

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Series D - No. 38

JAVANESE INFLUENCE ON INDONESIAN

by

Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo

(MATERIALS IN LANGUAGES OF INDONESIA, No.7)

W.A.L. Stokhof, Series Editor



Department of Linguistics

Research School of Pacific Studies

THE AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS is issued through the Linguistic
Circle of Canberra and consists of four series:

- SERIES A - Occasional Papers
- SERIES B - Monographs
- SERIES C - Books
- SERIES D - Special Publications

EDITOR: S.A. Wurm

ASSOCIATE EDITORS: D.C. Laycock, C.L. Voorhoeve, D.T. Tryon, T.E. Dutton

EDITORIAL ADVISERS:

- | | |
|--|---|
| B.W. Bender
University of Hawaii | John Lynch
University of Papua New Guinea |
| David Bradley
La Trobe University | K.A. McElhanon
University of Texas |
| A. Capell
University of Sydney | H.P. McKaughan
University of Hawaii |
| Michael G. Clyne
Monash University | P. Mülhåusler
Linacre College, Oxford |
| S.H. Elbert
University of Hawaii | G.N. O'Grady
University of Victoria, B.C. |
| K.J. Franklin
Summer Institute of Linguistics | A.K. Pawley
University of Auckland |
| W.W. Glover
Summer Institute of Linguistics | K.L. Pike
University of Michigan;
Summer Institute of Linguistics |
| G.W. Grace
University of Hawaii | E.C. Polomé
University of Texas |
| M.A.K. Halliday
University of Sydney | Gillian Sankoff
University of Pennsylvania |
| A. Healey
Summer Institute of Linguistics | W.A.L. Stokhof
National Center for
Language Development, Jakarta;
University of Leiden |
| L.A. Hercus
Australian National University | E.M. Uhlenbeck
University of Leiden |
| Nguyễn Đăng Liêm
University of Hawaii | J.W.M. Verhaar
Gonzaga University, Spokane |

All correspondence concerning PACIFIC LINGUISTICS, including
orders and subscriptions, should be addressed to:

The Secretary
PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Department of Linguistics
Research School of Pacific Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra, A.C.T. 2600
Australia.

Copyright © The Author

First Published 1982

Typeset by Christine Billerwell

Printed by A.N.U. Printing Service

Covers by Patria Printers

Bound by Adriatic Bookbinders Pty. Ltd.

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in
the production of this series.

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas
Fund.

National Library of Australia Card Number and ISBN 0 85883 261 5

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
MAP I: THE DISTRIBUTION OF MALAY AND JAVANESE	viii
INTRODUCTION	
0.1. Background of the Study	1
0.2. Scope and Plan of the Study	2
0.3. Definition of Javanese and Indonesian	2
0.4. Methodology	3
NOTES	4
CHAPTER I - BACKGROUND INFORMATION	
1. The Linguistic Situation in Indonesia	5
1.1. Historical Background	6
1.2. Recent Sources of Influence	7
1.2.1. Indonesian in Djakarta	7
1.2.2. Direct Sources of Javanese Influence	8
1.2.2.1. Influence through Non-Javanese Living in Javanese Areas	8
1.2.2.2. Influence through Javanese Living in Non-Javanese Areas	10
1.2.2.4. Influence through Public Speeches by Javanese Political Figures	11
1.2.2.5. Influence through the Javanese Popular Arts	11
1.2.2.6. Influence through Literature	12
1.3. Reasons why Javanese is Increasingly Influencing Indonesian	13
1.3.1. Increase in Mobility	13
1.3.2. Indonesian as the National Language	13
1.3.2.1. Javanese Concepts	13
1.3.2.2. The Need to Express Polite and Humorous Ideas	14
1.3.2.3. Modern Western Ideas	14
1.3.2.4. The Need for Poetical Expressions	15
1.3.3. The Status of Djakarta	15
NOTES	16

	<i>Page</i>
CHAPTER II - JAVANESE INFLUENCE ON INDONESIAN PHONOLOGY	19
2. Types of Influence	19
2.1. The Introduction of New Phonemes	19
2.1.1. The Introduction of /é/	20
2.1.2. The Introduction of /o/	23
2.1.3. The Introduction of the /o/ /ô/ Contrast	25
2.1.4. The Introduction of the /k/ /q/ Contrast	27
2.2. The Spread of Phonemes to New Environments	29
2.2.1. The Introduction of Final -eC#	29
2.2.2. The Introduction of Initial Homorganic Nasal-Stop Clusters	31
2.2.3. The Introduction of Consonant Clusters /Ct/, /Cr/ and /Cw/	31
2.2.4. The Introduction of the Cluster -np-	33
2.2.5. The Introduction of the Clusters -ry-, -ly-	33
2.2.6. The Introduction of #w-	33
2.2.7. The Extension of Intervocalic /w/ to New Environments	37
2.3. The Increased Frequency of some Indonesian Phonemes and Phonemic Combinations	38
2.3.1. The Increase in the Frequency of /é/	38
2.3.2. The Increase in the Frequency of /o/	39
2.3.3. The Increase in Frequency of Initial and Postconsonantal /y/	39
2.3.4. The Increase in Frequency of Intervocalic /w/	40
2.4. Variety of Pronunciation	40
2.5. Word Shortening	41
NOTES	43
CHAPTER III - JAVANESE INFLUENCE ON INDONESIAN MORPHOLOGY	51
3. Types of Influence	51
3.1. Affixes Added to Indonesian: N-, pe- -an, ke-	51
3.1.1. N-	51
3.1.2. pe- -an	54
3.1.3. ke-	54
3.2. Indonesian Affixes which have New Alternate Forms	56
3.2.1. The Replacement of per- by -kan	57
3.2.2. Ø, -nya	57
3.3. Affixes that have Developed New Meanings	59
3.3.1. ke- -an	59
3.3.1.1. Verb Forming ke- -an	59
3.3.1.2. Noun Forming ke- -an	61
3.3.1.3. Ke- -an meaning 'too (much)'	62
3.3.2. The Suffix -an	62

	<i>Page</i>
3.3.2.1. The Verb Forming Suffix -an	63
3.3.2.2. The Noun Forming Suffix -an	63
3.3.2.3. The Adjective Forming Suffix -an	64
3.3.2.4. Other Borrowings of Forms with -an	66
3.3.3. The Javanese Suffix -en	66
3.3.4. Doubling	67
3.3.4.1. Doubling which Forms an Adverb when Applied to a Number, an Adjective, or a Verb	67
3.3.4.2. Doubling which Forms a Verb when Added to a Verb or an Adjective	68
3.3.5. Doubling Plus -an	68
3.3.5.1. Verbs Formed by Doubling + -an	68
3.3.5.2. Nouns Formed by Doubling + -an	69
3.4. Indonesian Affixes with Increased Frequency	69
3.4.1. The Prefix meN-	69
3.4.1.1. meN- Forming a Transitive Verb	69
3.4.1.2. meN- Forming an Intransitive Verb	69
3.4.2. The Suffix -i	70
3.4.3. The Suffix -kan	73
3.4.4. Reduplication	75
3.4.5. Reduplication Plus -an	76
3.4.6. Doubling with Vowel Change	76
3.5. Indonesian Affixes which have Declined in Frequency of Occurrence	77
3.5.1. ber- -kan	77
3.5.2. ter- -kan	78
3.6. Javanese Influence on Morphophonemics	78
NOTES	80
CHAPTER IV - THE INFLUENCE OF JAVANESE ON INDONESIAN SYNTAX	85
4. Types of Influence	85
4.1. The Introduction of New Syntactic Constructions	85
4.1.1. saya + Verb -nya 'I think I should (do the action indicated by the verb) to it'	85
4.1.2. saya + Verb -kannya	86
4.1.3. Constructions with Nominal Phrases	87
4.1.3.1. Borrowing of the Genitive Marker	87
4.1.3.2. Adjective + -nya, verb + -nya	87
4.1.4. boléhnya + verb 'the way one (does the action indicated by the verb)'	89
4.1.5. Saking + (nominal) -nya . . . sampay 'on account of (nominal)....'	90
4.1.6. yang + adjective 'do in an (adjective) way'	90

	<i>Page</i>
4.1.7. Negation + Doubling	92
4.2. New Word Order	93
4.2.1. Noun + Numeral	94
4.2.2. Placement of Forms Meaning 'Very' Following Adjective	94
4.2.3. The Placement of Question Words	94
4.3. Decreasing the Use of Constructions which do not have Javanese Analogues	95
4.3.1. Subject + Predicate	95
4.3.2. The Replacement of Malay barang	98
4.4. Increasing use of Indonesian Constructions Analogous to the Javanese	100
4.4.1. Adjective + sekali 'very (adjective)'	100
4.4.2. yang . . . 'the one which is . . .'	100
NOTES	102
CHAPTER V - JAVANESE INFLUENCE ON INDONESIAN VOCABULARY	105
5. Types of Influence	105
5.1. Loanwords	105
5.1.1. Loanwords Referring to Javanese Culture	105
5.1.2. Loanwords Referring to Elements of Indonesian Culture in General	110
5.1.2.1. Javanese Forms More Specific in Meaning than the Malay Equivalents	110
5.1.2.2. Javanese Loans with Unchanged Meanings and Exact Malay Equivalents	113
5.1.3. Loanwords Expressing Modern Western Ideas	115
5.1.4. Loanwords having Polite or Impolite Connotations	116
5.1.5. Loanwords Containing Poetical Expressions	116
5.1.6. Loanwords having Humorous Connotations	117
5.1.7. Loanwords Expressing Colloquial Style	118
5.1.7.1. mbôq	118
5.1.7.2. kôq	118
5.1.7.3. tô	118
5.1.7.4. lho	119
5.1.7.5. lha	119
5.1.7.6. Other Words Expressing Colloquiality	119
5.1.8. Loanwords which are Homonymous with Existing Malay Forms	120
5.2. Loanblends	120
5.3. Loanshifts	122
5.3.1. Loanshifts in which Indonesian Changes the Older Meanings	122
5.3.2. Loanshifts in which the Range of Meaning of the Malay Form has been Contracted	122
5.3.3. Loanshifts in which the Range of Meanings has been Extended	123
5.3.3.1. Forms with Javanese Cognates	123

	<i>Page</i>
5.3.3.2. Forms Influenced by Non-cognate Javanese Forms with Similar Meanings	124
5.4. Loan-Translation	125
5.4.1. Ordinary Loan-Translations	125
5.4.2. Semi Loan-Translations	126
5.5. The Origin of Javanese Borrowings	126
5.6. Idiom Formation by Word Dropping	127
NOTES	128
CHAPTER VI - SPEECH LEVELS	131
6. Types of Influence	131
6.1. The Extension of the Use of the Court Vocabulary	132
6.2. The Increase in Number of Respect Words	133
6.2.1. Borrowings from Javanese in the Malay Court Vocabulary	134
6.2.2. Increase in Number of Indonesian Respect Words	137
6.3. Increase in Use of Circumlocutions	139
6.4. The Introduction of Colloquial Indonesian	141
NOTES	143
CHAPTER VII - CONCLUSION	145
NOTES	147
BIBLIOGRAPHY	148
INDEX	155
A. Index of Subject Matter	155
B. Index of Forms	158

MAP I: THE DISTRIBUTION OF MALAY AND JAVANESE

This map is based on Esser. Deviations from Esser are found in the area of Lampung (South Sumatera) and Manado. The distribution of Malay in North Borneo and Brunei, which was not included on Esser's map, is based on an interview with Michael B. Leigh.



INTRODUCTION

0.1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Javanese and Malay are related languages. They both belong to the Javo-Sumatran Hesion of the Austronesian family of languages.¹ As is true of all pairs of related languages, Javanese and Malay at some time in the past were the same language. But due to physical separation of their speakers, they gradually became mutually unintelligible. The independent developments which led to their separation include the introduction of new forms and the loss of old ones, due to internal causes or to outside influences. Some of the outside influences on Malay, for example, come from Minangkabau, Sundanese, and Batak, while those on Javanese include Sundanese, Balinese, and Madurese, as well as non-Indonesian languages such as Sanskrit, Arabic, Chinese, Portuguese, Tamil, Dutch, and English. These non-Indonesian languages have also had their influence on Malay.

Javanese and Malay, in addition to being influenced by other languages, non-Indonesian as well as Indonesian, have themselves exerted influence on other Indonesian languages. This is particularly true of Malay which for centuries has been the lingua franca in the Indonesian archipelago for purposes of trade. In addition, Malay is the language of peoples who in the past had powerful kingdoms and enjoyed advanced cultures. With the adoption of Malay as the national language in Indonesia, it has now exercised a great deal of influence on neighbouring regional languages. Javanese has also exerted some influence on neighbouring languages in the past, since it was spoken by people whose political, cultural, and literary life was felt as a dominant force throughout much of the Indonesian archipelago. Among the languages influenced by Javanese is Malay, or as this language is currently termed in Indonesia, Indonesian. This study is about the influence of Javanese on Malay and Indonesian.

0.2. SCOPE AND PLAN OF THE STUDY

This study deals with Javanese influence on Indonesian (or modern Malay) phonology, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and styles of speech.² The influence on supra-segmentals is excluded due to the lack of homogeneity of the many geographical dialects of Indonesian in this regard. Whenever possible this study also deals with Javanese influence on Malay before the latter was named Indonesian and used as the national language of Indonesia.³ It is difficult to set a date for the beginning of the influences dealt with here, since often a given influence was felt over a period of generations and only gradually became assimilated into Malay. Basically, however, this will be a study of features found in all or nearly all dialects of Indonesian, which were introduced recently enough that the process of their assimilation has still not been carried out to completion, and whose Javanese origin is still unmistakable.

This study thus provides an example of the way in which one language may modify another during the course of history, and especially as a result of languages in contact. It provides an illustration of how a regional language having the largest number of native speakers and having an advanced literature may influence the national language. In addition it may help to explain the present state of Indonesian, which has an unusually large number of synonyms and competing forms. It may also provide an illustration of how a language can, in a remarkably short time, incorporate expressions for concepts which formerly were totally foreign to the culture.

0.3. DEFINITION OF JAVANESE AND INDONESIAN

Javanese is the native language of the Javanese people, who live in East Java, Central Java, and in some areas of Tjirebon and Banten in West Java (see map). Javanese forms are quoted in the standard dialect, which is the dialect of Jogjakarta and Surakarta.

