the original word is deleted. Influence from Surabayan slang may explain the formation of the Walikan words *SIBUN*, *SIKRAP*, and *SITOR*.

In addition, the word *ébés* ‘father’, which is used by the speakers to refer to their biological father or a person of whom they respect, may also be derived from this slang.

Another word-formation process in the Surabayan gay slang discussed in Oetomo (1990:58) involves transforming a word according to a template: C V C V (C) → C ε C e/ε s. Based on this template, the first vowel in the source word is changed to /ε/ and the second vowel to /e/ or /ε/, followed by the replacement of any consonant in the final syllable by /s/. If the source word has an open final syllable, an /s/ is simply added in word-final position (81).

(81) Word template of Surabayan gay slang (Oetomo 1990)

<i>banci</i>	[b̥a.nci]	→	<i>BÉNCÉS</i>	[b̥ɛ.nces]	‘transvestite’
<i>homo</i>	[ho.mo]	→	<i>HÉMÉS</i>	[hɛ.mes]	‘gay’
<i>ratus</i>	[ra.tʊs]	→	<i>RÉTÉS</i>	[rɛ.tɛs]	‘hundred’
<i>kluar</i>	[klu.ʷar]	→	<i>KLÉWÉS</i>	[klɛ.wes]	‘ejaculation’
<i>maen</i>	[ma.ʔen]	→	<i>MÉÉS</i>	[mɛ.ʔes]	‘to have sex’
<i>arab</i>	[ʔa.rap]	→	<i>ÉRBÉS</i>	[ʔɛ.r.bɛs]	‘Arabs’

The template explained in (81) might explain the origin of the word *ÉBÉS* and *ÉMÉS* ‘mother’ (82). Note that both words are derived from Arabic, and that the latter is more popular among younger speakers. Older speakers generally disapprove of the word *ÉMÉS*, instead preferring *ÉBÉS wédok*, which literally means ‘female father’.

(82) Walikan words influenced by slang template

<i>abi</i>	[ʔa.b̥i]	→	<i>ÉBÉS</i>	[ʔɛ.b̥ɛs]	‘father’
<i>umi</i>	[ʔu.mi]	→	<i>ÉMÉS</i>	[ʔɛ.mɛs]	‘mother’

To conclude, both the slang template and the affix *si-* rules are not productive and not used systematically in Walikan. They show an influence of Surabayan slang in Walikan.

4.6 Variation of Rules

Speakers of Walikan may apply different reversal strategies. As a result, there are a number of words that have more than one acceptable reversed version. In (83), the forms that follow Total Segment Reversal have alternate forms resulting from other strategies, such as Segment Exchange.

- (83) Alternate Forms: Total Segment Reversal and Segment Exchange
- | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|---|-----------------|----------------|--------------|
| <u>selamat</u> | [sə.'la.mat̚] | → | <u>TAMALES</u> | [t̚a.'ma.ləs] | 'a greeting' |
| <u>selamat</u> | [sə.'la.mat̚] | → | <u>TALAMES</u> | [t̚a.'la.məs] | 'a greeting' |
| <u>setuju</u> | [sə.'t̚u.ʃ̥u] | → | <u>UJUTES</u> | [ʔu.'ʃ̥u.t̚əs] | 'agree' |
| <u>setuju</u> | [sə.'t̚u.ʃ̥u] | → | <u>UTUJES</u> | [ʔu.'t̚u.ʃ̥əs] | 'agree' |
| <u>semangat</u> | [sə.'ma.ŋat̚] | → | <u>TANGAMES</u> | [t̚a.'ŋa.məs] | 'spirit' |
| <u>semangat</u> | [sə.'ma.ŋat̚] | → | <u>TAMANGES</u> | [t̚a.'ma.ŋəs] | 'spirit' |
| <u>kuliah</u> | [ku.'li.ʔah] | → | <u>HALIUK</u> | [ha.'li.ʔuʔ] | 'lecture' |
| <u>kuliah</u> | [ku.'li.ʔah] | → | <u>HAILUK</u> | [ha.'i.luʔ] | 'lecture' |

In (84), speakers produce forms that follow Total Segment Reversal, but they also reverse the same words by using Transposition and Sequence Exchange.

- (84) Alternate Forms: Total Segment Reversal and Transposition/Sequence Exchange
- | | | | | | |
|---------------|----------|---|---------------|-----------|------------|
| <u>kamu</u> | [ka.mu] | → | <u>UMAK</u> | [ʔu.maʔ] | 'you' |
| <u>kamu</u> | [ka.mu] | → | <u>UKAM</u> | [ʔu.kamʔ] | 'you' |
| <u>pirò</u> | [pi.rɔ] | → | <u>ÒRIP</u> | [ʔɔ.rip] | 'how much' |
| <u>pirò</u> | [pi.rɔ] | → | <u>ÒPIR</u> | [ʔɔ.pir] | 'how much' |
| <u>lanang</u> | [la.naŋ] | → | <u>NGANAL</u> | [ŋa.nal] | 'man' |
| <u>lanang</u> | [la.naŋ] | → | <u>NGALAN</u> | [ŋa.lanʔ] | 'man' |

The alternate forms of Walikan are used unsystematically by speakers. Sometimes speakers will use a certain form because it is the only one used by their community. They may also prefer a form reversed through Total

Segment Reversal over another, as is the case with the word UJUTES and UTUJES, (83). In writing platforms, speakers tend to use UJUTES because all the graphemes in the spelling of the word are reversed directly. In addition, the choice can also be influenced by age factors, for example the word ÒPIR and ÒRIP in (84). The former is preferred by older speakers while the latter is accepted by both older and younger speakers.

There are also a number of instances of Walikan words that violate Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonotactics by reversing the orthographic form of a word. As discussed previously in §4.3.2.3, the palatal stops /c, ɟ/, and the bilabial approximant /w/ are not permitted in word-final position. In (22) and (23), speakers of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian realize /c, ɟ/ as [t] and /w/ as [p] in word-final position. Speakers can also opt for Consonant Deletion (8). However, there are instances where younger speakers follow the orthography and retain these consonants in word-final position, even though doing so violates Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonotactics (86) - (87). In (85), the bilabial approximant /w/ in word-final position is realized as a diphthong.

(85) /w/ in word-final position

<i>wédok</i>	[ʷɛ.ḍɔʔ]	→	KODÉW	[kɔ.ḍɛʷ]	‘woman’
<i>wangi</i>	[ʷa.ŋi]	→	INGAW	[ʔi.ŋaʷ]	‘fragrant’
<i>walikan</i>	[ʷa.liʔ.anʔ]	→	NAKILAW	[na.ki.laʷ]	‘reversal’
<i>wani</i>	[ʷa.ni]	→	INAW	[ʔi.naʷ]	‘to dare’

(86) /ɟ/ in word-final position

<i>Jakarta</i>	[ʔa.kar.ɟa]	→	ATRAKAJ	[ʔa.ʔra.kaɟ]	‘a place name’
<i>juragan</i>	[ʔu.ra.ɡaŋʔ]	→	NARAGUJ	[na.ra.ɡɔɟ]	‘boss’
<i>jeruk</i>	[ʔɔ.rɔʔ]	→	KURÉJ	[ku.rɛɟ]	‘orange’
<i>jembut</i>	[ʔɔ.mbɔʔ]	→	TUMBEJ	[tu.mbɔɟ]	‘pubic hair’

(87) /c/ in word-final position

<i>celana</i>	[cə.la.na]	→	ANALEC	[ʔa.na.ləc]	‘trousers’
<i>cinò</i>	[ci.nɔ]	→	ÒNIC	[ʔɔ.nic]	‘Chinese’

The second type of Walikan form that violates Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonotactics is shown in (88). Here the velar nasal consonant /ŋ/ is seen as two segments, because it is orthographically written as <ng>. The

digraph <ng> is then reversed into <gn> in word-initial position. Since /gn/ is not a good onset, speakers use [ə] to break the unusual cluster.¹⁰

(88) Reversal of <ng> into <gn>

<i>orang</i>	[ʔɔ.raŋ]	→	<u>GENARO</u>	[ġə.'na.ro]	'people'
<i>omong</i>	[ʔɔ.raŋ]	→	<u>GENOMO</u>	[ġə.'na.ro]	'people'
<i>utang</i>	[ʔu.taŋ]	→	<u>GENATU</u>	[ġə.'na.tu]	'debt'
<i>tukang</i>	[tu.kan]	→	<u>GENAKUT</u>	[ġə.'na.kuʔ]	'worker'

Examples (85) to (88) show how orthography can play a role in Walikan. Instead of applying additional modification strategies to conform to the phonology and phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, speakers strictly follow Total Segment Reversal, directly reversing the graphemes used in the common orthography of particular words, even though doing so may violate Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonology and phonotactics.

4.7 Conclusions

This chapter has shown that in the majority of cases, word reversal in Walikan follows the Total Segment Reversal rule, in which the segments or phonemes in a word are totally reversed and restructured. Total Segment Reversal can be applied to words with all possible number of syllables in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, and results in the reorganisation of syllable patterns. Modification strategies apply in Total Segment Reversal to create well-formed onsets and codas in the reversed words through vowel and consonant insertion, vowel and consonant deletion, simplification of clusters, or the exchange of vowels or consonants.

During the reversal process, a word's underlying form is reversed in conformity with the phonology and phonotactics rules of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian. The reflection of the source language's phonological system can be seen in: 1) the neutralization of heavy final consonants; 2) the alternation of velar and glottal stops; 3) the status of the glottal fricative in word-final position; 4) the realization of palatal stops and bilabial approximant consonants

¹⁰Effendi Kadarisman, an informant in Fitriah (2015), explains that the choice is made because the sounds of [gən] in [ġə.'na.ro] is heavier than the velar nasal is [ŋa.ro], which can help portray the people of Malang as stronger and more powerful, but obviously this rather ideological explanation does not work on all the other examples.

in word-final position; 5) consonant sequences and clusters' constraints; 6) prenasalized stops; and 7) the phonemic statuses of certain sets of vowels: /e/ ~[ɛ], /ə/, /o/ ~[ɔ], and /a/ ~[ɔ].

Some Walikan words, however, show evidence that speakers no longer strictly follow the allophonic patterns between /e/ ~[ɛ] and /a/ ~[ɔ]. This indicates a phonological change that is ongoing in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian.

One of the most important phonological rules in Walikan relates to the homorganic consonant clusters, whose order remains intact in root-medial position. This provides evidence that homorganic consonant clusters in root-medial position in Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian are tautosyllabic, i.e. part of a single syllable.

Walikan operates within the domain of the root, as affixes are attached to a reversed root form, and reduplication is applied to a reversed root form. Walikan has a small number of tokens that deviate from Total Segment Reversal and instead apply Transposition and Sequence Exchange strategies.

Finally, Walikan may apply different reversals to the same word due to a number of reasons. Some of the forms show violations of Malangan Javanese phonology and phonotactics, mostly because speakers base the reversal on the way the source words are written. But also because reversed languages are intended to deviate from the rules, so exceptions are to be expected.

CHAPTER 5

Sociolinguistic Variety

5.1 Introduction

This chapter¹ explores the sociolinguistic “domain” of Walikan, including the speakers’ communities and the different ways in which they use the language variety (Fishman 1972; Holmes 2013). It does so by investigating the self-reported fluency, types of interaction, places of interaction, and the variety of word forms that are used by speakers according to gender and age group. §5.2 focuses on the extent to which Walikan is male-dominated and whether women and girls also take part in it. Further, §5.3 analyzes the variety of Walikan across different age groups. The analysis in this chapter is based on data collected through sociolinguistic questionnaires, interviews, and monologues/conversations that are categorized on the basis of gender and age. The results show that male and female speakers are equal users of Walikan, but there are significant differences between younger and older speakers.

¹The preliminary version of this chapter appeared as Yannuar, N. 2017. The interplay of social variables in Walikan. *Proceedings of The International Seminar on Sociolinguistics and Dialectology; Changes and Development of Language in Social Life*, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, 23 November 2017.

5.2 Gender

The language manipulation strategies in Walikan make it a youth language. As discussed in Chapter 2, youth languages are language registers or varieties developed by youth in urban areas, mainly characterized by linguistic manipulation strategies creating differences from their base language(s) (Kießling and Mous 2006; Nassenstein and Hollington 2015; Nortier and Svendsen 2015). They are generally seen as male-dominated, or used predominantly among male speakers (Kießling and Mous 2004). When some of them are found in both gender groups, certain taboo words are used differently (Nassenstein and Hollington 2015). For example, female speakers in other youth languages, such as Yarada K'wank'wa, spoken in Addis Ababa, may know some words but they prefer not to use them in communication (Hollington 2015).

In this section I investigate whether Walikan, which is seen as the language of pan-Malang solidarity, possesses these youth language characteristics. The investigation was conducted mainly through the use of a sociolinguistic questionnaire as a tool to gather information on how both male and female speakers perceive Walikan. The speakers were asked to self-report their fluency in Walikan, the types of interaction they experience, and the places of interaction when speaking Walikan. A group which tends to assess itself with a higher score can be regarded as more confident and thus have more power than the rest. Regarding the types and places of interaction, youth languages are typically used among peers, those belonging to the same groups, or people of the same age, and are mostly used outside the home.

In addition, I also explore the type of words that are popular among both gender groups. The most popular Walikan words that speakers mentioned spontaneously in the questionnaire were compared to each other. Afterwards, I compared the speakers' perception with real use of Walikan in my corpus.

Note that the male speakers who participated in my study outnumbered the female speakers. Recruiting female participants proved to be more challenging. Most of them hesitated because they worried that they would not perform well.

5.2.1 Fluency

In order to explore how Walikan is used by different gender groups, I focus on how speakers of each gender assess their own fluency in Walikan through a sociolinguistic questionnaire. The word fluency here refers to how communicative and confident they are in Walikan. In the questionnaire, the speakers

were presented with three choices: fluent, not very fluent, and having passive knowledge. The latter means that they know and understand Walikan words, but prefer not to produce them in their own communication. The results are shown in Figure 5.1.

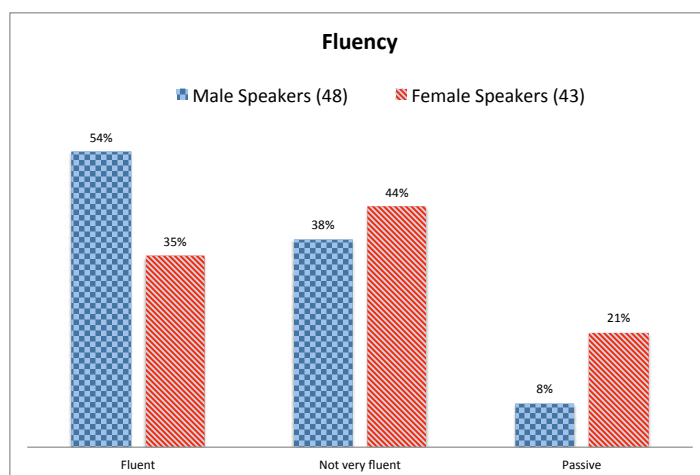


FIGURE 5.1: Self-assessment of male and female speakers' fluency

Investigating self-assessed fluency reveals the extent to which each group takes part in the linguistic practice. Out of 48 male speakers who filled in the information on fluency, 54% reported that they are fluent in Walikan, whereas only 35% of female speakers (out of 43) claimed fluency. Female speakers seem more comfortable in labeling themselves as not very fluent (44%) or having passive knowledge only (21%). The data show that male speakers have more confidence, which can also be interpreted as having a stronger sense of belonging to the community of speakers.

5.2.2 Types of Interaction

I also asked speakers with whom they usually speak Walikan. The questionnaire suggested several categories that participants could choose, but they were allowed to choose more than one category and add other categories which were not on the list yet. This was done to help participants describe the type of interaction that could trigger the use of Walikan.

From 55 male speakers and 43 female speakers, 17 different categories were generated, and in general they can be classified into three groupings:

friends, family, and anyone. Under the category of “friends”, participants mentioned friends (in general), friends of the same age, older friends, close friends, friends to hang out with, office colleagues, school friends, college friends, long-time friends, friends in a band, Facebook friends, friends from Malang, and friends from outside Malang. The category of “family” includes family (in general), parents, and siblings. The results for both male and female speakers are shown in Figure 5.2.

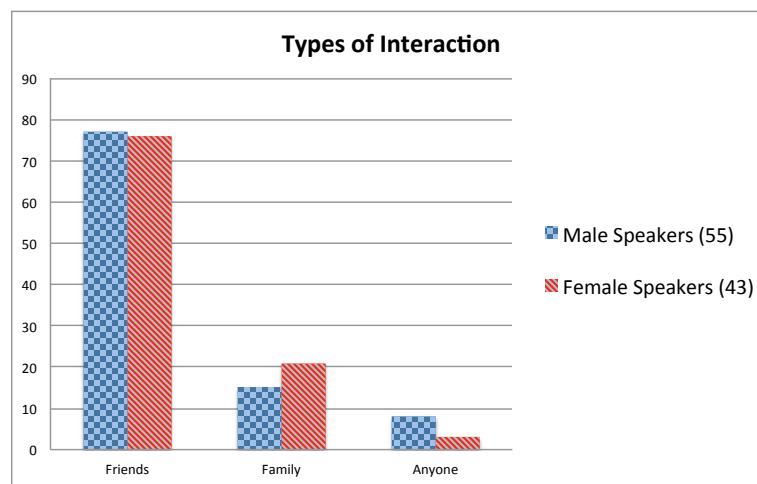


FIGURE 5.2: Walikan circle of male and female speakers

Figure 5.2 shows that both male and female speakers have similar types of interaction in Walikan. Friends (in general) and friends of the same age receive the most mentions. The “friends” category is mentioned 77 times by male speakers and 76 times by female speakers. 29 male speakers and 28 female speakers specify that the friends are of the same age. In contrast, there are only 8 male speakers and 1 female speaker who believe that they can use Walikan with older friends.

In the domain of “family”, both male and female speakers have more or less the same perception. That Walikan is used with family members is mentioned 15 times by male speakers and 21 times by female speakers. Among them, 4 male speakers and 5 female speakers report that they can use it with their parents. Three female speakers use Walikan with their siblings, but none of the male speakers does so.

A greater number of male speakers use Walikan with anyone. During the interviews, some of them said that as long as they are in Malang they can use

Walikan anywhere, with anyone, in any kind of situation. On the other hand, female participants shared that they would prefer not to use Walikan with a stranger, because if the person turns out to be a non-speaker of Walikan the former would be embarrassed. Therefore, female speakers of Walikan tend to show the attitude of restricting the use of Walikan to peers and relatives only, while male speakers tend to feel more freedom to use it with others, regardless of their relationship.

5.2.3 Places of Interaction

Next, places where Walikan is spoken at by male and female speakers are explored. A number of suggestions for possible places were given in the questionnaire, and later participants could select more than one and add their own information. The following data were gathered from 56 male speakers and 45 female speakers. Overall, 22 places were generated, which can be classified into five types: around residence, public space, stadium, school/campus, and office. The results for both male and female speakers are shown in Figure 5.3.

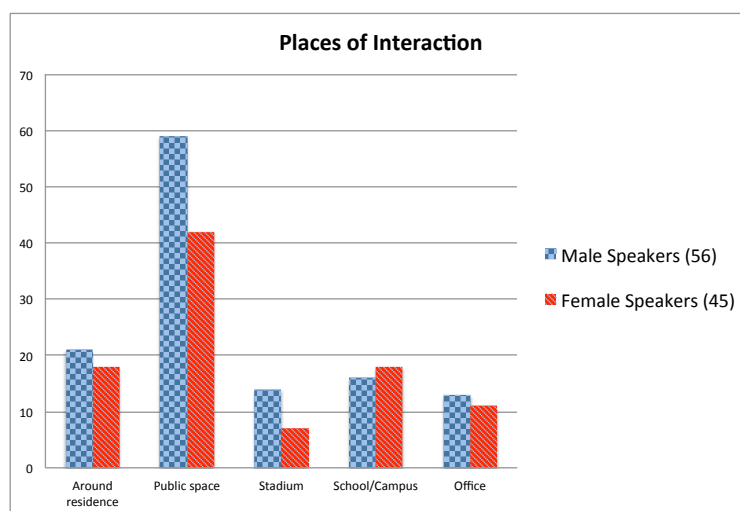


FIGURE 5.3: Places where male and female speakers interact in Walikan

The majority of both male and female speakers feel comfortable using Walikan in public places, which, among others, includes the street, hangout places, and coffee stalls. 39 male speakers and 31 female speakers use Walikan in hangout places. Assuming that most of these speakers are hanging out with

their friends, this supports the previous result shown in §5.2.2 that Walikan is predominantly used among peers in informal situations.

The category “street” as a type of public space is mentioned by 17 male speakers and 10 female speakers. These numbers, although still less than hangout places, are relatively high, meaning that speakers still associate Walikan with a street vernacular.

In the second place, the category “around residence” is mentioned as a location where speakers of both gender groups use Walikan most frequently. 21 male speakers and 18 female speakers consider their houses as spaces for speaking Walikan. In the past Walikan was seen as anti-language, thus it belonged to the marginalized community and was spoken more in the street. So it is interesting to see that nowadays people also consider that Walikan can be used at home.

Walikan is also used in school/on campus by almost the same relatively high number of speakers, namely 16 male speakers and 18 female speakers. Many speakers in the interview recalled that they became fluent in Walikan from interaction with peers in schools, including elementary, junior high, and high schools.

The office is also shown to be a place where speakers can use Walikan. 13 male speakers and 11 female speakers use Walikan in their daily communication with their work colleagues. However, as stated in the interview sessions, they do not use Walikan during formal meetings in the office.

Finally, the results of the questionnaire also reflects the fact that Walikan is commonly identified with sports. 14 male speakers and seven female speakers use Walikan when they are in stadiums and watch football. This is supported by my own observation when I visited Gajahyana Stadium on October 14, 2016. As I sat in the stadium and watched Arema FC playing, I heard Walikan being used by male and female football fans.

5.2.4 Word forms

This section investigates whether male and female speakers use Walikan words in the same manner. In the sociolinguistic questionnaire, informants were asked to mention any Walikan words that they often use from the top of their heads. A total of 254 words were collected from 51 male speakers, while only 149 words were gathered from 47 female speakers. The most popular words in the list are shown in Table 5.1.

Male speakers		Female speakers	
Words	Frequency	Words	Frequency
<u>NAKAM</u> < <u>makan</u> 'to eat'	14/254 (6%)	<u>NAKAM</u> < <u>makan</u> 'to eat'	20/149 (7%)
<u>ÒYI</u> < <u>iyò</u> 'yes'	13/254 (5%)	<u>ÒYI</u> < <u>iyò</u> 'yes'	17/149 (6%)
<u>KADIT</u> < <u>tidak</u> 'no'	11/254 (4%)	<u>HAMUR</u> < <u>rumah</u> 'house'	10/149 (3%)
<u>AYAS</u> < <u>saya</u> 'I'	8/254 (3%)	<u>NGALUP</u> < <u>pulang</u> 'to go home'	10/149 (3%)
<u>IDREK</u> < <u>kerdi</u> 'to work'	7/254 (3%)	<u>AYAS</u> < <u>saya</u> 'I'	7/149 (2%)
<u>UMAK</u> < <u>kamu</u> 'you'	7/254 (3%)	<u>KADIT</u> < <u>tidak</u> 'no'	6/149 (2%)

TABLE 5.1: Frequent words or phrases among male and female speakers

Table 5.1 shows that word usage by both gender groups is not very different. The words NAKAM 'to eat', ÒYI 'yes', KADIT 'no', and AYAS 'I' are found in the list of six most frequent words across the two different gender groups. The following observations can be made to explain some of these popular words.

Firstly, it is possible that the word NAKAM, which is derived from the Indonesian word makan 'to eat' is one of the most popular words in the city. It is frequently seen written on food stalls around the city. It also appears on the T-shirt designs of both Oyisam and Ongisam brands (see 6.4.5). The structure of the word is simple, meaning that it does not contain any consonant clusters, which possibly helps it to linger in the mind of the speakers.

Secondly, the words ÒYI and KADIT are both used by speakers as expressions of the affirmative and the negative respectively. These words have no synonyms in Walikan. In Indonesian, the word tidak 'no', the origin of KADIT, is used before verbs and adjectives, while bukan 'no' is used preceding nouns.

In Walikan, KADIT is used for both functions (also see §6.3.2). It is then not a surprise that both male and female speakers are very familiar with both ÒYI and KADIT.

Thirdly, the pronouns AYAS ‘I’ and UMAK ‘you’ are popular because they often appear in spontaneous conversations when speakers refer to themselves or to the addressee(s). AYAS is a reversal of the Indonesian word *saya* ‘I’, while the reversal of the Javanese word *aku* ‘I’, UKA, is not preferred by speakers. Similarly, UMAK also originates from the Indonesian word *kamu*. There is no other alternative as the other Javanese second person pronouns are bound to complicated politeness and hierarchical rules. As a result, AYAS and UMAK appear as two of the most familiar words for both male and female speakers.

The data discussed above suggest that both male and female speakers of Walikan seem to be familiar with the same Walikan words. However, data from my overall corpus suggest that male speakers produce more words and expressions with socially negative connotations than female speakers. Words and expressions such as KÉAT NGICUK ‘bullshit’ (< *taék kucing* ‘cat shit’), LONTOK (< *kontrol*) ‘penis’, NGUNTAL UTAPES ‘talk rubbish’ (< *nguntal sepatu* ‘eat shoes’), and NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT ‘to have drugs/sex’ (< *séndhén témbok* ‘to lean over a wall’) are found to be predominantly used among male speakers. The latter expression NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT is also known among female speakers but only with its literal meaning. On the other hand, male speakers use the same phrase mostly to refer to the state of being intoxicated, high on drugs, or having pre-marital intercourse (see §2.3.2). This means that male speakers may use Walikan words in a way that can accommodate socially displeasing utterances, but female speakers will not immediately do the same.

5.3 Age

This section explores the domain of age to find out whether Walikan is still part of a youth culture and a youth linguistic practice, even though it has existed for decades and thus its speakers may include both younger and older individuals. To (Blommaert 2015a:4), youth culture is a phenomenon that underlines a specific period in the life of the speakers: their youth. The youth characteristics of Walikan can be justified by focusing on the period when Walikan was forged and when it was used more extensively in the life of most of its speakers.

However, as seen in the demography of my informants, nowadays Walikan speakers come from different generations. Walikan is no longer a vari-

ety that is confined to the youth. The situation reflects the definition of Contemporary Urban Vernacular, that is, a language variety generally developed when the speakers were young, but is still used by the same speakers as they get older (Rampton 2015).

This section aims to investigate how Walikan may be used differently across age groups. I categorized Walikan speakers into five age groups: 1) elderly; 2) middle-aged; 3) adult; 4) youth; and 5) adolescent. The categorization was drawn based on the year they were born, the years they spent in high school and university, and their current social situation.

It is worth noting that the years spent in high school will also inform us regarding the official spelling that speakers were introduced to in their formal education. The first spelling system in Indonesia was the Van Ophuijsen Spelling in 1901, followed by the Republican Spelling System/Soewandi Spelling in 1947. They were both more or less still influenced by Dutch orthography. The most noticeable element in both systems is that the palatal stop sound /c/ is represented with a digraph <tj>. In the Perfected Spelling System introduced in 1972, the palatal stop /c/ is represented as <c> instead of the digraph <tj>. In 2016 the Ministry of Education and Culture published a general guide to Indonesian spelling. Understanding this situation helps analyze how speakers at times deal with the orthography of a word (also see §1.3.2).

The categorization of Walikan speakers based on age groups is shown in Table 5.2.

Age range	Year born	Years in Senior High School	Social situation
Elderly, 60s and above	1950s and earlier	1960s or early 1970s	Retired, have more time to reconnect with old friends
Middle-aged, 40s and 50s	late 1960s to 1970s	late 1970s to 1980s	Settled down, married, busy with family
Adult, 25 to 30s	1980s	1990s	Working, in the most productive stage, starting to have more life responsibility
Youth, 16 to 24	1990s to early 2000s	2000s	Still in high school or university, more time to hang out with friends
Adolescent, 10 to 15	2000s	Still in elementary school or junior high school	Still under parents' guidance, limited interaction with peers

TABLE 5.2: Walikan speakers' age categories

The elderly group (60s and above) were born in the 1950s or earlier, during the early stages of Indonesian independence. They are used to speaking Javanese in their daily conversations, while using Indonesian only in very formal situations. The official orthography that they used when they were in school in 1960s or early 1970s was the Soewandi Spelling (from 1947 to 1972). At present, the people belonging to this group are mostly retired and have more time to reconnect with their friends from the past.

The middle-aged group (in their 40s to 50s) went to high school in the

late 1970s and the 1980s. Most of them have now settled down, married, and are quite occupied with family life. Next is the adult group (in their 20s to 30s), who went to high school in the 1990s. In terms of social situation, they are now at the peak of their productive years and have started to have more responsibilities in life. The fourth group is the youth (aged 16 to 24), who are still either in high schools or universities. They spend most of their time studying or socializing with friends.

The last group is the adolescents (aged 10 to 15), who are currently still living with their parents. Most of them have not yet fully developed their skills in Walikan. They just started learning Walikan by picking up generic words and using it with their school friends.

The number of speakers within each category is not always balanced. There are only 2 adolescent speakers because I focused the data collection of my study on campuses, offices, houses, and high schools instead of elementary schools. Due to these constraints, I was not able to enter the adolescent communities. The 2 adolescent speakers I recruited, however, are fluent and reliable.

5.3.1 Fluency

Based on the aforementioned age categories, I first looked into how speakers assess their fluency of Walikan based on age groups. There were 20 elderly, 18 middle-aged, 40 adult, 13 youth, and 2 adolescent speakers who reported their self-assessed fluency. The results are presented in Figure 5.4.

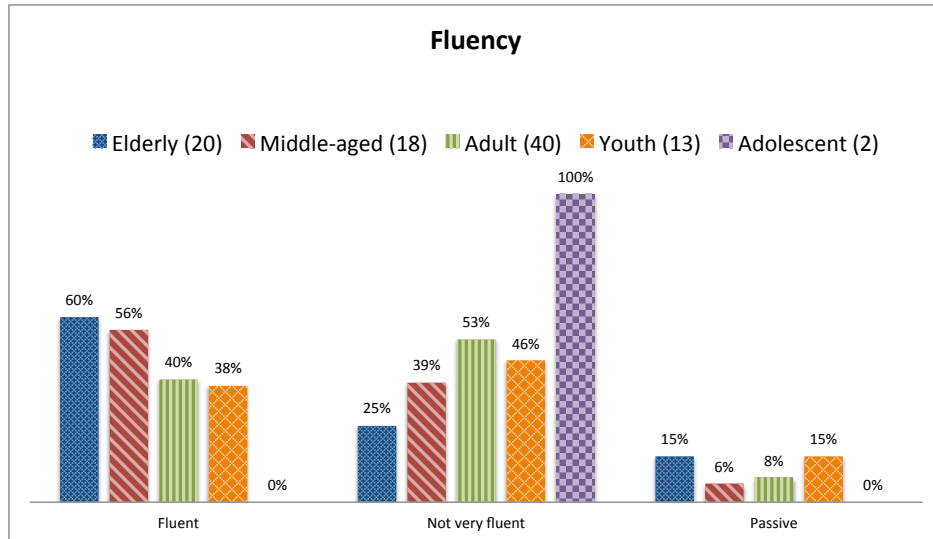


FIGURE 5.4: Self-assessment of speakers' fluency based on age groups

The distribution of responses suggests that the older the participants are, the more confident they feel of their ability in Walikan. 60 % of elderly speakers believe that they are fluent in Walikan, while only 38 % of youth speakers feel the same way. Older speakers are seen to have more power and control in displaying their knowledge of Walikan. Fewer younger speakers seem to admit that they have fluent proficiency in Walikan, but this does not correlate with their actual ability in speaking. In the spoken data, younger groups of speakers also show high proficiency, indicated by the high number of Walikan words incorporated in their speech. However, there seems to be a norm which suggests that older speakers have better knowledge of Walikan.