Indonesian is the national language of Indonesia. It is based on the variety of the Malay language used by the Malays living in the eastern part of Sumatra, especially around Djambi and the Riau Archipelago. In this paper the term *INDONESIAN* is used to refer to this national language. *MALAY* is used to refer to the language as it was spoken and written forty or more years ago and also to one of the dialects now commonly used in Malaysia in cases where such types of speech differ from standard Indonesian. Where this term would be ambiguous *MALAYAN MALAY* will be specified for the speech used in Malaysia. To refer to specific periods in the history of the language,

OLD MALAY will be used to refer to the period before the 16th century and MIDDLE MALAY will be used to refer to the period from 1500 through the last century. The dialect representing Indonesian is the standard one used by most educated Indonesians, such as school teachers, university students, radio announcers, news reporters, political party leaders, and other white collar workers. Forms which have come into Indonesian since World War II are termed NEW INDONESIAN. Indonesian forms used by the Javanese and not usual with other groups, are termed JAVANESE INDONESIAN.

0.4. METHODOLOGY

This study is the product of three approaches combined. These approaches include (1) participation-observation, (2) investigation of texts, and (3) application of the comparative method. I am a native speaker of Javanese and I speak Indonesian as well. To have such a background has been an advantage as well as a disadvantage in this study. I have been able to observe the development of Indonesian (and Javanese) and also to participate in it. In addition, I have observed communities which no language other than Javanese is used, bilingual communities in which both Indonesian and Javanese are used, and communities in which no language other than Indonesian is used. However, as a native speaker of Javanese, it is not always easy to be an objective observer. The problem is further complicated by the similarity between such western Indonesian languages as Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Batak, Minangkabau, and Balinese. One cannot always be certain of the source of new form in Indonesian, since it may occur in several other languages.

I have followed the comparative method in forming hypotheses concerning phonology and morphology. These hypotheses are based on the phonology of proto-Austronesian worked out by Dempwolff (1934) and revised by Dyen (1951, 1953a, 1953b).

N O T E S

1. See Dyen 1965:26. Throughout this paper I will follow Dyen 1965 with regard to classification of the Austronesian languages and naming of the various branches of the family.
2. Poedjosoedarmo, S., 1967.
3. Malay was officially declared the National Language of Indonesia in 1945. It was chosen mainly because, since it had been used as a lingua franca in the archipelago for centuries, it was already understood by many citizens of the new Republic. The only other language that was seriously considered at the time was Javanese. Javanese was proposed because such a large percentage of the population spoke it natively (approximately 60%). However, since Javanese with its complex speech levels was considered to have encouraged the existence of a feudalistic social system and further since it is much more difficult to learn than Malay (for adults who are native speakers of other Indonesian languages), the Javanese themselves readily agreed to the choice of Malay.

For further discussion of the development of Indonesian as a national language see Takdir Alisjahbana 1949, Umar Junus 1965 (mimeograph). For a discussion of the birth of Indonesia as an independent republic see Kahin 1952.

CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN INDONESIA

Indonesia, formerly the Dutch East Indies, is composed of approximately 3000 islands of varying size. On these islands live 110 million people, who speak more than 250 different languages.¹ The young republic has a national language, Indonesian, which was formerly called Malay. Since 1945, the time when Indonesian was officially declared the national language, it has been used for such purposes as correspondence, parliamentary debates, government or political speeches. Since then it has also been used as the medium of instruction in schools throughout the country beginning in the fourth grade. (In regions where Malay is not the native language, the mother tongue may be used in the first through third grades.) Indonesian is always used when people of different linguistic background communicate. All newspapers, magazines, radio or TV programs and films having nation-wide circulation are in Indonesian.

In addition to being the national language, Indonesian is also the mother tongue of people living along the east coast of Sumatra, in the Riau Archipelago, in Djakarta, along the southern and western coast of Kalimantan, in Menado and in some areas in the lesser Sundas and Mollucas² (see map). The same language (but called Malay) is also the national language of Malaysia and is spoken as the native language in many areas of that country.

Javanese is one of the regional languages of Indonesia. Speakers of Javanese comprise about 47% of the entire population of Indonesia. It is, therefore, one of the most important regional languages. Like other regional languages, Javanese is used at home with the family, among friends and neighbours, and in social gatherings. It is also used as the medium of instruction in the first through third grades of elementary schools. Folk performances are in Javanese. Publications in

Javanese are rather limited. There is no Javanese daily newspaper, there are only two popular weekly magazines,³ and a few literary works such as novels and poetry which have been produced in recent years. Entertainment and news reports are broadcast over the radio in Javanese by local stations, but the number of hours devoted to Indonesian broadcasts is usually much greater.

Thus a large portion of the population of Indonesia uses two languages daily: Indonesian and the native regional language. When two languages are used by the same people in this way they are likely to influence each other. This is exactly what has happened with Indonesian and Javanese.

1.1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

There is evidence of Javanese influence in classical Malay writing from the period of the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries. This influence, however, appears clearly only in loanwords. The number of loanwords found in the literature of this period is comparatively small. These words are generally connected with palace life or the Javanese arts, or they consist of names of things for which there was no Malay equivalent, e.g. *paséban*⁴ 'audience hall', *geringsing wayang* 'name of a batik pattern', *baju tekua* 'a jacket of Central Javanese style'. Many of these loanwords are found in the 'Javo-Malay' literature, Malay versions or translations of Javanese literature, which were for the most part wayang or Panji stories⁵ and might often have been composed by Javanese authors. Forms found in this type of literature which have made their way into Malay include e.g. *agong* 'great', *pengiran* 'prince', *sôngsông* 'umbrella used by a nobleman'. In the following passage from *Hikajat Sang Boma* there is a phrase which refers to a peculiar Javanese cultural phenomenon, translated literally into Malay. The Malay makes no sense unless interpreted as a literal translation of a Javanese phrase:

M.1.⁶ Maka kata Bima Pangeran Djadipati: "Hai kakak Krisna, aku ini tiada tahu menjembah dan tiada pandai bitjara bahasa."

Maka kata Batara Krisna: "Tiada mengapa adinda Pangeran."
'Then said Bima the prince of Djadipati: "Hey, brother Krisna, I do not know how to make proper obeisance nor speak Kromo."

Then said Batara Krisna: "It does not matter brother prince."

The phrase *tiada pandai bitjara bahasa* is a calque on Javanese *ora pinter micôrô bôsô* which means 'cannot speak the language (specifically the proper high language, i.e. Kromo)'. In Malay the phrase normally

just means '*cannot speak the language*' which by itself makes no sense.⁷ There are numerous other examples.⁸

The contact between Malay and Javanese at that time was apparently not of the heavy sort that we find today. Outside of literature there is not much evidence of influence. This view is supported by the Javanese loanwords. Javanese loans which have phonemes or sequences of phonemes unknown to Malay are in this period Malayanised. For example the phoneme /e/ in older Malay did not occur in the final syllable. Thus the Javanese form *pecel* '*stewed vegetable with hot peanut sauce*' is borrowed at this time in the form *pecal*. Similarly, the form *priyayi* '*the Javanese upper class*' is borrowed as *periai* because Malay did not have the sequence /pr/ and the sequence /ayi/ did not contrast with /ai/.

The recent influence of Javanese on Indonesian has been of a different, much more intimate, sort. The intimate nature of this contact is shown by the treatment of Javanese borrowings: they are not Malayanised. In fact earlier Javanese loans which were Malayanised have now been re-Javanised, e.g. *radin*, a borrowing from Javanese *radèn* 'a noble title', now has a competing form *radén*; *lakun* '*plot of a story*', from Javanese *lakôn*, has been re-borrowed as *lakôn* and competes with the earlier borrowing.

1.2. RECENT SOURCES OF INFLUENCE

The recent influence of Javanese on Indonesian has been through two major channels: (1) indirectly through the Indonesian which is used in Djakarta, and (2) directly from the speech of the Javanese using Indonesian.

1.2.1. Indonesian in Djakarta

The linguistic situation in Djakarta is rather unusual. Several varieties of Indonesian are used. These include (1) that used by the native Djakartanese when speaking to family members and friends, which is here called OMONG DJAKARTA, (2) that used by many Djakartanese, natives and non-natives, especially the young, educated ones, in informal conversation, which is here called DJAKARTA INDONESIA, and (3) the standard Indonesian which is used on formal occasions.

Omong Djakarta is the dialect which developed in Djakarta. Although the city of Djakarta was located in a Sundanese speech area, Djakarta itself was first settled by diverse linguistic groups which had been brought there by the Dutch East India company. We may infer that among these groups a Malay pidgin arose, from which Omong Djakarta

developed. (Perhaps at first a Portuguese pidgin was used, but later a Malay pidgin replaced it.)⁹ Later, a good number of the people who settled in Djakarta were Javanese speakers, and Javanese exerted a heavy influence on Omong Djakarta. At least one third of its vocabulary has been borrowed from Javanese.¹⁰ The Javanese elements in Omong Djakarta are found not only in its vocabulary, but also in its syntax, morphology and phonology.

Djakarta Indonesian is standard Indonesian with an infusion of forms which are peculiar to Omong Djakarta including many Javanese elements. The Djakarta Indonesian arose from the contact of Omong Djakarta with other dialects of Indonesian, especially the standard dialect which is usually used as a second language over most parts of Indonesia. This standard dialect is the prestige type of speech, best controlled and most used by the white collar stratum of the Indonesian society. The name Djakarta Indonesian can be given to a continuum of social dialects spoken in Djakarta which range from Omong Djakarta with a thin overlay of standard Indonesian forms (as spoken by the poorly educated working class population) to a standard Indonesian with an infusion of Omong Djakarta forms (as used by the higher echelons). However, the hallmark of all ranges of Djakarta Indonesian is the presence of Omong Djakarta forms, many of which are Javanese in origin. Further, Djakarta Indonesian has on its own taken in additional Javanese elements with the addition of large numbers of Javanese speakers into the educated, white collar segment of society (see further 1.3.3. below and 6.4.).

1.2.2. Direct Sources of Javanese Influence

Javanese has influenced Indonesian directly in a number of ways. The sources of influence include (1) non-Javanese living in Java who have picked up and spread Javanese elements, (2) Javanese who live in non-Javanese areas and whose Indonesian speech has been imitated by non-Javanese, (3) Indonesian written by Javanese, (4) public speeches by Javanese political figures, (5) Javanese popular arts which are gaining popularity in non-Javanese areas, and (6) the re-writing or translation into Indonesian of Old Javanese literature by non-Javanese as well as by Javanese.

1.2.2.1. *Influence Through Non-Javanese Living in Javanese Areas*

Quite a few non-Javanese live in Javanese speaking areas. Some of them are merchants and government employees, but the greatest part of them are students. This is because Java offers good schools and universities. While staying in Java very few of them habitually use

Javanese. Instead, they use Indonesian even when talking to Javanese. The motivation to speak Javanese is not particularly strong and, in addition, the difficulty of speaking Javanese, especially in connection with the speech levels, is great. Because they speak Indonesian with Javanese speakers, they come into constant contact with Indonesian which contains many Javanese elements. They also come into contact with Javanese Indonesian in local radio and TV bulletins, local newspapers and magazines, schools, and official meetings. Often the non-Javanese adopt specific Javanese elements and use them when they speak or write to other people. Most Sumatranese students, after staying in Jogjakarta for one or two years, adopt Javanese syntactic features, and much Javanese vocabulary (e.g. the use of the particle *kôq*).

The Indonesian spoken by the young, educated Javanese in the cities shows fewer Javanese elements than that spoken by the older and uneducated Javanese. However, it is the elements used by these young, educated people that tend to be picked up and spread by the non-Javanese. The numerous Javanese forms used solely by the older Javanese when speaking Indonesian are usually considered strictly Javanese. Their use in Indonesian is looked down upon and therefore is not imitated.

Upon completion of their studies, many non-Javanese students who have studied in Java go back to their home towns and work as government officials, teachers, or in other prestigious posts. Some of them go to Djakarta or other provinces and have similar jobs. Still others become journalists and writers. Thus most of them enjoy high status, and, therefore, others look to them as examples in many areas of life, including the use of language. Many people imitate their words and expressions in speaking or writing.

1.2.2.2. *Influence Through Javanese Living in Non-Javanese Areas*

Many Javanese live outside of the Javanese speaking areas. Many of these people work as government employees, soldiers, policemen, teachers, or labourers. Government employees and other white collar workers enjoy a great deal of prestige, particularly if they are high ranking. Indonesians give rank a great deal of respect, more so than Americans do. National leaders are not only government policy makers, they are expected to set an example in many aspects of life, such as how to dress and behave on both official and informal occasions, how to talk, how to treat one's wife and bring up one's children, how to associate with colleagues, and how to spend money. Many Javanese have held the highest government posts. The presidents of the republic have both been Javanese (Sukarno and Suharto), and the Javanese have always had a

majority in the cabinet. Between 1945 and 1959, on the average, the cabinet was 50% or more Javanese, and since 1960 the figure has been 60%.¹¹ In addition to positions in the central government, many Javanese hold high provincial offices in Java and elsewhere. If they live elsewhere they must speak Indonesian to the local people. Because of their rank their way of speech is widely imitated by non-Javanese as well as by Javanese; the accent, the choice of words and phrases, the pronunciation of individual words, and even the articulation of certain phonemes. Their Indonesian naturally includes many Javanese elements.

The degree to which Javanese are influential in a given area depends both upon their number and upon the social status which they occupy. For example the influence of Javanese on the Bandjar region of southern Kalimantan and in the Lampung area of southern Sumatra is certainly greater than in Atjeh, for the number of the Javanese living in Bandjar and Lampung is considerably larger than in Atjeh, and many of those in Bandjar and in Lampung occupy high government offices.¹²

1.2.2.3. *Influence Through Indonesian Written by Javanese*

Besides writing in their native language, many Javanese write in Indonesian. Official correspondence, scientific and political papers are written in Indonesian. The Javanese also compose literary works in Indonesian. Since the 1930s Javanese men of letters have been writing essays, poems, short stories and novels in Indonesian. Many of the contributors to the cultural periodical *Pudjangga Baru* [The New Writer], published in Batavia (now Djakarta) from 1933 until 1942 were Javanese writers, e.g., Poerbatjaraka, Suwandhi, Soehardo Sastrosoewignja, Poerwadarminta and Intojo. Since then, more Javanese have written in Indonesian. In fact the number of contemporary works in Indonesian by Javanese authors is greater than the number in Javanese.