As an attempt to understand how Walikan is used in spontaneous interaction, I asked one of my informants to bring a recorder as she followed the band *Arema Voice* when they performed in Bulungan Jakarta. They were invited as a guest performance during the celebration of Arema's anniversary in 2016. The recording managed to capture a situation where one younger speaker used a certain Walikan word, which was immediately commented on by an older speaker. The older speaker then went on to mention certain rules that he believed should be followed by younger speakers of Walikan.

5.3.2 Types of Interaction

In §5.2.2 it was shown that a slight difference can be observed between the male and female Walikan speakers based on the groups of people to whom they talk. Male speakers feel more freedom to also use Walikan with strangers, even before establishing common ground with them first. Here I observe that younger and older speakers also show very little difference with regard to the group of people that they may interact with in Walikan. The data presented in Figure 5.5 were collected from 21 elderly speakers, 21 middle-aged, 40 adult, 18 youth, and 2 adolescent speakers.

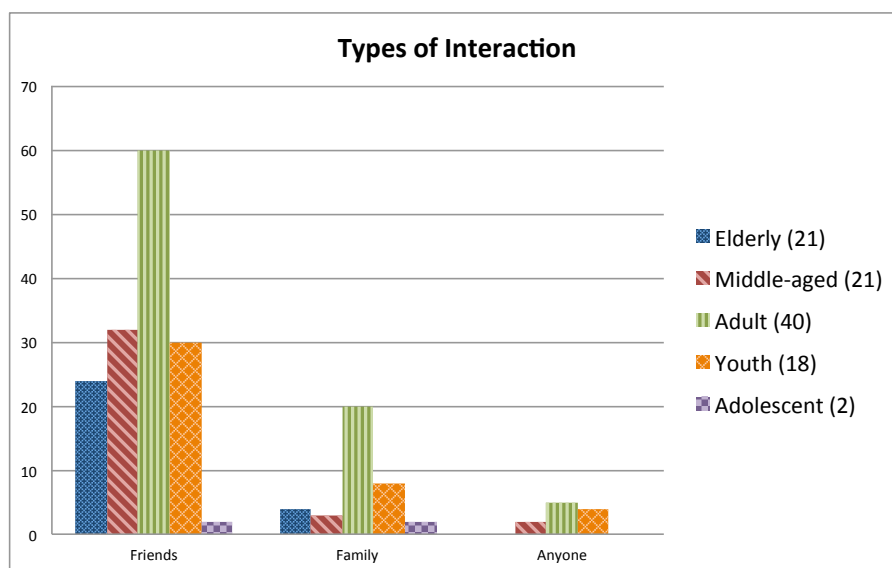


FIGURE 5.5: Self-assessment of speakers' fluency based on age groups

Speakers across generations use Walikan with friends. Most of them frequently mentioned the category friends of the same age. 15 elderly speakers, 11 middle-aged speakers, and 20 adult speakers specified that they use Walikan with friends of the same age.

The second most frequently mentioned category for adult speakers is family. Youth speakers show the same trend as adult speakers. For them Walikan can be used mostly with friends, followed by family, which includes both parents and siblings.

The elderly speakers also highlight the category friends. For them, it is important to make sure that the people they are talking to in Walikan are

their peers. They seem to be more reluctant to use Walikan with their family. Walikan was more like a secret language among peers, instead of an urban language that can be used with anyone.

A youth language is more commonly used in the interaction between friends or peers of the same age. The fact that younger participants report that they can use Walikan with their family shows that for them Walikan has lost its youth language characteristics. Walikan is seen as an informal language variety that reflects local pride, solidarity, as well as regional identity (see §6.5).

5.3.3 Places of Interaction

Here, following the same category of places described in §5.2.3, I also observe the places where people speak Walikan based on their age. The data presented in Figure 5.6 were collected from 20 elderly, 22 middle-aged, 39 adult, 18 youth, and 2 adolescent speakers.

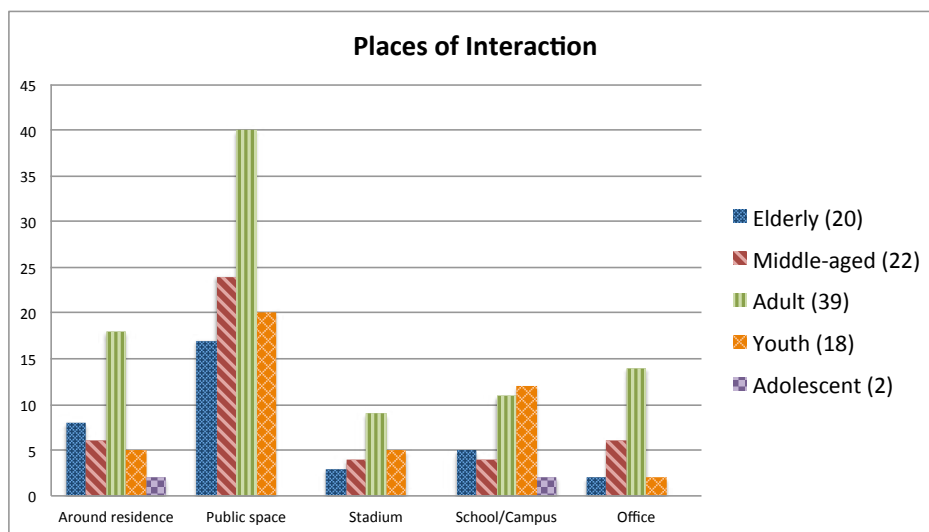


FIGURE 5.6: Self-assessment of speakers' fluency based on age groups

Both of the participating adolescent speakers use Walikan in their homes and at school. Both of them have supportive parents who are also fluent in Walikan, so they use Walikan at home. In school, both of them also continue to use Walikan with their friends.

Among speakers older than 16 years of age, Walikan is used predominantly in public spaces. This category is mentioned by 40 adult speakers, 24 middle-aged speakers, 20 youth speakers, and 17 elderly speakers. Most of them mentioned that typically they converse in Walikan in a hangout place.

The category campus is also popular among youth speakers, while adult speakers mention the category of office. In addition, the stadium is also mentioned quite frequently, mostly by adult speakers, followed by youth and middle-aged speakers.

With regard to the elderly speakers, a few of them mentioned reunions as occasions that trigger their use of Walikan (not included in Figure 5.6). During the interview sessions, they explained that Walikan is seen as a tool to connect to their old friends.

Baso (male, 62 years old)² shared that he had learned Walikan in high school from school friends and peers in general. As he grew older, however, the frequency with which he used Walikan decreased. He felt this linguistic practice to be closely tied to a certain period in his life, namely his youth. As a result, every time he and his school friends met for a reunion, they made use of Walikan in order to celebrate the memory of their youth. In February 2016, the alumni network of SMAN 1 Malang (Senior High School 1 Malang), *Ikamisa*, organized a gathering which was entitled Uklam Tahés Ikamisa. UKLAM is a reversed form of *mlaku* ‘to walk’, while TAHÉS is the inverted form of *séhat* ‘healthy’. The whole sentence means ‘A healthy morning walk with Ikamisa – the alumni network of SMAN 1 Malang’.

The interviews also suggest that Walikan was mostly used in oral communication for the older generation. The younger generation, however, shows that their use of Walikan extends beyond oral communication. They also find the Internet or digital space in general a more substantial place to learn and practice Walikan (see §6.4.3).

²Interviewed in May 30th, 2015.

5.3.4 Word Forms

This section further explores the different Walikan forms that are used by speakers of different age groups. In order to investigate these forms, I focus on certain Walikan words that show variation in my corpus. There are two different variation categories: 1) phonological or phonotactical; and 2) related to reversal types. The phonological or phonotactical variations are divided into (a) consonant variation; as shown in Table 5.3, and (b) vowel variation; as shown in Table 5.4.

Note that the empty cells indicate unused forms or no data among the corresponding group. The Walikan word UMAK ‘you’, for example, is not used by the elderly group. For the second person pronoun, the elderly group chose to use the unreversed Javanese word *kowé* ‘you’, *koen* ‘you’, or *sampéyan* ‘you (honorific)’. The other empty cells signify that no data was collected due to the limited number of participants.

Words	Elderly	Middle-Aged	Adult	Youth	Adolescent
<i>kamu</i> ‘you’ [ka.mu]		[ʔu.maʔ]; [ʔu.mak]	[ʔu.maʔ]; [ʔu.mak]	[ʔu.maʔ]; [ʔu.mak]; [ju.maʔ]; [ju.mak]	[ʔu.maʔ]; [ʔu.mak]
<i>kecil</i> ‘small’ [kə.cil]	[li.təʔ]; [li.tək]	[li.cəʔ]; [li.cək]	[li.cəʔ]; [li.cək]	[li.cəʔ]; [li.cək]	[li.cək]
<i>celana</i> ‘trousers’ [cə.la.na]	[ʔa.na.ləʔ]	[ʔa.na.ləʔ]	[ʔa.na.ləʔ]; [ʔa.na.ləc]	[ʔa.na.ləc]	
<i>cinò</i> ‘Chinese’ [ci.nə]	[ʔɔ.nɪʔ]	[ʔɔ.nɪʔ]	[ʔɔ.nɪʔ]; [ʔɔ.nɪʔ]	[ʔɔ.nɪʔ]; [ʔɔ.nɪʔ]; [ʔɔ.nic]	
<i>Jakarta</i> ‘a place name’ [ʔa.kar.ta]	[ʔa.tra.katʔ]; [ʔa.ra.ka.taʔ]; [ʔa.ta.ra.katʔ]	[ʔa.tra.katʔ]	[ʔa.tra.katʔ]; [a.tra.katʔ]	[ʔa.tra.katʔ]; [a.tra.katʔ]	[a.tra.katʔ]

Words	Elderly	Middle-Aged	Adult	Youth	Adolescent
<i>juragan</i> 'boss' [bɔs]	[na.'ra.ɡɔt̪]; [na.'ra.ɡɔt̪]; [na.'ɡa.ruɬ]	[na.'ra.ɡɔt̪]; [na.'ra.ɡɔt̪]	[na.'ra.ɡɔt̪]; [na.'ra.ɡɔt̪]		
<i>wédok</i> 'fe-male' [wɛ.ɖɔʔ]	[kɔ.ɖɛh]; [kɔ.ɖɛp]; [kɔ.ɖɛ]; [wɛ.ɖɔʔ]	[kɔ.ɖɛh]; [kɔ.ɖɛp]; [kɔ.ɖɛ]	[kɔ.ɖɛh]; [kɔ.ɖɛ]	[kɔ.ɖɛʷ]	[kɔ.ɖɛʷ]
<i>wedi</i> 'afraid' [wə.ɖi]	[ʔi.ɖɛp]; [ʔi.ɖɛʷ]	[ʔi.ɖɛp]; [ʔi.ɖɛʷ]	[ʔi.ɖɛp]; [ʔi.ɖɛʷ]	[ʔi.ɖɛʷ]	
<i>yang</i> 'that.REL' [jaŋ]				[ɲaʲ]	
<i>yuk</i> 'let's [juʔ]				[kuʲ]	[kuʲ]

TABLE 5.3: Consonant variations across age groups

The phonological or phonotactical variations take place as reflections of a number of rules of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian phonology and phonotactics that were discussed in Chapter 4.

The first variation concerns the realization of the final /k/, which is a glottal stop [ʔ] in Malangan Javanese. The pronunciation of UMAK 'you' and licek 'small' has shown that some speakers, despite their age groups, conform to the aforementioned rule, while some of them tend to realize the final /k/ as [k] because of the orthography. In other words, if reversal follows orthography, then a [k] appears in word-final position. If reversal follows phonemic form of words, it yields a [ʔ] in word-final position (see §4.3.2.2).

Among the youth group, the initial close-back vowel /u/ in the word UMAK 'you' can be realized in two different ways. The first is preceded by a glottal stop, just like any other word-initial vowels in Malangan Javanese, as in [ʔu.maʔ] or [ʔu.mak]. The second inserts a glide in word-initial position, thus [ju.maʔ] or [ju.mak], because of a link with English [ju:] 'you'. This was mentioned by the speakers as their strategy to make Walikan sound more modern and English-like.

A closer look at the word *kecil* 'small' also shows that the light palatal stop /c/ is realized as /t/ in [li.təʔ] and [li.tək] by the elderly group. This could be due to the old spelling of the word, which was historically written as ketjil following the Van Ophuijsen Spelling System modelled on Dutch orthography; Indonesia's Perfected Spelling System changed the digraph <tj> into modern <c>. The elderly speakers may have paid attention to this early spelling, but reversing ketjil to *LIJTEK would have yielded the phonologically impermissible form [li.j.təʔ] or [li.j.tək]. Therefore, [li.təʔ], with a retroflex rather than dental /t̪/, may have been a creative solution to transform it into something pronounceable.

In the word celana 'trousers' and cinò 'Chinese', the light palatal stop /c/ is realized as the light dental stop [t̪] in word-final position by all speakers above 24 years of age. This is because /c/ in word-final position violates Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonotactics. Younger speakers tend to retain the palatal stop /c/ in word-final position, as they produce the form [ʔa.na.ləc]. When pronouncing the word cinò 'Chinese', however, the youth group is observed to realize the word-final /c/ as [t̪].

In reversing the word Jakarta 'a place name', elderly speakers break up the consonant cluster /tr/ in word-medial position by inserting the vowel /a/. This strategy is not found among speakers who are below 60. In addition, adult and youth speakers realize the word-final heavy palatal stop /ɟ/ as [j] in the reversal of Jakarta 'a place name' and juragan 'boss', although [j] in such

position contravenes Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonotactics. Older speakers, on the other hand, prefer to realize the word-final /ɟ/ as [t̪].

Next, we can investigate how the word-final bilabial approximant /w/ is realized by speakers from different age groups in the reversal of the word *wédok* ‘woman’. In Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, /w/ does not occur in word-final position. Speakers below 40 years of age realize word-final /w/ as a diphthong, as in [kɔ.ɖ͡ʷɛ̃]. This is avoided by older speakers, as they feel that it breaks the Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonotactics. They prefer to replace /w/ with the glottal fricative [h], the heavy bilabial stop [b], or simply delete the final consonant.

Some other new forms used among the younger speakers are [ɲaⁱ] and [kuⁱ], which are reversed forms of *yang* [jaŋ] ‘that.REL’ and *yuk* [juʔ] ‘let’s’. The palatal approximant /j/ does not normally occur in final position in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian words, and when it does in Walikan words, it may be realized as a diphthong (see §4.6). These words are only found among younger speakers, and are not approved of by the older speakers.

In other words, innovative forms of Walikan are found among the youth, who produce reversal speech in a new fashion, including [ju.mak] ‘you’ and [ɲaⁱ] ‘that.REL’. Younger speakers also seem to show less hesitation in violating Javanese and/or Indonesian phonotactics, as seen in [ʔa.na.ləc] ‘trousers’ and [na.ra.guɟ] ‘boss’. The younger speakers are thus less conservative than the older speakers, and they can be regarded as key actors in directing change in Walikan.

Table 5.4 shows pronunciation variations among different age groups based on the vowels.

Words	Elderly	Middle-Aged	Adult	Youth	Adolescent
<i>gedhé</i> 'big' [gə.ðɛ]	[ʔɛ.ðək]	[ʔɛ.ðək]	[ʔɛ.ðək]	[ʔɛ.ðək]; [ʔe.ðək]	
<i>saté</i> 'satay' [sa.tɛ]	[ʔɛ.tas]	[ʔɛ.tas]	[ʔɛ.tas]	[ʔɛ.tas]; [ʔe.tas]	[ʔɛ.tas]
<i>énak</i> 'de- licious' [ʔɛ.naʔ]	[ka.ne]	[ka.ne]	[ka.ne]; [ka.nɛ]	[ka.ne]; [ka.nɛ]	[ka.nə]
<i>selawé</i> 'twenty- five' [sə.'la.we]	[ʔɛ.'la.wɛs]; [ʔɛ.'la.wəs]	[ʔɛ.'la.wɛs]; [ʔɛ.'la.wəs]	[ʔɛ.'la.wɛs]; [ʔɛ.'la.wəs]	[ʔɛ.'la.wəs]; [ʔe.'la.wəs]	
<i>tentara</i> 'soldier' [tə.'nta.ra]	[ʔa.'ra.nɛʔ]; [ʔa.'ra.nəʔ]	[ʔa.'ra.nɛʔ]; [ʔa.'ra.nəʔ]	[ʔa.'ra.nɛʔ]; [ʔa.'ra.nəʔ]	[ʔa.'ra.nɛʔ]; [ʔa.'ra.nəʔ]	
<i>sekolah</i> 'school' [sə.'kɔ.lah]	[ha.'lɔ.kəs]; [ha.'lɔ.kəs]	[ha.'lɔ.kəs]; [ha.'lɔ.kəs]	[ha.'lɔ.kəs]; [ha.'lɔ.kəs]	[ha.'lɔ.kəs]; [ha.'lɔ.kəs]	[ha.'lɔ.kəs]

TABLE 5.4: Vowel variations across age groups

The pronunciation of the reversal words for *gedhé* 'big' and *saté* 'satay' shows that in word-initial position, the vowel /e/ is realized as [ɛ] by speakers above 24 years of age, hence [ʔɛ.ðək] and [ʔɛ.tas]. This is because in Malangan Javanese phonotactics, /e/ does not appear in word-initial position. The youth group, however, is observed to realize word-initial /e/ as [e], as in [ʔe.ðək] and [ʔe.tas].

In KANÉ, the reversal of *énak* 'delicious', speakers of all age groups realize the word-final /e/ as [e], in accordance with Malangan Javanese phonotactics. Interestingly, speakers who are younger than 40 years of age have a different realization of this phoneme, which also violates Malangan Javanese phono-

tactics. In the alternative form, [ka.nɛ], word-final /e/ is realized as [ɛ]. While in another alternative form, [ka.nə], the word-final /e/ is even realized as [ə] by the adolescent. As pointed out in §4.3.2.6.3, this is caused by the use of the same grapheme <e> for both /e/ and /ə/ in the orthography. The same case is found in the reversal of the word *tentara* ‘soldier’, where speakers above 15 years of age also interchangeably realize the schwa vowel /ə/ as [ə] or [ɛ].

Further, in reversing the word *selawé* ‘twenty-five’, speakers above 24 years old interchangeably realize the schwa vowel /ə/ in the first open syllable of the original word as [ə] or [ɛ] in the last closed syllable of the reversal. In addition, the /e/ in the final position of the original word is also interchangeably realized as [ɛ] or [e] by the youth in the word-initial position of the reversal. The interchangeable realizations of [ɛ] and [e] is discussed in §4.3.2.6.2.

Finally, in the reversal of *sekolah* ‘school’, speakers above 15 years old interchangeably realize the vowel /o/ as [ɔ] or [o]. The adolescent speakers, however, only realize /o/ as [ɔ]. The interchangeable realizations of /o/ as [ɔ] or [o] is discussed in §4.3.2.6.4.

The way some vowels replace each other depending on the position in which they appear in the reversal words is due to their allophonic relations. However, the fact that sometimes younger speakers neglect these allophonic rules may provide evidence for the claim that some allophones, such as [ɛ] and [ɔ], are slowly gaining phonemic status in Malangan Javanese (see §4.3.2.6).

In addition, there are also variations based on the type of reversal strategies chosen by speakers based on their age. Note that the type of variations found in Walikan has been previously discussed in §4.6. Here I look at four examples that I found to be used differently by different age groups.

Words	Elderly	Middle-Aged	Adult	Youth	Adolescent
<i>selamat</i> ‘a greeting’	[ʔa.ˈla.məs]; [ʔa.ˈma.ləs]	[ʔa.ˈla.məs]; [ʔa.ˈma.ləs]	[ʔa.ˈla.məs]; [ʔa.ˈma.ləs]	[ʔa.ˈla.məs]; [ʔa.ˈma.ləs]	[ʔa.ˈma.ləs]
<i>setuju</i> ‘to agree’	[ʔu.ˈtu.jəs]	[ʔu.ˈtu.jəs]	[ʔu.ˈtu.jəs]	[ʔu.ˈtu.jəs]; [ʔu.ˈju.ˈtəs]	[ʔu.ˈju.ˈtəs]
<i>pirò</i> ‘how much’	[ʔɔ.rip]; [ʔɔ.pir]	[ʔɔ.rip]; [ʔɔ.pir]	[ʔɔ.rip]	[ʔɔ.rip]	[ʔɔ.rip]
<i>lanang</i> ‘man’	[ŋa.lan]; [ŋa.nal]	[ŋa.lan]; [ŋa.nal]	[ŋa.nal]	[ŋa.nal]	[ŋa.nal]

TABLE 5.5: Type of reversal variations across age groups

The word *selamat* ‘a greeting’ is reversed by both the Total Segment Reversal and the Segment Exchange strategies. By using the former, [sə.ˈla.maɪ] becomes [ʔa.ˈma.ləs]. While the latter strategy yields the form [ʔa.ˈla.məs]. Both forms can be found almost in all age categories, except among the adolescent speakers, who only use the Total Segment Reversal strategy.

Another trisyllabic word *setuju* ‘to agree’ can also be reversed by using Total Segment Reversal and Segment Exchange. Speakers older than 24 years of age only use the Segment Exchange version, [ʔu.ˈtu.jəs]. Some youth speakers also use this version, but some of them also use Total Segment Reversal strategy, yielding the form [ʔu.ˈju.ˈtəs]. This form is the only one used by the adolescent speakers.

Next, the words *pirò* ‘how much’ and *lanang* ‘man’ can be reversed by using Total Segment Reversal and Transposition/Sequence Exchange. The former strategy yields the forms [ʔɔ.rip] and [ŋa.nal]. They are used across all age categories. On the other hand, the forms created through Transposition/Sequence Exchange, [ʔɔ.pir] and [ŋa.lan], can be found only among speakers who are older than 40 years of age.

In short, we can conclude that the Total Segment Reversal strategy is becoming more salient and is seen as the norm among younger speakers of Walikan. Most of them are aware of Walikan words formed through alternative strategies of word reversal, but Total Segment Reversal is universally preferred in their own speech.

5.3.5 Word Choices

Having explored how Walikan is pronounced across different age groups, this section looks at the varieties of Walikan words as a result of different age groups' preferences. Table 5.6 shows different word choices in Walikan across age groups.

The word ÒJREK (< *kerjò*) 'to work' is only used by speakers younger than 25 years old. Older speakers prefer the term IDREK (< *kerdi*; from *kerja rodi* 'corvée labor') 'to work'. The latter form originated from a social phenomenon during the colonization period (see the discussion in §2.3.2). Second, the Walikan word for 'relative' among middle-aged and adult speakers can be either ARADUS (< *sodara*) or RULUD (< *dulur*) and RULUDES (< *sedulur*). The elderly speakers prefer ARADUS, whereas the youth tends to use RULUD and RULUDES.

The word ASAIB (< *biasa*) for adult and younger speakers simply means 'common'. However, speakers who are older than 40 use ASAIB to mean 'prostitute' in addition to the word NOLAB (< *balon*) 'prostitute'.

Another example is the word ILAKES, a reversal from the Indonesian word *sekali* 'very', which is popular among younger speakers but not well received by speakers who are above 40. This group prefers the form LOP, which is a reversal from the Javanese word *pol* 'very'. According to older speakers, *pol* appeared earlier and sounds better.

Of further significance are reversed words that include affixes, such as ANAMÉK (< *ke-mana* 'to-where') 'where are you going?', ANAMID (< *di-mana* 'in-where') 'where?', and UMIAR or UMAIR (< *rai-mu* 'face-2SG.POSS') 'your face; insult'. These words are only used by youth speakers. They are frowned upon by the older speakers.

The type of Walikan words used among these older speakers can be considered quite obsolete. This age group has stopped inventing new words when they use Walikan in their later years. That said, the young speakers use newly developed words that are not familiar to the older speakers. Phrases such as HAMURMU ANAMID < *rumahmu dimana* which means 'where are you from?' (literally 'where is your house?') are popular among Aréma fans to break the ice.

Words	Elderly	Middle-Aged	Adult	Youth	Adolescent
<i>kerdi;</i> <i>kerjò</i> ‘to work’	<u>IDREK</u>	<u>IDREK</u>	<u>IDREK</u>	<u>IDREK</u> ; <u>ÒJREK</u>	
<i>sodara;</i> <i>du-</i> <i>lur/sedu-</i> <i>lur</i> ‘relative’	<u>ARADUS</u> ³	<u>ARADUS</u> ; <u>RULUD</u> ; <u>RULUDES</u>	<u>ARADUS</u> ; <u>RULUD</u> ; <u>RULUDES</u>	<u>RULUD</u> ; <u>RULUDES</u>	
<i>biasa</i> ‘common’			<u>ASAIB</u>	<u>ASAIB</u>	<u>ASAIB</u>
<i>balon;</i> <i>biasa</i> ‘prostitute’	<u>NOLAB</u> ; <u>ASAIB</u>	<u>NOLAB</u> ; <u>ASAIB</u>	<u>NOLAB</u>	<u>NOLAB</u>	
<i>sekali; pol</i> ‘very’	<u>LOP</u>	<u>LOP</u>	<u>ILAKES</u> ; <u>LOP</u>	<u>ILAKES</u> ; <u>LOP</u>	<u>ILAKES</u>
<i>ke-mana</i> ‘to- where’				<u>ANAMÉK</u>	
<i>di-mana</i> ‘in- where’				<u>ANAMID</u>	
<i>rai-mu</i> ‘face- 2SG.POSS’; insult’				<u>UMIAR</u> ; <u>UMAIR</u>	

TABLE 5.6: Different word choices in Walikan across age groups

³Note that the reversed word ARADUS used by elderly, middle-aged, and adult

5.4 Conclusions

In this chapter I have shown how Walikan is used among different gender and age groups.

Male speakers show more confidence than female speakers in reporting their fluency. In addition, the number of words or expressions that have socially negative connotations are found more frequently in the male domain. Female speakers may know this type of words, but avoid them in general. Female speakers can thus be considered to also be speakers of Walikan, but in a more restricted manner. The difference in language use between male and female speakers of Walikan seems to be related to gender differences in using languages in general, as the same situation can also be observed when they are speaking Malangan Javanese or Malangan Indonesian.

By looking at how Walikan is used in different age groups, I have shown that there are phonological differences between age groups in the reversed form of the words. Older speakers are seen as the most conservative group, as they show a greater tendency to conform to Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonology and phonotactics. In some cases, they also make use of old spellings, but they do not fully neglect the rules of phonotactics. Younger groups, on the other hand, can be seen as the most dynamic group of speakers, as they also add and create new forms or new pronunciations that are unknown to older speakers.

These differences also tell us that the reversed forms in Walikan are dynamic, and they are changing through different age groups. Walikan, therefore, is not a static practice; the older speakers can still speak it, but the younger speakers —and particularly the men —are those who control the contemporary form of Walikan by spearheading innovative and frequent use of Walikan.

Finally, this chapter suggests that Walikan is no longer a youth language. It might have had youth language characteristics in the past, but nowadays both the older and younger generations are proficient speakers of Walikan. They tend to regard Walikan as an informal or colloquial variety of Malangan Javanese that is able to project local pride, solidarity, and regional identity. This topic will also be discussed in the next chapter, in §6.5.

speakers has three other variations: ARADOS, ARADES, or ARODES.

CHAPTER 6

Language Ecology

6.1 Introduction

This chapter¹ describes the present-day use of Walikan in the media and in public space in general. Unlike previously described youth registers in Indonesia, Walikan has existed since the 1940s and has continuously reinvented itself in terms of its forms and community of speakers (discussed previously in Chapter 2 and 5). As will be shown, speakers of Walikan have certain strategies to keep the use of the language alive. In addition to the use of Walikan in face-to-face or spontaneous communication, people also use Walikan in songs, local TV news, local newspaper columns as well as on public signs. This chapter describes how an urban language that started out as an oral practice has been maintained through written and audio-visual media offline and online. The results indicate how a community works together in shaping its identity through linguistic means.

The main goal of this chapter is to examine how Walikan is finding its way into the public space. Firstly, the language ecology of the area where Walikan

¹A preliminary version of this chapter was published as Yannuar, N. (2018). Wòlak-waliké jaman: Exploring contemporary Walikan in public space. *Wacana*, 19(1): 100-121.

is spoken is discussed in §6.2. Next, the different platforms on which Walikan appears and can be accessed by a wider community in the city are explored in §6.3 and §6.4. The analysis of its use on each platform also investigates the speakers' motivation for promoting the use of Walikan (§6.5). I conclude by comparing Walikan forms that are used in spoken and written media (§6.6).

Throughout the chapter I will make the case that the people of Malang have participated in the maintenance of a local linguistic practice, a process related to the concept of "latent enfranchisement" (Goebel et al. 2017:274). "Linguistic enfranchisement" refers to the process in which "infrastructures, such as schools and the mass media, help to circulate and standardize a language among a certain population", but latent enfranchisement refers to a situation in which a language not yet included in school curricula can be found in the city's linguistic landscape (Goebel et al. 2017:274).

In Jayapura, Papuan Malay is becoming more visible in a number of local political campaign posters. Since it is not used in the school curriculum, the uptake is categorized as latent enfranchisement (Goebel et al. 2017:283;290). Sundanese, spoken in West Java, on the other hand, is a school subject, and has appeared in a number of printed materials and telecommunication media, which makes it a good example of linguistic enfranchisement (Goebel et al. 2017:280;290).

Fataluku, a language in East Timor, is also an example of latent enfranchisement. The language is still mostly used in oral communication, with no common orthography yet established, but it has appeared in the local linguistic landscape of Lautém. Inconsistent spellings of Fataluku are found in graffiti and other signage, suggesting the emerging use of the local language in written media (da Conceição Savio 2016).

As will be discussed in this chapter, the combination of oral and written forms of Walikan in publicly assessed media or social network platforms is a result of the speakers' effort to maintain Walikan's status as the identity marker and the solidarity language of the people in Malang. The chapter can provide a closer look at how a linguistic practice such as Walikan has been able to stay around for decades, unlike other reversed languages in Southeast Asia that are more ephemeral (Dreyfuss 1983; Evans 1917; Gil 2002).

6.2 Language Ecology in Indonesia and Java

Of the existing 707 living languages in Indonesia (Simons and Fennig 2018), there are only a few which dominate the national mass media, among them standard Indonesian, Javanese, and Sundanese (Hoogervorst 2009; Krauß 2017). Javanese is used in a number of printed media (Soeharno et al. 1990), and there are nationally distributed magazines such as *Jaya Baya* and *Panjebar Semangat*, which are entirely in literary Javanese. The former was first published in the 1930s, the latter in 1945.

Sundanese, a language closely related to Javanese, has also been used in a number of printed media. One of the most popular Sundanese magazines, *Manglé*, has been published weekly since 1957. Throughout the years it has been consistently used to promote Sundanese culture and literature (Rosmana 2017). At present, *Panjebar Semangat* and *Manglé* are available online.

The tradition of distributing printed media written in non-minority local languages was relatively common in the early years of the Indonesian nation. However, the country's language planning policies have paved the way for Indonesian to gain a more powerful position in the media. Standard Indonesian and colloquial Indonesian are both considered prestigious within Indonesia's language ecology, whereas local vernaculars are regarded as less prestigious (Arka 2013; Hoogervorst 2009). The vast majority of esteemed national newspapers and magazines are written in standard Indonesian, while youth magazines or 'chick literature' are written in Gaul, the youth register of colloquial Indonesian (Djenar 2014; Sneddon 2006).

The same situation can be observed in audio-visual media, such as radio and television. Both platforms were used by the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional 'National Language Bureau' to promote the national language (Sneddon 2003; Winstedt 1962). At present, national television and radio stations broadcast most of their programs in standard and colloquial Indonesian (Sneddon 2003). The Reformation era,² which started in 1998, introduced the Regional Autonomy Law and subsequently the Broadcasting Law, which later encouraged local broadcasting enterprises to emerge (Arps and Van Heeren 2006; Bogaerts 2017). In the context of local Javanese media and public space, the situation has resulted in the shift of attention away from the national language or for-

²President Soeharto, who was the second president of Indonesia for 31 years, resigned in May 1998. Following his resignation is what is considered to be the beginning of the Reformation era, a turning point in Indonesia's political situation.

eign languages towards the local language. Colloquial Javanese is acclaimed as a modern and urban vernacular, suitable to express emotions and creativity on television (Bogaerts 2017:242).

The Surakartan TATV is a famous pioneer of Central Javanese television in using *Ngoko* Javanese to address its audiences. Surabayan Javanese, an Eastern Javanese dialect related to that of Malang, has also been promoted from being a spoken language into one that is well represented in local television programs, newspapers, advertisements, and street signs, as it can be heard extensively in the Surabayan JTV (Arps and Van Heeren 2006; Bogaerts 2017; Hoogervorst 2009).

In Malang, the second biggest city in East Java after Surabaya, the most dominant spoken languages are Indonesian and the Malangan dialect of East Javanese (Manns 2015). Indonesian is still predominantly used in most mass media, including local newspapers and television channels, but local languages, such as Malangan Javanese and Walikan, are also present. Public signs (including business signs, advertisements, street directions, public information, and landmarks) in Malang are predominantly written in Indonesian and English; only a few of them are written in Javanese or in Walikan (Yannuar and Tabiati 2016). This chapter will describe how Walikan is represented in the city's linguistic landscape.

Nowadays Walikan has become a salient characteristic of Malangan Javanese. It is one of the key features that distinguishes the Malangan dialect from the neighboring Surabayan dialect of Javanese (Hoogervorst 2014; Krauße 2017). Walikan has spread beyond the realm of face-to-face/spontaneous interaction to public platforms that are able to engage a wider audience. In this section I describe each of these domains by highlighting the nature of the media and the type of Walikan words being used.

6.3 Walikan in Spoken Media

On audio-visual public platforms, such as television and radio, music, religious sermons, and YouTube, the use of spoken Walikan can be observed.

6.3.1 Television and Radio

A regional television channel, Jawa Timur Television (JTV), broadcasts a crime news program entitled KOWAL-KAWIL for 30 minutes every week. The program's title is a distorted form of the word *walik*, which in Javanese means

‘to reverse’. Instead of using the most common reversal strategy in Walikan, Total Segment Reversal, the word is modified by using Permutation (see §4.6).

Sam Ohim, the main anchor of the program, described the reasons behind the choice of name.³ The producers wanted the name to depict the theme of the program, namely local crime news. The word *wolak-walik* in Javanese describes a situation in which everything is not in place, topsy-turvy. At the same time, the word *walik* also refers to the name of the language used in the show, Walikan. A permutation of the word KOWAL-KAWIL sounds more pleasing than the complete reversal of the word, *KALOW-KILAW. The latter is not an attested form in the community because the bilabial approximant /w/ does not occur in word-final position in the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese or Malangan Indonesian. According to Sam Ohim, it represents a type of Walikan *sing meksò* ‘forced Walikan’ which sounds unpleasant and unfamiliar.

Coincidentally, the word KOWAL-KAWIL also has another meaning in Javanese: ‘to dangle’. At the beginning of the program, Sam Ohim, dressed in black with a scarred and swollen face, greets the audience by saying, *wolak-walik-é jaman KÉR*, which can be loosely translated into ‘the world has changed, guys’, while moving his right arm to the side. Note that in this phrase only KÉR is a reversal (< *rék* ‘mate’). The way he dresses and greets fits the theme of the program: criminal news. His choice of presenting the news in Walikan might also be related to the previous view of Walikan as an anti-language (see §2.6).



FIGURE 6.1: Sam Ohim in *Kowal-Kawil* show

³The interview session was conducted on August 12, 2015.

Table 6.1 lists a number of Walikan words that are related to criminal activities taken from two episodes of *Kowal-Kawil*. The latter episode was aired on 4 July 2015, the former on 13 June 2015.

Words/Phrases	Meaning	Origin
KÉTAM	‘to die’	<i>maték</i> ‘to die’
LEKET	‘to capture’	<i>cekel</i> ‘to touch’
LIP	‘drug pill’	<i>pil</i> ‘pill’
NARANJEP	‘jail’	<i>penjara</i> ‘jail’
NGILAM	‘thief’	<i>maling</i> ‘thief’
NOMETEK	‘arrested’	<i>ke-temon</i> ‘PASS-find’
RONTAK <i>pengadilan</i>	‘courthouse’	<i>kantor</i> ‘office’ + <i>pengadilan</i> ‘court’
SILUP	‘police’	<i>polisi</i> ‘police’
TANGGIM	‘to escape’	<i>minggat</i> ‘to run away’
UBAS	‘crystal meth’	<i>sabu</i> ‘crystal meth’
UNYAB <i>mendem</i>	‘alcoholic drinks’	<i>banyu</i> ‘water’ + <i>mendem</i> ‘drunk’

TABLE 6.1: Criminal-related words in *Kowal-Kawil*

Most of the words in Table 6.1 are also found in off-air, face-to-face and spontaneous interaction, except for the phrase UNYAB *mendem* ‘alcoholic drinks’. As some of my informants prefer to use the loanword from Arabic *asrob* ‘to drink alcohol’ and *asrob-an* ‘alcoholic drinks’, it is suggested that the phrase UNYAB *mendem* used in the show might have been developed only within a specific community or by the show’s maker.

Kowal-Kawil reverses commonly known numerals, such as UTAS (< *satu*) ‘one’, AUD (< *dua*) ‘two’, AGIT (< *tiga*) ‘three’, and ÒMIL (< *limò*) ‘five’, as well as common Walikan words such as NGALUP (< *pulang*) ‘to go home’, ÒKET (< *tekò*) ‘to arrive’ and HAMUR (< *rumah*) ‘house’. In addition, it showcases a number of local place names, listed in Table 6.2.

Place names	Origin
NÉRUT	<i>Turén</i>
NOJUP	<i>Pujon</i>
ÒNGISIRAS	<i>Singòsari</i>
UTAB	<i>Batu</i>

TABLE 6.2: Reversed place names in Kowal-Kawil

The theme of the program is local news, therefore a number of local place names from all over the city, including those in the regency area, are mentioned (Table 6.2). All of them appear in their reversed forms except for two areas: *Dampit* and *Gondanglegi*. The reversal of some of the place names is worth paying attention to because they are of recent coinage.

In the past, speakers only reversed place names closer to the city center, in order to refer to places where most of them lived or spent time together. Some of the most popular reversed place names include: DULEK (< *Kelud*) ‘an affordable open theater in Malang’ and ÒNÒSÒGREM (< *Mergòsònò*) ‘a *kampung* in the southern part of the city’. These days, as Walikan has become more spread out, reversed forms of more place names are used, not only in the city area but also in the regency area, as shown in Table 6.3.

Place names	Origin	Location
DULEK	<i>Kelud</i>	city
IJASIKAP	<i>Pakisaji</i>	regency
IRASÒJREM	<i>Merjòsari</i>	city
NÉNJAP	<i>Panjén</i>	regency
NGÉRAB	<i>Baréng</i>	city
NGIMBLIB	<i>Blimbing</i>	city
NUKUS	<i>Sukun</i>	city
ÒNÒSÒGREM	<i>Mergòsònò</i>	city
ÒRUPNASÉL	<i>Lésanpurò</i>	city
ÒTRAHUM	<i>Muhartò</i>	city
ÒYÒNID	<i>Dinòyò</i>	city
RAJAJOWAS	<i>Sawojajar</i>	city
SIKAP	<i>Pakis</i>	regency

TABLE 6.3: Reversal of place names across the city and regency

Recently, speakers of Walikan seem to have shown more creativity when referring to their place of belonging or community. Some of them have even juxtaposed the reversal of place names with English words such as in: Ò-TRAHUM city ‘the city of *Muhartò*’, NUKUS community ‘the community of *Sukun*’, and KingJOWAS ‘King of *Sawojajar*’. The latter was formed by translating the Indonesian word *raja* in RAJAJOWAS into English king and then reattaching it in the same position, before JOWAS.

At this point it is not clear whether the rise of place name reversal is motivated by television shows such as *Kowal-Kawil*, but it is safe to say that the use of Walikan has extended to many more communities, not only among speakers living in the city area, but also those in the regency area.

In addition to local television, Walikan can also be heard on radio channels. There are a number of local radio stations displaying an occasional use of Walikan, among others, Senaputra 104.1 FM. They have a relatively large number of fans, who often meet each other and call themselves Artupanholic. The name of this community is coined from the reversal of the radio’s name ARTUPANÉS (< *Senaputra*) and the English suffix -holic, commonly used to indicate one’s abnormal desire over the word it modifies.

One of the most popular hosts of Senaputra FM is Ovan Tobing, who is also regarded as an influential figure among Aremania fans (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). The most popular program on Senaputra FM is about football, *Bos Bal-Balan Bos*, which in Javanese means ‘football, boss’, hosted by Yuwi (male, 47 years old).⁴ The radio proudly bears a Walikan word as its slogan, ÒYIII⁵ (< *iyò* ‘yes’), while also addressing their listeners as NAWAK-NAWAK ARTUPANÉS (< *kawan-kawan* ‘friends’ + *Senaputra* ‘radio name’) ‘friends of Senaputra’. Despite some complaints from listeners not originally from Malang, most Senaputra FM hosts use a lot of Walikan words in their broadcasts. A number of Walikan words and phrases that they use on-air are listed in Table 6.4.

⁴Recorded in an interview on October 24, 2016.

⁵The extra i in òyiii is used to emphasize the meaning of the word.

Words/Phrases	Meaning	Origin
<u>KÉLAB HÉNAM</u>	‘to return again’	<u>balik</u> ‘to return’ + <u>manéh</u> ‘again’
<u>KUSAM NINGA</u>	‘to catch a cold’	<u>masuk</u> ‘to enter’ + <u>angin</u> ‘wind’
<u>LÉDOM-é KIPA ILAKES</u>	‘good manner’	<u>modél-é</u> ‘manner-DEF’ + <u>apik</u> ‘good’ + <u>sekali</u> ‘very’
<u>NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT</u>	‘to relax’	<u>séndhén</u> ‘to lean’ + <u>tém-bok</u> ‘wall’
<u>nge-LÉDOM</u>	‘to act’	<u>nge-modél</u> ‘N-manner.AV’
<u>ÒJIT</u>	‘yes, okay’	<u>iyò</u> ‘yes’

TABLE 6.4: Popular Walikan phrases used in Senaputra FM

In §2.3.2, the phrase NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT ‘to relax’ is described as having two different meanings. To younger speakers it means ‘to relax’, but to most older speakers it means ‘to have drugs/sex’. Similar to the younger generation, the hosts of Senaputra FM use it to describe a situation where listeners are enjoying the show, feeling relaxed and carefree.

The word nge-LÉDOM ‘to act’ is taken as the title of Senaputra FM’s most engaging interactive talkshow, where listeners can participate in discussions about current social issues. It was also previously used as the radio’s slogan before it was changed to ÒYIII in 2016. The words LÉDOM, LÉDOM-é, and nge-LÉDOM, which seem to have been first popularized by Senaputra FM, have now become widely used as catchphrases among younger speakers.

LÉDOM-é at present can mean ‘stylish manner’ (see Figure 6.2) or ‘to look stylish’ in the word nge-LÉDOM in Figure 6.3. In some contexts, nge-LÉDOM may also convey a rather negative connotation, that is ‘to seek attention excessively’.

FIGURE 6.2: LÉDOM-é barbershopFIGURE 6.3: *nge-LÉDOM* as written on a T-Shirt design. *Sik HÉB* (< *sik* 'later' + *béh* 'DP') 'later guys' (published on January 13, 2015 on Instagram by @oyisamclothing)

6.3.2 Songs

Walikan is also used in song lyrics performed by local bands, including Aradoes Band, Tani Maju, and Youngster City Rockers. Aradoes Band has released three songs in Walikan: KADIT SAM (< *tidak* 'no' + *mas* 'older brother') 'no, brother', UKLAM-UKLAM (< *mlaku-mlaku* 'to walk around') *nang Kayutangan* 'to walk around Kayutangan', and NOLA-NOLA (< *Alun-alun*) 'city square'. The lead singer of the band, who is now in his sixties, has been uploading video clips of these songs to YouTube since 2010. The other band, Tani Maju, whose members are in their late thirties, began their career as a popular campus band. They became well known for their catchy pop-contemporary songs with witty lyrics. Their latest single, released in 2017, is entitled UKLAM-UKLAM (< *mlaku-mlaku*) 'to walk around'. As the title suggests, the song is about places and activities in and around Malang. Lastly, Youngster City Rockers is a ska-punk band for a younger audience. Their single, UGAL-UGALAN 'going wild' is a ska-punk song written in Walikan. Although the band never explicitly mentions the meaning of the title, it can be inferred that UGAL-UGALAN is a reversal of < *lagu-laguan* 'fake song' because the song lyrics are full of Walikan words, not familiar to people outside of Malang. It is not clear when the song was released but it has been around since 2011.

There are two noticeable themes in these Walikan songs: alcohol and

drugs, as well as out and about in Malang. The song *Kadit Sam* by Aradoes Band contains several lines in its lyrics directed at drug addicts to encourage them not to use drugs any more.

(1) *Kadit Sam* lyrics

KADIT SAM AYAS KADIT KOLÉM, yén mung trimò
 NEG older.brother 1SG NEG follow if only receive
lér-télér-an nganti séndhén. Lha kok malah ning kamar
 RDP~drunk-AV until lean DP DP even in room
sedhot-sedhot-an, nge-LIP nggé-lék ganti-an UBAS-UBAS-an.
 RDP~inhale-AV n-pill.AV N-drink.AV change-AV crystal.meth-AV

‘No, brother, I will not join you, if it is only to get so drunk until you lean over (a wall). How come you stay in a room drinking pills and using crystal meth in turn (with friends).’

(NY_2015_AB_Song)

Aside from discouraging the use of drugs, some lines in *Uklam-Uklam* by Tani Maju (2a) and *Ugal-Ugalan* by Youngster City Rockers (2b) also advise against consuming alcohol.

(2) a. *Uklam-Uklam* lyrics

KADIT OJOB KADIT HALASAM, tidak perlu di-gawé KUBAM,
 NEG spouse NEG problem NEG need PASS-make drunk
hidup tetap bahagia, gembira, senang, sejahtera.
 life still happy pleasant joyful comfortable

‘Being single is not a problem, no need to be drunk. Life is still happy, pleasant, joyful, and comfortable.’

(NY_2016_TM_Song)

b. *Ugal-Ugalan* lyrics

Bah gak ng-urus di-kék-i urip yò wis NUWUS.
 DP NEG N-handle.AV PASS-give-APPL life yes already thank.you
UMAK òjò sambat mòrò KUBAM ng-enték-i LOTOB,
 2SG NEG.IMP complain then drunk N-finish-APPL bottle
angur-an n-delok bal-bal-an Aréma Indonésia.
 prefer-COMP N-watch.AV RDP~ball-AV Aréma Indonésia
Kami tidak ke mana-mana tapi di mana-mana.
 3PL.INCL NEG PREP RDP~where but in RDP~where
 ‘Oh, we don’t care, we are just thankful for being alive. Don’t you
 always complain and drink a whole bottle, let’s just watch Arema
 Indonesia. We don’t go anywhere but you can see us everywhere.’
 (NY_2015_YCR_Song)

The lyrics of these songs are used to fight two substances used among the youth, drugs and alcohol, both of which are very unacceptable in the Indonesian society. It gives an idea of the kind of problems the youth are dealing with on a daily basis.

The second prominent theme in the songs, out and about in Malang, is related to the fact that the people of Malang value Walikan as a local practice. This sense of belonging makes them feel the need to capture all the iconic places in Malang in their song lyrics, for the sake of solidarity, if not nostalgia. *Ugal-Ugalan* song mentions the following place names in their songs: *SOTAM* (< *Matos*), *AMALATOK* (< *Kotalama*), *Kelenténg*, *Talun*, *ÒYÒNID* (< *Dinòyò*), *UTAB* (< *Batu*), *NUKUS* (< *Sukun*), *Comboran*, while the song *Uklam-Uklam* has these place names included in its lyrics: *Taman Singa*, *Balai Kota*, *Roma*, *Sukarno Hatta*, *Kayutangan*, *Comboran*, *Brawijaya* museum, *Splindid*, *Boldi*, *Gajahyana*, *Taman Rékréasi Kota*, *Lembah Diéng*, *Jalan Ijén*.⁶ They are all familiar places in Malang to hang out.

The song from Aradoes Band, a band of older musicians, focuses on an area called Kayutangan, see (3). It is located in the center of the city, just a few meters from *Alun-Alun* ‘city square’. As suggested by some lines in the song *Uklam-Uklam nang Kayutangan*, this was the most popular place to hang out for youngsters in the past. In the 50s to the 80s, the place was filled

⁶Note that in *Ugal-Ugalan* only some place names are reversed but none of the place names in *Uklam-Uklam* is reversed.

with shops and a cinema (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007:35-39).

(3) *Uklam-Uklam nang Kayutangan* lyrics (1)

UKLAM-UKLAM nang Kayutangan, numpak bronfit silih-an,
 RDP~walk PREP Kayutangan ride motorcycle borrow-NMLZ
boncéng-an karo NAWAK, golék hibur-an.
 ride.on.the.back-AV with friend find entertain.NMLZ
UKLAM-UKLAM nang Kayutangan, UMAK macak sing LITES,
 RDP~walk PREP Kayutangan you dress.up that stylish
IMBLAK ANALET pantes, ng-golék LANEK-an.
 shirt trouser appropriate N-find.AV know-NMLZ

‘Walking around Kayutangan, riding a borrowed motorcycle with a friend on the back, trying to have fun. Walking around Kayutangan, you dress up nicely to find new friends.’

(NY_2015_AB_Song)

The song continues by explicitly stating that Kayutangan is a nostalgic place for everyone, and that people should work together to preserve the location, see (4). The popularity of Kayutangan, considered as the former business center of the city from the colonial era up to the 90s, is being overtaken by the opening of more shops, malls, or cafés targeting the youths in the newer parts of the city. More people and communities show their concerns, exemplified most notably by “A Day to Walk”, a historical walking tour around the Kayutangan area organized by some local youths at least once a year.

(4) *Uklam-Uklam nang Kayutangan* lyrics (2)

Kayutangan, akéh kenang-an, ayo pòdhò di-jògò sejarah
 Kayutangan many memory-NMLZ let.us same PASS-guard history
Kayutangan, òjò nganti ilang.
 Kayutangan NEG.IMP until disappear

‘Kayutangan is a place of many memories, let us protect its history so it does not disappear.’

(NY_2015_AB_Song)

Most of the songs above use Malangan Javanese as the matrix language, as would happen in normal face-to-face conversations (see §2.3). The matrix language used in the song *Uklam-Uklam*, however, is Malangan Indonesian. It may indicate a change in Walikan norms, which demand speakers to use Malangan Javanese as the matrix language. Normally, those who are not able to insert Walikan words into a Malangan Javanese structure would be considered unauthentic users. However, the band performing *Uklam-Uklam*, Tani Maju, might have chosen to use Indonesian as the matrix language in their songs because they want to reach a wider audience, including those who are not Javanese speakers, see part of the lyrics in (2a).

The Walikan words and phrases that are used in the songs are not new to speakers. Most of them are familiar words and phrases, such as those shown in Table 6.5.

Words/Phrases	Meaning	Origin
<u>KADIT</u> KOLÉM	‘not to join’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>mélok</i> ‘to join’
<u>KADIT</u> KUSAM	‘not making sense’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>masuk</i> ‘enter’
<u>KADIT</u> OJIR	‘there is no money’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>raiyo</i> ‘money’
<u>KADIT</u> SAM	‘no, brother’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>mas</i> ‘older brother’
<u>MUNYES</u> ULALES	‘always smiling’	<i>senyum</i> ‘to smile’ + <i>selalu</i> ‘always’
NUWUS <u>ILAKES</u>	‘thank you so much’	<i>suwun</i> ‘thank you’ + <i>sekali</i> ‘very’
ÒNGIS NADÉ	‘wild lion’	<i>singò</i> ‘lion’ + <i>édan</i> ‘wild’
ÒYI SAM	‘yes brother’	<i>iyò</i> ‘yes’ + <i>mas</i> ‘older brother’

TABLE 6.5: Walikan phrases used in songs

In Table 6.5, the word KADIT is used as the only negator in Walikan. In fact, there are two types of negators in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian. The Javanese words *nggak/gak* and *ora*, and the Indonesian word *tidak* are used to negate different types of predicate other than nouns. These predicates

include verbal, adjectival, and prepositional phrases. In order to negate nouns or nominal phrases, Javanese uses the word *duduk* and Indonesian makes use of *bukan*. In addition, Indonesian also has the word *tiada*, which comes from *tidak ada* ‘there isn’t’.⁷

The word *tidak*, the source of *KADIT*, is used by Malangan Indonesian speakers in formal contexts. Most of them will therefore avoid this word in colloquial or informal situations, but in Walikan it can be used in different contexts to replace *nggak/gak*, *tidak*, *duduk*, *bukan*, and *tiada*. Two reasons can be postulated to explain this: 1) phonology and phonotactics; and 2) semantic simplification.

First, reversing the words *nggak* [ʎgaʔ] and *gak* [gʌʔ] will create complicated word forms. The reversal of [ʎgaʔ] will be [ʎgaŋ], while [gʌʔ] will be [kag]. The former shows a consonant cluster in word-final position, while the latter shows /g/ in word-final position. Both combinations are not allowed in the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian. On the other hand, the reversal of [ti.ɖaʔ] is [ka.ɖitʔ], which conforms to the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian. The reversal of the other negators, *bukan*, *duduk*, and *tiada*, may also conform to the phonotactics, but since they are originally used in more limited functions than *tidak*, they are not preferred by Walikan speakers.

In addition to this phonotactic explanation, a semantic reason may also motivate the speakers to use only one negator in Walikan. They prefer to use only *KADIT* because having one accepted form that can be used in all contexts is seen as a more practical strategy.

6.3.3 YouTube Videos

All these bands have uploaded the video clips of their Walikan songs to YouTube. YouTube itself has provided a space for other kinds of videos with Walikan themes. Some of the channels I observed in 2016 are Saishoku, Pilot ProjectIDN, and Bayu Skak. Of the three, Bayu Skak is the most popular YouTuber, with more than 1.5 million followers. Bayu Skak mostly uses Malangan Javanese in his videos, and Walikan only occasionally. Nowadays he has become one of the few nationally known young comedians who speak the Eastern Javanese dialect. In January 2018 he released a nationwide movie in Malangan Javanese, featuring a number of Walikan words.

⁷See Sneddon et al. (2010) for a detailed explanation of negation in Indonesian grammar.

In one YouTube video uploaded by Arief Muhammad, a popular YouTuber from Jakarta, Bayu Skak is invited to Jakarta and they are shown to have a brief discussion about Walikan. Arief Muhammad asks Bayu Skak about the reversed words in Malang. This instance demonstrates that Walikan is also known among younger Jakartan speakers, possibly outside the community of SMUN 70 students in Bulungan (see §2.4). The Jakartan youth Arief Muhammad further asks Bayu Skak to reverse two rather complicated loanwords from Dutch, *progrésif* ‘progressive’ and *intuisi* ‘intuition’, which immediately confuses Bayu Skak. Both words have complex syllable structures and are not commonly used by Walikan speakers. It has been a common misunderstanding among people outside of Malang, that Walikan speakers spontaneously reverse any word thrown at them. In fact, they prefer to reverse words that are already known to the community (see §2.3). There is a risk for them to be labeled as non-authentic users of Walikan if they attempt to reverse new words that are not supposed to be reversed.

The prominent theme in Saishoku and Pilot ProjectIDN videos is how to learn Walikan. They refer to these videos as “Walikan Tutorials”. Two Saishoku vloggers, Nabi (male, 17 years old) and Base (male, 17 years old),⁸ revealed that they published the video on YouTube to attract viewers, while at the same time promoting the use of Walikan. The target viewers include newcomers to the city who often use the wrong forms of Walikan; they hope that this video can teach people the correct forms of Walikan. In addition, they want to let people know certain Walikan norms, as well as the fact that it should be used with people who understand Walikan and avoided when talking to older people. In the Belajar Bahasa Malangan sama Kak Della ‘Learning Malangan language with Sister Della’ video series uploaded by Pilot ProjectIDN, three rules of word reversal are mentioned: 1) total reversal of segments instead of graphemes; 2) maintenance of homorganic consonant clusters; and 3) no reversal of function words.

Some of the words and phrases featured in Saishoku and Pilot ProjectIDN videos are listed in Table 6.6.

Walikan	Meaning	Origin
ANAMÉK	‘where’	<i>ke-mana</i> ‘where’
ANAMID	‘where’	<i>di-mana</i> ‘where’
AP AIS	‘who’	<i>siapa</i> ‘who’
AYAS	‘I’	<i>saya</i> ‘I’
ÉMPÉT	‘soybean cake’	<i>témpé</i> ‘fermented soybean cake’

⁸Interviewed on August 16, 2016.

Walikan	Meaning	Origin
<u>HALOKES</u>	‘school’	<i>sekolah</i> ‘school’
<u>HAMUR</u>	‘house’	<i>rumah</i> ‘house’
HÉB	‘DP’	<i>béh</i> ‘DP’
<u>KADIT ITRENG</u>	‘don’t know’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>ngerti</i> ‘understand’
KÉR	‘mate’	<i>rék</i> ‘mate’
KÉRA	‘child’	<i>aré</i> ‘child’
LÉMBAS	‘sambal’	<i>sambel</i> ‘sambal’
<u>NAKAM</u>	‘to eat’	<i>makan</i> ‘to eat’
NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT	‘to relax’	<i>séndhén</i> ‘to lean’ + <i>témbok</i> ‘wall’
NGALAM	‘Malang’	<i>Malang</i> ‘Malang’
<u>NGANTIB</u>	‘star’	<i>bintang</i> ‘star’
<u>NGARO</u>	‘person’	<i>orang</i> ‘person’
NGAYAMBES	‘to pray’	<i>sembayang</i> ‘to pray’
NGIPOK	‘to drink coffee’	<i>ngopi</i> ‘to drink coffee’
<u>NGONTOL</u> ⁹	‘rice cake’	<i>lontong</i> ‘rice cake’
NUWUS	‘thank you’	<i>suwun</i> ‘thank you’
ÒWIK	‘left (side)’	<i>kiwò</i> ‘left (side)’
ÒYI	‘yes’	<i>iyò</i> ‘yes’
SAM	‘bro’	<i>mas</i> ‘older brother’
<u>SILUP</u>	‘police’	<i>pulisi</i> ‘police’
<u>SOB</u>	‘boss’	<i>bos</i> ‘boss’
<u>TAHÉS</u>	‘healthy’	<i>séhat</i> ‘healthy’
<u>TIKAS</u>	‘sick’	<i>sakit</i> ‘sick’
<u>UMAK APAIS?</u>	‘who are you?’	<i>kamu</i> ‘you’ <i>siapa</i> ‘who’
<u>UMAK</u>	‘you’	<i>kamu</i> ‘you’
UMEL	‘fat’	<i>lemu</i> ‘fat’

TABLE 6.6: Walikan words and phrases in Saishoku and Pilot ProjectIDN YouTube videos

These videos use some basic Walikan words and contain a number of recently coined words. The word HÉB, for example, is not known by my older consultants. However, it is very popular among the young speakers as a reversal of the discourse particle *béh*. The same word is also used in the Pilot ProjectIDN videos, where several other friendly address terms are mentioned,

⁹Note that NGONTOL has another connotation, because it can be derived from *ng-kontol* ‘N-penis.AV’. For this reason, the word received some negative responses in the comment section of the YouTube video.

including: *béh*, *rék*, *coy*, *bro*, and *HÉB*, *SOB*. The word *SOB* is a reversal of the word *bos* ‘boss’, which is also popular only among the younger generation. In addition, the words *ANAMÉK* (< *ke-mana* ‘to-where’) ‘where are you going?’ and *ANAMID* (< *di-mana* ‘in-where’) ‘where?’ are noteworthy because these forms also include the reversal of prepositions rather than only the content words. In other words, the entire prepositional phrase is reversed. They only appear among the younger speakers; older speakers reject these forms.

The other episodes of Pilot ProjectIDN feature two young men singing in non-authentic Walikan; they are deliberately reversing almost all the words in the song lyrics. It is intended as a joke, because using as many Walikan words as possible is prone to create inaccurate Walikan (see §2.3).

In addition to the Walikan tutorials by Saishoku and Pilot ProjectIDN, there are also YouTube videos featuring a particular religious *kyai* ‘preacher’, KH. Abd. Wachid Ghozali, who is very popular locally, both because of the content of his sermons and his habit of using Walikan humourously in them. His sermons are delivered in Malangan Javanese, to which he occasionally inserts Walikan words. The reaction from his congregation has been very positive, and he is dubbed *kyai yang merak yat* ‘a popular preacher’. One of his programs, *Syiarema*, is coined from the word *syiar* ‘sermon’ and *Aréma* (< *aré* ‘kid’ + *malang* ‘Malang’) ‘people of Malang’. This indicates that the program is specifically targeted at the people of Malang, since the preacher is originally from Malang and fluent in Walikan. His use of Walikan symbolizes his intention to level with common people and display local affinity.

The Walikan words he uses in his sermons, as observed in his YouTube trailer, are listed in Table 6.7.