Although, in business and official letters, the Javanese write with the greatest care and attempt to avoid Javanese elements, this is not the case with novelists, essayists, and reporters when they produce creative works. Daily newspapers such as *Berita Yudha*, *Angkatan Bersendjata* (published in Djakarta), *Kedaulatan Rakjat* (Jogjakarta), *Harian Umum* (Surabaya) which have many Javanese reporters, abound with Javanese elements. Poor editing may also have contributed to the seemingly unbridled use of Javanese elements in recent writing. One can safely say that, in the literary field, all Javanese authors have brought Javanese elements into their works. Even in poetry, where one would expect the writer to weigh each word carefully, Javanese elements are usually present.

1.2.2.4. *Influence through Public Speeches by Javanese Political Figures*

Many Javanese occupy high positions in Indonesian political life. All major political parties have Javanese in their top echelons. The army, which recently emerged as the strongest political power in the country, has many Javanese generals. These figures occasionally make public speeches. Important speeches are usually picked up by the central radio in Djakarta and broadcast throughout Indonesia, and the people listen to them carefully.

Since independence, there has been feverish political activity. Major speeches have been broadcast, printed, and studied. Many of the people making these speeches were Javanese. Their speeches are to a large extent heavily permeated with JAVANISMS, i.e. Javanese words and slogans. These Javanisms were later taken up by others, especially in newspaper writing. The most important figure in this connection has been Sukarno, the first president of Indonesia.

1.2.2.5. *Influence Through the Javanese Popular Arts*

Some of the Javanese popular arts, such as wayang and classical dances with gamelan¹³ music accompaniment, are beginning to be popular in Djakarta, South Sumatra, and even Medan. These performances are also a source for Javanese loans into Indonesian. Many Indonesian words and expressions are derived from them. An example of this is *dalang* 'puppeteer'. Sometimes the influence of the wayang language goes far beyond the mere importation of technical words and expressions. Quite a few of the technical terms of the wayang have been used in non-technical, metaphorical ways in Indonesian. Thus, for example, there is now in Indonesian the expression *dalang gestapu*.¹⁴ *Gestapu* is the acronym for *Gerakan September Tigapuluh* 'Movement of September 30th' (the movement which tried to install a Communist regime in September 1965). Since the *dalang* is the one who makes the actions on the screen, the expression *dalang gestapu* means 'mastermind of the 30th of September movement'. Another example is the word *gara-gara* from Javanese *gôrô-gôrô*, the name of a scene in wayang. In current Indonesian it can have three meanings. Literally it is a scene full of commotion, noise, and trouble which take place in the middle of the performance. It may mean figuratively 'trouble, commotion', which is the figurative meaning it has in Javanese:

I.2 Perkara ini dapat menimbulkan GARA-GARA dalam rumah tangga.¹⁵

'This matter can cause TROUBLE in a household.'

Its meaning has been extended to '*because of*' in Indonesian, for example:

- I.3 GARA-GARA pulang terlambat, maka isterinya minta ceray.
 'BECAUSE he came home late, his wife (finally) asked for a divorce.'

It seems clear that the sense '*because*' or '*because of*' has developed from the second meaning '*trouble*' or '*commotion*', since the last example can be understood as '*(As a result of) the fact (or the trouble) that he came home late, his wife asked for a divorce.*'

Poets, dramatists, and political leaders are fond of introducing words which originate in the Javanese popular arts into contemporary Indonesian. Such words are usually humorous or poetic or both. Thus, for example, recently it has become fashionable to compare political figures to wayang characters. The former foreign minister Subandrijo was described by his critics as the Durna of the Sukarno regime. Durna, a wayang character, is smart, sly, evil, and always gives bad advice to the king. The late Muljadi Djojomartono, the former minister of social affairs, was described by many people as Petruk because as a minister he did a lot of clowning around. Petruk in the wayang is one of the three clowns who are servants to Ardjuna. General Suharto, before he assumed the presidency, was termed pengemban super semar '*the caretaker of super semar*'. Super semar is an acronym for surat perintah sebelas Maret '*the letter of instruction of March 11*', which was a letter from the President containing a conveyance of power to him for the purpose of maintaining peace and order in the country. The phrase super semar, however, suggests that Suharto is like a 'super' Semar. Semar in the wayang is the father of Petruk. He is half god, half man, and he guarantees victory to whomever he serves.

1.2.2.6. Influence Through Literature

Another good source of borrowing is Javanese literature. In this century, Muhammad Yamin and Sanusi Pane, both of whom are Sumatranese, have written dramas based on Javanese history and legend.¹⁶ Some contemporary writers look to foreign works for inspiration; some tell of their own experiences; but a good source of inspiration for Indonesian writers is still old Javanese stories. Thus one old Javanese story was re-written in Indonesian by Ajip Rosidi, a Sundanese.¹⁷ Other old Javanese stories have been re-written as children's stories by anonymous writers.¹⁸ Even in Malaysia, an old Javanese story was re-written by Samsuddin Saleh.¹⁹ Recently some Javanese writers wrote stories in Indonesian based on legends and

wayang stories found in Java. These have become very popular, especially in Djakarta and Java.²⁰ In all these works Javanese elements are unavoidably abundant. Many of them, such as the words *kratôn* 'palace' and *adegan* 'scene', have been adopted into Indonesian.

1.3. REASONS WHY JAVANESE IS INCREASINGLY INFLUENCING INDONESIAN

As mentioned in the introduction, two phenomena have caused an increase in Javanese influence on Indonesian in recent decades: the increase in the mobility of the inhabitants of what is now Indonesia and the establishment of Indonesian as national language. A third reason for the increase in the influence of Javanese on Indonesian, which has become pronounced only in the last two decades, is the prestigious status of Djakarta Indonesian. All of these, it may be noted, are at least connected with, if not the result of, the establishment of Indonesia as a nation.

1.3.1. Increase in Mobility

In this century geographical mobility between the various areas of Indonesia has increased considerably. This means, among other things, that more Javanese travel outside the Javanese area and that more non-Javanese travel to the Javanese area. Also it should be mentioned that there is more social mobility in Indonesia than had been the case in previous centuries. It is not unusual for a man of modest background to become a national leader.

1.3.2. Indonesian as the National Language

With the decision to use Malay as the national language came the problem of how to express many new concepts in that language. Suddenly Indonesian had to contain and express the concepts expressed by the regional languages, including Javanese, and concepts brought by modern science and technology, and the accompanying way of life.

1.3.2.1. Javanese Concepts

Though the Malays and the Javanese in Indonesia have received similar outside influences, such as Hinduism, Islam, European colonisation, and the short Japanese occupation, they nevertheless have developed differently. The Malays have customs and ideas that the Javanese do not have and vice versa. Javanese, as a regional language, does not have the obligation to contain and express all Malay concepts, but Indonesian as the national language, must sooner or later be able to express all the Javanese concepts. Situations in which it might become necessary

to express ideas that formerly had been expressed only in Javanese are, e.g. judicial matters, writing or lecturing on Javanese culture or history, parliamentary debates, translating or re-writing Javanese literary works, daily news reports in the newspaper and on radio, i.e., in any situation requiring the expression of an idea or concept peculiar to Javanese life. For this, Indonesian must adopt many Javanese technical words, with or without changes in their pronunciation. Sometimes a direct translation of Javanese phrases or compound words is made, and sometimes a kind of word blending occurs. Recently the number of word borrowings from Javanese has been tremendous, and as a result there have been several innovations in Indonesian phonology and morphology. The following chapters discuss in detail these borrowings and innovations.

1.3.2.2. *The Need to Express Polite and Humorous Ideas*

Malay, like many other languages, has forms which indicate respect, distance, recognition, and class, but these are not as complete and wide-ranged as the Javanese forms. The Javanese (and also the Sundanese, the Balinese, the Madurese), who have been so conditioned by these ideas, must use Indonesian in their daily lives. They feel a need to express in Indonesian these complex ideas of respect. The existing Malay words are not enough. Therefore some Javanese words such as the following have been adopted into Indonesian: *paq* 'a term of address for an older man', *ténja* '*faeces*' (used as a politer form than the existing Malay word *tai* '*faeces*'). Sometimes calques are made of Javanese euphemisms. For example for *béraq* '*defecate*' or *kencing* '*urinate*' the form *kebelakang* '*go to the back*' is substituted. This form is a calque of the Javanese *nèng mburi* '*go to the back*' which is used to mean '*go to the toilet*'.

The Javanese, in addition to being very concerned with politeness, are known for their sense of humour. Most well-known Indonesian comedians come from the Javanese speaking areas. Since Javanese is rich in humorous words and expressions which Malay lacks, some Javanese humorous words have been adopted into Indonesian, e.g. *ngak-ngik-ngôk* 'term for Western pop music', *diciduq*, literally '*to be scooped*' which is used to mean '*to be arrested*'. Some of these humorous words entered the Indonesian vocabulary via Omgong Djakarta.

1.3.2.3. *Modern Western Ideas*

Indonesian must also be able to express concepts connected with modern science, technology, and economic and political life. Malay

did not have words for bomb, jet, cosmonaut, laboratory, research, president, cabinet, labour strike, depression, cancer, court appeal, etc. Many of these concepts were introduced into Indonesian through Dutch; some of the more recent ones by English textbooks and professors. The Dutch or the English words were adopted with or without some phonological adjustments. Often, however, either old or modern Javanese words were used if Malay could not produce appropriate translations, e.g. wawancara '*interview*', pidana '*criminal (law)*', môngôq '*to strike*', imbuhan '*affix*'. Many of these are of Sanskrit origin.

1.3.2.4. *The Need for Poetical Expressions*

With the founding of the cultural periodical *Pudjangga Baru* modern Indonesian literature was born. Since that time there has been an increasing need for words having literary connotations. A large amount of Javanese poetic vocabulary has been imported into Indonesian. Some of these forms are taken from the Old Javanese poetic language, Kawi, e.g. teruna '*young*', and some from modern Javanese, e.g. watas '*border*', waja '*steel*'. It is interesting that there is a tendency to consider forms with initial /w/ as poetic. For example, watas and waja are considered poetic, while their cognates in Malay batas '*border*' and baja '*steel*' are not (see 2.2.6., 5.1.5.).

1.3.3. *The Status of Djakarta*

Djakarta, the capital of Indonesia, is the most important city in the country. It is the largest city and the centre of modern Indonesian life: not only is it the seat of the central government, but it is also the centre of business, the location of the chief international harbour and airport, the centre of national art movements, and the site of the best schools and university in the country. Djakarta, is, in fact, the source from which modern Indonesian culture has spread. It is nowadays the most prestigious city in Indonesia. Whatever is popular in Djakarta, music, dance, or dress styles, gradually spreads throughout the country. So does the use of language. Words of Javanese origin such as plin-plan '*opportunistic, having two faces*', ngompréng '*misusing government cars for one's own benefit*' which were recently adopted in Djakarta have been accepted and used in many towns in Indonesia. Since the Indonesian used in Djakarta contains many Javanese elements, many of those elements, too, have been spread to other islands.

N O T E S

1. People living in West Irian speak Papuan languages, and the rest speak Austronesian languages. Numbers given are rough calculations based on *Sensus Penduduk 1961 Seluruh Indonesia, seri SP II*. Numbers of islands and languages are an approximation generally agreed upon.
2. Malay is also the native language of the Malays living on the Malay peninsula and north coast of Borneo.
3. In 1965 there was an evening edition of a daily paper *Waspada*, but it lasted only for several months. The two weekly magazines are *Panjebar Semangat* (in Surabaya) and *Mekar Sari* (in Jogjakarta). One other popular magazine also called *Waspada* was banned by the government in 1965 together with the daily paper.
4. Phonemic transcription will be used for all citations in Indonesian (including Malay) and Javanese. The phonology of Old Malay and Javanese are given in 2.1. Additional phonemes which have since been added to Malay and Indonesian are discussed in the subsequent sections of Chapter II.
5. wayang is a Javanese performance, usually with leather puppets which cast a shadow on a screen, but sometimes with wooden puppets or with live players. Most of the stories that are performed are taken from one of the Indian epics Mahabharata or Ramayana. Panji is an epic of Javanese origin.
6. All citations in Malay, Indonesian and Javanese which are longer than single words or very short phrases will be numbered as M.X, I.X, J.X respectively (where X represents any number). Numbers will be

consecutive, regardless of the language being cited, unless a citation in one language is a translation of a citation in another language, in which case both citations will have the same number.

7. There is a Malay phrase *tiada tahu bahasa* 'lit. *doesn't know language*, i.e. *doesn't know etiquette*', but this is different from *tiada panday bicara bahasa* 'is not good at speaking bahasa'.
8. *Hikajat Hasanuddin* (Edel, J. 1938) is an example of an entire work being translated from Javanese (Banten dialect) into Malay. At least the latter half of *Hikajat Banjar* (Ras 1968) shows numerous Javanisms. One may suspect that this was also the work of a Javanese author.
9. See Lance Castles 1967.
10. This figure is a rough calculation based on Kähler 1966. Actually about 10% of the Omong Djakarta vocabulary is clearly of Javanese origin. Another 30%, approximately, is shared by Javanese and one or more of the following: Sundanese, Balinese, Madurese, Sasak.
11. Calculated from Susan Finch and Daniel Lev 1965:213-222 and from *Indonesia* VI:193.
12. For the extent of the influence of Javanese on the Malay used in Bandjar, see Ras 1968.
13. A gamelan is a Javanese orchestra consisting mainly of drums, gongs, and xylophones of various shapes and sizes.
14. Gestapu is the name given to a movement which erupted in 1965, in which several army generals were killed. The counter action to the Gestapu resulted in the elimination of the Indonesian Communist Party, and eventually the downfall of Sukarno.
15. The sentence was taken from Poerwadarminta 1961:288.
16. See Muhammad Yamin 1951, Sanusi Pane 1949.
17. Ajip Rosidi 1962.
18. These children stories, which are written by anonymous writers, were published by G. Kolff & Co., Bandung, n.d.