Walikan	Meaning	Origin
AUD UBIR	‘two thousand’	<i>dua</i> ‘two’ + <i>ribu</i> ‘thousand’
<i>di-RAYAB</i>	‘PASS-pay’	<i>di-bayar</i> ‘PASS-pay’
KADIT HÉLOB	‘not allowed’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>boléh</i> ‘can’
LUKUP-ônò	‘hit-APPL’	<i>pukul-ônò</i> ‘hit-APPL’
NAKAM	‘to eat’	<i>makan</i> ‘to eat’
NARKODÉW	‘drugs and women’	<i>narkoba</i> ‘drugs’ + <i>wédok</i> ‘woman’
NAWAK	‘friend’	<i>kawan</i> ‘friend’
NAYAMUL	‘not bad’	<i>lumayan</i> ‘not bad’
NGETEM	‘pregnant’	<i>meteng</i> ‘pregnant’
OJIR KANYAB	‘lots of money’	<i>raijo</i> ‘money’ + <i>banyak</i> ‘many’
OJIR	‘money’	<i>raijo</i> ‘money’
OKÉR-é	‘cigarette-DEF’	<i>rokok-é</i> ‘cigarette-DEF’

Walikan	Meaning	Origin
OMIL <u>HULUP</u>	‘fifty’	<i>limò</i> ‘five’ + <i>puluh</i> ‘ten’ + <i>ribu</i> ‘thousand’
UBIR		
ÒNDHÒR <u>TAHÉS</u>	‘sexy widow’	<i>ròndhò</i> ‘widow’ + <i>séhat</i> ‘healthy’
<u>RUDIT</u>	‘to sleep’	<i>tidur</i> ‘to sleep’
SAREB <u>KANYAB</u>	‘plenty of rice’	<i>beras</i> ‘rice’ + <i>banyak</i> ‘many’
<u>SILUP</u>	‘police’	<i>pulisi</i> ‘police’
TEKÉS <u>UBIR</u>	‘fifty thousand’	<i>séket</i> ‘fifty’ + <i>ribu</i> ‘thousand’
TIDHEM	‘stingy’	<i>medhit</i> ‘stingy’
UBLEM	‘to enter’	<i>mlebu</i> ‘to enter’
<u>WOLES</u>	‘slow, relax’	<i>selow</i> ‘slow’

TABLE 6.7: Walikan words and phrases in Syiarema

6.4 Walikan in Written Media

In this part I describe an array of uses of Walikan in written media, either printed or online. They include a dictionary, newspapers, social media, and texts appearing across the city.

6.4.1 Dictionaries

A five-hundred page dictionary of Walikan and Malangan Javanese was published in 2011 (Soenarno 2011).¹⁰ The dictionary, entitled *Kamus Bahasa Malangan* ‘Malangan Language Dictionary’, is divided into four parts: Kiwalan (Walikan) into Indonesian, Indonesian into Kiwalan (Walikan), Ngalam (Malangan Javanese) into Indonesian, and Indonesian into Ngalam (Malangan Javanese). By doing this, Soenarno (2011) emphasizes the differences between the mainstream Malangan Javanese dialect and Walikan.

Unfortunately, the words that are included in this dictionary are not quite authentic; they include suspicious forms such as: KEDNAM (< *mandek* ‘to stop’), RUPMAC (< *campur* ‘to mix’), KÉHTEC (< *cethék* ‘shallow’), NGÉHTNÉ (< *énthéng* ‘light’), and NGECSING (< *nginceng* ‘to peek’). The homorganic consonant clusters <nd> and <mp> in the original words *mandek* and *campur*, for example, should be maintained instead of reversed. The correct Walikan

¹⁰This dictionary uses the term Kiwalan instead of Walikan. Kiwalan is also derived from the word *walik* ‘to reverse’, which is commonly used among the older speaker community, but popular among the younger speakers (see §2.3).

words should have been KENDAM and RUMPAC. Next, the digraphs <th> in *cethék* and *énthéng* actually represent one consonant sound, /t/, and therefore should be reversed into <th>, since the reversal in Walikan is not based on orthography. Further, the consonant sequence <cn> does not exist in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian.

My main informants¹¹ confirmed that those suspicious words have never been heard or used in their communities. It is unknown why unattested Walikan words are included in this dictionary, but they may be a shortcut to invent Walikan words by reversing different types of Javanese and Indonesian words without carefully checking them with speakers.

Aside from this dictionary, I also discovered a set of guidelines published in 2016. Aimed at new university students coming from outside Malang, the guide is entitled “College Survival Guide: Malang”. Malang is well-known for its status as a university city (see §1.2.3), so it is no surprise that some people will benefit from this economic opportunity by writing a guidebook.

This guide contains useful information, such as things to do and not to do in Malang, tips and tricks to save money while living as a student in Malang, maps and guidelines of local public transport, as well as important emergency numbers. It also includes 32 Walikan words that the writers consider as helpful for new students when they start a new life in Malang. None of them is suspicious. They are all confirmed in my data, including the word GENARO (< *orang*) ‘person’ and ARUDAM/ARODAM (< *Madura/Medurò*) ‘a place name’ and AYABARUS/ÖYÖBARUS (< *Surabaya/Suròbòyò*) ‘a place name’.

The publication of both the dictionary and guide should be regarded as a positive effort in promoting and protecting Walikan, while there is likely also an economic motivation behind them.

6.4.2 Newspapers

In newspapers, Walikan is commonly used in cartoons or in small columns presenting local jokes or witty criticisms. Recently, Malang Ekspres, a relatively new local newspaper, has been publishing a longer column in Walikan entitled *Osiiii Ae Jès!*¹² The phrase *Ösiiii aé Jès* is derived from *Isò aé jès* ‘yeah right, guys’. The column was published almost daily on the front page of the newspaper.

¹¹Ersi (male, 33 years old) and Infa (female, 36 years old) in separate interview sessions conducted in 2015–2017.

¹²Note that the extra ‘i’ here is used to emphasize the meaning of the utterance.

The use of Walikan in at least one online news portal has been observed. The name of the portal is Malang Voice; it basically reports up-to-date, reliable local news. Malang Voice uses Walikan in one of its columns, *Paitun Gundul*. Under the sub-category of Woles 'slow; relaxed', *Paitun Gundul* narrates the story of an elderly woman who strolls around many *kampungs* in the city center and witnesses various situations involving the people of Malang. Most of the stories portray Malang in the 1980s, when it was less crowded and the city square was still home to a variety of traditional entertainments, such as *tandhak bedhês* 'street monkey circus'. The latter usually features a man who can order a trained monkey to perform everyday human activities, such as going shopping or going to school, in order to amuse people, especially children. Apparently, the name of the main character in the column, *Paitun Gundul* 'the bald Paitun', is inspired by a popular urban legend current in the city during the 1980s. Paitun was a mentally disturbed woman who was often spotted in different areas around Malang carrying a dirty doll, whom she thought was her deceased child. Here, the use of Walikan is linked to a nostalgia about the city and its historical characters.

From editions of these two newspapers dated May 2015 to December 2016, I was able to compile a list of Walikan words. All of them are found in my spoken data, and are considered legitimate by two of my main informants. Similar to those in spoken data, they conform to Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonology and phonotactics (see §6.6).

Finally, it is worth noting that the matrix language used in both columns is Malangan Javanese, despite the fact that all the other articles in both news media are written in standard Indonesian. Example (5) is taken from the printed newspaper Malang Ekspres.

- (5) *Òpò HÉNAM kate TAIL nang ngarep, tambah KADIT ÒSI HÉNAM.*
 what again will see to front more NEG can again

'They definitely cannot see the front view.'

(NY_2015_ME_Newspaper)

Rule (male, 51 years old),¹³ involved in the management team of the online medium Malang Voice, explains that as they aim to be the main news portal for local communities in Malang; they need to promote the use of Walikan. This objective is embodied in the publication of the *Paitun Gundul* column and the use of Walikan words as the title of several sections: HALOKES

¹³Interviewed on July 5th, 2015.

(< *sekolah*) ‘school’ for educational news, UKLAM-UKLAM (< *mlaku-mlaku*) ‘to walk around’ for traveling news, NAWAK ÉWÉDH (< *kawan dhéwé*) ‘ally’ for community news, *WOLES* (< *selow*) ‘slow, relaxed’ for collection of short stories, poetry, opinion, including the *Paitun Gundul* column.

6.4.3 Social Media

Written forms of Walikan online can be seen in a number of popular social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. There are a number of Facebook groups specializing in Walikan, but I only looked at the following two Facebook groups: AREMA Club (Pencinta Malang dan Boso Walikan) ‘Arema Club (Lovers of Malang and Boso Walikan)’ and Komunitas Peduli Malang (ASLI Malang) ‘Community Caring for Malang (Authentically Malang)’. Both groups are followed by thousands Facebook users, demonstrating their popularity. Each group has its own administrators, whose job is to post interesting and relevant posts, as well as to moderate the postings. Walikan is used in these postings and in the comments section.

On Twitter, I monitored the use of Walikan occasionally. One particular account I observed is @infomalang. It had 171,645 tweets, had been retweeted 353,239 times, and was liked by 1,557 users, when I observed it in October 2017. The account mainly shares news about Malang, and practical information deemed useful to the people of Malang. It uses Walikan in its posts, and followers also occasionally replied in Walikan, although most of the time the replies are in either Malangan Javanese or Indonesian. On the information page of the account, it announces that it also moderates an Instagram account with the same name.

The Instagram account which has proved to be the most enlightening, however, is @ikimalang, with 2,911 posts and 186,000 followers in October 2017. The account describes itself as a medium for news on local languages. Its posts are dominated by memes in Walikan and pictures around the city. An example can be seen in Figure 6.4.

Ojok o sempol, cilok, opo oskab.
 Kabéh aé tak tukokno gawé umak.
 Tapi lék umak dadi ojobku, Beh.

IKI MALANG!

FIGURE 6.4: Walikan meme on Instagram

The Walikan texts represent an instance in which an utterance in Malangan Javanese matrix contains reversed nouns and pronouns, a similar format as Walikan in spoken interaction (6).

- (6) Òjòk-ò sempol, cilok, òpò OSKAB. Kabéh aé tak
 NEG.IMP-DP sempol cilok what meatball all just 1SG.PROCL
 tukòk-nò gawé UMAK. Tapi lék UMAK dadi ojob-ku,
 buy-BEN for 2SG but if 2SG become spouse-1SG.POSS
 béh.
 DP

‘Not just *sempol*, *cilok*, or *bakso* (local street food). I’ll buy you anything.
 Only if you become my lover, mate.’

(NY_2017_Instagram)

There are also Walikan digital stickers created by individuals from Malang to be marketed in *Line*, a communication application popular in Indonesia. This shows how digital space has become an important avenue in the promotion of Walikan among its current generation of speakers. The first package of digital stickers was given to me by Sais (male, 30 years old), its creator and owner.¹⁴ The package was sold to a major communication platform in Indonesia (see Figure 6.5). He said that the targeted consumers of his product are young users of the communication platform who are speakers of Walikan or have interests in Walikan. Together with a friend, he also manages a Facebook

¹⁴Interviewed on May 31, 2015.

group which aims to provide a medium for people to interact in Walikan. Sais believes that digital space has become an important medium for practicing and promoting Walikan.



FIGURE 6.5: *Kadit* ‘no’—an example of Walikan sticker created by Sais

The second package was found via Google (Figure 6.6).



FIGURE 6.6: A collection of digital Walikan stickers

These stickers display expressions commonly used by users when they want to illustrate different types of situation on social media. The translations and source forms are given in Table 6.8.

Walikan	Meaning	Origin
<i>aré</i> k TÉWUR	‘bad kid’	<i>aré</i> k ‘child’ + <i>ruwet</i> ‘chaotic’
AYAS <i>ngesir</i> UMAK	‘I like you’	<i>saya</i> ‘I’ + <i>nge-sir</i> ‘ACT.like’ + <i>kamu</i> ‘you’
<i>cék</i> TAHÉS	‘to be healthy’	<i>cék</i> ‘let’ + <i>séhat</i> ‘healthy’
ÉNARUPES <i>ho</i>	‘sorry, man’	<i>sepura-ne</i> ‘sorry-DEF’ + <i>ho</i> ‘DP’
ÉWUL ILAKES	‘very hungry’	<i>luwé</i> ‘hungry’ + <i>sekali</i> ‘very’
IDREK <i>sik</i>	‘to work first’	<i>kerdi</i> ‘to work’ + <i>sik</i> ‘first’
INDAN <i>ho</i>	‘where?’	<i>nang</i> ‘in’ + <i>endi</i> ‘where?’ + <i>ho</i> ‘DP’
IPES	‘quiet, lonely’	<i>sepi</i> ‘quiet’
<i>isò aé</i> NAWAK <i>iki</i>	‘how cool’	<i>isò</i> ‘can’ + <i>aé</i> ‘just’ + <i>kawan</i> ‘friend’ + <i>iki</i> ‘this’
KADIT <i>révisi</i>	‘no (thesis) revision needed’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>révisi</i> ‘revision’
<i>kapan</i> IBAR	‘married when?’	<i>kapan</i> ‘when’ + <i>ibar</i> ‘get married’
KÉRA NGALAM	‘kids of Malang’	<i>aré</i> k ‘child’ + <i>Malang</i> ‘the city of Malang’
LADHUB SAM	‘let’s go, bro’	<i>budhal</i> ‘to leave’ + <i>mas</i> ‘older brother’
<i>mbois</i> ILAKES	‘very cool’	<i>mbois</i> ‘stylish’ + <i>sekali</i> ‘very’
NAKAM <i>sik</i>	‘eat first’	<i>makan</i> ‘to eat’ + <i>sik</i> ‘first’
NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT	‘to relax’	<i>séndhén</i> ‘to lean on’ + <i>témbok</i> ‘wall’
ÒYI KÉR	‘yes, mate’	<i>iyò</i> ‘yes’ + <i>rék</i> ‘mate’
ÒYI	‘yes’	<i>iyò</i> ‘yes’
TAHÉS SAM	‘healthy, bro’	<i>séhat</i> ‘healthy’ + <i>mas</i> ‘older brother’
UMIAR	‘your face’	<i>rai-mu</i> ‘face-2SG.POSS’
WOLES SAM	‘relax, bro’	<i>selow</i> ‘slow’ + <i>mas</i> ‘older brother’

TABLE 6.8: Walikan words and phrases on digital stickers

Some of the stickers are specifically intended to show passion for and affinity to the most popular football team in the city, Arema FC (Table 6.9).

Words/Phrases	Meaning	Origin
<u>gol</u>	‘goal’	not a reversal
<u>kudu</u> NGANEM	‘must win’	<u>kudu</u> ‘must’ + <u>menang</u> ‘to win’
MALAS UTAS AWIJ	‘one soul greeting (slogan of <i>Aremania</i>)’	<u>salam</u> ‘greeting’ + <u>satu</u> ‘one’ + <u>jiwa</u> ‘soul’
<u>yes</u> , NGANEM	‘yes, victory’	<u>yes</u> ‘yes’ + <u>menang</u> ‘to win’

TABLE 6.9: Words in digital stickers that are related to football

6.4.4 The City’s Linguistic Landscape

Walikan became more visible in the city’s linguistic landscape from 2015 and 2016. During my fieldwork around this period, I noticed that Walikan words were appearing on a city landmark, business signs, advertising billboards, as well as posters or banners. The rise of Walikan in public signage can be seen as a process of latent enfranchisement (Goebel et al. 2017). In such a process, a language promotes itself into the linguistic landscape even without support from infrastructures, such as school curriculum and mass media.

Firstly, Walikan appears on a landmark built in the Veteran Street area (Figure 6.7). Veteran Street is seen by the urban-dwellers as the educational centre of Malang, as it connects the Universitas Negeri Malang, the Universitas Brawijaya, and the Institut Teknologi Nasional Malang with a number of nearby primary, junior and senior high schools. A lot of young students and tourists walk along the street every day, which is probably why the landmark was put there, to catch the eye of these youngsters.



FIGURE 6.7: Walikan on a city landmark

The writing on the landmark in Figure 6.7 reads *NGALAM KIPA ILAKES* (< *Malang apik sekali*) 'Malang is very beautiful'. On the other sides of the cube pictured in Figure 6.7, are two other messages, *Paris of East Java* 'Malang is) the Paris of East Java', and *Kota pendidikan* 'city of education'. All of these messages underline the potential and the positive image of the city.

Aremania, the football supporters of Arema FC, used Walikan words in its posters to celebrate the twenty-ninth anniversary of Arema FC on August 11, 2016 (see Figure 6.8 and Figure 6.9).



FIGURE 6.8: Walikan on a banner during Arema FC's anniversary



FIGURE 6.9: Messages for Aremania from LA Mania and Jakmania

The banners were all over the city for around a month. Figure 6.8 shows the phrase AYAS KÉRA NGALAM (< Saya arék Malang) 'I am a Malang kid' written in a banner under the logo of Arema FC in the center. In Figure 6.9, two other football-supporters' communities, LA Mania from Lamongan and Jakmania from Jakarta, wish Arema FC a happy anniversary in Walikan: TAMALES NGALU NUHAT Aréma (< selamat ulang tahun Aréma) 'happy anniversary Arema'.

Figure 6.9 shows the English word ‘from’ used in the middle of written Walikan. This indicates how global the Walikan community is, or perceives itself to be. It makes use of different languages in one message. A word from a global language such as English is juxtaposed with a local code such as Walikan, indicating the growing status of Walikan, by making the local look more global. The same is also seen in Figure 6.10, Figure 6.11, and Figure 6.12.



FIGURE 6.10: Walikan on a business sign



FIGURE 6.11: Walikan on a public display

The pictured food stall in Figure 6.10 belongs to “De Chicken” brand, which uses the Walikan word NGALAM (< *Malang*) together in the same phrase next to English word *street food* in their stall description. The use of English words in Indonesian linguistic landscape is increasing (Yannuar and Tabiati 2016). In accordance with the status of English as a global language and its constant usage in social media and popular culture, it is used especially among the young generation. The article *de* before the word *chicken*, is also a sign of globalisation. It imitates the article *de* in Dutch, indicating the attempt of the owner to make their business sound more international. By using the Walikan form of the name of the city, NGALAM (< *Malang*), however, they simultaneously want to emphasize the local nature of their businesses.

Figure 6.11 is a public display that seems to be intended for the younger generation. The words NGALAM (< *Malang*) and *love* are displayed in an installation, placed in front of Matos plaza, in a small park in between the two sides of the dual carriageway to attract pedestrians who want to stop by and take

pictures there. This type of installation recently becomes popular because it is “instagrammable”, a newly coined word which indicates that a certain spot is able to provide a good background for pictures to be posted on Instagram (or other social media platforms).

In Figure 6.12, the word SAM (< *mas*) ‘bro’ is combined with the English word ‘awesome’, creating a new blend word AWESAM. It is a local T-Shirt store aimed for youngsters in the city. Two major Walikan T-Shirt brands are described in §6.4.5.



FIGURE 6.12: Walikan on a business sign, AWESAM (from awesome ‘awesome’ + SAM < *mas* ‘older brother’) ‘Awesome bro’

Figures 6.10 to 6.12 may suggest that the use of Walikan words in signs are intended for the younger generation, but there are also other types of business or functions that do not target a specific age group, for example street food vendors.

Figure 6.13 shows a street food vendor who has branded his business *Lontong Balap Wonokròmò* AYABARUS ‘Lontong Balap Wonokròmò from Surabaya’. *Lontong Balap* is a local Surabaya dish, therefore the act of using Walikan that is reversing the word *Surabaya* to AYABARUS serves as a motif to capture people’s attention and to make the business more acceptable in the eyes of the locals of Malang.



FIGURE 6.13: Walikan in a street food vendor sign: Lontong Balap Wonokròmò AYABARUS (< *Lontong Balap Wonokròmò Surabaya*) ‘Lontong Balap Wonokròmò from Surabaya’

In addition, political campaign signs indicate that Walikan’s audience includes anyone living in Malang, not only the youth or older people.



FIGURE 6.14: Walikan on a political campaign, SAM Wanedi (< *mas* ‘older brother’ + Wanedi) ‘Brother Wanedi’

Ahmad Wanedi, the politician depicted in Figure 6.14 chose to use a com-

mon Walikan term of address SAM (< *mas*) ‘older brother’, possibly to establish his local affinities when running for the office of vice mayor in the 2018 election.

Walikan is also used as a tool to create common ground, as shown by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, a Jakarta-based politician in Figure 6.15. In early 2017, he ran and lost the DKI Jakarta governor election. A couple of months later, around June 2017, his political campaign appeared on the streets of Malang, when he was rumored to run in the upcoming election for the governor’s office of East Java.



FIGURE 6.15: Walikan on a political campaign, AYAS OKET KEER (< *Saya tekò rék*) ‘Here I come, guys’

Focused more on the face and name of the candidates, these types of campaign posters demonstrate that building the characters and personalities of politicians is considered to be potentially more rewarding than emphasizing the political parties’ logos and jargon (Goebel et al. 2017:281). Decentralization has changed the way people design their campaign posters; a political campaign in the past, specifically before 1998, would only use Indonesian, but nowadays it has become very important to include local languages in local politics to connect to local values (Aspinall 2011; Goebel et al. 2017).

6.4.5 T-Shirts and Merchandise

Strolling around the city, I noticed that some young people were wearing t-shirts written in Walikan. The bulk of them were produced by two brands: Oyisam and Ongisam. Oyisam is coined from the words òYI (< *iyò*) ‘yes’ and SAM

(< *mas*) ‘older brother’, while Ongisam is a combination of the word ÒNGIS (< *singò*) ‘lion’ and SAM (< *mas*) ‘older brother’. The word SAM ‘older brother’ appears in both brands as their owners are male, and their prime targets are male customers. The enterprises produce their t-shirts locally and employ local youths in both the production and in their shops. In an interview with the owner of Oyisam,¹⁵ I was given a folder showing their collection, most of which feature Walikan words. Figure 6.16 depicts one of these Oyisam t-shirt designs.



FIGURE 6.16: Walikan words on t-shirts, *ASAIB aé jés* (< *biasa aé jés*) ‘just relax, mate’

The words on the t-shirts are written in big fonts, often alluding to the cultural identity of Malangese, such as KÉRA NGALAM (< *aré^k malang*) ‘Malang people’, or APAIS KÉR (< *siapa rék*) ‘who, mate?’. According to the owner of Oyisam, the t-shirt business is currently booming and he has been able to open a number of outlets, one in Malang Town Square, one of the hippest malls in Malang, and another one outside the city.

The Walikan words featured on Oyisam t-shirts are all found in my spoken corpus. The Oyisam owner does not seem to have problems identifying new words because he often uses Walikan with his employees, despite their origin from Kendalpayak, located in the regency area of Malang, far from the center of the city where Walikan is believed to have originated.¹⁶ Only once did they receive a complaint from an older speaker, concerning the word

¹⁵Conducted on October 16, 2016.

¹⁶I managed to also interview two Oyisam employees on October 10th, 2016.

ÒJREK (< *kerjò*) ‘to work’ that they used on one of the t-shirts. For the older generation, the more appropriate Walikan form is KERDI, which is coined from the phrase *kerja rodi* ‘corvée labour’ (also see §2.3.1).

The Oyisam owner also acknowledges that he did not really want to explore the opportunity to create new Walikan words because he was afraid of rejection and criticism from older customers. However, in one instance he coined a new word, USEN (< *nesu*) ‘to become angry’, and so far the word has not been met with universal rejection.

6.5 Motivations to Promote Walikan

The act of writing a language traditionally confined to the oral domain symbolizes the “legitimation of an urban language, an urban culture, and an urban identity” (McLaughlin 2001:155). As Walikan has entered both the written and the spoken media, it has claimed its status as a vehicle of the people’s cultural identity. Reflecting on the media and the interview sessions with several key persons who contributed to the production of Walikan in these media, it seems to me that the act of writing and producing Walikan in media is motivated by three factors: 1) to express local pride and solidarity; 2) as a regional marker; and 3) to provide economic opportunities.

First, Walikan is a linguistic practice associated with pride in belonging to the community of Malang. The phrase AYAS KÉRA NGALAM (< *Saya arek Malang* ‘I am a Malang kid’ in Figure 6.8 is an expression of their pride in being from Malang and having a football club such as Arema FC. At the same time, the message on the banners also promotes solidarity. In Figure 6.9, a birthday message is written in Walikan by supporters of two rival football clubs, LA Mania from Lamongan and Jakmania from Jakarta. Instead of using Indonesian or Javanese, they use Walikan in order to create the feeling of solidarity or comradeship.

The feeling of pride can also be related to the aforementioned nostalgic theme of the Walikan song lyrics. *Uklam-Uklam* ‘to walk around’, *Uklam-Uklam nang Kayutangan* ‘to walk around Kayutangan’, and *Nola-Nola* ‘city square’ list different activities one could do in Malang and places to visit around the city. They remind listeners of how beautiful and comfortable life in Malang is.

Walikan is also considered a regional hallmark, as seen in its use in television programs, newspaper columns, sermons, and the city’s landmarks. Malang Javanese speakers want their speech to sound different from other

neighbouring Javanese dialects, such as Surabayan Javanese, and they use Walikan as a means to emphasize their Malangan dialect (see §2.5). As Sam Ohim from *Kowal-Kawil* explained in an interview, hosting a news program narrated in Walikan is a way to promote the local language and culture. It is worth noting that most of the news in *Kowal-Kawil* centers on the activities of criminals. Apart from the observation that crime news is sensational and therefore marketable, in the case of Malang, presenting this sort of news in Walikan might also reflect the historical status of Walikan as a register commonly associated with criminals and stigmatized communities.

On Facebook, the accurate use of Walikan can “give away” whether a user is genuinely originally from Malang or just a “poser”. To politicians, the way Walikan is regarded as a regional marker is utilized as an instrument to benefit their campaigns among the locals. As shown in Figure 6.14 and Figure 6.15, Walikan words are used to create common ground between the politicians and the locals.

The people of Malang also embrace Walikan because it provides economic opportunities. A golden opportunity has been grasped by the owners of t-shirt enterprises and other businesses. The use of Walikan words emphasizes the sense of local belonging, through which they can attract more customers. They use Walikan in the names of their shops, restaurants, and other businesses, sometimes only as a tagline of the business (see Figure 6.10, 6.13, 6.12, and 6.16).

6.6 Walikan Forms in Spoken and Written Media

In the spoken media, I have observed Walikan forms which are similar to those in my spontaneously uttered data. In TV and radio shows, songs, as well as YouTube videos, the Walikan forms used are based on those used in off-air oral communication. The reversal strategy used is largely based on Total Segment Reversal, with occasional modification strategies, as explained in Chapter 4. Homorganic consonant clusters are retained in word-medial position, and reversal is applied to the base word before attached prefixes. Some modifications or variations take place, but they are similar to those that are found in spontaneous spoken data. In other words, the Walikan words in spoken media are pronounced like those collected through face-to-face/spontaneous interactions. Table 6.10 provides some common examples.

Words	Realiza- tion	Origin	Realiza- tion	Gloss	Media
KOWAL- KAWIL	[ˈkɔ.wal ˈka.wɪl]	wolak- walik	[ˈwɔ.laʔ ˈwa.lɪʔ]	‘topsy- turvy’	Kowal- Kawil TV Show
<u>LAWÉT</u>	[ˈla.wet]	<u>juwal</u> ¹⁷	[ˈɟu.wal]	‘to sell’	Kowal- Kawil TV Show
LEKET	[ˈlɛ.kət]	cekel	[ˈcɛ.kəl]	‘to cap- ture’	Kowal- Kawil TV Show
<u>NARANJEP</u>	[na.ˈra.nɟəp]	<u>penjara</u>	[pə.ˈnɟa.ra]	‘jail’	Ser- mon in YouTube
<u>nge-LÉDOM</u>	[ŋə.ˈlɛ.dɔm]	<u>nge-modél</u>	[ŋə.ˈmɔ.dəl]	‘N- manner.AV’	Sena- putra FM
UKLAM	[ˈʔu.klam]	mlaku	[ˈmla.ku]	‘to walk’	Tani Maju, Aradoes Band songs

TABLE 6.10: Examples of Walikan words used in spoken media

The data shows that Walikan used in the spoken media conforms to the Javanese phonology and phonotactics. The producer of KOWAL-KAWIL for example, follows the phonotactic constraints of not having /w/ in word-final position. As explained in §6.3.1, Total Segment Reversal is not used to reverse the word *wolak-walik* to avoid the form *KOLAW-KALIW.

The word LEKET and LAWÉT represent how the palatal stops /c, ɟ/ in word-final position are realized as the dental stop [t̪]. In NARANJEP, the homorganic consonant cluster /nɟ/ in word-medial position remains intact. In addition, a

¹⁷Djoewal in the old spelling, hence perhaps the /e/ in the reversed form.

word-initial /n/ is added in the reversal word. The same strategy is also seen in spontaneous spoken data, such as the words HADÉPES ‘bicycle’ and HUJUT ‘seven’.

In *nge-LÉDOM*, the nasal prefix *nge-* is added after reversal. In *UKLAM*, the cluster /kl/ in word-medial position is formed instead of word-final /lm/ in **UKALM*. The same process is seen in other Walikan words collected through face-to-face interaction.

This conformity to Javanese phonology and phonotactics has also been observed when Walikan is used in the written domain, although the written nature of the form might have increased the tendency to apply the reversal to the orthography of the word rather than on its pronunciation. All of the Walikan words used in two newspaper columns, *Osiiii Ae Jes!* and *Paitun Gundul*, are confirmed in my spoken data, see Table 6.11.

Words	Meaning	Origin
KINTUS	‘to inject’	<i>suntik</i> ‘to inject’
<u>MUNYES</u>	‘to smile’	<i>senyum</i> ‘to smile’
NÉNDHÉS	‘to lean on’	<i>séndhén</i> ‘to lean on’
NÉNTAM	‘wedding’	<i>mantén</i> ‘wedding’
SÉNJEM	‘dark colored soybean cake’	<i>menjés</i> ‘dark colored soybean cake’
UBLEM	‘to enter’	<i>mlebu</i> ‘to enter’
UKLAM	‘to walk’	<i>mlaku</i> ‘to walk’
NGILAM	‘thief’	<i>maling</i> ‘thief’
NGALAM	‘Malang’	<i>Malang</i> ‘Malang’
<u>GENARO</u>	‘person’	<i>orang</i> ‘person’
GENATU	‘debt’	<i>utang</i> ‘debt’
<u>UTUJES</u>	‘to agree’	<i>setuju</i> ‘to agree’
<u>UJUTES</u>	‘to agree’	<i>setuju</i> ‘to agree’
<u>TALKOC</u>	‘chocolate’	<i>coklat</i> ‘chocolate’
<u>AGRAULEK</u>	‘family’	<i>keluarga</i> ‘family’
ÉNARUPES	‘sorry’	<i>sepurané</i> ‘sorry’

TABLE 6.11: Examples of words with homorganic consonant clusters in online and printed newspaper columns

The illustrations in Table 6.11 suggest that the type of Walikan that appears in both printed and online newspapers does not deviate from spoken Walikan. The articles' authors do not create new forms of reversal by reversing based on orthography.

In KINTUS, MUNYES, NÉNDHÉS, NÉNTAM, AND SÉNJEM, the homorganic consonant clusters in word-medial position are retained after the application of Total Segment Reversal rule.

Other words that require quite a complex reversal process, such as *mlaku* and *mlebu*, are reversed based on their spoken form. They still obey Javanese phonology and phonotactics and become UKLAM and UBLEM respectively (see §4.3.2.4). They are not reversed based on the orthography. Several other words that show a phoneme based reversal include: NGILAM ['ŋi.lam'] (< *malang*) ['ma.lɪŋ] 'thief' and NGALAM ['ŋa.lam'] (< *malang*) ['ma.laŋ] 'Malang'. A reversal based on orthography would yield the forms **gnaling* and **gnalam*. A number of exceptional forms such as GENARO and GENATU, orthographically reversed from (< *orang*) 'person' and (< *utang*) 'debt', have been chosen by the community despite their deviation from the most common patterns of reversal (see §4.6).

The newspaper columns allow us to investigate certain forms categorized as alternate forms in §4.6. Alternate forms in Walikan are those that can have more than one acceptable reversion. The Indonesian word *setuju* 'to agree' for example, has two Walikan forms: UTUJES and UJUTES. The former is found more in spoken interaction among my informants, while the latter is observed more in WhatsApp and Facebook conversation. The latter completely follows Total Segment Reversal, which may lead to the argument that this form is only used in written media. However, two newspaper columns in my observation consistently use the form UTUJES, giving it more power to be recognized as the standard form. The other form, UJUTES, therefore, is only used in smaller circles than UTUJES.

It seems likely that the written media have given users more freedom to innovate different types of Walikan. This is shown in the increasingly common reversal of words that break the phonotactics of Javanese, such as TALKOC (< *coklat*) 'chocolate', and words with more than two syllables, such as AGRAULEK (< *keluarga*) 'family' and ÉNARUPES (< *sepurané*)¹⁸ 'sorry'. When writing, users seem to have more time to consider which form will be used. However, as words of this type do not occur very often in spontaneous speech,

¹⁸In spoken Malangan Javanese, it can be pronounced as either [sə.pu.'ra.ne] or [sə.pu.'rɔ.ne].

it may be inferred that the users of Walikan do not refer to written Walikan to change the form of Walikan. They still refer to the accepted reversed forms of spoken Walikan in order to convey a message to their readers.

6.7 Conclusions

This chapter has presented an overview of the ways Walikan, which was once confined to particular social domains, can spread into a wider range of domains. Walikan began as an oral linguistic practice but is currently used in mass media, social media, and on public signs; it is widely used within Malang's linguistic landscape. At present, Walikan is no longer an anti-language limited to a certain social class. It has acquired its position as an urban language which is able to project the identity of the people. Speakers have proudly facilitated its dissemination from a spoken to a written media, from in-group interaction to public communication, and from offline to online platforms.

Several important communities have been actively involved in this metamorphosis. They include students, musicians, and football-supporters. As the language has become more widespread and more accessible to a wider community in the city, its survival and viability is now in the hands of the general population of urban-dwellers. Their autonomous use of Walikan has shown us a successful example of how local-level oral language practices can enter different types of public media.

How Walikan has found its way into public spaces gives us an idea of how Indonesia's urban language-scapes and linguistic landscape can include local linguistic features. Walikan has brought local colour to the linguistic landscape of Malang and, more importantly, it proves that there can be space for local (urban) languages in the linguistic landscape of Indonesia, alongside Standard Indonesian and other established local languages. Walikan is an example of latent enfranchisement, in which a local vernacular which was not only excluded from the school curriculum, but was once also used by a stigmatized community, can now appear on public signs.

I have also shown that the changes and developments observed in the domains of Walikan have introduced changes in the nature of the language itself, from a strong conformity to Javanese phonotactics to more innovative strategies that allow for the violation of phonotactics rules. However, the tendency to conform to Javanese phonotactics in the written media remains strong, because users tend to reject sudden changes in form. If a written message is to be

well-received by readers, they must comply with socially accepted Walikan forms. Hence, the standard is determined by informal consensus within the speech community. Written forms are not always considered as reflection of the spoken form.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions and Summary

Bòsò Walikan Malangan ‘Malang-style reversal language’ is a word-reversal practice in Malangan Javanese. Walikan incorporates reversed words originating from Malangan Javanese, Malangan Indonesian, Arabic, English, and other languages into a Malangan Javanese structure.

The main aim of this dissertation was to describe the structure of Walikan and its development through time. First, Walikan was discussed from the perspective of youth languages, in order to establish in which aspects it is similar or different from other youth languages. I then investigated the phonology and phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian to provide a foundation to discuss the reversal rules and phonological system of Walikan. Third, the sociolinguistic variability among different gender and age groups was explored. Finally, the on-going popularity of Walikan in media and public space was discussed. Looking at the current situation of Walikan also allows some conclusions to be drawn about its future. These points will be elucidated in what follows.

7.1 Status of Walikan

While exploring the characteristics of Walikan through the concept of youth languages, I applied the Total Linguistic Fact framework (Silverstein 1985) to

understand Walikan's forms, practices, and ideology. Similar to most youth languages, the forms of Walikan are characterized by linguistic manipulation, in this instance phonological and semantic manipulation. The phonological manipulation consists of fully reversing the phonemes of each word. The reversal mostly conforms to the phonology and phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, with occasional deviations violating the phonotactic limits of both source languages. The semantic manipulation is the alteration of meaning in certain words, indicating that Walikan is not a play language that is based on a template.

In order to speak Walikan, one can use any number of accepted reversed words in a Malangan Javanese structure. Not every word in an utterance should be reversed; their use every now and then is enough. More fluent speakers use more reversed words in their speech. In the case of existing reversal forms or synonyms that come from different language sources, one needs to assess the semantic and social value of the form to know which is better suited for certain situations or addressees.

Words from other Javanese dialects are prohibited in Walikan. They are perceived within the speech community as having a somewhat lower status than Malangan Javanese. Aside from certain lexicalized expressions, such as *ANAMID* 'where', affixes and possessive pronouns are not part of the reversal, instead they are attached to a reversed root.

As a language practice, Walikan is shown to have developed from a secretive slang to a marker of shared identity; people consider it as an emblem for identity construction. Walikan words nowadays are used in wider communication, including by people who do not speak Walikan or Malangan Javanese. A similar process is also found in youth languages in Europe and Africa (Kießling and Mous 2004; Nortier and Dorleijn 2013).

Walikan ideology has shifted in line with social change. In the past, it showed elements of Halliday's (1976) anti-language, but in the following decades it gained ground among the youth, particularly among students, musicians, and football fans. Similar to Gaul (Smith-Hefner 2007), Walikan articulates a rejection of social hierarchy. On a local level, it has become mainstream.

7.2 Reversal and Phonology

7.2.1 Phonology of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian

The stops in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian are acoustically voiceless. They are heavy stops followed by breathy vowels, except in prenasalized position. In root-final position, they appear as their light counterparts. The glottal stop [ʔ] appears in both Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian as the realization of /k/ in root-final and word-final position.

Malangan Javanese and Indonesian vowels, with the exception of the schwa, have allophones that are conditioned by the segments that follow them. They have the same distributions, except for the word-final low central vowel /a/ in Malangan Indonesian that remains as [a] and is not realized as [ɔ] as was historically the case in Malangan Javanese. The divergence of [a] and [ɔ] as separate phonemes might be due to language contact with Malangan Indonesian.

Malangan Javanese and Indonesian syllables generally have one consonant in the onset and coda, and one vowel in the nucleus. However, a maximum of three consonants are permitted in the onset of a syllable, both in root-initial and root-medial positions. The root-final position cannot hold any consonant clusters, except in recent loanwords. The root-medial homorganic consonant clusters in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian are not separated by syllable boundaries.

7.2.2 Reversal and Phonology of Walikan

Word reversal in Walikan predominantly follows the Total Segment Reversal rule, in which the segments or phonemes in a word are totally reversed and restructured. In order to create well-formed onsets and codas in the reversed words, vowel and consonant insertion, vowel and consonant deletion, simplification of clusters, or the exchange of vowels or consonants are also sometimes attested.

During the reversal process, the underlying form is reversed in conformity with the phonological and phonotactic rules of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian. The source language's phonological system is effective in Walikan. The heavy stops in word-initial position become light stops when they are reversed to word-final position. The allophonic alternation of /k/ and [ʔ]

also takes place in Walikan. The homorganic consonant clusters remain intact in root-medial position, which is evidence that they are tautosyllabic in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, i.e. part of a single syllable.

Some Walikan words, however, show evidence that speakers no longer strictly follow the allophonic patterns between /e/ ~[ɛ] and /a/ ~[ɔ]. This indicates a phonological change that is ongoing in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian.

Sometimes the same words have several reversed forms because speakers seem to base the reversal on the way the source words are written. But more importantly it is also because reversed languages are intended to deviate from the rules, so internal variation is to be expected.

7.3 Sociolinguistic Variability in Walikan

Walikan is used among different genders and age groups. Male speakers show more confidence than female speakers in reporting their fluency. In addition, the number of words or expressions that have socially negative connotations are found more in the male domain.

There are phonological differences between age groups in the way they use the reversed forms. Older speakers tend to conform to Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonology and phonotactics. In some cases, they also make use of old spellings. Younger speakers are the most dynamic group, since they also add and create new forms or produce new pronunciations that are unknown to older speakers.

These differences also tell us that Walikan is not a static practice; older speakers can still speak it, but younger speakers are those who control the contemporary form of Walikan by spearheading innovative and frequent forms.

Walikan has existed for decades and is now present among different age and gender groups. As Walikan is no longer confined to younger speakers, it can now be perceived as an urban language (Rampton 2015). Both the older and younger generations consider Walikan as an informal or a colloquial variety of Malangan Javanese that is able to project local pride, solidarity, and regional identity.

7.4 Future of Walikan

Walikan was an oral linguistic practice but is now widely used in different media. It has expanded from a spoken to a written medium, from in-group interaction to public communication, and from offline to online platforms.

Walikan has introduced more local colour to the linguistic landscape of Malang. At the same time, it shows that local (urban) languages can coexist in the linguistic landscape of Indonesia alongside Standard Indonesian and other established local languages.

The changes and developments observed in the domains of Walikan have introduced changes in the nature of the language itself, from a strong conformity to Javanese phonotactics to more innovative strategies which allow violations of phonotactic rules. However, Walikan forms in written media still comply with the phonotactics, because they have to be socially accepted to be well-received. Hence, the standard is determined by informal consensus within the speech community. Walikan has existed for more than five decades, and it will continue to exist for decades to come. Its survival and viability is in the hands of the speakers, who must continue their autonomous use of Walikan. The authorities can also encourage the use of Walikan, but it will probably continue to be used mostly in informal domains.

7.5 Directions for Future Research

The analysis of the structure of Walikan in this dissertation was predominantly based on the lexicon and the internal structure of the words. The results inform how the phonology and phonotactics of Walikan follow and deviate from Malangan Javanese and Indonesian. Focusing on the phonology of the two language systems also results in a thorough description that contributes to the description of Javanese dialects.

Throughout the description of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, I have highlighted that the distinction between retroflex and non-retroflex consonants is disappearing, as also observed in other Javanese varieties (Villierius 2019; Zen 2019). This change may be the result of bilingualism with Indonesian, in the case of Malangan Javanese, in combination with social, gender, and age factors. It is important that future research is designed to better understand this widespread manifestation of language change.

The heavy stops in word-final position are neutralized in Walikan. This is in line with the findings in an acoustic study by Vander Klok et al. (2018)

on how bilingual Central Javanese speakers produce word-final stops in Javanese. For future research, it would be interesting to conduct a similar type of study on Walikan speakers. Most Walikan speakers are minimally bilingual, evidenced by the way they use Malangan Javanese and Indonesian words in reversals. Hence, such a study could also shed light on the role of linguistic transfer or interference effects in the way speakers treat heavy and light stops.

One of my findings on Walikan phonology shows that the allophonic patterns between /e/ ~[ɛ] and /a/ ~[ɔ] are not consistently followed by Walikan speakers, which may indicate an ongoing change in Malangan Javanese under the influence of Indonesian. Future studies can focus on exploring possible language change by looking at more Eastern Javanese and Indonesian data.

Other potential research directions relate to the field of informal, urban youth languages. It would be beneficial in the future to design a systematic way of collecting Walikan data from the Internet or digital media. My corpus includes Internet data that I collected as I browsed through different websites and forums, but I did not follow a certain data collection method which allows me to capture the use of a certain variety on the Internet as a whole. My goal was to collect a large corpus of Walikan words online and observe their users as well as their usage. Future research on Walikan could focus on a specific digital communication medium and observe how speakers interact in Walikan. The relation between an urban language and digital communication is of interest to scholars in the fields of sociolinguistics, media studies, communication studies, and digital literacy studies.

Further, it is recommended to create a larger dataset of Walikan or other informal, urban youth languages in East Java and Indonesia. The dataset could also include data from rural areas, which is often overlooked by research on informal languages. Most of the speakers in my Walikan corpus, for example, are from the city area of Malang. In the future, the inclusion of speakers from the countryside would enrich the description of Walikan.

Finally, this dissertation has contributed to the description of informal, urban youth languages in Southeast Asia, which are still underdescribed despite their emergence throughout the region (Djenar 2015; Hoogervorst 2015). It encourages future work to focus on similar types of communication in the region.

Appendix A: Walikan Texts

This appendix presents a selection of texts that are used in the analysis. The first two texts are monologues, which include a story entitled ‘Frog, where are you?’ (Mayer 1969) and a narrative on a topic of the informant’s personal choice. The third text is a dialog between two participants.

Monologues

Frog Story

This Frog Story was narrated by a 23-year old female speaker, Trwu, and was recorded in the University of Malang’s campus café on October 21, 2016.

- (1) *INGEB-INGEB, onok KÉRA LICEK, ndhik kamar, n-dhuwé kirik*
RDP~night EXIST child little PREP room N-OWN.AV dog
ambik kodhok.
with frog

‘One night, there is a little child, in his room, he has a dog and a frog.’

- (2) *Nah, KÉRA LICEK iki turu, RUDIT, nah tibaké kodhok-é*
DP child little DEM sleep sleep DP unexpectedly frog-DEF
ucul.
escape

‘Well, when the little child is sleeping, unexpectedly his frog escapes.’

- (3) *Isuk-é, KÉRA LICEK iku kagét, “Lho, ANAM-ID*
 morning-DEF child little DEM surprised DP where-PREP
kodhok-ku, KÉR? Hadheh.”
 frog-1SG.POSS mate DP

‘In the morning the little child is surprised, “Wow, where is my frog, mate?, Ouch!”’

- (4) *Terus, arék-é siap-siap, ng-gawé klambi, ke-susu,*
 continue child-DEF RDP~ready n-make.AV shirt PASS-hurry
ng-gawé celònò, ng-gawé UTAPES.
 n-make.AV trouser n-make.AV shoes

‘Then, the child gets himself ready, putting on his shirt, in a hurry, putting on his pants, putting on his shoes.’

- (5) *Di-golék-i ndhik n-jòbò HAMUR, “Dhok kodhok, dhok*
 PASS-search-APPL PREP N-outside house froggy frog froggy
kodhok, ANAM-ID koen dhok?”
 frog where-PREP 2SG froggy

‘They are looking outside the house, “Froggy frog, froggy frog, where are you frog?”’

- (6) *Lho gak onok, “Ayo rik kirik ng-golék-i kodhok-é ayo”,*
 DP NEG EXIST let.us doggy dog N-search.AV-APPL frog-DEF let.us
“Kodhok, kodhok, kodhok.”
 frog frog frog

‘Ah, it is not here, “Come on doggy dog, let’s find the frog,” “Frog, frog, frog.”’

- (7) *Di-golék-i, nang alas, gak onok, di-golék-i, nang*
 PASS-search-APPL PREP forest NEG EXIST PASS-search-APPL PREP
dalan, gak onok.
 street NEG EXIST

‘They are looking around, in the forest, nothing, they are looking around, in the street, still nothing.’

- (8) *Di-golék-i mlebu alas saiki, lho lha kok ke-temu*
 PASS-search-APPL enter.AV forest now DP DP DP PASS-meet
tawon, “Tawon-é <u>akéh, ny-(c)okot-i aku, TIKAS HÉB,
 bee bee-DEF <INT>many N-bite.AV-CAUS 1SG painful mate
TIKAS.”
 painful

‘They are now looking inside the forest, oh then they meet some bees,
 “What a lot of bees, biting me, it’s painful guys, it’s painful.”’

- (9) *Adhuh onok òpò menéh iki?, “Hé, awak-mu ngerti onok*
 EXCL EXIST what again DEM EXCL body-2SG.POSS know EXIST
kodhok-ku ilang a?”
 frog-1SG.POSS lost DP

‘Oh, what else is going on?, “Hey, do you know that my frog is lost?”’

- (10) *“Gak ngerti.”*
 NEG know
 “I don’t know.”

- (11) *Lanjut manéh, ng-golék-i ndhik uwit, ganok manéh.*
 continue again N-search.AV-APPL PREP tree NEG.EXIST again

‘They start again, looking behind the trees, but still nothing.’

- (12) *“Rik kirik, yò wis ayo rodok jeró manéh*
 doggy dog yes already let.us quite inside again
ng-golék-i kodhok.”
 N-search.AV-APPL frog

‘ “Doggy dog, alright, let’s go a little bit further inside (the forest), to
 look for the frog.” ’

- (13) *“Héh, onok KUNAM bró, onok KUNAM, onok KUNAM, onok*
 EXCL EXIST bird brother EXIST bird EXIST bird EXIST
KUNAM.”
 bird

‘ “Hey, there is a bird mate, there is a bird, there is a bird, there is a
 bird.” ’

- (14) “Ayo *mblayu*, ayo *mblayu*!”
 let.us run.AV let.us run.AV
 ‘ “Let’s run, let’s run!” ’
- (15) “*Lho saiki KUNAM-é miber lhó!*”
 DP now bird-DEF fly DP
 ‘ “Oh now the bird is flying away!” ’
- (16) “Ayo **mba...* ayo *n-dhelik ndhik walik-é watu.*”
 let.us * let.us N-hide.AV PREP behind-DEF rock
 ‘ “Let’s (go back), let’s hide behind the rock.” ’
- (17) “*Lho dhok kodhok, dhok kodhok, lho rik kirik nandi*
 DP froggy frog froggy frog DP doggy dog where
awak-mu?”
 body-2SG.POSS
 ‘ “Hey, froggy frog, froggy frog, hey doggy dog, where are you?” ’
- (18) “*Iki mòrò-mòrò onok kidang ndhik kéné yòkòpò cerita-né?*
 DEM RDP~approach EXIST deer PREP here how story-DEF
lho dhok, rik kirik tulung-en aku!”
 DP froggy doggy dog help-BEN 1SG
 ‘ “How come suddenly there is a deer here? Hey, froggy, doggy dog,
 please help me!” ’
- (19) *Arék LICEK iku mòrò-mòrò n-jegur kali, akéh UNYAB-é*
 child small DEM RDP~approach N-fall.into.AV river many water-DEF
ndhik klambi-né, teles kabéh.
 PREP shirt-DEF wet all
 ‘The small child suddenly falls into a river, there is a lot of water on his
 shirt, all wet.’

- (20) *Wis a, ke-jebur, ng-golék-i kodhok manéh, “Dhok*
 already DP PASS-fall.into N-search.AV-APPL frog again froggy
kodhok, dhok kodhok, nandi awak-mu?”
 frog froggy frog where body-2SG.POSS

‘The child has fallen into the water, and he is looking for the frog again,
 “Frog, frog, frog, frog, where are you?”’

- (21) *“Sst sst, kirik-é krungu se-suatu é.”*
 psst psst dog-DEF hear one-thing DP

‘“Psst, the dog hears something.”’

- (22) *“Lha iki tibaké kodhok-é, ambik ÉBÉS SÉMÉ-é!”*
 DP DEM unexpectedly frog-DEF with father mother-DEF

‘“Oh, this is the frog, together with his father and mother!”’

- (23) *Lho tibaké onok RULUD-RULUD-é barang, sik LICEK-LICEK,*
 DP unexpectedly EXIST RDP~relative-DEF also still RDP~small
sakaken yò.
 pity yes

‘Oh, so there are his siblings as well, still very small, what a pity.’

- (24) *“Yò wis lék ngono dhok, aku balik.”*
 yes already if like.that froggy 1SG return

‘“Okay, froggy, I will return home.”’

- (25) *“Tibaké awak-mu ndhik kéné n-(t)emo-ni*
 unexpectedly body-2SG.POSS PREP here N-meet.AV-APPL
RULUD-RULUD-mu ya, yò wis, KILAB sik yò, wis
 RDP~relative-2SG.POSS yes yes already return first yes already
dhadha”.
 bye

‘“Apparently you are here to meet your relatives, okay, then I will head
 back, bye!”’

Personal Story

This personal story was narrated by Haha, a 57-year old male speaker, and was recorded in his house on May 15, 2015. The duration of the recording is 19 minutes 28 seconds. The text presented here is from minute 04:26 to 07:24. The speaker has given his permission to have this story published in this book as well as in YouTube (https://youtu.be/E_JTFdgd5cU).

- (26) *Iki foto-ku, wha iki, iki nyonya-ku iki,*
 DEM photo-1SG.POSS DP DEM DEM married.lady-1SG.POSS DEM
iki taun tujuh enam iki. Awak kòyòk roma irama ngéné
 DEM year seven six DEM body.1SG like NP NP like.this
haré, gak wedi a?, Gondrong ngéné.
 DP NEG afraid DP long.hair like.this

‘This is a photo of me. And this is my wife. It was in 1976. I looked like Rhoma Irama (a famous Indonesian singer) here. Isn’t it amazing? With long hair?’

- (27) *Mari ngono wis ringkes-é critò, ayas IDREK.*
 after like.that already concise-DEF story 1SG work
 ‘Long story short, I began to work.’

- (28) *Trus mari ngono ndhik kampung-ku nge-dek-nò*
 continue after like.that PREP kampung-1SG.POSS N-stand.AV-BEN
orkés dangdut jeneng-é asika, awak penyanyi ò, woh,
 band NP name-DEF NP 1SG singer DP DP
penyanyi!
 singer

‘And afterwards, there was a dangdut show in my kampung, which was called Asika. I was the singer, yeah the singer!’

- (29) *KODÉ-KODÉ pòdhò tekò kabéh, woh biduan-é Haha rék, sip*
 RDP~woman same arrive all DP singer-DEF NP mate good
iki, ter-masuk KODÉ-ku iki, oJOB iki.
 DEM PASS-enter woman-1SG.POSS DEM spouse DEM

‘All the women started to show up, including a woman who would be my wife now, they all said, “Wow Haha is a singer.”’

- (30) *Arék papat sing ng-rebut aku, onok sing siji yò lék gak*
 child four REL N-snatch.AV 1SG EXIST REL one yes if NEG
petuk aku gak isò turu, waktu iku, ny<u>anyi.
 meet 1SG NEG can sleep time DEM sing<INT>

‘Four girls were after me, there was one girl who could not sleep if she hadn’t seen me singing.’

- (31) *Mari ngono yò OJOB iki NG<U>ENEM ae, NAISAK ambik*
 after like.that yes spouse DEM silent<INT> just pity with
OJOB iki NG<U>ENEM aé, akhir-é mari ngono aku
 spouse DEM silent<INT> just finally-DEF after like.that 1SG
NAISAK yò, tak jak TAIL.
 pity yes 1SG.PROCL invite watch

‘But the girl who would be my wife was quiet, so I took a pity on her for being quiet, finally because I pity her I invited her to a cinema.’

- (32) *TAIL biskop iki jaman-é DULEK Kelud ambik Telun.*
 watch cinema DEM era-DEF NP NP with NP

‘Watching cinema at that time must be in Kelud Theater and Talun Theater.’

- (33) *Akhir-é TAIL biskop iki tak takon-i, “Koen gelem a,*
 finally-e watch cinema DEM 1SG.PROCL ask-APPL 2SG want DP
anu, RACAP-an ambik aku?”
 DP date-AV with 1SG

‘Finally after going to the cinema, I asked her, “Do you want to be my girlfriend?”’

- (34) *Wadhuh, OJOB yò me-rendah-kan diri, “AYAS iki KANA-é*
 EXCL spouse yes AV-humble-APPL self 1SG DEM child-DEF
wong gak duwé, rék, yòkòpò koen gak meny-(s)esal a, gak
 person NEG own mate how 2SG NEG AV-sorry DP NEG
getun a?”
 regret DP

‘Ouch, my wife humbled herself, saying, “I come from a poor family, aren’t you going to be sorry?”’

- (35) *Gak wis, tapi koen SINAM o”, aku muni ngono, akhir-é*
 NEG already but 2SG sweet DP 1SG say like.that finally-DEF
RACAP-an, RACAP-an, RACAP-an, akhir-é IBAR.
 date-AV date-AV date-AV finally-DEF get.married

‘No, I won’t, because you are sweet’, I said so, so finally we dated, dated, dated, and we finally got married.’

- (36) *Dadi, terus terang awak IBAR iki jik enom,*
 become continue clear body.1SG get.married DEM still young
umur-é HAUD HULUP wis IBAR, umur HAUD HULUP
 age-DEF two ten already get.married age two ten
IBAR, se taun kemudian lair anak-ku pertama,
 get.married one year later born child-1SG.POSS first
Ékò iku.
 NP DEM

‘To be honest, I was very young when I got married, I was twenty years old, a year later my first son was born, that was Ékò.’

- (37) *Akhir-é mélok uwong, mélok uwong, wadhuh, yò yòkopò mélok*
 final-DEF follow person follow person DP yes how follow
uwong tambah suwé anak tambah HALOKES, tambah butuh
 person more long child more school more need
duwik, ny-obak usaha, usaha.
 money N-try.AV business business

‘Then I worked for someone, worked for someone, gosh, I worked for someone but as time goes by my children needed to go to school, I needed money, so I tried to open up a business.’

- (38) *Ng-gòwò, waktu iku gurung isò, ho, anu, katik iku HADÉPES*
 N-bring.AV time DEM not.yet can DP DP also DEM bicycle
RON TOM ngono, pédah LANCAP, pédah LANCAP-an ngéné.
 motor like.that bicycle kick bicycle kick-AV like.this

‘I was riding, at that time, I could not ride a motorcycle, so I rode a bike, a bicycle like this.’

- (39) *Dadi aku mari mélok uwong minggu ngono tak gaé*
 become 1SG after follow person sunday like.that 1SG.PROCL make
kerjò déwé, IDREK déwé ng-gawé NESEP-an yò, NESEP-an
 work alone work alone N-make.AV order-NMLZ yes order-NMLZ
i pesen-an, sak pasang rong pasang tak tawak-nò
 DP order-NMLZ one pair two pair 1SG.PROCL offer-CAUS
nang Unibra, Unibra akéh sing ter-tarik.
 PREP NP NP many REL PASS-pull

‘I worked for someone (during weekdays), and on Sunday I worked for my new business, I worked based on personal request, one pair of shoes, two pairs of shoes, I offered them to the people at University of Brawijaya, there are a lot people interested there.’

- (40) “*Wadhuh, KIPA yò IDREK-an-é yò, òRIP, ngéné Pak?*”,
 DP nice yes work-NMLZ-DEF yes how.much like.this sir
ngono, waktu iku sekitar UTAPES iki paling mbois LOP
 like.that time DEM around shoe DEM most stylish very
iki sekitar SUTAR sé, SUTAR, SUTAR-an, SUTAR iki
 DEM around hundred DP hundred hundred hundred DEM
se-ratus, SUTAR iku.
 one-hundred hundred DEM

‘They said, “Wow, this is good quality! How much is this, Sir?” At that time these high quality shoes were worth around a hundred, that is a hundred.’

- (41) *<U>apik wis, akhir-é dosén-dosén akéh sing ter-tarik,*
 nice<INT> already final-DEF RDP~lecturer many REL PASS-pull
mari ngono <u>akéh NESEP-an.
 after like.that many<INT> order-NMLZ

‘It was really good, finally many lecturers were interested, and I received a lot of orders.’

Conversation

The following conversation is between two male speakers, Guef (G) and Suil (S), who were both 24 years old during the time of the recording on July 21, 2016. I met them both on campus. The speakers have given their permission to have this dialog published.

(42) G:

Héló bro, iyép kabar-é?
hello brother how news-DEF

‘Hello, bro, how are you?’

(43) S:

Wóles sam, yò ngéné-ngéné iki.
slow older.brother yes RDP~like.this DEM

‘Not much bro, just like this.’

(44) G:

Saiki lapò, òpal aktiviti-né, aktivitas-é?
now what what activity-DEF activity-DEF

‘What are your activities these days?’

(45) S:

Pancet sam, m-ótó, sinau, HALOKES bró.
steady older.brother N-photo.AV study school brother

‘Just the same, taking photographs, studying, being in school, bro.’

(46) G:

K<U>ANÉ yò UMAK wis òJREK ngono iku, wis wis...
nice<INT> yes 2SG already work like.that DEM already already

‘It is good that you already have a job, wow!’

(47) S:

Yò ngono-ngono kuwi.
 yes RDP~like.that DEM

‘Yeah, just like that.’

(48) G:

Lak NAYAMUL ta duwé peng-hasil-an dhéwé, lha AYAS mék
 after.all quite.good DP own AV-result-NMLZ alone DP 1SG only
HALIUK tok.
 study only

‘Isn’t it good to already have your own income, while I am still in college.’

(49) S:

ÒRIP-ÒRIP ò SAM, SAM.
 RDP~how.much DP older.brother older.brother

‘Just a little bit, bro.’

(50) G:

Lho masiò ÒRIP-ÒRIP, lak pancet di-sukur-i
 DP although RDP~how.much after.all steady PASS-gratitude-APPL
ta.
 DP

‘Well, even it’s just a little bit, you are still thankful for it.’

(51) S:

Lha nggih.
 DP yes

‘Yes, you’re right.’

(52) G:

Ò iyò, yòkòpò òjòB-é UMAK, sik yò ambik sing ikò a?
 DP yes how spouse-DEF 2SG still yes with REL DEM DP

‘Oh yeah, what about your girlfriend? Are you still with the same girl?’

(53) S:

Yò wo yò sik tò SAM.
 yes DP yes still DP older.brother

‘Yes, of course, bro.’

(54) G:

Yò ngono ta lék dadi arék lanang yò sing setia ambik
 yes like.that DP if become child man yes REL faithful with

KODÉ-KODÉ.

RDP~woman

‘That’s good, as a man you have to be faithful to women.’

(55) S:

Woh NGANAL KODHÉ yò kudu bener.
 DP man woman yes must true

‘Yeah, that applies to both men and women.’

(56) G:

Siap, siap, wis òJREK mari iki karék wisuda.
 ready ready already work after DEM just graduation

‘Of course, you have already found a job, then now (you) only wait for graduation.’

(57) S:

IBAR? awak-mu sik.
 get.married body-2SG.POSS still

‘Get married? Maybe you can go first.’

(58) G:

Lho kok isò AYAS iló, AYAS sik seméster AGIT sik an, sik
 DP DP can 1SG DP 1SG still semester three still DP still
urung òSI IBAR, mari iki sik ng-garap òpò tésis,
 not.yet can get.married after DEM still N-work.AV what thesis
mari ngono lulus, òJREK sik, rodok mateng, IBAR,
 after like.that graduate work first quite mature get.married
iku pun lék onok calon-é, iki aé durung onok
 DEM DP even.if EXIST candidate-DEF DEM just not.yet EXIST
SAM.
 older.brother

‘Me? How come? I am still on my third semester, it is not the time to get married yet, after this I still have to work on my thesis, then graduate, after becoming a bit mature I will get married, and that is only if I have already found someone, now there is no one yet.’

(59) S:

Jaré adoh SAM?
 report far older.brother

‘But you said you have someone far away?’