19. Samsuddin Salleh 1937.

20. Herman Pratikta 1962, 1964-1968, Mintardja, S.H. 1965-1968,
Hardjowirogo 1965.

CHAPTER II
 JAVANESE INFLUENCE ON INDONESIAN PHONOLOGY

2. TYPES OF INFLUENCE

Javanese has influenced Indonesian phonology by introducing new phonemes, by causing the spread of some phonemes to new environments, by increasing the frequency of some phonemes and some sequences of phonemes, by reducing the frequency of diphthongs, and by introducing varying pronunciations of some phonemes.

Most of these changes have made their way into Indonesian only recently, but a few of them came much earlier. In the past, Malay added two vowels, /é/ and /o/, and a new phonemic arrangement: initial /w/. Recently the vowel /ô/, the contrast between /k/ and /q/, the phonemic sequences -eC#, #NC +voice
+stop - (i.e. voiced stop preceded by homorganic nasal in initial position), Cr, Cl, Cw, -np-, -ry-, -ly- have been added.

Furthermore, Javanese has been instrumental in introducing a tendency toward WORD SHORTENING into Indonesian, e.g. ngkali for barangkali 'perhaps' (2.5., below).

2.1. THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW PHONEMES

The Old Malay consonant phonemes¹ were:

	labial	dental/ alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stops: voiceless	p	t	c	k	
voiced	b	d	j	g	
fricative	s				h
trill	r				
lateral	l				
nasal	m	n	ny	ng	
glide	w		y		

The Old Malay vowel phonemes² were:

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid		e	
low		a	

Old Malay also had the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/.³

The Javanese consonant phonemes⁴ are:

	labial	dental	alveolar	palatal	velar	glottal
stop: voiceless	p	t	t̚	c	k	q
voiced	b	d	ɖ	j	g	
fricative			s			
trill			r			
lateral			l			
nasal	m		n	ny	ng	
glide	w			y		

The Javanese vowel phonemes⁵ are:

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	é	e	o
low	è	a	ô

2.1.1. The Introduction of /é/

As the chart in section 2.1. indicated Old Malay had no /i/ /é/ contrast. This is evidenced by the treatment of older layers of borrowings into Malay from Javanese and other languages. Forms with /é/ or /è/ were most frequently borrowed with /i/, e.g. from Javanese, pengantèn 'bride, groom' was borrowed as pengantin, gendèr 'Javanese brass xylophone' was borrowed as gendir, radèn 'title for a lesser nobleman' as radin, awèt 'long lasting' as awit, gandèn 'wooden hammer' as gandin, ambèn as ambin, anggrèq 'orchid' as anggeriq, pabéan 'custom house' as pebian, kéncò 'molasses' as kinca; from Spanish réal 'the name of money' was borrowed as rial; from Portuguese éspingarda 'name of a rifle' was borrowed as istinggar; from English 'cap' (in a rifle) was borrowed as kip; from Dutch pétje 'cap, hat' was borrowed as picí. A few Javanese forms with -é were borrowed with /ay/, e.g. capé 'tired' was borrowed as capay, saté 'a kind of chopped steak' was borrowed as satay, katé 'dwarf' as katay, landé(y)an 'spear stand' as landayan, kadé(y)an 'friend, relative' as kadayan. There is one

Javanese form in which /é/ was borrowed as -ih, i.e. *parlenté 'stalwart and dandy man'*, which in Malay became *perlintah*.

In addition there is the fact that many inherited Malay words nowadays have competing forms with /i/ and /é/, e.g. there is *gorés* beside *guris 'scratch'*, *bénténg* beside *blnting 'fortress'*, *béluq* beside *biluq 'luff (part of a sail on a boat)'*, *genténg* beside *genting 'tiles'*, *lembéq* '*soft, weak*' beside *lembiq*, *sépét* beside *sipit 'narrow (of eyes)'*, *pérang* beside *pirang 'blonde'*, and *pétah* beside *pitah 'fluent in speaking'*.

Because of this evidence we may draw the conclusion that Malay /é/ and /i/ were originally one phoneme. The /i/ /é/ contrast was introduced at a relatively late date.

The following explanation may account for the fact that in some borrowings /é/ was treated as /ay/. The principal allophone of /ay/ is [æ̣]. Its acoustic qualities are thus much like Javanese /é/. There is another possible reason why /é/ was borrowed as /ay/. Javanese /é/ corresponds historically to Malay /ay/ (e.g. Malay *balay 'hall'*, Javanese *balé 'hall'*). Thus a Javanese, speaking Malay, could create Malay forms by substituting -ay for -é, and thus evidently also create new Malay forms by analogy from Javanese forms ending in -é even where there was no Malay cognate. Such words then spread into Malay.

With regards to the Javanese form *parlenté* which was borrowed as *perlintah*, the following hypothesis may be given. The contrast between /ih/ and /i/ is mainly manifested in the height of the vowel in many Malay dialects, even today. The devoicing of the vowel at the end is not as important an auditory signal as the lowering of the /i/ before the /h/, thus it is clear why *parlenté* should come into such a dialect as *perlintah*.

Middle Malay developed a contrast between /i/ and /é/. The following is a hypothesis as to how /é/ was introduced. First of all, by this time a number of Javanese words with /é/ as well as words with /i/ had been borrowed into Malay. When these words were pronounced by native speakers of Javanese, the /é/ contrasted with /i/. Malay speakers heard these forms pronounced by Javanese speakers, since the people who wrote and performed orally the Javo-Malay literature were most certainly speakers of Javanese (if not native, they knew Javanese as a second language). Since Malay speakers from their earliest childhood heard these forms pronounced orally, it is not unnatural that they should hear the distinction between /i/ and /é/, and further since poet performers enjoyed a good measure of prestige, it is clear that their pronunciation would be imitated. Secondly, Javanese does not have a

diphthong /ay/, which occurs in Malay. Malay words with /ay/ have Javanese cognates, with /é/, e.g. Malay (Ml) *balay* 'hall, house' is cognate with Javanese (Jv) *balé*, Ml *panday* 'smart, clever' is cognate with Jv *panḍé* 'expert', Ml *ngaray* with Jv *ngaré* 'valley', Ml *buley* 'albino' with Jv *bulé*. Javanese speakers in speaking Malay often substituted /é/ for Malay /ay/. This usage spread to Malay, perhaps again through the influence of the purveyors of the Javo-Malay literature. This development accounts for the older Malay doublets with /ay/ and /é/, e.g. *cabay* 'red pepper' beside *cabé*, *bulay* 'albino' beside *bulé*.⁶

Now Javanese words with /é/ are regularly borrowed into Indonesian without changing the vowel, e.g. Indonesian now has *jaé* 'ginger', *kéré* 'beggar', *lonté* 'prostitute', *lénté* or *perlénté* 'wanderer', *kaspé*⁷ 'cassava', *katé* 'dwarf', *geḍé*⁸ 'big', *lawé* 'yarn', *selawé* 'twenty-five', *saté* 'roasted meat on skewers', *soré* 'afternoon', *sepélé* 'trivial', *bertélé-télé* 'exhausted', *tiké* 'opium', *témpé* 'bean curd cake'.

Javanese words with /é/ which were originally borrowed into Malay with /i/ now change the /i/ back to /é/. Thus a phenomenon of RELAXIFICATION is taking place. For example Jv *radèn* 'a title for a lesser nobleman' which was originally borrowed as *radin* has now become *radén*. Jv *pabéan* 'custom house' which was originally borrowed as *pebian* has now become *pabéan*.

In the mean time some form of hyper-formation has also occurred. Words with /i/ from Javanese or other languages are often borrowed with /é/, e.g. Javanese *tiwas* 'killed' is borrowed as *tewas*, *liwat* 'pass through' as *léwat*; Dutch *winkel* 'shop' is borrowed as *béngkél*; Sanskrit *divaça* 'time' is borrowed as *déwasa*⁹ 'time, adult'.

As noted previously, many Malay inherited words with /i/ now have competing forms with /é/. Of these doublets, in Indonesia the forms with /é/ are usually more common than those with /i/. Many Indonesians say that those with /i/ are the Malaysian forms. For example *gorés* is competing with *guris* 'scratch', *lembéq* with *lembiq* 'soft, weak'. Some inherited Malay words which originally had /i/ now normally always have /é/ instead, e.g. original *belirang* 'sulphur' in Indonesian has become *belérang*, *sipaq* 'kick' has become *sépaq*.

/é/ is now also often substituted in old borrowings which had /i/ in the language of origin and were originally borrowed with /i/. Thus from Arabic *nasihāt* 'advice' was borrowed as *nasihat* but is now *naséhat*, *sihat* 'healthy' was borrowed as *sihat* but has now become *séhat*, *hakiykat* 'truth' was borrowed as *hakikat* but has now become *hakékat*.

2.1.2. The Introduction of /o/

Old Malay had no /u/ /o/ contrast. This is evident from the treatment of older layers of borrowings into Malay. When forms with /o/ or /ô/ were borrowed from Javanese or other languages, the /o/ or /ô/ was most frequently changed to /u/, e.g. Jv bligo 'a kind of melon' was borrowed as beligu, Jv lakôn 'story, plot', was borrowed as lakun penđôq 'metal layer for a scabbard' as penduq, adôn 'dough' as adun. Portuguese veludo 'velvet', was borrowed as beledu, domingo 'Sunday' as minggu 'Sunday, week'. Dutch dinamo 'dynamo' was borrowed as dinamu 'dynamo, flashlight'. In a few forms final /o/ was borrowed as /aw/. This is parallel to /é/ being borrowed as /ay/ (see 2.1.1.). The principal allophone of /aw/ is [ao]. It is therefore plausible that /o/ in other languages was sometimes imitated as /aw/. Some examples of words with /o/ which were borrowed into Malay with /aw/ include Sanskrit atho 'and also' which was borrowed as ataw 'or',¹⁰ Spanish tabaco 'tobacco' which was borrowed as tembakaw. In other forms /o/ was borrowed as /uh/. This is parallel to Javanese /é/ being borrowed as /ih/ (see 2.1.1.). Final /uh/ is normally pronounced with a lower tongue position than /u/, i.e. [oh], and is therefore a manifestation of an attempt by the Malays to approximate the pronunciation of /o/. Some examples of Javanese words with /o/ which were borrowed into Malay with /uh/ include ngaso 'have a rest' which was borrowed as ngasuh, separo 'half' which was borrowed as separuh, ayo 'come on, lets' as ayuh, and sawo 'name of a sweet tasting fruit' as sawuh or sauh.

The process by which /o/ was introduced into Malay was probably parallel to the process by which /é/ was introduced. The influx of Javanese loanwords with /o/, especially in the Javo-Malay period, was perhaps the prime reason for the emergence of /o/ as a separate phoneme. Besides, Javanese had no diphthong /aw/. Malay did have such a diphthong. Malay words with /aw/ had Javanese cognates with /o/, e.g. Jv pulo 'island' is cognate with Ml pulaw 'island', Jv péso is cognate with Ml pisaw 'knife', Jv kebo 'buffalo' with Ml kerbau 'buffalo', Jv bango 'stork' with Ml bangaw 'stork'. In attempting to speak Malay, Javanese people who could not pronounce /aw/ would tend to substitute /o/, especially in words which had Javanese cognates with /o/. And the fact that Malay /aw/ is phonetically [a_o] would tend to encourage the connection. Thus the number of words with [o] heard by the Malays was continually increasing.¹¹

After /o/ had become a separate phoneme in Malay, words from other languages with /o/ were borrowed without change, e.g. from Javanese bongko 'name of food' was borrowed as bongko, deringo 'name of a ginger-like root' was borrowed as deringo, béo 'parrot' as béo, jago 'rooster,

champion as jago, plonco 'young watermelon, young and unexperienced' as pelonco or plonco 'candidate for university student', gađo-gađo 'name of a vegetable dish' as gado-gado, ngaso 'have a rest' as ngaso, loyo 'exhausted' as loyo; from Chinese téko 'tea kettle' was borrowed as téko 'tea pot', hanglo 'stove' was borrowed as anglo 'charcoal oven'; from Dutch radio 'radio' was borrowed as radio, torpedo 'torpedo' was borrowed as torpédo or terpédo, kilo 'kilo' as kilo, blanco 'form' was borrowed as blanko; from Minangkabau tambo 'history' was borrowed as tambo and pidato 'speech' as pidato; from Japanese motto 'M.S.G.' was borrowed as moto and heiho 'navy' as héiho.

One of the consequences of the introduction of the /u/ /o/ contrast is that many inherited words with /u/ now have alternate forms with /o/ or /ô/ (a later development of /o/ section 2.1.3. below). This may be because in some positions the Malay phoneme /u/ has lower allophones (probably in closed syllables). When the contrast between /u/ and /o/ was introduced, in words having the lower allophone of older Malay /u/, the vowel was associated with the new phoneme /o/, at least in some dialects. Also there may have been some dialects of Malay that generally had lower allophones of /u/ than did other dialects. Pronunciations originating from these low /u/ dialects, after the development of the /u/ /o/ contrast, would tend to show /o/ in places where other dialects would retain /u/. At any rate, examples of alternant pronunciations in the present day language include e.g. kantung 'pocket' occurs beside bantong, pohon 'tree' occurs beside pôhôn, lubang 'hole' beside lobang, rubah 'change' beside robah, cuba 'try' beside coba, tulung 'help' beside tôlông. This is also true of old loanwords which were originally borrowed with /u/, e.g., Javanese lakôn 'story, plot' which was originally borrowed as lakun now also has the form lakôn, penđôq 'metal layer for a scabbard' which was originally borrowed as penduq now also has the form pendôq, adôn 'dough' which was borrowed as adun now also has the form adon, kobis¹² 'cabbage' which was borrowed as kubis now also has the form kobis. Arabic ruh 'spirit' which was originally borrowed as ruh now also has the form roh. Dutch dozijn 'dozen' which was originally borrowed as dusin or lusin now also has the form dosin or losin. Sanskrit kuṭa 'fort' which was originally borrowed as kuta now also has the form kota 'town'.