(60) G:

Onok sé adoh cumak é lak rodhok abot a, sik isò
 EXIST DP far but DP after.all quite heavy DP still can
rodok santé lah.
 quite relaxed DP

‘Actually I have someone far , which makes it a little difficult, but then I can relax a bit.’

(61) S:

Gérét a, SAM.
 drag DP older.brother

‘Just drag her, bro.’

(62) G:

Òsì, òsì.
can can

‘That’s possible.’

(63) S:

Mumbul.
float

‘Let her float in the air.’

(64) G:

Ayo dulin ayo!
let.us play let.us

‘Let’s go somewhere!’

(65) S:

Nandi?
where

‘Where?’

(66) G:

Nang Mahaméru, kòyòk biasa-é, ambik arék-arék.
PREP NP like usual-DEF with RDP~child

‘To Mahameru, as usual, with the other guys.’

(67) S:

Cuh cuh pénék-an!
DP DP climb-AV

‘Wow, climbing up!’

(68) G:

Iyò, AYAS sing wingi tak tawa-ni wingi lhó, òsɪ
 yes 1SG REL yesterday 1SG.PROCL offer-APPL yesterday DP can
a?
 DP

‘Yes, as I told you last time, can you come?’

(69) S:

Òsɪ.
 can

‘Yes, I can.’

(70) G:

Mené senin tapi.
 tomorrow monday but

‘But it will be this Monday.’

(71) S:

Ra mélu m-uncak tapi yò?
 NEG follow N-summit.AV but yes

‘But I will not follow up to the peak.’

(72) G:

Yò yò ra òpò-òpò sih, gak, gak masalah, pokok-é kan, lha
 yes yes NEG RDP~what DP NEG NEG problem main-DEF DP DP
lék UMAK lék gak mélok, KADIT, KADIT KOLEM.
 if 2SG if NEG follow NEG NEG follow

‘Of course it is fine, no problem, as long as.. anyway, if you don’t join.’

(73) S:

ÒGES LECEP, ÒGES a?
 rice NP rice DP

‘Rice, pecel rice right?’ (suggesting a type of food to enjoy in the mountain)

(74) G:

Lék KADIT KOLÉM m-uncak, até ÒPAL lak UMAK? até
 if NEG follow N-summit.AV want what after.all 2SG want
ng-entén-i nandi?
 N-wait.AV-APPL where

‘If you do not follow us to the peak, then what are you going to do?
 Where are you going to wait?’

(75) S:

Kalimati aé.
 NP just

‘Just in Kalimati.’

(76) G:

Ndhik Kalimati? yò gak pòpò.
 PREP NP yes NEG alright

‘In Kalimati? Well, that’s alright.’

(77) S:

ÒGES a?
 rice DP

‘Rice yes?’

(78) G:

ÒSI, ÒSI, ÒDHIS, ÒDHIS *sih and then....* isò aé mari ngono
 can can go.ahead go.ahead DP and then can just after like.that
 pòkòk-é lék aku mari m-unggah terus m-udhun,
 main-DEF if 1SG finish N-ascend.AV continue N-descend.AV
 engkók masak-nò ya, terus engkók karék sarap-an,
 later cook-BEN yes continue later just breakfast-NMLZ
 isò langsung NAKAM-NAKAM ngono lhó, LESEK béh mari
 can direct RDP~eat like.that DP tired mate after
 m-uncak terus m-udhun.
 N-summit.AV continue N-descend.AV

‘That’s possible, and what if when I climb up and down, you are cooking for us, that way we will have some food ready right away? Climbing up and down can be tiring.’

(79) S:

Adhuh, adhuh.
 EXCL EXCL
 ‘Oh, oh.’

(80) G:

LESEK langsung, langsung, ngantuk langsung RUDIT ndhik ténda
 tired continue continue sleepy continue sleep PREP tent
 dhiluk terus m-udhun nang ranu kumbòlò, lak
 a.moment continue N-descend.AV PREP NP NP after.all
 ÒYI a?
 yes DP

‘Tired, and then feel sleepy, and continue to sleep in the tent for a while, afterwards walking down to Ranu Kumbolo, isn’t that nice?’

(81) S:

ÒYI tok SAM, SAM.
 yes only older.brother older.brother
 ‘If you say so, bro.’

(82) G:

ÒYI, òYI.

yes yes

‘Yes, yes.’

Appendix B: Glossary

The following glossary is compiled from different sources (see §1.5.2). The source language of the original word is noted in the description of each entry. Malangan Javanese words are in normal typeface, Malangan Indonesian words are underlined, while words from other languages are double underlined. The abbreviations used in the glossary are as follows: adj. = ‘adjective’; adv. = ‘adverb’; n. = ‘noun’; num. = ‘numeral’; pp. = ‘prepositional phrase’; part. = ‘particle’; pron. = ‘pronoun’; prop. = ‘proper noun’; quest. = ‘question word’; sb. = ‘somebody’; sth. = ‘something’; v. = ‘verb’; Jav. = ‘Javanese’; Ind. = ‘Indonesian’; Eng. = ‘English’; Arb. = ‘Arabic’.

A

- acakatam** (kacamata) *n.* • eye-glasses, IND.
- adapes** (sepéda) *n.* • bicycle, IND.
- adapes rotom** (sepéda motor) *n.* • motorcycle, IND.
- adépes** (sepéda) *n.* • bicycle, IND.
- agit** (tiga) *num.* • three, IND.
- agit hulup** (tiga puluh) *num.* • thirty, IND.
- agit sutar** (tiga ratus) *num.* • three hundred, IND.
- agit ubir** (tiga ribu) *num.* • three thousand, IND.
- agraulek** (keluarga) *n.* • family, IND.
- aides** (sedia) *v.* • to make available, IND.
- ajrek** (kerja) *v.* • to work, IND.
- akub** (buka) *v.* • to open, IND.
- alandeb** (belanda) *n.; adj.* • Holland; DUTCH, IND.

- alapek** (kepala) *n.* • head, IND.
- amalatok** (kotalama) *prop.* • place name, IND.
- amalotak** (kotalama) *prop.* • place name, IND.
- amil** (lima) *num.* • five, IND.
- amil hulup** (lima puluh) *num.* • fifty, IND.
- amil saleb** (lima belas) *num.* • fifteen, IND.
- amil sutar** (lima ratus) *num.* • five hundred, IND.
- amil ubir** (lima ribu) *num.* • five thousand, IND.
- analec** (celana) *n.* • trousers, IND.
- analet** (celana) *n.* • trousers, IND.
- anamék** (kemana) *pp.* • to where, IND.
- anamid** (di mana) *pp.* • where, IND.
- apais** (siapa) *quest.* • who, IND.
- aprakas** (sak karep) *v.* • to let sb. act as they please, JAV.
- arades** (saudara) *n.* • relative, IND.
- aradés** (saudara) *n.* • relative, IND.
- arados** (saudara) *n.* • relative, IND.
- aradus** (saudara) *n.* • relative, IND.
- arakatat** (jakarta) *prop.* • a place name, IND.
- aramaut** (mòròtuò) *n.* • parent in law, JAV.
- aranet** (tentara) *n.* • army, IND.
- aranét** (tentara) *n.* • army, IND.
- aranjep** (penjara) *n.* • prison, IND.
- arantet** (tentara) *n.* • army, IND.
- arantét** (tentara) *n.* • army, IND.
- arimbegados** (sodagembira) *n.* • soda milkshake, IND.
- arodam** (medurò) *prop.; adj.* • Madura (a place name); Madurese, IND.
- arodes** (saudara) *n.* • relative, IND.
- artupanholic** (senaputra holic) *prop.* • Senaputra fanclub, IND., ENG.
- artupanès** (senaputra) *prop.* • a name, IND.
- arudam** (madura) *prop.; adj.* • Madura (a place name; Madurese, IND.
- asahab** (bahasa) *n.* • language, IND.
- asaib** (biasa) *adj.* • common; habitual; prostitute, IND.

asales (selasa) *n.* • Tuesday, IND.

asaèb (biasa) *adj.* • common; habitual; prostitute, IND.

asrob (asrob) *n.* • alcoholic drinks, ARB.

astép (pésta) *n.* • party, IND.

atam (mata) *n.* • eye, IND.

atam kéat (mata taék) *n.* • spy, IND./JAV.

atrakaj (jakarta) *prop.* • a place name, IND.

atrakat (jakarta) *prop.* • a place name, IND.

aud (dua) *num.* • two, IND.

aud hulup (dua puluh) *num.* • twenty, IND.

aud sutar (dua ratus) *num.* • two hundred, IND.

aud ubir (dua ribu) *num.* • two thousand, IND.

awesam (awesome, mas) *adj.* • awesome brother, ENG./JAV.

awij (jiwa) *n.* • soul, IND.

ayabarus (surabaya) *prop.* • a place name, IND.

ayahab (bahaya) *adj.* • dangerous, IND.

ayak (kaya) *adj.* • rich, IND.

ayarabus (surabaya) *prop.* • Surabaya, IND.

ayas (saya) *pron.* • I; 1sg, IND.

B

baba (abab) *n.* • breath, JAV.

bara (arab) *n.* • Arab, JAV.

D

damahom (mohamad) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

dirayabi (dibayari) *v.* • being paid for, JAV.

dulek (kelud) *prop.* • Kelud, JAV.

E

ébés (abi) *n.* • father, ARB.

ébés kanal (abi lanang) *n.* • father, ARB./JAV.

ébés kodéb (abi wédok) *n.* • mother, ARB./JAV.

ébés kodéw (abi wédok) *n.* • mother, ARB./JAV.

ébés silup (abi pulis) *n.* • policeman, ARB./JAV.

édheg (gedhé) *adj.* • big, JAV.

égedh (gedhé) *adj.* • big, JAV.

élawes (selawé) *num.* • twenty five, JAV.

élawés (selawé) *num.* • twenty five, JAV.

élub (bulé) *n.* • white person, JAV.

élug (gulé) *n.* • curry; mutton soup, JAV.

émar (ramé) *adj.* • noisy, JAV.

émbal (lambé) *n.* • lip; mouth, JAV.

émpét (témpé) *n.* • fermented soybean cake, JAV.

énarupes (sepurané) *v.* • sorry, JAV.

étas (saté) *n.* • satay, JAV.

éwag (gawé) *v.* • to use, JAV.

éwales (selawé) *num.* • twenty five, JAV.

éwédhan (dhéwéan) *adj.* • being alone, JAV.

éwédh (dhéwé) *adj.* • alone; own; self, JAV.

éwul (luwé) *adj.* • hungry, JAV.

éwus (suwé) *adj.* • long time, JAV.

éyip (piyé) *quest.* • how, JAV.

ébés nganal (abi lanang) *n.* • father, ARB./JAV.

G

genakut (tukang) *n.* • worker; labor, JAV.

genamo (omong) *v.* • to talk, JAV.

genaro (orang) *n.* • person, IND.

genaro kewut (orang tuwek) *n.* • old person, IND./JAV.

genaro nganal (orang lanang) *n.* • male person, IND./JAV.

genatu (utang) *n.* • debt, JAV.

genomo (omong) *v.* • to talk, JAV.

gomés (sémok) *adj.* • sexy, JAV.

H

hacep (pecah) *adj.* • shattered, IND.

hadépes (sepeda) *n.* • bike, IND.

hailuk (kuliah) *n.* • to study in college, IND.

haitum (mutia) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

halabes (sebelah) *n.* ; *adv.* • neighbor; beside, IND.

halak (kalah) *v.* • to lose, IND.

halasam (masalah) *n.* • problem, IND.

- halas** (salah) *adj.* • wrong, IND.
- halas utas** (salah satu) *adj.* • one of sth., IND.
- haliuk** (kuliah) *n.* • to study in college, IND.
- halokes** (sekolah) *n.* • school, IND.
- ham** (mbah) *n.* • grandparent, JAV.
- ham kodéb** (mbah wédok) *n.* • grandmother, JAV.
- hamur** (rumah) *n.* • house, IND.
- haném** (manéh) *adv.* • again, JAV.
- hangetes** (setengah) *adj.* • half of sth., IND.
- hantum** (muntah) *v.* • to throw up, IND.
- harap** (parah) *adj.* • serious, IND.
- harem** (mérah) *adj.* • red, IND.
- harum** (murah) *adj.* • cheap, IND.
- hatenges** (setengah) *adj.* • half of sth., IND.
- hatum** (muntah) *v.* • to vomit, IND.
- haud** (dua) *num.* • two, IND.
- haud hulup** (dua puluh) *num.* • twenty, IND.
- haud ubir** (dua ribu) *num.* • two thousand, IND.
- hayam** (mayah) *v.* • to have sex, JAV.
- hayap** (payah) *adj.* • lame, IND.
- hewul** (luwé) *adj.* • hungry, JAV.
- hébak** (kabéh) *adv.* • all, JAV.
- héb** (béh) *part.* • guys, JAV.
- hédheg** (gedhé) *adj.* • big, JAV.
- hédhol** (lodhéh) *n.* • young jack-fruit soup, JAV.
- hélob** (boléh) *v.* • may; to allow, IND.
- hélum** (mulih) *v.* • to return home, JAV.
- hénam** (manèh) *adv.* • again, JAV.
- hét** (téh) *n.* • tea, JAV.
- héwédh** (dhéwé) *adj.* • alone, JAV.
- héwod** (ndowéh) *adj.* • open mouth in awe; agape, JAV.
- higus** (sugih) *adj.* • rich, JAV.
- hitup** (putih) *adj.* • white, IND.
- holokes** (sekolah) *n.* • school, IND.
- holopes** (sepuluh) *num.* • ten, JAV.
- hujut** (tujuh) *num.* • seven, IND.

hujut sutar (tujuh ratus) *num.* • seven hundred, IND.

hujut ubir (tujuh ribu) *num.* • seven thousand, IND.

hulupes (sepuluh) *num.* • ten, IND.

hulup (puluh) *num.* • ten, IND.

hurepas (separuh) *adj.* • half of sth., IND.

hutub (butuh) *v.* • to need, IND.

I

ibab (babi) *n.* • pig; pork, JAV.

ibar (rabi) *v.* • to marry sb., JAV.

idem (medi) *n.* • ghost, JAV.

idep (wedi) *v.* • to be afraid, JAV.

idew (wedi) *v.* • to be afraid, JAV.

idrekan (idrekan) *n.* • job, IND.

idrek (kerdi) *v.* • to work, IND.

igap (pagi) *n.* • morning, IND.

igrog (grog) *adj.* • groggy, IND.

ijag (gaji) *n.* • salary, IND.

ijasikap (pakisaji) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

ijis (siji) *num.* • one, JAV.

ilab (bali) *prop.* • a place name, IND.

ilakes (sekali) *adv.* • very, IND.

ilak (kali) *n.* • river, JAV.

ilal (lali) *v.* • to forget, JAV.

ilambek (klambi) *n.* • shirt, JAV.

ileb (beli) *v.* • to buy, IND.

ilep (pele) *n.* • penis, IND.

imblak (klambi) *n.* • shirt, JAV.

inaw (wani) *v.* • to dare, JAV.

indam (mandi) *v.* • to take a bath, IND.

indan (nandi) *quest.* • where, JAV.

inép (péni) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

ingaw (wangi) *adj.* • fragrant, JAV.

ingeb (bengi) *n.* • night, JAV.

inot (toni) *prop.* • a name, IND.

intuk (kunci) *n.* • key, JAV.

ipas (sapi) *n.* • cow, JAV.

ipes (sepi) *adj.* • quiet, IND.

ipok (kopi) *n.* • coffee, JAV.

ipok usus (kopi susu) *n.* • coffee and milk, JAV.

iral (lari) *v.* • to run, IND.

irasòjrem (merjòsari) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

iridek (kediri) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

isaki (ngasiki) *v.* • to give to sb., IND.

isak (kasi) *v.* • to give, IND.

isan (nasi) *n.* • cooked rice, IND.

isan ngérog (nasi goréng) *n.* • fried rice, IND.

isilup (pulisi) *n.* • police, IND.

isla (asli) *adj.* • real, IND.

itam (mati) *adj.* • dead, IND.

ithab (bathi) *n.* • profit, JAV.

itrak (karcis) *n.* • ticket, JAV.

itreng (ngerti) *v.* • to understand, JAV.

J

jiga (gaji) *n.* • salary, IND.

K

kacéb (bécak) *n.* • pedicab, JAV.

kadit itreng (tidak ngerti) *v.* • do not know, IND.

kadit (tidak) *adv.* • no, IND.

kadit kané (tidak énak) *adj.* • not delicious, IND.

kadit kusam (tidak masuk) *adj.* • not making sense, IND.

kadit niam-niam (tidak main-main) *adj.* • serious, IND.

kadit niam (tidak main) *adj.* • not good, IND.

kadit ojir (tidak punya uang) *v.* • to have no money, IND.

kajur (rujak) *n.* • salad with shrimp paste sauce, JAV.

kalim (malik) *v.* • to turn upside down, JAV.

kampés (sémpak) *n.* • underwear, JAV.

kamsud (maksud) *n.* • meaning, IND.

kana (anak) *n.* • kid; child, IND.

kanal (lanang) *n.* • male; husband, JAV.

kané (énak) *adj.* • nice; delicious, JAV.

kanyab (banyak) *adv.* • many, IND.

kanyab tulum (banyak mulut) *adj.* • too talkative, IND.

kasam (masak) *v.* • to cook, IND.

katnim (mintak) *v.* • to ask; to request, IND.

kawaban (bawakan) *n.* • prostitute, IND.

kawab (bawak) *v.* • to bring; to carry, IND.

kawil (walik) *v.* • to reverse, JAV.

kelecek (kecekel) *adj.* • get caught, JAV.

kelekec (kecekel) *adj.* • get caught, JAV.

keleketé (kecekelé) *adj.* • the way of being captured, JAV.

kempit (tempik) *n.* • vagina, JAV.

kera ngalam (aré malang) *n.* • kid of Malang, JAV.

keát atam (taék mata) *n.* • spy, JAV./IND.

keát (taék) *n.* • shit, JAV.

kébéb (bébék) *n.* • duck, JAV.

kélab (balik) *v.* • to return, IND.

kélapan (balikan) *n.* • reversal, IND.

kélé (élék) *adj.* • ugly, JAV.

kélom (mélók) *v.* • to join, JAV.

kéra kawaban (aré bawakan) *n.* • prostitute, JAV./IND.

kéra (aré) *n.* • kid, JAV.

kér (rék) *part.* • guys, JAV.

kés (séks) *n.* • sex, IND.

kétam (maték) *adj.* • dead; to die, JAV.

kéwés (séwék) *n.* • batik cloth, JAV.

kéwut (tuwék) *adj.* • old, JAV.

kibrom (bromfit) *n.* • motorcycle, JAV.

kida (adik) *n.* • younger sibling, JAV.

kidem (medit) *adj.* • stingy, JAV.

kilab (balik) *v.* • to return, IND.

kimcil (tempik cilik) *n.* • small vagina, JAV.

kimpar (tempik garing) *n.* • dry vagina, JAV.

kimpet (tempik) *n.* • vagina, JAV.

kintus (suntik) *v.* • to inject, IND.

kipa (apik) *adj.* • good, JAV.

kistril (listrik) *n.* • electricity, JAV.

kithith (thithik) *adj.* • a little; a few, JAV.

kitip (pitik) *n.* • chicken, JAV.

kitip rakab (pitik bakar) *n.* • roasted chicken, JAV.

kiwalan (walikan) *n.* • reversal, JAV.

kiwal (walik) *v.* • to reverse, JAV.

kobam (mabuk) *adj.* • drunk, JAV.

kodéb (wédok) *n.* • woman, JAV.

kodéh (wédok) *n.* • woman, JAV.

kodé (wédok) *n.* • woman, JAV.

kodém (médok) *v.* • to have an affair, JAV.

kodéw (wédok) *n.* • woman, JAV.

kodéw sarik (wédok sarik) *n.* • beautiful woman, JAV.

koléb (bélok) *v.* • to turn, IND.

kolém (mélok) *v.* • to come along, JAV.

kombét (témbok) *n.* • wall, JAV.

komés (sémok) *adj.* • callipygian; sexy, JAV.

kompar (rampok) *n.* • burglar, IND.

koncat (jancok) *n.* • a swear-word, JAV.

kopitan (cipokan) *v.* • to kiss sb., IND.

kopit (cipok) *v.* • to kiss, IND.

kothik (kodéw mbethik) *n.* • naughty woman, JAV.

kotis (sitok) *num.* • one, JAV.

kowal-kawil (wolak-walik) *v.* • to reverse on and on, JAV.

koyit (tiyok) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

kubam (mabuk) *adj.* • drunk, JAV.

kunam (manuk) *n.* • bird; penis, JAV.

kunem (manuk) *n.* • bird; penis, JAV.

kurej (jeruk) *n.* • orange, IND.

kurut (turuk) *n.* • vagina, JAV.

kusam (masuk) *v.* • to enter, IND.

kusam ninga (masuk angin) *adj.* • nauseous; cold, IND.

kusi (isuk) *n.* • morning, JAV.

kuyam uyab (mbakyu) *n.* • older sister, JAV.

kuy (yuk) *part.* • let's go, IND.

kéndep (pendék) *adj.* • short,

L

lab-laban (bal-balan) *v.* • to play football, JAV.

lab (bal) *n.* • ball, JAV.

ladhubkan (budhalkan) *v.* • to start sth., JAV.

ladhub (budhal) *v.* • to leave; to depart, JAV.

laham (mahal) *adj.* • expensive, IND.

- lancap** (pancel) *v.* • to pedal, JAV.
- landas** (sandal) *n.* • sandal, IND.
- lanekan** (kenalan) *n.* • friend, IND.
- lanek** (kenal) *v.* • to know, IND.
- latab** (batal) *v.* • to cancel, IND.
- lawétan** (djoewalan) *n.* • things to sell, IND.
- lawét** (djoewal) *v.* • to sell, IND.
- lawikan** (walikan) *n.* • reversal, JAV.
- lawik** (walik) *v.* • to reverse, JAV.
- lawut** (djoewal) *v.* • to sell, IND.
- lecep** (pecel) *n.* • salad with peanut sauce, JAV.
- legem** (gelem) *v.* • to like; to want, JAV.
- lekec** (cekel) *v.* • to capture, JAV.
- leket** (cekel) *v.* • to capture, JAV.
- leseke** (kesel) *adj.* • tired, JAV.
- letek** (ketel) *adj.* • thick, JAV.
- letub** (betul) *adj.* • correct, IND.
- lédom** (modél) *n.* • model, IND.
- léhot** (hotél) *n.* • hotel, IND.
- lépa** (apel) *n.* • apple, IND.
- libom** (mobil) *n.* • car, IND.
- licek** (kecil) *adj.* • small, IND.
- liham** (hamil) *adj.* • pregnant, IND.
- likis** (sakil) *n.* • foot, JAV.
- limpus** (sumpil) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.
- lip** (pil) *n.* • pill; drugs, JAV.
- lites** (setil) *adj.* • stylish, JAV.
- lithek** (kecil) *adj.* • small, JAV.
- lododan** (dodolan) *n.* • items to sell, JAV.
- lodod** (dodol) *v.* • to sell, JAV.
- lontok** (kontol) *n.* • penis, JAV.
- lop** (pol) *adv.* • very, JAV.
- lotnok** (kontol) *n.* • penis, JAV.
- lotob** (botol) *n.* • bottle, JAV.
- lukupan** (pukulan) *n.* • hit, IND.
- lukup** (pukul) *v.* • to hit; to punch, IND.
- lundhug** (gundhul) *adj.* • bald, JAV.

M

malas (salam) *n.* • a greeting, IND.

malas utas awij (salam satu jiwa) *n.* • one soul greeting, IND.

maléros (soléram) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

mané (enam) *num.* • six, IND.

marélos (soléram) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

marolés (soléram) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

maya (ayam) *n.* • chicken, IND.

maya rakab (ayam bakar) *n.* • roasted chicken, IND.

meleg (gelem) *v.* • to want, JAV.

men (nem) *num.* • six, JAV.

mesakat (metésék) *adj.* • naughty, JAV.

mihor (rohim) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

mohalét (ndlahom) *adj.* • goofy; stupid, JAV.

moné (enom) *adj.* • young, JAV.

munyes (senyum) *v.* • to smile, IND.

N

nadu (udan) *n.* • rain, JAV.

nadé (édan) *adj.* • crazy, JAV.

nagarut (juragan) *n.* • boss, JAV.

nahimarek (kemirahan) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

nahélop (poléhan) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

naikes (sekian) *adj.* • the end, IND.

naisak (kasian) *adj.* • pity, IND.

najaj (jajan) *n.* • snack, JAV.

nakaman (makanan) *n.* • food, IND.

nakam (makan) *v.* • to eat, IND.

nakilaw (walikan) *n.* • reversal, JAV.

nakus (sungkan) *adj.* • shy; reluctant, JAV.

nalub (bulan) *n.* • moon, IND.

nalup (pulang) *v.* • to go home, IND.

nangam (mangan) *v.* • to eat, JAV.

napalal (lalapan) *n.* • vegetables; salad, JAV.

napaled (delapan) *num.* • eight, IND.

napalen (delapan) *num.* • eight, IND.

naracap (pacaran) *v.* • to date sb., IND.

naraguj (juragan) *n.* • boss, JAV.

naragut (juragan) *n.* • boss, JAV.

naranjep (penjara) *n.* • jail; prison, IND.

narapas (sarapan) *n.* • breakfast, IND.

narawap (perawan) *adj.* • virgin, IND.

narkodéw (narkoba, wédok) *n.* • drugs and women, JAV.

narubuk (kuburan) *n.* • graveyard, JAV.

naskim (makan) *v.* • to eat, IND.

nawak (kawan) *n.* • friend, IND.

nawak éwédh (kawan dhéwé) *n.* • one of ours, IND./JAV.

nawarep (perawan) *adj.* • virgin, IND.

nawi (iwan) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

nayamul (lumayan) *adj.* • quite, IND.

naéwédh (dhéwéan) *adj.* • alone, JAV.

ndulek (kelud) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

neam (maen) *v.* • to play, JAV.

nelabék (kebalen) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

nesepan (pesenan) *n.* • order, JAV.

nélabek (kebalen) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

nélabék (kebalen) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

ngadehét (téh anget) *n.* • warm tea, JAV.

ngadheg (gedhang) *n.* • banana, JAV.

ngalaman (malangan) *adj.* • about Malang, JAV.

ngalam natales (malang selatan) *n.* • a place name, JAV.

ngalam (malang) *n.* • a place name, JAV.

ngalan (lanang) *n.* • man, JAV.

ngaling (ngilang) *v.* • to disappear, JAV.

ngalu (ulang) *v.* • to repeat, IND.

ngalup (pulang) *v.* • to go home, IND.

ngalupno (mulangno) *v.* • to bring home sb., IND.

ngambab (bambang) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

ngambayes (sembayang) *v.* • to pray, JAV.

nganal (lanang) *n.* • male, JAV.

nganem (menang) *v.* • to win, IND.

ngan inde (nang endi) *quest.* • where to, JAV.

ngantib (bintang) *n.* • star, IND.

ngarambes (sembarang) *adj.* • any, JAV.

ngarames (semarang) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

ngaro (orang) *n.* • person, IND.

ngatu (utang) *n.* • debt, JAV.

ngawab (mbawa) *v.* • to bring, IND.

ngayambes (sembayang) *v.* • to pray, JAV.

ngay (yang) *part.* • that; which, IND.

ngebum (mubeng) *v.* • to go around, JAV.

ngelédóm (ngemodél) *v.* • to act, IND.

ngenem (meneng) *adj.* • quiet, JAV.

ngenes (seneng) *adj.* • happy, JAV.

ngetem (meteng) *adj.* • pregnant, JAV.

ngécob (boncéng) *v.* • to ride on the back, JAV.

ngicuk (kucing) *n.* • cat, IND.

ngidir (riding) *v.* • to go around, ENG.

ngilam (maling) *n.* • thief, JAV.

ngimblib (blimbing) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

ngingub (bingung) *adj.* • confused, JAV.

ngipok (ngopi) *v.* • to drink coffee, IND.

ngocéb (béncong) *adj.* • transvestite; sissy, JAV.

ngodé (médok) *v.* • to have an affair, JAV.

ngohob (bohong) *v.* • to lie, IND.

ngojob (ngojob) *v.* • to date sb., JAV.

ngokob (bokong) *n.* • buttock, JAV.

ngolopan (bolongan) *n.* • hole, JAV.

ngoncéb (béncong) *adj.* • sissy, JAV.

ngontol (lontong) *n.* • rice cake, IND.

nggrayab kawab (mbayar kawab) *v.* • to pay for prostitute, JAV./IND.

ngrayab (mbayar) *v.* • to pay, JAV.

nguhup (puhung) *n.* • cassava, JAV.

ngujumbes (sembujung) *v.* • to put feet straight, JAV.

ngungib (bingung) *adj.* • confused, JAV.

ngérah (baréng) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

ngérog (goréng) *adj.* • fried, JAV.

niam (main) *v.* • to play, IND.

nikilos (solikin) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

ninga (angin) *n.* • wind, IND.

niwak (kawin) *v.* • to marry, IND.

nojup (pujon) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

nokat (takon) *v.* • to ask, JAV.

nokrus (sukron) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

nola-nola (alun-alun) *n.* • city square, JAV.

nolab (balon) *n.* • prostitute, JAV.

nolpét (télpon) *v.* • to call, JAV.

nomba (ambon) *prop.* • a place name, IND.

nometek (ketemon) *v.* • busted, JAV.

nomé (enom) *adj.* • young, JAV.

nongém (méngong) *adj.* • crazy, JAV.

nowar (rawon) *n.* • black beef soup, JAV.

noyug (guyon) *v.* • to joke, JAV.

nubas (sabun) *n.* • soap, JAV.

nubis (abis) *adj.* • all gone; used up, IND.

nuhat (tahun) *n.* • year, IND.

nuidam (madiun) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

nukur (rukun) *adj.* • get along well, IND.

nukus (sukun) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

nusud (dusun) *n.* • small village, JAV.

nuwus (suwun) *v.* • to thank you, JAV.

nyokér (ngrokok) *v.* • to smoke, IND.

néjiwolop (polowijén) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

néndhés kombét (séndhén tém-bok) *v.* • to have sex; to get drunk, JAV.

néndhés (séndhén) *v.* • to lean against sth., JAV.

néngak (kangen) *v.* • to miss sb., IND.

nénjap (panjén) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

néntam (mantén) *n.* • bride/groom, JAV.

nérut (turén) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

nés (zén) *adj.* • beautiful, ARB.

nòlò (lòndò) *n.* • white person; Dutch, JAV.

O

oir (rio) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

oit (tio) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

ojét (téjo) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

ojiar (rai ijo) *n.* • money, JAV.

ojir (rai ijo) *n.* • money, JAV.

ojob kodé (bojo wédok) *n.* • wife, JAV.

ojob kodéw (bojo wédok) *n.* • wife, JAV.

ojob lanang (bojo lanang) *n.* • husband, JAV.

ojob (bojo) *n.* • spouse; lover, JAV.

okak (kko) *n.* • marine; marine like, IND.

oker (rokok) *n.* • cigarette, IND.

oklon (mlaku) *v.* • to walk, JAV.

okot (toko) *n.* • shop, IND.

olos (solo) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

ondhol (londho) *n.* • Holland; DUTCH, JAV.

oskab (bakso) *n.* • meatball, IND.

otof (foto) *n.* • picture, IND.

otos (soto) *n.* • green chicken soup, JAV.

owul (wolu) *num.* • eight, JAV.

òbit (tibò) *v.* • to fall, JAV.

òcòkòtòm (kòcòmòtò) *n.* • eye-glasses, JAV.

òcrit (critò) *n.* • story, JAV.

òdhòp (pòdhò) *adj.* • me, JAV.

òdis (sidò) *v.* • to confirm; to go through, JAV.

òdum (mudò) *adj.* • naked, JAV.

òges (segò) *n.* • cooked rice, JAV.

òjit (iyò) *part.* • yes, JAV.

òjrek (kerjò) *v.* • to work, JAV.

òjrit (iyò) *part.* • yes, JAV.

òket (tekò) *v.* • to come; to arrive, JAV.

òkir (rikò) *pron.* • you; 2sg, JAV.

- òlét** (télò) *n.* • sweet potato, JAV.
- òlòb** (bòlò) *n.* • team-mate; on the same side, JAV.
- òmil hulup** (limò puluh) *num.* • fifty, JAV./IND.
- òmil hulup ubir** (limò puluh ribu) *num.* • fifty thousand, JAV./IND.
- òmil** (limò) *num.* • five, JAV.
- òmil saleb** (limò belas) *num.* • fifteen, JAV./IND.
- òmreg** (germò) *n.* • pimp, JAV.
- òncòk** (kòncò) *n.* • friend, JAV.
- òndhòr** (ròndhò) *n.* • widow, JAV.
- ònés** (sénò) *prop.* • a name, JAV.
- òné** (cinò) *adj.* • Chinese, JAV.
- ònggòt** (tònggò) *n.* • neighbor, JAV.
- òngisiras** (singòsari) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.
- òngis nadé** (singò édan) *n.* • crazy lion, JAV.
- òngis** (singò) *n.* • lion, JAV.
- òngòs** (sòngò) *num.* • nine, JAV.
- òngòs sutar** (sòngò ratus) *num.* • nine hundred, JAV./IND.
- òngòs ubir** (sòngò ribu) *num.* • nine thousand, JAV./IND.
- ònic** (cinò) *adj.* • Chinese, JAV.
- ònid** (dinò) *n.* • day, JAV.
- ònit** (cinò) *adj.* • Chinese, JAV.
- ònjlòb** (blònjò) *v.* • to shop, JAV.
- ònòsògrem** (mergòsònò) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.
- òpal** (lapò) *quest.* • do what, JAV.
- òpir** (pirò) *quest.* • how much; how many, JAV.
- òpòs** (sòpò) *quest.* • who, JAV.
- òrejeg** (geréjò) *n.* • church, JAV.
- òrip** (pirò) *quest.* • how much; how many, JAV.
- òrògenòpid** (dipònegòrò) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.
- òròmaut** (mòròtuò) *n.* • parent-in-law, JAV.
- òròsòyòb** (suròbòyò) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.
- òrudem** (medurò) *prop.* • Madura; Madurese, JAV.
- òrupnasel** (lesanpurò) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.
- òrusòyòb** (suròbòyò) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.
- òséd** (ndésò) *adj.* • provincial; hill-billy, JAV.
- òsi** (isò) *v.* • can, JAV.

òsòb kiwalan (bòsò walikan) **P**
prop. • Walikan language, JAV.

òsòb (bòsò) *n.* • language, JAV.

òsòp (pòsò) *n.* • fasting, JAV.

òsram (marsò) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

òtòm (mòtò) *n.* • eye, JAV.

òtrahum (Muhartò) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

òtruham (Muhartò) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

òwik (kiwò) *adj.* • left (direction), JAV.

òwòd (dòwò) *adj.* • long, JAV.

òwòj (jòwò) *prop.; adj.* • Java (a place name); Javanese, JAV.

òyikér (iyò rék) *part.* • yes, guys, JAV.

òyi (iyò) *part.* • yes, JAV.

òyòbarus (suròbòyò) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

òyònid (dinòyò) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

ògum-ògum (mugò-mugò) *adv.* • hopefully, JAV.

pais (siap) *v.* • ready, IND.

pangindaman (pemandian) *n.* • bathing place, IND.

penolaban (pembalonan) *n.* • prostitution district, JAV.

R

rabak (kabar) *n.* • news, IND.

racapan (pacaran) *v.* • to date sb., IND.

racap (pacar) *n.* • boy/girlfriend, IND.

rajajowas (sawojajar) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

rakab (bakar) *v.* • to burn, IND.

ramak (kamar) *n.* • room, JAV.

ramalek (makelar) *n.* • middleman; agent, IND.

rambag (gambar) *n.* • picture, IND.

randab (bandar) *n.* • drug dealer, IND.

rasak (kasar) *adj.* • rough; impolite, JAV.

rasap (pasar) *n.* • market, JAV.

raseb (besar) *adj.* • big, IND.

ratig (gitar) *n.* • guitar, JAV.

raulek (keluar) *v.* • to go out; to ejaculate, IND.

rayaban (bayaran) *n.* • pay day, JAV.

rayab (bayar) *v.* • to pay, JAV.

rayub (buyar) *v.* • to finish, JAV.

rekəsirat (sekertaris) *n.* • secretary, IND.

reneb (bener) *adj.* • correct, IND.

rentip (pinter) *adj.* • smart, JAV.

rébés (bérés) *adj.* • settled, IND.

régég (gégér) *v.* • to fight, JAV.

rétropus (suporter) *n.* • supporter, IND.

rib (bir) *n.* • beer, JAV.

rikim (mikir) *v.* • to think, IND.

rikip (pikir) *v.* • to think, IND.

rolét (telor) *n.* • egg, IND.

rolot (dolor) *n.* • relative; sibling, JAV.

rongot (congor) *n.* • mouth, JAV.

rontak pengadilan (kantor pengadilan) *n.* • courthouse, IND.

rontak (kantor) *n.* • office, IND.

rontom (montor) *n.* • motorcycle; car, JAV.

rotom (motor) *n.* • motorcycle; motor, JAV.

rudit (tidur) *v.* • to sleep, IND.

ruludes (sedulur) *n.* • relative; sibling, JAV.

rulud (dulur) *n.* • relative; sibling, JAV.

ruot (tour) *n.* • tour; trip, ENG.

S

sabéb (bébas) *adj.* • free, IND.

saklot (tolkas) *prop.* • a name, JAV.

saleb (belas) *num.* • teens, IND.

saleg (gelas) *n.* • glass, JAV.

samoglot (tlogomas) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

sam (mas) *pron.* • older brother, JAV.

sanap (panas) *adj.* • hot, IND.

sanom (monas) *prop.* • prostitution district, IND.

sareb (beras) *n.* • rice; uncooked rice, JAV.

sarek (keras) *adj.* • hard, IND.

sarim (miras) *n.* • alcoholic drinks, IND.

sawal (lawas) *adj.* • old, JAV.

- sedheb** (bedhés) *n.* • monkey, JAV.
- sedhep** (pedhes) *adj.* • spicy, JAV.
- sébé** (ébés) *n.* • father, ARB.
- sémé** (émés) *n.* • mother, ARB.
- sénjem** (menjés) *n.* • local soy-bean cake, JAV.
- siba** (abis) *adj.* • all gone; used up, IND.
- sibun** (habis) *adj.* • all gone; used up, IND.
- sidag** (gadis) *n.* • girl, IND.
- sikap** (pakis) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.
- siklum** (muklis) *prop.* • a name, JAV.
- sikrap** (parkir) *v.* • to park, IND.
- silop** (polisi) *n.* • police, IND.
- silup** (polisi) *n.* • police, JAV.
- sinam** (manis) *adj.* • sweet, IND.
- singan** (nangis) *v.* • to cry, JAV.
- siob** (mbois) *adj.* • boyish, ENG.
- sipip** (pipis) *v.* • to pee, IND.
- sirag sarek** (garis keras) *n.* • rough play, IND.
- sitap** (petis) *n.* • shrimp paste, JAV.
- sitor** (roti) *n.* • bread, IND.
- sitrág** (gratis) *adj.* • free, JAV.
- skelir** (riléks) *adj.* • relaxed, ENG.
- soak** (kaos) *n.* • t-shirt, IND.
- sob** (bos) *n.* • boss, IND.
- solob** (bolos) *v.* • to play truant, IND.
- sotam** (matos) *n.* • a place name, IND.
- suda** (adus) *v.* • to shower, to take a bath, JAV.
- sudhé** (wedhus) *n.* • sheep; lame-brained, JAV.
- suga** (agus) *prop.* • a name, JAV.
- sukit** (tikus) *n.* • mouse, IND.
- sula** (alus) *adj.* • smooth, JAV.
- sulum** (mulus) *adj.* • smooth, JAV.
- sutar** (ratus) *num.* • hundred, IND.
- sutas** (satus) *num.* • one hundred, JAV.
- sutup** (putus) *v.* • to break up, IND.

T

tahés (séhat) *adj.* • healthy; sexy, IND.

tahil (lihat) *v.* • to see; to watch, IND.

tail (liat) *v.* • to see; to watch, IND.

takis (sikat) *v.* • to fight; to finish, IND.

takreb (berkat) *n.* • parcel; blessed food, JAV.

talames (selamat) *adj.* • a greeting, IND.

talkoc (coklat) *n.* • chocolate, IND.

tamales (selamat) *n.* • a greeting, IND.

tamanges (semangat) *n.* • spirit, IND.

tangames (semangat) *n.* • spirit, IND.

tanggim (minggat) *v.* • to run away, JAV.

tapap (papat) *num.* • four, JAV.

tapme (empat) *num.* • four, IND.

tarus (surat) *n.* • letter, IND.

tawél (léwat) *v.* • to pass by, IND.

tebur (rebut) *v.* • to snatch away, IND.

tekedis (sedikit) *adj.* • a little, IND.

tekés (séket) *num.* • fifty, JAV.

tekés ubir (séket ribu) *num.* • fifty thousand, JAV./IND.

teloncem (mencolot) *v.* • to jump, JAV.

tewa moné (awet enom) *adj.* • stay young, JAV.

técam (macet) *n.* • traffic jam, IND.

tékes (séket) *num.* • fifty, JAV.

ténocrém (ménocrét) *v.* • to have diarrhea, JAV.

tényom (monyét) *n.* • monkey, IND.

téwur (ruwet) *adj.* • complicated, JAV.

tidhem (medhit) *adj.* • stingy, JAV.

tikas (sakit) *adj.* • sick, IND.

tilep (pelit) *adj.* • stingy, IND.

tilis (silit) *n.* • anus; ass, JAV.

tindhem (mendhit) *prop.* • a place name, JAV.

topér (répot) *adj.* • busy body; busy, JAV.

tuam (maut) *n.* • death, IND.

tubir (ribut) *v.* • to brawl, IND.

tuleg (gelut) *v.* • to fight, JAV.

tulum (mulut) *n.* • mouth, IND.

tumbar (rambut) *n.* • hair, JAV.

tumbej (jembut) *n.* • pubic hair, JAV.

U

ubab (babu) *n.* • maid, JAV.

ubas (sabu) *n.* • sabu; drugs, IND.

ubel (bule) *n.* • white foreigner, IND.

ubir (ribu) *num.* • thousand, IND.

uble (mlebu) *v.* • to enter, JAV.

ugal-ugalan (lagu-laguan) *n.* • fake song, JAV.

ugal (lagu) *n.* • song, JAV.

uhat (tahu) *n.* • tofu, JAV.

ujab (baju) *n.* • clothe, IND.

ujep (peju) *n.* • sperm, JAV.

ujub (bojo) *n.* • spouse, JAV.

ujutes (setuju) *v.* • to agree, IND.

ujut (tujuh) *num.* • seven, IND.

ukam (kamu) *pron.* • you; 2sg, IND.

uka (aku) *pron.* • I; 1sg, JAV.

uklam-uklam (mlaku-mlaku) *v.* • to walk around, JAV.

uklam tahés (mlaku sehat) *n.* • jogging event, JAV./IND.

uklam (mlaku) *v.* • to walk, JAV.

ukub (buku) *n.* • book, IND.

ukut (tuku) *v.* • to buy, JAV.

ulales (selalu) *adv.* • always, IND.

ulayem (mlayu) *v.* • to run, JAV.

umair (raimu) *n.* • your face; an insult, JAV.

umak (kamu) *pron.* • you; 2sg, IND.

umat (tamu) *n.* • guest, IND.

umbam (mambu) *adj.* • smelly, JAV.

umel (lemu) *adj.* • fat, JAV.

umiar (raimu) *n.* • your face; an insult, JAV.

unyab mendhem (banyu mendhem) *n.* • alcoholic drinks, JAV.

unyab (banyu) *n.* • water, JAV.

unyap (punya) *v.* • to have, IND.

upup (pupu) *n.* • upper leg; thigh, JAV.

urab (baru) *adj.* • new, IND.

urib (biru) *adj.* • blue, IND.

usen (nesu) *adj.* • angry, JAV.

uslap (palsu) *adj.* • fake, IND.

usus (susu) *n.* • breast; milk, JAV.

utab (batu) *prop.* • Batu, JAV.

utapes (sepatu) *n.* • shoes, IND.

utas (satu) *num.* • one, IND.

utem (metu) *v.* • to exit, JAV.

utujes (setuju) *v.* • to agree, IND.

utup (putu) *n.* • grandchild, JAV.

uwam (mau) *v.* • to want, IND.

uwat (tau) *n.* • to know, IND.

uwés (séwu) *n.* • thousand, JAV.

uyab (mbakyu; bayu) *prop.* • older sister; a name, JAV.

uyap (payu) *adj.* • to be in demand, JAV.

uya (ayu) *adj.* • pretty, JAV.

W

woles (selow) *adj.* • slow, ENG.

Y

yipé (piyé) *quest.* • how, JAV.

yumak (kamu) *pron.* • you; 2sg, IND.

Appendix C: Questionnaire and Interviews

Sociolinguistic Questionnaire

Indonesian Version

1. Nama :
2. Jenis kelamin :
3. Suku :
4. Pekerjaan:
5. Alamat email/No HP :
6. Riwayat Pendidikan :
7. Tempat tanggal lahir :
8. Jika tidak lahir di Malang, pindah ke Malang tahun :
9. Lama tinggal di Malang :
10. Daerah asal di Malang :
 - Klojen
 - Blimbing
 - Kedungkandang
 - Lowokwaru

- Sukun
 - Lain :
 - Kelurahan :
11. Alamat lengkap di Malang :
12. Jika pernah tinggal di alamat lain, sebutkan di mana saja dan pada tahun berapa :
13. Apa sebutan fenomena membalik-balik kata yang biasa dilakukan orang Malang?
- Bòsò Walikan
 - Òsòb Kiwalan
 - Òsòb Kélaban
 - Lainnya :
14. Bahasa apa sajakah yang Anda kuasai? (Boleh lebih dari satu)
- Bahasa Indonesia
 - Bahasa Jawa
 - Bòsò Walikan
 - Lainnya:
15. Apakah Anda bisa menggunakan Bòsò Walikan Malang?
- Ya, dengan lancar
 - Ya, tapi tidak terlalu lancar
 - Ya, tapi hanya secara pasif.
 - Tidak
 - Tidak pernah mendengar
 - Lainnya:
16. Dimanakah biasanya Anda menggunakan Bòsò Walikan? (Boleh lebih dari satu)
- Di rumah

- Di kantor
- Di kampus
- Di tempat nongkrong
- Di jalan
- Di stadion
- Lainnya:

17. Dengan siapakah Anda biasanya menggunakan Walikan? (Boleh lebih dari satu)

- Dengan teman sebaya
- Dengan teman
- Dengan orang tua
- Dengan keluarga
- Dengan orang yang lebih tua
- Dengan orang yang baru dikenal
- Dengan siapa saja
- Lainnya:

18. Apa bahasa yang dipakai ketika berkomunikasi dengan:

- ayah :
- ibu :
- saudara (adik/kakak) :
- pasangan :
- anak :
- teman :

19. Sejak kapan bisa menggunakan Bòsò Walikan Malang?

20. Siapa yang mengajarkan menggunakan Bòsò Walikan Malang?

21. Sebutkan kata-kata Walikan Malang/ungkapan yang paling sering mendengar/dipakai (KIPA ILAKES, ÒYITHOK, dll) :

22. Adakah kata-kata Walikan yang menurut Anda masih baru saja muncul? Tolong sebutkan beberapa contoh (ÉMÉS, ÒJRIT, NARUBUK):
23. Bagaimana pendapat Anda tentang Bòsò Walikan Malang?
24. Sebutkan slang Malang lain yang menurut Anda sedang/pernah populer. Kata-kata yang mungkin tidak berbentuk Walikan, misalnya: *ar-gobél* (*aré* *golék* *beling*), *waljinah* (*suwal siji nggak genah*):

Terima kasih banyak atas kesediaannya menjadi informan saya.

Nurenzia

English Version

1. Name :
2. Gender :
3. Ethnicity :
4. Job:
5. Email address/cellphone number :
6. Education :
7. Place and date of birth :
8. If not born in Malang, moved to Malang in (mention the year) :
9. Duration of stay in Malang :
10. Origin in Malang :
 - Klojen
 - Blimbing
 - Kedungkandang
 - Lowokwaru
 - Sukun
 - Others :
 - Village :

11. Address in Malang :
12. Mention other addresses (if any), mention where and what year :
13. How do you call the word-reversal phenomenon in Malang?
 - Bòsò Walikan
 - Òsòb Kiwalan
 - Òsòb Kélaban
 - Others :
14. What languages do you speak? (You can mention more than one)
 - Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian)
 - Bahasa Jawa (Javanese)
 - Bòsò Walikan
 - Others:
15. Can you speak Bòsò Walikan Malang?
 - Yes, fluently
 - Yes, but not very fluent
 - Yes, but passively
 - No
 - No, I have never heard about it
 - Others:
16. Where do you usually speak Walikan? (You can mention more than one)
 - At home
 - In the office
 - On campus
 - In a cafe
 - In the street
 - In the stadium

- Others:
17. With whom do you usually use Walikan? (You can mention more than one)
 - With friends of the same age
 - With friends
 - With parents
 - With family
 - With older people
 - With a new acquaintance
 - With anyone
 - Others:
 18. What language do you use when communicating with:
 - father :
 - mother :
 - siblings (younger/older) :
 - partner :
 - child(ren) :
 - friends :
 19. Since when did you speak Bòsò Walikan Malang?
 20. Who taught you Bòsò Walikan Malang?
 21. Mention words or phrases in Walikan Malang that you frequently use/hear (KIPA ILAKES, òYITHOK, etc.) :
 22. Do you know any new Walikan words? Mention some of them; for example (ÉMÉS, òJRIT, NARUBUK):
 23. What do you think about Bòsò Walikan Malang?
 24. Do you know any slangs in Malang popular either at present or in the past? They might not contain reversed words, for example: *argobél* (*aréék golék beling*), *waljinah* (*suwal siji nggak genah*):

Thank you for participating in my research.

Nurenzia

Interview Questions

Indonesian Version

Seputar Pengetahuan Walikan

1. Bagaimana Anda menyebut nama bahasa Walikan yang digunakan di kota Malang?
2. Apakah Walikan termasuk slang, kode, bahasa rahasia, atau bahasa gaul?
3. Apakah Anda tahu sejarah Walikan?
4. Apakah Anda tahu adanya bahasa terbalik lain di tempat lain, misalnya di Jogjakarta?

Seputar Penggunaan Bòsò Walikan

5. Apakah Anda dapat berbicara menggunakan Walikan?
6. Siapakah penutur Walikan itu?
7. Sejak kapan Anda bisa menggunakan Walikan?
8. Kapan Anda menggunakan Walikan? Pada situasi seperti apa dan dengan siapa?
9. Apakah Anda ingat semua kosakata Walikan? Atau Anda membalik kata secara otomatis ketika sedang berbicara? Bagaimana proses penemuan dan pemakaian kata-kata tersebut?
10. Apakah Anda menggunakannya untuk berbicara pada orang tua Anda?
11. Apakah wanita juga menggunakan bahasa Walikan?
12. Apakah Anda pernah mengalami situasi dimana Anda menggunakan Walikan tetapi tidak tepat? Bagaimana perasaan Anda ketika itu?
13. Ketika Anda berbicara dengan penutur Walikan yang lebih tua, apakah Anda pernah menemukan perbedaan? Dapatkah Anda memberikan contohnya?

14. Bagaimana menurut Anda tentang Bòsò Walikan yang mereka gunakan?
15. Ketika Anda berbicara dengan penutur Walikan yang lebih tua, apakah Anda pernah menemukan perbedaan? Dapatkah Anda memberikan contohnya?
16. Bagaimana menurut Anda tentang Bòsò Walikan yang mereka gunakan?
17. Bagaimana Bòsò Walikan digunakan di masa lalu?
18. Pada suatu titik, apakah menurut Anda, Anda akan berhenti menggunakan Walikan?
19. Apakah ada kata-kata yang baru-baru ini muncul? Apa saja contohnya?
20. Apakah ada kosakata yang sudah hilang dan tidak terpakai lagi? Apa saja contohnya? Mengapa bisa begitu?
21. Dimanakah orang menggunakan Walikan? Apakah hanya di pusat kota Malang saja? Bagaimana dengan orang-orang di pinggiran kota Malang? Atau di daerah Kabupaten?
22. Apakah setiap kampong punya bahasa Walikannya sendiri?
23. Bagaimana dengan orang Malang yang berlatar belakang selain etnik Jawa? Apakah mereka punya gaya Walikan sendiri?

Aturan dalam Walikan

24. Apakah Anda tahu mengenai aturan pembalikan dalam Walikan? Apakah ada pola tertentu? Bila ya, apakah Anda paham dan tahu cara menggunakannya? Ataukah Anda hanya belajar Walikan dari orang lain?
25. Apakah Anda pernah mencoba menciptakan kata Walikan baru? Apakah itu mungkin? Bagaimana kita bisa tahu itu akan dapat diterima oleh masyarakat atau tidak?
26. Apakah ada perbedaan dari sinonim yang ada di Walikan? (UKA-AYAS, KÉRA-KANA, ÒNCÒK-NAWAK, UTEM-RAULEK, UBLEM-KUSAM, HÉLUM-NGALUP, ITRENG-UHAT, dll.)

27. Adakah kata-kata yang memiliki arti lain dari apa yang dibalik? (misalnya: NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT, KAWABAN, dll.)
28. Apakah beberapa kata dapat berubah seiring dengan berjalannya waktu? Siapa yang berhak untuk mengubahnya?
29. Apakah semua kota berasal dari bahasa Jawa, ataukah ada beberapa dari mereka yang berasal dari bahasa Indonesia dan bahasa Inggris?
30. Mengapa beberapa kata berasal dari bahasa Jawa, sementara yang lainnya berasal dari bahasa Indonesia, atau bahasa lainnya?

Pengajaran

31. Bagaimana Anda mempelajari kosakata Walikan? Siapa yang mengajarkan Anda?
32. Dapatkah kita mengajarkan Walikan pada orang lain, misalnya orang yang tidak berasal dari Malang?
33. Bagaimana menurut Anda tentang orang yang menggunakan Walikan?

Pertanyaan Tambahan

34. Apakah Anda menggunakan Walikan dalam tulisan?
35. Pernah memakai Walikan di Internet?
36. Apakah Anda tergabung dalam komunitas Walikan (melalui Facebook, Twitter, dll)?
37. Ada beberapa buku dan kamus tentang Walikan yang telah diterbitkan. Apakah Anda pernah membacanya? Bagaimana menurut Anda tentang buku-buku tersebut?
38. Bagaimana menurut Anda tentang bahasa Walikan yang digunakan oleh penyanyi baru-baru ini? Seperti oleh Tani Madjoe, dll.
39. Apakah menurut Anda Walikan akan tetap digunakan di masa depan? Mengapa?
40. Sebagai seseorang yang berasal dari kota Malang, bagaimana perasaan Anda memiliki bahasa Walikan ?
41. Apakah bahasa Walikan selalu berkaitan dengan Arema atau Aremania?

English Version

Knowledge

1. How do you refer to the backwards language spoken in Malang?
2. Would you say it is a language or a slang, or a code?
3. Do you know the history of the language?
4. Do you know the other types of Walikan in Javanese? What do you think about the Walikan language in Jogjakarta?

Usage

5. Do you speak the language?
6. Who speaks Walikan?
7. Since when do you speak the language?
8. When do you speak the language? At what context? and with whom?
9. Do you remember all the Walikan words? Or do you reverse the words as you are speaking?
10. Do you use it when speaking to your parents?
11. Do women also speak Walikan?
12. Have you encountered a situation where a person was trying to speak Walikan but was not correct? How do you feel about it?
13. When you speak to older speaker of Walikan, do you notice any difference? Can you give examples?
14. What do you think of their usage of Walikan?
15. When you speak to younger speaker of Walikan, do you notice any difference? Can you give examples?
16. What do you think of their usage of Walikan?
17. How was the language used in the past?
18. At some point, do you think you will stop using Walikan?

19. What are some new words that you know just came up recently? Can you give examples?
20. Are there some words that you think have been rejected and are not used anymore?
21. Where do people speak Walikan? Only in the center of Malang? Or also people in the suburban area?
22. Does each *kampung* in Malang has its own style of Walikan?
23. How about people in Malang who are not Javanese? Do they have their own Walikan style?

Rules

24. Do you know the rules in Walikan? Is there any? If yes, do you know them and apply them? Or did you just learn the Walikan word from others?
25. Can you invent some words in Walikan? If yes, have you tried it? How do we know it is going to be acceptable or not?
26. Is there any difference in meaning between synonym pairs in Walikan? (UKA-AYAS, KÉRA-KANA, ÒNCÒK-NAWAK, UTEM-RAULEK, UBLEM-KUSAM, HÉLUM-NGALUP, ITRENG-UHAT, etc.)
27. Are there any words that have different meanings from their original unreversed words? (for example: NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT, KAWABAN, etc.)
28. Do you think that some of the words change in time? Who has the right to change them?
29. Do all the words come from Javanese, or some of them may come from Indonesian and English?
30. Why do some words come from Indonesian and some others are originated from Indonesian (or other languages)?

Teaching to Others

31. How did you learn the words? Who taught you the words?
32. Can we teach Walikan to other people, for example to those who are not from Malang?

33. What do you think about people who are speaking it?

Additional Questions

34. Do you use the language in writing?
35. Have you ever used Walikan in the Internet?
36. Do you join any Walikan community? (In Facebook, Twitter, etc)
37. Some books and dictionaries on Walikan have been published. What do you think about them? Have you read them? What do you think about them?
38. What do you think about the Walikan used by recent singers? For example Tani Madjoe, etc.
39. Do you think that Walikan will continue to be spoken in the future? Why?
40. As someone from Malang, what do you feel about having this language?
41. Do you always connect Walikan speakers to Aremania?

Appendix D: Affixes

Affix	Function	Roots	Derived Forms
-an	nominalizer active voice marker	<i>pesen</i> ‘to order’ <i>sepéda pancal</i> ‘bi-cycle’	<i>pesen-an</i> ‘order’ <i>sepéda pancal-an</i> ‘to bike’
RDP-an	mark resemblance	<i>lontong</i> ‘rice cakes’	<i>lontong-lontong-an</i> ‘to resemble a rice cake’
di-	passive construction	<i>bukak</i> ‘open’	<i>di-bukak</i> ‘being opened’
-(n)é	possessive marker for 3SG definite marker	<i>buku</i> ‘book’ <i>manuk</i> ‘bird’	<i>buku-é</i> ‘his/her book’ <i>manuk-é</i> ‘the bird’
-(n)i	post-verbal object focus marker	<i>takon</i> ‘to ask’	<i>tak takon-i</i> ‘asked by me’
-kan	causative	<i>rendah</i> ‘low’	<i>me-rendah-kan</i> ‘make sth. low’
k(e)-	accidental passive	<i>jebur</i> ‘to fall into’	<i>ke-jebur</i> ‘accidentally fell into’

Affix	Function	Roots	Derived Forms
-ku	possessive marker for 1SG	<i>kodhok</i> 'frog'	<i>kodhok-ku</i> 'my frog'
<u>me-</u>	active transitive verb marker	<u><i>makan</i></u> 'to open'	<u><i>me-makan</i></u> 'to eat.AV'
-mu	possessive marker for 2SG	<i>dulur</i> 'relative'	<i>dulur-mu</i> 'your relative'
N-	active transitive verb marker	<i>bukak</i> 'to open'	<i>m-bukak</i> 'to open.AV'
-nò	benefactive	<i>bukak</i> 'open'	<i>m-bukak-nò</i> 'to open sth. for sb.'
<u>pe-</u>	verb nominalizer	<u><i>lari</i></u> 'to run'	<u><i>pe-lari</i></u> 'runner'
<i>pa-</i> + <i>-(a)n</i>	nominalizer, denoting a place	<i>béya</i> 'customs, tax'	<i>pa-béya-n</i> 'customs office'
<u><i>pe-</i></u> + <u><i>-(a)n</i></u>	nominalizer, denoting a place, from Malangan Indonesian	<u><i>mandi</i></u> 'take a bath'	<u><i>pe-mandi-an</i></u> 'bath-house'
<i>se-</i>	one	<i>taun</i> 'year'	<i>se-taun</i> 'one year'
<u><i>ter-</i></u>	accidental passive	<u><i>tarik</i></u> 'to pull'	<u><i>ter-tarik</i></u> 'being attracted'

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Nederlandse samenvatting

Bòsò Walikan Malangan, ‘omkeertaal in de stijl van Malang’, is een praktijk in het Javaans van Malang waarbij woorden worden omgekeerd. Het Walikan incorporeert de omgekeerde woorden, die oorspronkelijk afkomstig zijn uit het Javaans van Malang, het Indonesisch van Malang, Arabisch, Engels en andere talen, in een Malangs-Javaanse structuur.

Het voornaamste doel van deze dissertatie is het beschrijven van de structuur en ontwikkeling van het Walikan. Allereerst wordt het Walikan besproken vanuit het perspectief van jongerentalen, om zo vast te stellen op welke punten het overeenkomt met dan wel afwijkt van andere jongerentalen. Vervolgens onderzoek ik de fonologie en fonotaxis van het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch, als basis voor het bespreken van de omkeerregels en het fonologische systeem van het Walikan. Ten derde wordt de sociolinguïstische variabiliteit tussen de verschillende seksen en leeftijdsgroepen verkend. Ten slotte wordt de nog altijd grote populariteit van het Walikan en de media en publieke ruimte besproken. Door te kijken naar de huidige situatie van het Walikan kunnen er ook conclusies getrokken worden over de toekomst ervan. Deze punten zullen hieronder worden toegelicht.

De status van het Walikan

Tijdens het verkennen van de eigenschappen van het Walikan middels het concept van jongerentalen, heb ik het Total Linguistic Fact framework van Silverstein (1985) toegepast om de vormen, praktijken en ideologie van het Walikan te begrijpen. Net als in de meeste jongerentalen, worden de vormen van het Walikan gekenmerkt door linguïstische manipulatie, in dit geval fon-

logische en semantische manipulatie. De fonologische manipulatie bestaat uit het volledig omkeren van de fonemen van elk woord. De omkering is grotendeels conform de fonologie en fonotaxis van het Javaans van Malang en van het Indonesisch, met sporadische afwijkingen die de fonotactische regels van beide brontalen overtreden. De semantische manipulatie is de betekenisverandering in bepaalde woorden, wat aangeeft dat het Walikan geen speeltaal is die gebaseerd op een vast sjabloon.