The pronunciations with /o/ have now become fashionable. Where doublets with /o/ and /u/ occur, the pronunciation with /o/ is generally preferred. Many people in Indonesian say that the pronunciation with /u/ is the older or the Malaysian pronunciation, and that the pronunciation with /o/ is the Indonesian or the more modern pronunciation. As a consequence hyper "o ism" now occurs in borrowing, i.e. forms with

/u/ in Javanese and other languages are borrowed with /o/, e.g. Javanese *ulah-rôgô* 'physical exercise, sport' has been borrowed as *olah-raga*, *butô* 'giant' (ultimately from Sanskrit *bhūta* 'ghost, goblin') has been borrowed as *bota*, *buḍug* 'leper' has been borrowed as *bôdôk*.

2.1.3. The Introduction of the /o/ /ô/ Contrast

While the Malay reflex of Proto-Austronesian (PA) *a is always /a/, Javanese shows two reflexes, /a/ and /ô/:¹³

PA *buka, Ml *buka* 'open', Jv *bukô* 'open'.

PA *kala, Ml *kala* 'scorpion', Jv *kôlô* 'scorpion'.

PA *langit, Ml *langit* 'sky', Jv *langit* 'sky'.

Except for *ora* 'no, not' and literary (kawi) *mboya* 'not, not' and some loanwords, Javanese has no words with final /a/. Malay words with final /a/ usually have Javanese cognates with final /ô/. In the past, Javanese words with final /ô/ were usually borrowed into Malay with /a/, e.g. Jv *kawulô* 'I' was borrowed as *kaula* 'I', *legô* was borrowed as *lega* 'relieved', *Surôbôyô* 'name of a city' was borrowed as *Surabaya*. Now quite a few Javanese words with /-ô/ have been borrowed into Indonesian without changing the /ô/ into /a/, e.g. *kunô* 'old fashioned, ancient', *ndôrô* 'the master', *pendôpô* 'front hall, veranda', *germô* 'agent for a prostitute', *kôncô* 'friend, clique', *sôkô guru* 'main pillar', *gôgô* 'dry-field rice', *pôlôwijô* 'crops other than rice', *rômô* 'father (for a Catholic priest)', *gônô-gini* 'property belonging to both husband and wife'.

It may be that famous personal names like *Sukarno* /*sukarnô*/, *Suharto* /*suhartô*/, *Subandrijo* /*subandriyô*/ and *Hamengkubuwono* /*hamengkubuwônô*/ were instrumental in introducing /ô/ as a phoneme into Indonesian. It is considered impolite to change the pronunciation of a name, particularly that of a respected person. Thus Indonesians would make special efforts to pronounce such names correctly.

Actually it is not so difficult for an Indonesian to produce /ô/, because Indonesian did have [ô] before this time. However, Indonesian [ô] was not phonemic; it was an allophone of /o/ occurring in a final closed syllable, as in [kântông] 'pocket', or in the penultimate syllable of a word having [ô] in the final syllable, as in [tôlông] 'help', or for some speakers in the penultimate syllable if the final syllable had either an /a/, as in [lôbang] 'hole', or /-éC/ as in *tôkéq* 'gecko'. Now that words with final [ô] have come into Indonesian, the [ô] contrasts with [o] in that position, and the two vowels must be regarded as separate phonemes. An example of a minimal pair is *gôgô* 'dry unirrigated rice field, or the rice produced' and *gogo* or *tari agogo* 'agogo-dance'.¹⁴ There may still be some speakers who have difficulty

distinguishing between the two, but with increasing contact between the non-Javanese and the Javanese, the /ô/ or /o/ contrast is becoming more and more widespread. Nowadays most Indonesians, especially the young, including the non-Javanese, hear perfectly the difference in the /ô/ and /o/ of bakô 'eternal' and mbako 'tobacco',¹⁵ or in padi gôgô 'rice of an unirrigated field' and tari agogo 'agogo dance'.

With the emergence of the phoneme /ô/, such words such as [tôlông] 'help', [kantông] 'pocket' in which in older Malay were phonemically /tolong/ and /kantung/ in current Indonesian are /tôlông/ and /kantông/.

The occurrence of /ô/ in final position in Indonesian is still limited for the most part to Javanese loans. However, there is an Omong Djakarta form sônô 'over there' which developed from sana 'there' under Javanese influence. There are also several words of Arabic origin such as Ibrahim 'Abraham', saléh 'pious', baka 'eternal' which are pronounced by devout Indonesian muslims as ibrôhim, sôleh and bakô. The Arabic /a/ is somewhat more back than either Indonesian or Javanese /a/. Javanese Islamic scholars interpreted this as /ô/ rather than /a/. This pronunciation has now spread even to non-Javanese devout muslims.

In Javanese the development of a contrast between /a/ and /ô/ is recent. In former times [ô] was an allophone of /a/, since [ô] was confined to open final syllables or to open penultimate syllables in forms with [ô] also in the final syllable, and [a] occurred elsewhere. The contrast probably developed with the analogizing of the pretonic form ora 'no, not' to stressed position. This became possible as more and more Javanese learned to speak Malay, and thus came to make a contrast between [a] and [ô] in final position. Since [ô] was originally an allophone of /a/, /ô/ was written with the letter a.¹⁶ Furthermore, Malay formerly borrowed Javanese words ending in /ô/ with /a/. Both Malay and Javanese speakers felt them to be equivalent. However, formerly there was no final /a/ in Javanese and the typical mark of a Javanese accent was the inability to pronounce final /a/. On the other hand, the Malays in Java used to be considered unable to pronounce final /ô/ by the Javanese. Unlike the Javanese, the Dutch tended to spell Javanese /ô/ with the letter o. Because of these conflicting spelling tendencies, some individual words have had interesting histories in Indonesian. Javanese names like Sukarno and Suharto have generally been accepted with the Dutch spelling, though some old, conservative Javanese might still write Sukarna and Suharta.¹⁷ Because of the Javanese spellings of cities like Surabaya and Jogjakarta for /surôbbôyô/ and /yogyôkartô/ they are now pronounced /surabaya/ and /yogyakarta/ or /jokjakarta/ by non-Javanese. On the other hand, the

Dutch spelling of Solo, another name for Surakarta,¹⁸ has stuck, and thus non-Javanese and even young Javanese too, tend to give it a spelling pronunciation /solo/ rather than the correct /sôlô/ or the expected Malay form */sala/.

2.1.4. The Introduction of the /k/ /q/ Contrast

As indicated by the chart in 2.1., Old Malay did not have a contrast between /k/ and /q/. The Old Malay phoneme /k/ probably had two allophones, [q] in word final position and possibly before /k/, and [k] elsewhere. A [q] which was not an allophone of /k/ may have occurred between like vowels, but if it did, its presence did not contrast with hiatus, though it contrasted with the phoneme /h/.

During the Middle Malay period a number of words were borrowed from Arabic with [q], usually intervocalic, such as saqat '*moment, period*', rekaqat '*phrase of a prayer*'. Whether the VqV sequence was treated phonemically as hiatus or whether the [q] was introduced at this point as a new phoneme is not clear. In some cases it may have been associated with /h/. That there was ambiguity in its treatment is indicated by the variety of modern spellings and pronunciations for common words of Arabic origin such as the word for '*Friday*', which is variously rendered as jumqat, jumaqat, jumat, jumahat.

By the end of the Middle Malay period there was probably a phoneme /q/ in the phonemic inventory of some Malay speakers, particularly those who knew Arabic well, but at this time it was of only limited occurrence and its functional value was minimal. It is due to Javanese influence in recent times that the /k/ /q/ contrast has been definitely established in Indonesian. Javanese introduced [k] in final position where formerly only [q] occurred.

The reflexes of both final PA *g and PA *k are /-q/ in Malay, though the reflex of *g is /g/ and that of *k is /k/ in other positions¹⁹ e.g. PA *jejeg, Ml jejaq '*step, foot print*'; PA *batuk, Ml batuq '*cough*'; PA *budak, Ml budaq '*child*'; PA *tekik, Ml tekéq '*Gecko*'. The reflex of PA *-g is /-k/ in Javanese, though it is usually spelled -g (ꦒ in Javanese script), e.g. PA *jejeg, Jv jejek '*stand erect*'; PA *jajag, Jv jajak '*to measure the depth of a river or something by stepping oneself onto it*'; PA *durug, Jv luruk '*to raid, attack*'; PA *ḍugḍug, Jv ḍôḍôk '*to knock*'. The reflex of PA *-k is /-k/ following /e/ and /-q/ elsewhere, e.g. PA *batuk, Jv watuq '*caugh*'; PA *buḍak, Jv buḍaq '*servant*'; PA *tekik, Jv tekéq '*gecko*'; PA *ḍabuk, Jv ḍawuq '*grey*'; PA *u(n)tek, Jv utek '*brain*'; PA *seksek, Jv sesek '*crowded, packed*'. Thus /k/ and /q/ contrast in final position in Javanese whereas in Old

and Middle Malay, as noted above, they did not contrast at all.

In the past Javanese words which had final /-k/ when borrowed into Malay changed the /-k/ to /-q/, e.g. Jv *côcôk* 'fitting, suitable' was borrowed as *côcôq*, *grobak* 'oxen cart' was borrowed as *gerobaq*, *gôblôk* 'stupid' was borrowed as *gôb(e)lôq*, *gladaq* 'dock of a ship' was borrowed as *geladaq*.

Now Indonesian has many words with final /k/. The following are a few examples of borrowings from Javanese: *bedok* 'mosque drum', *gelédék* *geluduk* 'thunder', *gabak* 'measles', *gedok* 'wooden puppet', *gudik* 'a kind of skin disease', *gudek* 'a kind of dish made of the meat of jack-fruit with coconut milk and other spices', *gôdôk* 'boil', *budek* 'deaf', *gedék* 'bamboo-wall', *godék* 'sideburn', *g(e)rebek* 'raid', *mandek* 'stop, unable to continue running or functioning', *ajek* 'steady, stable, constant', *amblek* 'collapse', *pilek* 'have a cold and running nose'. The older borrowings listed before are now usually pronounced with /k/ instead of /q/. Thus *côcôk*, *grobak*, *geladak* etc.

Javanese is not the only language that has contributed a large number of such words with /-k/ to Indonesian. Dutch has also contributed a large number of such words, e.g. Dutch *kritiek* 'criticism', was borrowed as *k(e)ritik*, *republiek* 'republic' was borrowed as *republik*, *paniek* 'panic', was borrowed as *panik*, *praktijk* 'practice' was borrowed as *p(e)raktik* or *p(e)rakték*, *asbak* 'ashtray' was borrowed as *asbak*, *aspect* 'aspect' was borrowed as *aspék*. English has contributed several loanwords, too, e.g. *trek* 'truck' from *truck*, *bék* 'defend in soccer game' from *back*. It must be Javanese, however, rather than Dutch or English, that is responsible for introducing the /k/ and /q/ distinction into Indonesian. Javanese has a contrast between /-k/ and /-q/ (e.g. *papaq* 'dull, not sharp', *papak* 'to meet, fetch'; *tutoq* 'mouth', *tutok* 'satisfied, reaching the end'), whereas Dutch and English have none. Dutch or English words with final /-k/ might just as well have been borrowed into Indonesian with /-q/ if the contrast had not already been introduced.

Now the /k/ and /q/ contrast has also been firmly established in medial position. There are the forms mentioned above of Arabic origin: *rekaqat* 'phrase of a prayer', *saqat* 'moment', etc., which contrast with forms having medial /k/ (e.g. *makan* 'eat'). Furthermore, when suffixes are added to roots with /-q/ the normal Malay alternation is to change /q/ to /k/. E.g. *masuk* 'enter' + *peN-* -an²⁰ forms *pemasukan* 'entrance'. However, the Javanese alternation is to retain /q/ (e.g. *tabôq* 'slap' + *-i* forms *tabôqi* 'slap'), and this has been taken over into Indonesian sporadically. Thus there is now a competing form *pemasukan* and *pemasuqan* 'entrance'. Similarly *tumpuq* + *-i* forms *tumpuki* 'to pile

something on' and alternatively *tumpuqi*; *pôndôq* + *-an* forms *pôndôkan* 'lodgings' or *pôndôqan*.

2.2. THE SPREAD OF PHONEMES TO NEW ENVIRONMENTS

Javanese has been instrumental in introducing the following sequences of phonemes into Indonesian: (1) final *-eC#*, (2) the initial homorganic nasal stop clusters *#mb-*, *#nd-*, *#nj-* and *#ngg-*, (3) the consonant clusters *Cr*, *Cl*, *Cw*, (4) the intervocalic consonant clusters *-np-*, *-ry-*, *-ly-*. In addition Javanese has been instrumental in causing the spread of two Indonesian phonemes to positions within words in which they did not previously occur. Thus Indonesian now has (5) initial *#w-*, and (6) intervocalic *-w-*.

2.2.1. The Introduction of Final *-eC#*

Malay did not have /e/ in final syllables. The PA **-eC* in final syllables became Malay /aC/ and Javanese /eC/. In penultimate syllables PA **e* became /e/ in both languages.²¹

In older borrowings from Javanese with *-eC#*, the *-eC#* was usually changed to *-aC#*, e.g. Jv *serem* 'hair raising' became Ml *seram*, Jv *pecel* 'name of a salad made of mostly native vegetables with a very hot peanut sauce) became Ml *pecal*, Jv *mantep* 'determined' became Ml *mantap* 'stable', Jv *pinter* became Ml *pintar* 'smart'. Sometimes if the Javanese word had /a/ in the penultimate syllable and /e/ finally the vowels were metathesised, as in Jv *mangkel* 'annoyed' which was borrowed as *mengkal*. There are a few examples of borrowings where *-eC#* was changed to *-éC#*, e.g. Jv *ruwet* 'confused, muddled' which became Ml *ruét* or *ruét*, Jv *sareng* 'together' which became Ml *saréng*. *-aC#* is the expected pronunciation by a Malay speaker in attempting to imitate a Javanese word with *-eC#*. When such a word is borrowed with *-éC#*, it is probably a spelling pronunciation, since in the romanised writing system the letter e stands for either Malay /e/ or /é/, but only /é/ occurs in final syllables.

The patterns described above also hold for Malay borrowings from other languages such as English and Dutch. There are a number of borrowings in which the English or Dutch final *-eC#* became *-aC#* in Malay, or in which *-CC#* became *-CaC#*, e.g. from English 'waistcoat' became *béskat*,²² 'driver' became *derêbar*, 'broker' became *berokar*, from Dutch *reserve* [resérfe] became *serap*, *balsem* /balsem/ 'balm' became *balsam*, *reken* /réken/ 'reckon, count' became *rékan*. There are also a number of cases where /e/ is borrowed as /é/ in final syllables: e.g. from Dutch *meester* 'master, lawyer' was borrowed as *méstér*, *winkel*

'shop, garage' was borrowed as béngkél, meter 'meter' was borrowed as métér, modern [modéren] 'modern' as modérén, aaneemer 'contractor' as anémér. In the final syllable of some words -ôC# was substituted for -eC#, especially if the spelling was -oC, e.g. Dutch or English 'doctor' was borrowed as dôktôr, Dutch koffer 'suitcase' was borrowed as kôpôr.

In Javanese borrowings such as above usually have -eC# instead of -aC# or -éC# or -ôC#, e.g. mèster, mèter, modéren, rèken, anèmer, dokter, kôper.

Modern Indonesian borrowings of Javanese forms with -eC# retain the vowel of the final syllable. This list is extensive. The following is a small sample: angker 'awe inspiring', mandek 'stop, unable to continue running or functioning', ruwet 'confused or muddled', luwes 'graceful', anteng 'clam and quiet', ngganteng 'handsome', ancer-ancer 'main outline of guidance or direction', sirep 'abated, calm down', adem 'cool, quiet', apem 'a pancake made of rice flour', kangen 'nostalgic', incer 'aim carefully and quietly', serem 'hair-raising', pilek 'having a cold, and a running nose', gurem 'chicken lice'.

The influence of the pronunciation -eC# in Modern Indonesian is so strong that even inherited words which had -aC# and which have no cognates in Javanese are sometimes pronounced with -eC# in colloquial speech. This is probably the result of a direct influence from Omong Djakarta, because in this dialect of Malay many words which have -aC# in standard Indonesian, particularly those of high frequency, are pronounced with -eC#. The spread of -eC# to Indonesian, then, is the result of indirect Javanese influence via Omong Djakarta. Or perhaps it is the influence of Javanese Indonesian, because in the dialect of many Javanese who speak Indonesian, many words which have -aC# in standard Indonesian are pronounced with -eC#. ²³ Some examples of words which commonly contain /e/ in the final syllable instead of /a/ in colloquial speech include macem-macem for macam-macam 'various kinds', dapet for dapat 'can, able to', males for malas 'lazy', deket for dekat 'near'. These forms are considered substandard by purists.

Javanese is not the only language which has -eC#. Sundanese, Balinese, Sasak, and Madurese also have this sequence. However, the vast majority of forms with -eC# in Indonesian are clearly Javanese in origin.

2.2.2. The Introduction of Initial Homorganic Nasal-Stop Clusters

Javanese has the initial consonant clusters /mb/, /nd/, /nɲ/, /nj/, and /ngg/. Malay did not. The sequences /mb/, /nd-/, /ng-/, and /ngg-/ now occur in Indonesian as the result of unassimilated borrowings such as mbôq 'title of reference for a low ranking woman', mbaqyu 'a term of reference for an older married woman', ndôrô 'master (a term of reference for a higher ranking employer in Java by a servant)', mbetawi 'Batavia, Djakarta', ndemaq 'Demak', njagalan 'Djagalan (name of a quarter in Jogja)', nggembôs 'weak, all energies being used up; flat (for a tire)'. The nasal-stop clusters in such borrowings have been reinforced in Indonesian by the prefix N-, also a borrowing from Javanese.²⁴ When this prefix is added to a verb root beginning with a voiced stop, the resultant form begins with a homorganic nasal plus a voiced stop. Thus, to list just a few examples, the following verb forms now occur in Indonesian: mbôlôs 'to malinge', mbôrông 'to buy wholesale', ndongéng 'to tell a tale', ndôngkôl 'to be annoyed', njambrét 'to snatch, pick-pocket', njéwér 'to pull somebody's eat', nggrayaq or nggerayaq 'to rob, loot', nggubris 'to heed, to pay attention to'.

2.2.3. The Introduction of Consonant Clusters /Cɪ/, /Cr/ and /Cw/

In Javanese there is a contrast between /Cɪ/ and /Ceɪ/ as in plòk 'clap clap (the sound of applause or the palm of the hand hitting something)' versus pelôq 'mango seed'; blòk 'block, area' versus belôq 'an instrument in which a prisoner's feet are planted'. Javanese also has a contrast between /Cr/ and /Ceɾ/ as in sri 'girl's name' vs. seri 'a draw, a tie'; kricaq 'egg shell' vs. kericaq 'it tickles, brother'; bro or brah 'flaming, sparkling' vs. berô 'untilled (land)', beraq 'to work as a labourer'. Javanese contrasts /CwV/ and /cu(w)V/,²⁵ as in kwitansi 'receipt' vs. kuwi tangsi 'that is a barrack'; dwi 'two (in Kawi)' vs. duwé 'to have'. Malay had none of these contrasts.²⁶ Thus when Malay borrowed Javanese words with these clusters, the clusters were changed to Ceɾ- as in keripéq from Jv kripéq 'a kind of chip', Ceɪ- as in gelédék from Jv glèdèk 'thunder', CuV- as in kuini from Jv kwèni 'a kind of mango'.²⁷ Sometimes, there were exceptions. For example, the Javanese word trenggiléng 'name of an animal' was borrowed into Malay as tenggiléng, simplifying the cluster by dropping the second consonant altogether. Sanskrit words with pra-, which were usually borrowed with pra- in Javanese, appear in Malay with per- instead of pra-. The change of pra- to per- in Malay is expected since vowels of the antepenult or earlier always became /e/ at the time of these borrowings,²⁸ and in the sequence CreC- the /e/ and /r/

were regularly metathesised. E.g. Sanskrit (Skt) *prathamá* 'the first', though *pratômô* in Javanese, became *pertama* in Malay. Similarly Skt *prakāra* 'matter, case', though *prakôrô* in Javanese, became *perkara* in Malay.

/Cr/, /Cl/ and /Cw/ clusters occur in current Indonesian. It seems, again, that personal names with such clusters have been the starting point. Thus names of Javanese political leaders like Tjokroaminoto /côkrôaminôtô/, Prijono /priyônô/, Ali Sastroamidjojo /ali sastrôamijôyô/ were important in the introduction of consonant clusters in Indonesian. Then probably other personal names like Dwidjo /dwijô/, Slamet /slamet/, Broto /brôtô/ and names of days and places like Kliwon 'one of the days of the five-day week system', Blitar, Klatèn 'names of cities' began to be pronounced with clusters.

Another important factor in the introduction of these clusters into Indonesian, is that they also occur in Sundanese, Madurese and Balinese, and these are native languages of many Indonesian speakers. Still another factor is that educated Indonesians in general pronounce English and Dutch borrowings with these clusters accurately, e.g. *klik* 'clique', *presidén* 'president', *kwalitét* or *kwalita* 'quality'. In Indonesian one is stigmatised for being unable to pronounce these clusters.²⁹

New Indonesian vocabulary items borrowed from Old Javanese or Kawi now usually retain their clusters, e.g. *kepribadian* 'personality', *pamông praja* 'civil service', *pria* 'male', *dwi-windu* 'period of sixteen years'.

Javanese words with clusters in the final syllable seem to be consistently pronounced with clusters when borrowed into Indonesian, but those in non-final syllables are sometimes still pronounced with an epenthesised /e/, as in *ng(e)lômprôt* 'sloppy' from Jv *nglômprôt*, *prihatin* or *perihatin* 'abstain from pleasure in order to achieve something good in the future' from Jv *prihatin*, *p(e)rimbôn* 'book of astrology' from Jv *primbôn*, *ambias* from Jv *ambias* 'gone, swept or eliminated away', *ambles* from Jv *ambles* 'sink under the surface', *kamprét* 'young bat, (or sometimes used as a personal name)' from Jv *kamprèt*.

Now that the clusters are firmly established it sometimes happens in Indonesian that even inherited Malay words with Cer-, Cel- are pronounced with the clusters Cr- and Cl-. However, such pronunciations are usually considered colloquial.³⁰ Thus *blakang* is colloquial for *belakang* 'back', *seblah* is colloquial for *sebelah* 'at the side', *prasaqan* is colloquial for *perasaqan* 'feeling', *brapa* is colloquial for *berapa* 'how much'.

2.2.4. The Introduction of the Cluster -np-

Malay did not have the cluster -np-. Javanese has this cluster. Malay tended to change a borrowing with -np- or -nf- to -mp-, making the nasal homorganic with the following stop. The Dutch word *conferentie* 'conference' was first borrowed as *komperéngsi* or *komperénsi*. Now through Javanese loans, the cluster -np- has been introduced into Indonesian. Though the number of Javanese loans with this cluster is very limited, the word *tanpa* 'without' is of very high frequency, enough so to change the system. Now even the word for 'conference' is pronounced *kônperénsi* or *kônferénsi* especially by the educated Indonesians.

2.2.5. The Introduction of the Clusters -ry-, -ly-

Malay did not have the clusters -ry- and -ly-. Javanese did have these clusters. In older borrowings with -rya and -lya, Malay usually changed the -rya and -lya to -ria [ri(y)a] and -lia [li(y)a] respectively. Thus Javanese *suryô* 'sun' became Malay *suria* [suri(y)a], Javanese *mulyô* 'precious, noble' became *mulia* [muli(y)a]. It seems the personal names having such clusters as *Muljadi* /mulyadi/, *Surjadi* /suryadi/, and *Wirjono* /wiryônô/ initiated this introduction. Now that the clusters are established, the pronunciation of a calque for 'guerilla warfare' is no longer *perang gorila* as it used to be, but *perang gerilya*.³¹

2.2.6. The Introduction of #w-

Malay has always had intervocalic /w/, but Old Malay did not have /w/ initially. The reflex of PA *w in Malay is /w/ intervocalically and Ø initially.³² Javanese has /w/ initially as well as intervocally.

In the past Malay borrowings from Javanese which had /w-/ often changed the /w-/ to /b-/. For example, Jv *wijèn* 'sesame seed' was borrowed as *bijan* or *bijén* 'sesame seed', Jv *weluku* 'plough' was borrowed as *beluku*, Jv *wajan* 'frying pan' was borrowed as *bajan*, Jv *wijil* 'to go out, gate' was borrowed as *bijil*. The same is true of older borrowings with /w-/ or /v-/ from Sanskrit, Dutch, Portuguese, English and Tamil, e.g. from Skt, *vañça* 'lineage, family', 'race' was borrowed as *bangsa* 'nation, group, noble family', *varuna* 'god of waters' was borrowed as *baruna*, *vicaksana* 'far seeing' as *bijaksana* 'wise', *vac*, *uvāca* 'to speak, utter' as *baca* 'read'; from Portuguese, *veludo* 'velvet' was borrowed as *beledu*, *viola* 'violin' was borrowed as *biola* 'violin'; from English 'waistcoat' was borrowed as *beskat*, 'driver'

was borrowed as *derebar*; from Dutch *winkel* '*shop, garage*' was borrowed as *bingkil* or *béngkél* '*garage*'; from Tamil *wannara* '*laundryman*' was borrowed as *benara*, *wagai* '*sort, kind*' was borrowed as *bagay*. Another interesting case of this phenomenon is the word *belanda* '*Holland, Dutch*'. This probably came from the word *holland* indirectly via Portuguese *olanda*. The Portuguese word became *wolôndô* or *welôndô* in Javanese. It is a usual characteristic for Javanese to add /w-/ to a word beginning with a vowel, no matter whether it is an inherited word or a loanword.³³ *wolondo* or *welondo* was then borrowed as *belanda* by Malay. The vowel /o/ in *wolôndô* and in the expected Malay form **bolanda* was changed to /e/, because it is in the antepenultimate syllable.³⁴ In colloquial speech the Javanese form is now usually *lôndô*.³⁵

Initial /w/ is now found in Indonesian and this /w/ has now split into /w/ and /W/.³⁶ All forms with /w-/ and /W-/ are borrowings from other languages, most often from Javanese or Arabic. From Javanese, Indonesian now has *wadah* '*container*', *waja* '*steel*', *watas* '*border*', *wajar*, '*natural*', *wajan* '*frying pan*', *wadoq* '*water dam*', *wangi* '*fragrant*', *warong* '*small restaurant or store*'. From Arabic it has e.g. *Wabah* '*plague*', *Wafat* '*dead*', *Waham* '*feeling uncertain about something*', *Wakaf* '*property of the mosque*', *wali* '*guardian*', *waris* '*heir*', *wajib* '*obligation, to be obliged to*'.

Indonesian has, of course, more loans from Javanese than does the Malay used in Malaysia, because the Indonesian connection with Javanese is more intimate than that of Malay. Thus, for example, the following words are only found in Indonesian and not in Malaysian Malay: *wejangan* '*advice of a wise (and old) man*', *wataq* '*character*', *waspada* '*alert*', *waras* '*healthy*', *wawancara* '*interview*', and *wuku* '*week of the Javanese calender*'.

There are also loans with /w-/ and /W-/ both in Malay and in Indonesian from other languages, but the number is comparatively small. These are e.g. *Wét* '*law*', *Wésel* or *pôs Wésel* '*money order*', *Wörtel* '*carrot*' (from Dutch), *Wésket* '*waistcoat*'³⁷ and *Waren* '*warrent*' (from English).

Since Javanese and Arabic have contributed the largest number of words with /w-/ or (/W-/), and since their contact with Malay began at an earlier period than that of the other languages, that one or both is responsible for the introduction of initial /w/ into Malay seems clear.

Arabic borrowings into Malay with initial /w/ never changed the /w-/ into /b-/. Perhaps it was partly because all borrowings from Arabic with /w-/ were Qur'anic words, and therefore considered prestigious or even sacred by the Malays (much as Sanskrit words were

considered highly prestigious by the Javanese in the period of the Javanese Hindu kingdoms). Or perhaps it was because /w-/ had already been introduced into Malay by the Javanese.

It cannot, of course, be proven whether it was Javanese or Arabic or their combined influence which was responsible for the introduction of initial /w/ into Malay. However, the fact that there are no cases of Arabic words borrowed into Malay in which a /w-/ was changed to a /b-/ suggests that /w-/ had already been introduced at the time when Arabic became an influence.