Om Walikan te spreken, kan men zoveel geaccepteerde omgekeerde woorden als men wil gebruiken in een structuur van het Javaans van Malang. Niet ieder woord in een uiting hoeft te worden omgekeerd; het is genoeg om ze zo nu en dan te gebruiken. Vloeiendere sprekers gebruiken meer omgekeerde woorden in hun spraak. In het geval van bestaande omgekeerde vormen of synoniemen afkomstig uit verschillende taalbronnen, is het nodig om de semantische en sociale waarde in te schatten om te weten welke van deze alternatieven het meest passend is voor bepaalde situaties of geadresseerden.

Woorden uit andere Javaanse dialecten zijn verboden in het Walikan. De status van andere dialecten wordt binnen de taalgemeenschap beschouwd als enigszins lager dan die van het Javaans van Malang. Met uitzondering van bepaalde gelexicaliseerde uitdrukkingen, zoals *ANAMID* 'waar', worden affixen en bezittelijke voornaamwoorden niet omgekeerd, maar in plaats daarvan toegevoegd aan een omgekeerde woordstam.

Aangetoond wordt dat het Walikan zich als taalpraktijk heeft ontwikkeld vanuit een geheim jargon, om een gedeelde identiteit te markeren; mensen beschouwen het als een embleem van identiteitsconstructie. Heden ten dage worden woorden uit het Walikan breder gebruikt, zelfs door mensen die zelf geen Walikan of Javaans van Malang spreken. Ook in jongerentalen in Europa en Afrika zijn dit soort processen geobserveerd (Kießling and Mous 2004; Nortier and Dorleijn 2013).

De ideologie van het Walikan is verschoven, in lijn met sociale veranderingen. In het begin waren er elementen te onderscheiden van Halliday's (1976) anti-taal, maar in de daarna volgende decennia kreeg het voet aan de grond onder de jeugd, vooral onder studenten, musici en voetbalsupporters. Net als het Gaul (Smith-Hefner 2007), spreekt ook uit het Walikan een afwijzing van sociale hiërarchie. Op lokaal niveau is het mainstream geworden.

Omkering en fonologie

Fonologie van het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch

De plofklanken in het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch zijn akoestisch stemloos. Het zijn zware plofklanken die gevolgd worden door geademde (breathy) klinkers, tenzij ze zich in geprenasaliseerde positie bevinden. Wanneer ze op de laatste plek van de woordstam staan, verschijnen ze als hun lichte tegenhanger. De glottisslag [ʔ] verschijnt in zowel het Javaans van Malang als het Indonesisch van Malang als de realisatie van /k/ op de laatste plek van de woordstam en van het woord.

De klinkers in het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch hebben, met uitzondering van de schwa, allofonen die worden geconditioneerd door de segmenten waardoor ze gevolgd worden. Ze hebben dezelfde distributies, met uitzondering van de lage middenklinker /a/ aan het eind van het woord in het Javaans van Malang, die [a] blijft en niet wordt gerealiseerd als [ɔ], zoals historisch wel het geval was in het Javaans van Malang. De splitsing van [a] en [ɔ] in verschillende fonemen zou veroorzaakt kunnen zijn door taalcontact met het Indonesisch van Malang.

De lettergrepen van het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch hebben over het algemeen één medeklinker in de onset en de coda, en één klinker in de nucleus. Echter zijn er tot wel drie medeklinkers toegestaan in de onset van een lettergreep, zowel in de eerste als in de middelste positie van de woordstam. Medeklinkerclusters kunnen niet voorkomen in de laatste positie van de woordstam, behalve in recente leenwoorden. De homorganische medeklinkerclusters in de middelste positie van de woordstam worden in het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch niet gescheiden door lettergreepgrenzen.

Omkering en fonologie van het Walikan

Het omkeren van woorden in het Walikan geschiedt voornamelijk volgens de 'Total Segment Reversal rule', waarbij de segmenten of fonemen van een woord in hun totaliteit worden omgekeerd en opnieuw gestructureerd. Om welgevormde onsets en coda's te vormen in de omgekeerde woorden, worden er soms processen toegepast als klinker- en medeklinker-insertie, klinker- en medeklinker-deletie, clustersimplificatie en verwisseling van klinkers of me-

deklinkers.

Gedurende het proces van omkering wordt de onderliggende vorm omgekeerd conform de fonologische en fonotactische regels van het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch. Het fonologische systeem van de brontaal is van toepassing in het Walikan. De zware plofklanken in de eerste positie van het woord worden lichte plofklanken wanneer ze worden omgekeerd en zo in de laatste positie van het woord terecht komen. Ook de allofonische alternantie tussen /k/ en [ʔ] komt voor in het Walikan. De homorganische medeklinkerclusters in de middelste positie van de woordstam blijven intact, wat aan toont dat ze tautosyllabisch zijn in het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch, d.w.z. deel uitmaken van één enkele lettergreep. Sommige woorden in het Walikan vertonen echter tekenen die suggereren dat sprekers niet langer strikt de allofonische patronen tussen /e/ ~[ɛ] en /a/ ~[ɔ] volgen. Dit wijst erop dat er een fonologische verandering aan de gang is in het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch.

Soms heeft eenzelfde woord meerdere omgekeerde vormen omdat sprekers de omkering lijken te baseren op de schrijfwijze van het bronwoord. Maar belangrijker nog is het feit dat omkeertalen bedoeld zijn om af te wijken van de regels, en dat interne variatie dus te verwachten is.

Sociolinguïstische variabiliteit in het Walikan

Het Walikan wordt gebruikt onder verschillende geslachts- en leeftijdsgroepen. Mannelijke sprekers vertonen meer zelfverzekerdheid dan vrouwelijke sprekers wanneer gevraagd wordt naar hun mate van vloeiendheid. Bovendien worden de woorden en uitdrukkingen met negatieve sociale connotaties meer gevonden in het mannelijke domein.

Tussen de leeftijdsgroepen zijn fonologische verschillen te zien in de manier waarop de omgekeerde vormen worden gebruikt. Oudere sprekers neigen ernaar de conformeren aan de fonologie en fonotaxis van het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch. In sommige gevallen maken ze ook gebruik van oudere spellingswijzen. Jongere sprekers zijn de meeste dynamische groep, aangezien ze ook nieuwe vormen toevoegen en creëren, of woorden uitspreken op nieuwe manieren, die onbekend zijn bij oudere sprekers.

Deze verschillen laten ook zien dat het gebruik van het Walikan geen statische praktijk is; oudere sprekers kunnen het nog altijd spreken, maar het

zijn de jongere sprekers die deze hedendaagse vorm van het Walikan sturen, door voorop te lopen met innovatieve en frequente vormen.

Het Walikan bestaat al decennialang en wordt nu gebruikt onder verschillende leeftijds- en geslachtsgroepen. Gezien het feit dat het Walikan niet langer beperkt is tot jongere sprekers, kan het nu beschouwd worden als een ‘urban language’ of stedelijke taal (Rampton 2015). Zowel de oudere als de jongere generatie zien het Walikan als een informele of alledaagse vorm van het Javaans van Malang, die lokale trots, solidariteit en regionale identiteit in zich kan dragen.

De toekomst van het Walikan

Waar het Walikan vroeger een orale linguïstische praktijk was, wordt het nu breed gebruikt in verschillende media. Het heeft zich uitgebreid van een gesproken naar een geschreven medium, van interactie binnen een groep naar openbare communicatie, en van offline naar online platforms.

Het Walikan heeft gezorgd voor meer couleur locale in het talige landschap van Malang. Tegelijkertijd laat het zien dat lokale (stedelijke) talen naast elkaar kunnen bestaan in het talige landschap van Indonesië, zij aan zij met Standaard Indonesisch en andere gevestigde lokale talen.

De veranderingen en ontwikkelingen die gevonden zijn in de domeinen van het Walikan hebben ook veranderingen veroorzaakt in de aard van de taal zelf, van een sterke conformiteit aan de Javaanse fonotaxis tot meer innovatieve strategieën die het breken van fonotactische regels toestaan. Echter, de Walikan vormen in de geschreven media houden zich nog altijd aan de fonotaxis, omdat ze sociaal geaccepteerd moeten zijn om goed ontvangen te worden. Zodoende wordt de standaard bepaald door informele consensus binnen de taalgemeenschap. Het Walikan bestaat reeds meer dan vijf decennia, en zal nog decennialang blijven bestaan. Of het Walikan zal overleven en levensvatbaar zal blijken ligt in handen van de sprekers, die zullen moeten doorgaan met het onafhankelijk gebruiken ervan. Ook de autoriteiten kunnen het gebruik van het Walikan aanmoedigen, al zal het waarschijnlijk vooral gebruikt blijven worden in informele domeinen.

Richtingen voor verder onderzoek

De analyse van de structuur van het Walikan in deze dissertatie is voornamelijk gebaseerd op het lexicon en de interne structuur van de woorden. De resultaten laten zien hoe de fonologie en fonotaxis van het Walikan het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch zowel volgen als ervan afwijken. De focus op de fonologie van de twee taalsystemen resulteert tevens in een grondige beschrijving die bijdraagt aan de beschrijving van Javaanse dialecten.

In de beschrijving van het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch, heb ik benadrukt dat het onderscheid tussen retroflexe en niet-retroflexe medeklinkers aan het verdwijnen is, net als in andere variëteiten van het Javaans (Villierius 2019; Zen 2019). Het zou kunnen dat deze verandering in het geval van het Javaans van Malang het gevolg is van tweetaligheid met het Indonesisch, in combinatie met sociale, geslachts-, en leeftijdsgebonden factoren. Het is van belang dat toekomstig onderzoek wordt opgezet met het oog op een beter begrip van deze wijdverbreide manifestatie van taalverandering.

De zware plofklanken in de positie aan het eind van het woord worden geneutraliseerd in het Walikan. Dit is in lijn met de bevindingen in een akoestische studie door Vander Klok et al. (2018), over de manier waarop tweetalige Midden-Javaanse sprekers plofklanken aan het eind van het woord produceren in het Javaans. Voor toekomstig onderzoek zou het interessant zijn om een gelijksoortig type onderzoek uit te voeren onder Walikan sprekers. De meeste sprekers van het Walikan zijn op zijn minst tweetalig, te zien aan de manier waarop ze woorden uit het Javaans van Malang en het Indonesisch gebruiken in de omkeringen. Zodoende zou een dergelijke studie ook meer licht kunnen werpen op de rol van linguïstische beïnvloeding of interferentie-effecten in de manier waarop sprekers omgaan met zware en lichte plofklanken.

Een van mijn bevindingen over de fonologie van het Walikan is dat de allofonische patronen tussen /e/ ~[ɛ] en /a/ ~[ɔ] niet consequent gevolgd worden door sprekers van het Walikan, wat erop zou kunnen wijzen dat er een verandering aan de gang is in het Javaans van Malang onder invloed van het Indonesisch. Toekomstig onderzoek zou zich kunnen richten op het verkennen van eventuele taalverandering, door te kijken naar meer Oost-Javaanse en Indonesische data.

Andere potentiële onderzoeksrichtingen liggen in het domein van de informele, stedelijke jongerentalen. Het zou goed zijn om in de toekomst een systematische manier te ontwerpen om Walikandata van internet of digitale media te verzamelen. In mijn corpus zit ook internetdata die ik heb verzameld door verschillende websites en fora af te gaan, maar ik heb hierbij geen speci-

fieke dataverzamelmethode gehanteerd waardoor ik het gebruik van een bepaalde variëteit op het gehele internet kan beschrijven. Mijn doel was het verzamelen van een groot corpus van online Walikanwoorden, en het observeren van zowel de sprekers als het gebruik ervan. Toekomstig onderzoek zou zich kunnen richten op een specifiek digitaal communicatiemiddel en bekijken hoe sprekers communiceren in het Walikan. De relatie tussen een stedelijke taal en digitale communicatie is van belang voor onderzoekers binnen sociolinguïstiek, mediastudies, communicatiestudies en studies over digitale geletterdheid.

Daarnaast is het aan te bevelen om een grotere dataset van het Walikan of andere informele, stedelijke jongerentalen in Oost-Java en Indonesië aan te leggen. Deze dataset zou ook data van het platteland kunnen bevatten, die tot nog toe vaak niet wordt meegenomen in onderzoek naar informele talen. Zo komen de meeste van de sprekers in mijn Walikan corpus bijvoorbeeld uit het stedelijke gebied van Malang. In de toekomst zou de toevoeging van sprekers van het platteland de beschrijving van het Walikan verrijken.

Deze dissertatie levert een bijdrage aan de beschrijving van informele, stedelijke jongerentalen in Zuidoost-Azië, talen die tot op heden nog weinig beschreven zijn, ondanks hun opkomst in de gehele regio (Djenar 2015; Hoogervorst 2015).

Kesimpulan dan Ringkesan

Bòsò Walikan Malangan utòwò Òsòb Kiwalan Ngalaman iku jenengé prakték wolak-waliké kata sing ònòk ndhik òsòb Jòwò Malangan. Walikan nggabungnò kata-kata sing asalé òket òsòb Ngalaman, Indonésia Ngalaman, Arab, Inggris, òpò òsòb-òsòb liyané nang njero struktur òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman.

Tujuan utamané disertasi iki yòiku gawé nerangnò strukturé Walikan karo perkembangané mulai biyén sampék saiki. Pertama, Walikan dibahas òket perspéktif òsòb kéra enom, supòyò òsi eruh aspék endhi aé sing òdhòp utòwò bédhò karo òsòb kéra enom liyóné. Ayas yò neliti sistem fonologi lan fonotaktisé òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman gawé ngekéki landasan pas mbahas aturan walikan dan sistem fonologi Walikan. Sing ketelu, ayas yò nggoléki variasi sosiolinguistik sing ònòk ndhik antara macem-macem kelompok bedhò gender dan umur. Terakhir, popularitas Walikan ndhik média dan ruang umum yò dibahas. Iki soalé ndeloki situasi Walikan sing saiki òsi ngekéki gambaran soal masa depané òsòb iku. Hal-hal iku bakal dibahas ndhik ngisor iki.

Statusé Walikan

Supòyò òsi njelajahi karakteristik Walikan liwat konsép òsòb kéra enom, ayas nerapnò kerangka *Total Linguistic Fact* Silverstein (1985) bèn òsi itreng òpò wujud, prakték, karo ideologiné Walikan. Pòdhò karo òsòb-òsòb kéra enom liyané, wujud Walikan ditòndhò karo suatu manipulasi linguistik, ndhik kasus iki manipulasi fonologis dan semantis. Manipulasi fonologis yòiku pembalikan foném sing ònòk ndhik saben kata. Pembalikan iki biasané selaras karo

sistem fonologi dan fonotaktisé òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman, masiò kadang-kadang ngelanggar watesan fonotaktisé kelo ro òsòb asal. Manipulasi semantis yòiku gonta-gentiné makna tekan kata tertentu, tòndhò lék Walikan iku duduk òsòb dolanan sing nggawé dhasar cithakan.

Pas ngomong Walikan, kéné isò nggaé sak pirò-pirò aé kata sing diwalik. Ora kabéh kata ndhik ijis kalimat iku kudu diwalik, masiò mék ijis aud sing dikiwal yo kadit halasam. Ròtò-ròtò genaro sing lancar Walikané iku nggawé kata Walikan sing jumlahé luwih akéh timbang genaro sing kadit patio lancar. Lék misalé ònòk sinonim Walikan sing asalé òket sumber òsòb sing li-yò, genaro sing genomo iku kudu itreng nilai semantik dan sosialé, kirò-kirò bentuk endi sing pantes diéwag sesuai situasi karo òpòs sing dijak genomo.

Kata sing asalé òket dialek Jòwò sakliyané Jòwò Ngalaman iku gak tau diéwag ndhik Walikan. Soalé mesthi dianggep isin-isini, statusé ònòk ndhik ngisoré Jòwò Ngalaman. Sakliyané éksprési-éksprési sing wis terléksikalisasi, kòyòk misalé *ANAMID* 'ndhik endi', awalan karo kata ganti milik iku biasané ora isò dikiwal, cukup kata dasaré aé sing dikiwal.

Walikan iku prakték genomo-genomo sing wis berkembang òket slang rahasia sampék dadi penanda identitas komunitas; genaro akeh sing nyebut iku suatu émblem éwag konstruksi idéntitas. Kata-kata Walikan saiki iku digawé ndhik komunikasi sing lebih luas, termasuk karo genaro-genaro sing sakjané kadit òsi genomo Walikan utòwò Jòwò Ngalaman. Prosés sing kò-yòk ngéné iki yò ònòk ndhik òsòbé kéra-kéra enom ndik Éropa ambik Afrika (Kießling and Mous 2004; Nortier and Dorleijn 2013).

Ideologiné Walikan iku wis molah-malih sesuai karo perubahan sosial. Jaman biyén, Walikan tau nduduhnò élemén-élemén bòsò-anti (*anti-language*) sing dibahas karo Halliday (1976), tapi mòrò sakmariné hulupesan nuhat bòsò iku digawé karo kéra-kéra enom, antarané pelajar, musisi, karo penggemar bola. Pòdhò karo òsòb Gaul (Smith-Hefner 2007), Walikan iku ngerambagnò penolakan hirarki sosial. Ndhik lévél lokal, Walikan iku wis biasa digawé.

Wolak-walik Kata dan Fonologi

Fonologi òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman karo òsòb Indonésia Ngalaman

Konsonan letup ndhik òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman iku sakjané secara akustik *voiceless* alias ganok suarané hébak. Mereka asliné duwé

karakter meletup abot sing diikuti karo vokal sing rodok ònòk vibrasiné, kecuali lék pas kenék nasalisasi ndhik awal kata. Ndhik posisi akhir kata, konsonan letup sing abot iki muncul dadi òncòké, yòiku konsonan letup sing ringan. Konsonan letup glottal [ʔ] iku muncul ndhik òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman sebagai bentuk realisasi /k/ ndhik posisi akhir kata dan akhir kata dasar.

Swòrò vokal ndhik òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman, kecuali *schwa*, iku nduwé alofon sing muncul nuruti kondisi ségmén sing muncul sakmariné dhéké. Alofon-alofon iku distribusiné pòdhò hébak, kecuali vokal isor-tengah /a/ sing muncul ndhik akhir kata, sing ndhik bòsò Indonésia Ngalaman tetep direalisasikan dadi [a], duduk dadi [ɔ] kòyòk mesthiné sesuai historiné ndhik òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman. Kok isò [a] dan [ɔ] dadi foném sing bédhò iku kirò-kirò disebabnò kontak bahasa karo bòsò Indonésia Ngalaman.

Suku kata ndhik òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman iku biasané nduwé utas konsonan ndhik bagian onsét dan kodané, dan utas vokal ndhik nukléusé. Tapi, maksimum agit konsonan aé sing oléh ònòk ndhik onsét suku kata, isò ndhik bagian awal kata dasar utòwò ndhik bagian tengah kata dasar. Bagian akhir suku kata iku gak oléh nduwé kluster konsonan, kecuali ndhik beberapa kata selangan sing sik ranya. Kluster konsonan homorganik sing ndhik bagian tengah kata dasar ndhik òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman iku kadit òsi dipisahno karo batasan suku kata.

Wolak-waliké Kata dan Fonologiné Walikan

Wolak-waliké kata ndhik Walikan iku akéh-akéhé ngikuti aturan *Total Segment Reversal*, sing artiné masing-masing ségmén utòwò foném iku diwalik hébak dan ditòtò ulang sakhébaké. Supòyò isò nggawé onsét dan koda sing kipa ndik Walikan, penyisipan vokal dan konsonan, pengilangan vokal dan konsonan, simplifikasi kluster, utòwò ijol-ijolan vokal dan konsonan iku seringkali diperloknò.

Selama proses wolak-waliké kata, bentuk dasar iku diwalik sesuai karo aturan fonologis dan fonotaktik òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman. Sistem fonologis tekan òsòb sumber iku éféktif dan kètok ndhik Walikan. Konsonan letup sing abot ndhik bagian awal kata dadi konsonan letup ringan pas posisine dikiwal dadi ndik bagian akhir kata. Alternasi alofonik tekan /k/ dadi [ʔ] yò kedadén ndhik Walikan. Kluster konsonan homorganik tetep dadi utas ndhik posisi bagian tengah kata, sing isò dadi bukti lek dhéké iki tautosilabik ndhik òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan òsòb Indonésia, yòiku dadi utas suku kata.

Beberapa kata Walikan iku, masiò ngono, nduduhno bukti lek penggunaé wis ora ngikuti secara ketat hénam pola alofonik antara /e/ ~[ɛ] dan /a/ ~[ɔ]. Hal iki nunjuknò lék ònòk perubahan fonologis sing lagi terjadi ndhik òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman.

Kadang-kadang kata sing òdhòp iku nduwéni bentuk Walikan sing bédhò-bédhò soalé genaro-genaro penggunaé malik kata iku berdasarkan aturan penulisan kata. Tapi sing luwih penting hénam, òsòb kiwalan iku an-cén digawé éwag nglanggar aturan, dadi yò mesthi aé bakalé akéh variasiné.

Variasi Sociolinguistiké Walikan

Sing ngéwag Walikan iku genaro-genaro òket macem-macem jenis kelamin karo bédhò-bédhò umuré pisan. Genaro nganal biasané luwih percaya diri lék genomu Walikan timbangané genaro kodéw, iki kétok pas mereka dino-kati perkòrò kelancaran berbicara. Sakliyané iku, jumlah kata karo éksprési sing négatif konotasiné yò ònòk luwih akéh ndhik omongané genaro-genaro nganal.

Macem-macem kelompok umur iku pòdhò nggawé bentuk Kiwalan sing bédhò-bédhò. Genaro sing kéwut cenderung manut nang fonologi ambik fonotaktiké Jòwò Ngalaman utòwò òsòb Indonésia Ngalaman. Nang kasus li-yané, kadang mereka nggawé éjaan sing luwih sawal. Genaro sing enom iku grup sing luwih dinamik, polahé mereka nambah-nambahi utòwò nggawé bentuk ranya karo ngarang pengucapan sing kadit dieruhi genaro kéwut.

Perbédaan iki artiné Walikan iku duduk prakték genomu-genomu sing mandheg aé, genaro kéwut sik isò nggawé, tapi genaro enom iku kelompok sing nduwéni kontrol nang bentuk kontemporér Walikan. Genaro enom iki sing nyiptaknò bentuk-bentuk inovatif dan sing sering digawé.

Walikan iku wis ònòk két hulupesan taun mbiyén, dan saiki wis diéwag karo genaro-genaro tekan macem-macem umur dan kelompok jenis kelamin. Walikan iku ora digawé karo genaro enom thok, dadi saiki iso dileboknò kategori bòsò urban (Rampton 2015). Genaro kéwut dan enom pòdhò-pòdho nganggep Walikan iku suatu jenis òsòb Jowò Ngalaman sing informal dan kolokial dan isò dadi tònndhò kebanggaan lokal, solidaritas, karo identitas regional.

Masa Depané Walikan

Walikan iku prakték linguistik sing awalé digawé genomo-genomo aé tapi saiki wis digawé ndhik berbagai média. Walikan wis berkembang òket òsòb genomo-genomo biasa dadi òsòb sing tertulis, òket interaksi ndik njero kelompok nang komunikasi publik, dan òket platform offline nang platform online.

Walikan iku wis òsi ngenalnò macem-macem wernò lokal nang nggéné lanskap linguistik kuthò Ngalam. Walikan yo isò nduduhnò lék òsòb (urban) lokal iku òsi koeksis ndhik lanskap linguistik Indonésia bareng-bareng karo bòsò Indonésia standar dan bòsò daérah liyané.

Perubahan dan perkembangan sing ònòk ndhik domainé Walikan iku ngenalnò perubahan sing ònòk ndhik dasaré bòsò iku éwéd, òket kesesuaian nang fonotaktik òsòb Jòwò dadi berubah nang penggunaan strategi inovatif sing kadang nabrak aturan fonotaktik. Masiò ngono, bentuk tertulis Walikan sing ònòk ndhik média sik sesuai karo aturan fonotaktik, soalé bentuk-bentuk iku kudu isò diterimò secara sosial dhisik, sak durungé isò diterimò secara luas. Dadi, bentuk standar Walikan iku ditentukan oleh konsénsus informal sing ònòk ndhik komunitas bahasané.

Walikan iku wis ònòk két amil nuhat kepungkur, dan bakalé ònòk sampé hulupesan nuhat luwih hénam. Supòyò dhéké òsi bertahan, genaro-genaro sing òsi genomo Walikan kudu terus ngéwag Walikan. Pemerintah òsi aé ndukung genaro-genaro hébak supòyò nggawé Walikan ndhik endi-endi, tapi ké-tokané Walikan bakalan tetep digawé ndhik domain sing informal.

Panduan gawé Riset Masa Depan

Analisa struktur Walikan ndhik disertasi iki akéh-akéhé berdasarkan léksikon dan struktur internalé kata-kata Walikan. Hasilé òsi nduduhnò yòkopò dan sampék sepirò fonologi dan fonotaktis Walikan iku ngikuti utòwò ngelanggar sistem sing ònòk ndhik òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman. Hasil ndeloki sistem fonologi òket òsòb haud iku nggarai ayas òsi nyumbang pisan nang kumpulan déskripsi dialék-dialék òsòb Jòwò.

Ndhik déskripsi òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman iki, ayas wis nerangnò lék bédhoné antara konsonan sing retroflex dan sing non-retroflex iku tambah éwus tambah ngilang, òdhòp karo sing ditemoknò ndhik dialék Jòwò liyané (Villerius 2019; Zen 2019). Perubahan iki òsi aé diakibatnò bilingualisme bòsò Indonésia kéra-kéra licek, kòyòk sing ònòk ndhik òsòb Jò-

wò Ngalaman iki, dan mungkin juga kenék pengaruh faktor sosial, jenis kelamin, karo umur. Sing penting penelitian berikuté kudu didésain éwag melajari wujud perubahan unsur bòsò sing wis nyebar nang endi-endi iki.

Konsonan letup ndhik posisi akhir kata iku dinétralisir ndhik Walikan. Hal iki òdhòp karo hasilé penelitian akustiké Vander Klok et al. (2018) tentang yòkòpò penutur òsòb Jòwò Tengahan sing bilingual iku genom konsonan letup Jòwò ndhik posisi akhir kata. Mené-mené, bakalé menarik lék ònòk sing ngéwag penelitian serupa nang penutur Walikan. Ròtò-ròtò penutur Walikan iku bilingual, soalé meréka òsi molak-malik kata-kata dalam òsòb Jòwò Ngalaman dan Indonésia Ngalaman. Dadi, studi kòyòk ngono iku isò nduduhnò peranan transfer linguistik utòwò éfék-éfék gangguan nang còrò penutur iki ngucapnò konsonan letup abot dan ringan.

Halas ijisé hasil penelitian soal fonologiné Walikan iku nduduhnò lék pola alofonik antara /e/ ~[ɛ] dan /a/ ~[ɔ] iku gak selalu digawé secara konsistén karo penutur Walikan. Hal iki òsi dadi bukti lék ònòk perubahan sing lagi terjadi ndhik njeroné bòsò Jòwò Ngalaman akibat pengaruh bòsò Indonésia. Embén-embén diharapnò ònòk penelitian sing mbahas secara mendalam kemungkinan ònòké perubahan bòsò sing nggawé luwih akéh data bòsò Jòwò sing Jòwò Timuran dan bòsò Indonésia.

Kemungkinan penelitian ndhik masa depan sing òsi dilakoni yòiku ndhik aréa òsòb urban dan informal kéra enom. Bakalan kipa lék ònòk sing mende-sain secara sistematis còrò nglumpuknò data Walikan tekan Internét utòwò média digital. Korpus ayas iki isiné Internét data sing diklumpuknò tekan macem-macem wébsite dan forum, tapi ayas kadit nggawé métode pengumpulan data sing khusus sing isò ngéwangi njupuk pengambilan halas ijisé macem Walikan secara keseluruhan. Tujuan ayas pas ikò yòiku nglumpuknò korpus kata-kata Walikan tekan Internét seakéh mungkin dan ndeloki penggunaané ambik yòkòpò genaro-genaro iku nggunakno kata-kata iku mau. Ndhik masa depan, lék isò ònòk sing fokus nang média komunikasi digital tertentu terus mengobservasi yòkòpò genaro-genaro iku berinteraksi ndhik kono nggawé Walikan. Hubungan antara bòsò urban dan komunikasi digital iku menarik éwag peneliti ndhik ranah sociolinguistik, studi media, studi komunikasi, dan studi literasi digital.

Kotis hénam, bakalé luwih kipa lék ònòk sing òsi nggawé datasét sing luwih gedhé tekan Walikan utòwò bòsò-bòsò urban dan informal kéra enom sing liyané. Datasét iku isiné yò isò mengandung data tekan daérah pinggiran utòwò ndésò, nggén sing selama iki kadit tau dibahas karo akéh-akéhé penelitian tentang òsòb informal. Genaro-genaro sing ònòk ndhik korpus Walikan-ku iki contohé, akéh-akéhé asalé tekan daérah kuthò Ngalam. Mené hénam,

genaro-genaro sing tekan ndésò òsi diajak supòyò deskripsi Walikan iki òsi luwih kipa.

Akhiré, disertasi iki yò ngéwangi nambahi déksripsi òsòb urban dan informal kéra enom sing ònòk ndhik Asia Tenggara, sing sampék saiki sik tergolong kurang patiò dibahas dan dikaji masiò lagi marak digawé ndhik daerah iku (Djenar 2015; Hoogervorst 2015). Tulisan iki diharapnò isò nggaraknò penelitian sing berikuté luwih fokus nang jenis komunikasi sing serupa ndhik aréa Asia Tenggara.

Curriculum Vitae

Nurenzia Yannuar was born on January 15, 1984, in Malang, Indonesia. In 2001, she started her B.A in English Language and Literature from the University of Brawijaya Malang, and obtained the degree in 2006. In 2008, she received a Fulbright Scholarship to study in the United States. She graduated from Ohio University in 2010 with an M.A in Linguistics. In 2010 she became a faculty member at the linguistic program of English language and literature department, Faculty of Letters, Universitas Negeri Malang/State University of Malang. In September 2014, she started her PhD research at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL) funded by the DIKTI-Leiden Scholarship scheme. This dissertation is the result of that research.

At LUCL, she was a member and then the chair of the PhD Council. From September 2018 to January 2019, she co-taught a course in the BA program on the Description of East Javanese. From November 2018 to July 2019 she worked as a research assistant for Prof. Marian Klamer's VICI Project "Reconstructing the past through languages of the present: the Lesser Sunda Islands". From November 2019 to January 2020 she will be affiliated as a post-doc fellow to Dr. Tom Hoogervorst's NWO/VENI project "The language of popular culture", at the Royal Netherlands Institute of Southeast Asian and Caribbean Studies (KITLV).

During her stay in the Netherlands, she has taught Indonesian language courses for Dutch learners offered by the Indonesian Embassy. In addition, she taught and designed her own materials for Indonesian courses at the Language School of Indonesia Nederland Youth Society (INYS) in The Hague.