On the /w/, /W/ contrast which is a feature of the speech of many educated Indonesians, /w/ is found in inherited words in both Javanese and Malay. Forms with /w/ borrowed from English, Dutch, and Arabic usually show /W/ in Indonesian. A few forms of English, Dutch, or Arabic origin show initial /w/. These words must have come in indirectly through Javanese, however, because direct borrowings from these languages always show /W/. Examples of Malay borrowings from Arabic with /w/, which must therefore have come in via Javanese, are waktu '*time, period*', waris '*heir, family*', wilayah '*area, region*', wujot '*from, shape, existence*', wali '*guardian*', wajib '*to be obliged to*'. Examples from Dutch are wérék or wérek '*slave trader or kidnapper*', wolanda '*Dutch, Holland*'. In support of this idea it might be mentioned that many of these words, such as wérek, wujot, wilayah, were formerly popular only in Java. And although some of them may have entered Indonesian only recently, they seem to have been in Javanese for a long time. This theory is supported by the fact that some of these words belong to the Ngoko vocabulary in Javanese, e.g. waktu or wektu is Ngoko, the Kromo of which is wekdal; welôndô is Ngoko and its Kromo is welandi. The existence of a separate Kromo doublet as well as an ordinary Ngoko form is taken to be prima facie evidence that the Ngoko form is an old borrowing, since foreign words in the Ngoko vocabulary, for which there is a Kromo equivalent, are usually old borrowings. Aside from this, such words usually have more popular synonyms in Malay. For example wilayah '*region*' is synonymous with daerah, wujot is synonymous with rupa or bentoq, and wolanda '*Holland, Dutch*' with belanda.

In connection with the phenomena discussed above we find several cases of individual words with interesting histories which can be postulated on the basis of their forms. The word warta-berita '*news*' in Indonesian must have come from Sanskrit vṛtta '*occurrence, thing happened*'. warta '*news*' must have entered into Malay indirectly via Javanese, and berita, which also means '*news*', is probably the original Malay borrowing. The Malay form must have been borrowed from Middle

Indic in which Skt /ṛ/ often became /ri/. The compound *warta-berita* is thus a dvandva compound, consisting of two forms which are ultimately from the same Sanskrit word *vṛtta*, but via different routes.³⁸ The Indonesian *keluarga* 'family' ultimately must have come from Sanskrit *kula* or *akula* 'race, family' and *varga* 'group'. Since the expected form in Malay would be **kula barga* or *akula barga*, it can be deduced that *keluarga* must have entered into Malay and Indonesian via Javanese. As already noted in (2.2.3.), the Malay development of vowels in the antepenult or preceding syllables is /e/. Treating the compound as a single word, *(e)kelewarga results. The initial /e/ dropped and /-ewa-/ did not contrast with /-ua-/. The Javanese form of this is *kulôwargô* 'family, relative'.

By similar reasoning it can be deduced that the Malay word *kula-wangsa* 'royal family' must have come from Sanskrit indirectly via Javanese. The Javanese form of this is *kulô-wôngsô* 'the aristocrats' and the expected Malay form would be **kula-bangsa*. These compound words must have come from Sanskrit *kula* 'family' and *vañça* 'lineage, family, race'.

In the past the Javanese seemed to consider /w/ to have a poetic and thus prestigious flavour. Consequently words with /w/ were selected in preference to synonyms without /w/ in writing poetry or any other literary work. The synonyms were usually their doublets with /b/.³⁹ For examples *wali* 'return' is poetic while *bali* 'return' is not. *wola-wali* 'to and fro' is poetic while *bola-bali* is not. In other cases where doublets with /w/ and /b/ occurred in Javanese, it was the form with /w/ which belonged to the Kromo vocabulary, while the form with /b/ was relegated to the Ngoko. Thus Kromo *wôs*, Ngoko *beras* 'uncooked rice'; Kromo *awrat*, Ngoko *abôt* 'heavy'. Sometimes both members of such doublets belong to the same vocabulary level but one is considered standard while the other substandard. In such cases it is always the /w/ form which is standard, and the /b/ form which is substandard. Thus in Ngoko we have the standard form *waé* 'only, just' beside the substandard *baé*. In Kromo we have the standard *wangsol* as opposed to the substandard *bangsol* 'return'. Now it seems that this special regard for the phoneme /w/ has carried over into Indonesian, at least to the extent that it is thought to have a poetic connotation. Therefore words such as *waja* 'steel', *wataq* 'character', *wewenang* 'right', *wibawa* 'authority, charisma', *watas* 'border', *wilayah* 'region, area', *wahyu* 'inspiration, message from God', *wanita* 'lady' etc. are often used in poems and rhetoric, instead of the more normal words *baja* 'steel', *sipat* 'character', *hak* or *haq* 'right', *kuasa* 'authority, power', *batas* 'border', *daqérah* 'area, region' and *perempuan* 'woman'. Once one

of two alternate pronunciations is given high prestige, it usually becomes a model on which hyper forms can be analogised. This has occurred in Malay with regard to /w/. The Javanese word *urip* 'alive', the cognate of Malay *hidup* 'alive', was borrowed into Malay as *warip*. The Malay word *alasan* 'reason, excuse' is sometimes pronounced *walasan*.

2.2.7. The Extension of Intervocalic /w/ to New Environments

Malay had intervocalic /w/ only in the environments (C)awa(C), (C)awi(C), (C)iwa(C), e.g. *bawah* 'under', *bawa* 'carry', *sawah* 'rice field', *sawi* 'an aromatic plant', *sawit* 'a bracelet made from a root; a kind of small coconut', *lawi* 'tail feathers', *siwah* 'a kind of hawk', *giwang* 'pearl'. Malay /w/ did not occur in other environments, although Javanese /w/ occurs intervocallically between any two vowels. In older borrowings from Javanese with /w/ in environments other than (C)awa(C), (C)awi(C) or (C)iwa(C) /w/ was treated as \emptyset , e.g. Jv *sawo* 'very sweet tasting fruit' was borrowed as *sauh*, Jv *rawôn* 'a kind of dish' was borrowed as *raôn*. In modern Indonesian intervocalic /w/ still does not contrast with its absence following /u/ or /o/. However, /w/ has now been introduced between other vowels, e.g. (C)awe(C) occurs in *és dawet* 'the name of iced drink', (C)awo(C) occurs in *sawo* 'the name of a fruit', *ngawor* 'to do things blindly', (C)awu(C) occurs in *lawu* 'the name of a mountain', (C)awé(C) occurs in *awét* 'long lasting', *lawét* 'name of a bird', (C)awô(C) occurs in *rawôn* 'name of a dish', *jawôtô* 'name of a journalist who became an ambassador to Peking during Sukarno's regime', (C)iwa(C) occurs in *keliwatan* 'too much', (C)iwi(C) occurs in *k(e)riwil* 'hand-brake bicycle', (C)iwô(C) occurs in *k(e)liwôn* 'name of a day of the five-day week', (C)iwo(C) occurs in *tiwol* 'food made of cassave (it is the chief food of many poor people)', (C)iwu(C) occurs in *sriwulan* 'name of a girl', (C)éwé(C) occurs in *réwél* 'difficult to please', (C)éwa(C) occurs in *peréwangan* 'shaman', *déwan* 'council', (C)éwo(C) occurs in *séwoko* 'name of a man, who was once a minister of internal affairs', (C)éwu(C) occurs in *penéwu* 'head of sub-district, synonymous with *camat*), *séwu* 'one thousand', (C)éwi(C) occurs in *déwi* 'goddess (also the name of a girl)'.

That these sequences now contrast with the same vowel sequences without /w/ is evidenced by the following words: *sawo* 'name of fruit' vs. *sauh* 'anchor', *tau* 'know' vs. *lawu* 'name of a mountain', *laôh* 'personal name' vs. *rawôn* 'name of a dish', *taon* 'year' vs. *tawôn* 'bee', *kiôs* 'stall, small shop' vs. *kliwôn* 'name of a day', *siuman* 'conscious again after fainting' vs. *sriwulan* 'name of a girl', *keliatan* 'seen (colloquial)' vs. *keliwat* 'too much', *kéòk* 'sound made by a losing fighting cock; defeated'⁴⁰ vs. *séwôkô* 'name of a man'.

In addition to the sequences listed above, Indonesian now has /-ewa-/ in several words including *sewajarnya* 'naturally', and *kewajiban* 'obligation'. The root *wajar* 'natural, common' is a borrowing from Javanese,⁴¹ but the Indonesian circumfix *se -nya* has been substituted for the cognate Javanese *saq- -é*. The root *wajib* has been borrowed from Arabic either directly or indirectly via Javanese,⁴² but the morphophonemic combination with the circumfix *ka--an* is strictly Indonesian. Javanese did not contribute the sequence /-ewa-/ to Indonesian directly. In fact, Javanese tends to convert such a sequence to /-uwa-/. Thus Javanese normally has *kuwajiban* 'obligation' instead of *kewajiban*. However, Javanese must be indirectly responsible for introducing the sequence, because (1) Javanese has introduced sequences with intervocalic /w/ in the roots *wajar* 'natural, common' and *wajib* 'must, have to'. If intervocalic /w/ had not already become fairly common in Indonesian because of the many borrowings from Javanese, chances are when *wajar* was combined with *se-*, and *wajib* with *ke-*, the resulting /-ewa-/ would have changed to /ua/ as happened in the case of *keluarga* 'family' (2.2.6.).

2.3. THE INCREASED FREQUENCY OF SOME INDONESIAN PHONEMES AND PHONEMIC COMBINATIONS

Javanese has been instrumental in increasing the frequency of occurrence of some Indonesian phonemes and phonological combinations. Javanese words adopted by Indonesian have greatly increased the frequency of Indonesian /é/, /o/, initial /y/ and intervocalic /w/.

2.3.1. The Increase in the Frequency of /é/

Since Malay has developed /é/ as a separate phoneme from /i/ there has been an increasing tendency to change /i/ in native words to /é/, particularly in words with Javanese cognates having /é/ (2.1.1.). At first, it was probably only in words with Javanese cognates having /é/ that the /i/ was changed to /é/. Later, however, in words such as *pitah* 'fluent in speaking', *idap* 'sickly', *idar* 'circulate' which do not have Javanese cognates, the /i/ was also changed to /e/ thus *pétah*, *édap*, and *édar*. Then loanwords from other languages that used to be pronounced with /i/ were sometimes pronounced with /é/, too. For example *nasihat* 'advice' (from Arabic) was changed to *naséhat*, *ridla* 'gladly accept a fate' was changed to *rédi*, *réda* or *réla*, *ril* 'railway track' (from Dutch *railbaan*) was changed to *rél*. Even a borrowing from Javanese with /i/ such as *tiwas* 'killed' is pronounced *téwas*. Since in many words with /ay/, the /ay/ has changed to /é/ (2.1.1.), the frequency of /é/ in Indonesian has become really high.

2.3.2. The Increase in the Frequency of /o/

Even after /o/ was introduced into Malay as a phoneme distinct from /u/ (see 2.1.2.) many instances of competing forms in which /u/ and /o/ were in variation continued. Now, however, the forms with /o/ are becoming more common than those with /u/. Sometimes borrowings from Javanese which originally had /u/ change the /u/ to /o/ by a process of HYPER-JAVANISATION. Thus Javanese mugô-mugô '*I hope, may it be...*' has recently been borrowed into Indonesian as moga-moga, Javanese ulah-rôgô '*physical exercise*' was borrowed as olah-raga. The increase in the frequency of /o/ in Indonesian has also been strengthened by the fact that the diphthong /aw/ was sometimes changed to /o/. This has come about especially as a result of the influence of Omong Djakarta which contains many elements from Javanese, Sundanese and Balinese of which the substitution of /o/ for Malay /aw/ is one. Thus for example an Arabic borrowing tawbat '*repent*' is now usually pronounced as tobat.

2.3.3. The Increase in Frequency of Initial and Postconsonantal /y/

Old Malay did not have initial or postconsonantal /y/. The Old Malay phoneme /i/ only occurred intervocally. However, the vowel /i/ had a non-syllabic allophone [y] when preceding a vowel that was not in final syllable. For example iuran '*contribution*' was phonetically [yuran]. The connecting particle [yang] '*that, which*' though written as a separate word in the orthography, behaved phonologically as a preclitic to the following word. It could not occur in isolation. Preceding a final vowel /i/ was phonetically [iy], as in [iya] '*yes; he, she, it*', [lumpiya] '*egg roll*', [muliya] '*noble*'.

Later Middle Malay developed a contrast between /i/ and /y/ in initial and post-consonantal position. Examples of this contrast in present day Indonesian are ia '*he, she, it*' vs. ya '*yes*'; karya '*work*' vs. belia '*very young*'. Javanese is not clearly responsible for this development, though it was probably a contributing factor. Other sources of influence have been Arabic, Dutch, and the Indonesian Chinese, who tend to pronounce words such as lumpia '*egg roll*' as [lúmpya] rather than [lumpíya]. There are even some internal ambiguities which may have initiated the development. For example, the particle lah may or may not be treated as an enclitic. Thus the forms [iyalah] and [yalah] for ialah '*that is*' were in competition. At any rate, once the contrast between /i/ and /y/ in these positions had developed Javanese borrowings increased the frequency of initial /y/ in Indonesian. Examples of Javanese borrowings with initial /y/ are yayasan '*institution*', yayi '*younger siblings*', yogia '*proper*', yu '*term of reference for an older*'

woman', yuda 'war', yuyu 'crab'.

Now that the contrast between initial /y/ and /i/ is firmly established the usual pronunciation of the high frequency word for 'yes' is ya, contrasting with the literary form ia 'he, she, it'. Both must formerly have had the same pronunciation [iya]. It is not clear why the word for 'yes' came to be pronounced ya. Perhaps the fact that in Java stress tends to be final and shortening of high frequency words often occurs, particularly in colloquial style (2.5.), had something to do with this. One reason why the word meaning 'he, she, it' retained the pronunciation iya is probably that its colloquial counterpart is dia and in that word the /i/ must remain syllabic as the initial cluster */dy/ is impossible in Indonesian.

2.3.4. The Increase in Frequency of Intervocalic /w/

In addition to introducing intervocalic /w/ into new environments in Indonesian (see 2.2.7.), Javanese has helped to increase the frequency of intervocalic /w/ in Indonesian by contributing additional words with the sequences (C)awa(C), (C)awi(C) and (C)iwa(C) which Malay already had. Some examples are: tawan 'arrest', awang-awang 'sky', gawat 'serious', mawas diri 'to be considerate', kawi 'Old Javanese', jawil 'touch somebody in order to get attention', cabé rawit 'small but very hot red pepper', keliwatan 'too much'.

2.4. VARIETY OF PRONUNCIATION

The imitation of the Javanese accent by other Indonesians has given rise to a dialect of Indonesian, native to some speakers, in which at least one phoneme has allophones very much like Javanese sounds. These are the allophones of /é/ in syllables before /a/, /o/ and /ô/.

Although /é/ and /è/ are separate phonemes in Javanese, they do not both occur in all environments.⁴³ /è/ never occurs in an open syllable before /a/, /o/ or /ô/.

In many dialects of modern Indonesian [é] and [è] are allophones of the phoneme /é/. The distribution of the allophone [é] is limited to an open final syllable (e.g. saté [saté] 'barbecued meat'), an open penultimate syllable before an open final syllable (e.g. kéré [kéré] 'beggar'), or an open penultimate syllable of a newly borrowed word (e.g. séri [séri] 'series'). Otherwise [è] is normally used. However, nowadays in the idiolects of many people, [é] is also found in the penultimate syllable before a final syllable having /a/, /o/ and /ô/, e.g. sépaq [sépaq] 'kick', rénda [rénda] 'knit', teko [teko] 'tea pot', bélôq [bélôq] 'turn'. This dialect is, of course, in competition with that in which a low allophone [è] is used in these positions. The

dialect having a high allophone [é] before /a/, /o/ and /ô/ seems to have been influenced by Javanese, since Javanese does not have /è/ in these positions.

Analogously there are tendencies on the part of some speakers to lower /o/ to /ô/ in syllables before /a/ or /é/, and this is thought to be the influence of Javanese. However, there is no Javanese influence here, for it is not habitual for Javanese speakers of Indonesian to do so. (It is probably the influence of Batak speakers rather than the Javanese.)⁴⁴ The Javanese always use /o/ in syllables before /a/ or /é/, e.g. roda 'wheel', berubah 'changed', soré 'afternoon', lotré 'lottery' and not rôda, berôbah, sôré, or lôt(e)rê, a pronunciation employed by some non-Javanese.

2.5. WORD SHORTENING

In Javanese, especially in informal styles of speech (informal Ngoko and Madyo Kromo) many words are shortened. Shortening may involve the dropping of an initial consonant, as in engko 'later' (from mengko) usah 'need, bother' (from sysah), aé 'only, just' (from waé), ampon 'don't' (from sampon), ônten 'there is' (from wônten), or the dropping of one or more unstressed syllables (i.e. penultimate or preceding), as in séq 'first' (from diséq), menôwô 'if, probably' (from mbôqmenôwô), ko séq 'just a second, wait a moment' (from mengko diséq), nikô 'that' (from menikô), nôpô 'what' (from menôpô), ngapurô 'pardon' (from pangapurô). Sometimes the dropping of phonemes or syllables is accompanied by vowel contraction, as in men 'just, only' (from mawôn), mang or samang 'you' (from sampéyan), wé 'only, just' (from waé), jé 'it is said so, don't you know?' (from ujaré).

Shortening words now occurs in Indonesian. Omgong Djakarta, which is heavily influenced by Javanese, seems to be directly responsible for this. Thus in colloquial Indonesian shortened forms parallel to the Javanese are now used:

A. An initial consonant is dropped, as in udah 'already' (from sudah), aja 'only, just' (from saja), ama 'with; and; (plural marker for verb)' (from sama), abis 'used up, gone, finished' (from habis), ujan 'rain' (from hujan).

B. One or more unstressed syllables is dropped, as in gini 'like this' (from begini), gitu 'like that' (from begitu, tu 'that' (from itu),⁴⁵ ngkali 'perhaps' (from barangkali), entar 'a moment, a short while' (from sebentar), tuaja 'certainly, of course' (from tentu saja).

C. One or more phonemes or syllables are dropped with some accompanying change, as in mengkali 'maybe' (from barangkali).

D. Two adjacent vowels are contracted, with or without the dropping of an intervocalic /h/. This phenomenon occurs across word boundaries. It is dependent only on the phonemes involved and not on the syllable position of the sequence within a word. The vowels involved in such Indonesian contractions seem always to be either two adjacent /a/'s, or /e/ followed by /a/. Unlike in Javanese, other Indonesian vowels do not contract. Examples of Indonesian vowel contraction are kenapa 'why' (from kena apa), tengari 'midday' (from tengah hari), matari or metari 'sun' (from mata-hari), sari-arinya 'daily, every day' (from sehari-harinya).

Though it is difficult to prove that word shortening of the types A, B, and C in colloquial Indonesian are the result of Javanese influence, it is safe to assert that shortening of type D is due to Javanese, since it follows Javanese phonotactic patterns exactly. In fact the word kenapa 'why' seems to be a calque of Javanese kenôpô 'why' which is a shortening of kenô ôpô.

N O T E S

1. It can not be determined for certain, of course, how Old Malay was pronounced. Several hypotheses can be made however. Stops in present day Malay and Indonesian are all unaspirated. Since this is also the case in other languages of the Hesperonesian Linkage, such as those of the Philippines, it is highly probable that the present day Malay pronunciation reflects the Old Malay pronunciation in this respect. (The aspiration of voiced stops in Javanese must be an internal Javanese development, possibly due to Indic influence.) In present day Malay and Indonesian /t/ is dental, whereas /d/ is alveolar. It is assumed that this was also the case in Old Malay, because borrowings by Javanese of Malay words with /t/ always show Javanese /t/, whereas borrowings of Malay words with /d/ always show Javanese /d/. /k/ in Old Malay had the allophone [q] in final position. A [q] probably also appeared between identical vowels at morpheme boundaries, but in this position it did not contrast with hiatus. Root final /k/ before a suffix beginning with /k/ might be pronounced either [q] or [k], thus producing the sequence [qk] or [kk], but in any case -kk- contrasted with -k-. The phoneme /y/ was limited to intervocalic position. ny represents a single phoneme, i.e. a palatal nasal consonant phoneme; ng also represents a single phoneme, i.e. a velar nasal consonant phoneme. The phonemic symbols used here differ from the standard Indonesian orthography in that /c/ is spelled tj, /j/ is spelled dj, /ny/ is spelled nj, /y/ is spelled j.

2. The table of Old Malay phonemes presented here is a theory based on analyses discussed in the following pages. The front vowel /i/ probably had a non-syllabic allophone [y] in some pre-vowel positions (see 2.3.3.). The Middle Malay vowel phonemes were as follows:

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid		e	
low	é	a	o

The evidence for this phonemicisation will be presented presently (see 2.1.1.). The phoneme /é/ is presented by the letter e in the orthography. Thus the letter e represents both /é/ and /e/. Both /u/ in the sequence -uC# and /o/ in the sequence -oC# are usually represented by u in the orthography.

3. The phonetic quality of the diphthongs at present varies from one dialect to another. In general /ay/ is a glide starting from a front [a] or back [é] to the direction of [i]. Thus it is more or less [a₁i]. The diphthong /aw/ is a glide starting from a backed [a] or [ô] to [o] (in the direction of [u]). Thus it is more or less [a₂o]. There is reason to believe that similar pronunciations were in effect during most of the Middle Malays period. This is indicated by the treatment of Javanese borrowings having /é/ or /o/. (see 2.1.1. and 2.1.2.). The diphthong /ay/ is represented by ai in the orthography, and /aw/ is represented by au.

4. Voiced stops are aspirated while voiceless stops are unaspirated.

5. The vowels vary somewhat depending on their environment. The low vowels in particular tend to be higher following voiced stops, and /é/ and /o/ tend to be higher preceding a closed consonant.

6. Nowadays almost every Indonesian word with /ay/ has an alternative form with /é/, because the tendency to replace /ay/ with /é/ has been accelerated by Omong Djakarta where /é/ substitutes for /ay/ invariably (again due to Javanese influence), e.g. sampay 'arrive' beside sampé, gulay 'dish' beside gulé, gaday 'pawn' beside gadé, bangkay 'corpse' beside bangké, tapay 'fermented cake' beside tapé, lantay 'floor' beside lanté, ngaray 'valley' beside ngaré, ramay 'boisterous' beside ramé.

7. Probably from Dutch cassave.

8. gedé is also a Sundanese word.

9. déwasa is probably an indirect borrowing from Sanskrit via Javanese. If it were direct, the form would have been *dibasa. For an explanation of this, see 2.2.6.

10. Javanese utôwô 'or' and Madurese utaba seem not to have come from the same Sanskrit word as Malay ataw, but rather from uta vā 'or even, or'. The Malay word, however, must have come from Sanskrit atho (i.e. atha u), because if it had come from uta vā the expected Malay form would be *utaba, like the Madurese.
11. In Omong Djakarta Malay /aw/ is nearly always pronounced /o/.
12. Javanese kobis is probably from English 'cabbage'.
13. Examples here are taken from Dempwolff 1938. Spellings are adapted to the system used in this thesis.
14. A borrowing from English.
15. bako 'eternal' is a borrowing from Arabic baka 'eternal'. mbako or bako is the colloquial pronunciation for tembakaw 'tobacco'. mbako is also the Javanese word for 'tobacco'.
16. In the traditional Javanese writing system, /a/ and /ô/ are both represented by the absence of a vowel symbol. Thus while the word pipi is spelled with consonants pp plus the symbol for /i/ above (ꦥꦶ ꦥꦶ), pôpô and papa are spelled with the consonants only: (ꦥꦥ ꦥꦥ).
17. In fact, sometimes we can judge whether a Javanese is conservative or not by looking at the way he spells his own name. If a Javanese insists that an /ô/ in his name be spelled with /a/, he is usually conservative, though this does not mean that those who spell their names with o are not conservative in other respects.
18. In 1962 it was debated whether Surakarta originally was called /sôlô/ or /solô/. It was originally /sôlô/. See Poedjosoedarmo, S. and Ricklefs, 1967:95.
19. Dempwolff 1937:17.
20. N- is a morphophonemic symbol for a homorganic nasal. It is used in both Indonesian (and Malay) and Javanese, but its realisation in the two languages is not the same. The rules for combining it in both languages are given in 3.1.1.
21. Dempwolff 1934:44-46.

22. Javanese has a word *beskap* 'man's jacket'. It is probably a borrowing from English indirectly via Malay, because a direct Javanese borrowing would retain the /w/. The more recent form is Indonesian for this is *wésket*.

23. Such a dialect is found among many old and conservative Javanese, educated as well as uneducated. The former Prime Minister Ali Sastroamidjojo is known to have spoken such a dialect.

24. For a discussion of the prefix N-, see 3.1.1.

25. There is no contrast in Javanese between CuV and CuwV. The w- however, is usually written in the normal orthographic spelling and in phonemicisation.

26. The Javanese cluster Cw- is probably the result of Sanskrit influence, for most Javanese words with Cw- are borrowings from Sanskrit. The origin of Cr- and Cl-, however, is rather doubtful. When they are in non-final syllables they are alternately pronounced Cer- and Cel- respectively. But when they are in final syllables, they contrast with forms having the epenthésised -e-. In addition, many of them seem to be inherited Javanese words. Since such clusters do not constitute part of contemporary theory on the structure of PA phonology, it may be that they result from an internal Javanese development. The history of that development is at present unknown.

27. The same phenomenon occurred when Malay borrowed words with such clusters from other languages, e.g. the Dutch words *critiek* 'criticism', *klassiek* 'classic', *kwartaal* 'quarter' became Malay *keritik*, *kelasik*, *kuartal* respectively.

28. This rule at one time applied regularly to roots and to most prefixes that occurred in the antepenult or preceding syllables. It did not, however, apply to the third person passive prefix *di-* (if in fact this was a prefix at the time when the rule was introduced), and it did not affect new borrowings. In fact, it has not for some time. Thus from Tamil Indonesian now has *antara* 'between', from Arabic *tawakkal* 'obedient to and trust in God', from Dutch *korupsi* 'corruption', *révolusi* 'revolution', *radikal* 'radical', and countless others, all of which have vowels other than /e/ in the antepenult or preceding syllables.

29. There is an anecdote concerning the experience of a Batak student who happened to be in Surabaya, in East Java. Once he pronounced the loanword for 'truck' *turuk*, and the phrase for 'to ride on a truck' *naéq turuk*. This caused him and everybody else who heard it a great deal of embarrassment because *turuk* in Javanese (which is spoken in Surabaya) means 'woman's genitals'. Most Indonesians pronounce this phrase as *naéq trek*.

30. In a normal conversation it may be rather difficult for a non-Indonesian speaker to say whether a word such as *belakang* 'back' or *keranjang* 'basket' is pronounced with or without /e/. Probably because in rapid speech it is usually pronounced with syllabic /ɲ/ or /r/. However, it seems most Indonesians can differentiate between the two. Most people seem to agree that it is the Chinese, the old conservative Javanese, and the Djakartanese who tend to pronounce such words as *belakang* etc. with the clusters, i.e. as *blakang*.

31. It is now usually spelled *gerilja* instead of the usual Malay spelling *gerilia*.

32. Dempwolff 1937:19.

33. Sometimes in Javanese /-w/ is also added between vowels. The addition of /w-/ or /-w-/ seems to be a stylistic device. Its origin is unknown. It is perhaps connected with the substitution of /w/ for /b/ (see Dempwolff 1934:41). In any case, many forms without /w/ have a /w/ added to them to elevate their style, e.g. Madyo ônten 'exist, there is' has the Kromo form *wônten*; Country Kromo (Kromo Deso) *setri* 'female' has the Standard Kromo form *èstri* or *pawèstri*; the ordinary word *engô* 'open' has the literary form *wengô*; the colloquial words *étan* 'east', *paitan* 'capital', *utuh* 'whole' have the standard forms *wétan*, *pawitan* and *wutuh* respectively. Even nowadays there are some *dalangs* 'puppetters' who like to insert or substitute /w/'s in words where they do not belong. For example the pronunciation of *nulyô* 'then immediately' is changed to *nulwô* or *nuliwô*, the pronunciation of *setyaki* (the invulnerable Krisna's cousin) is often changed to *sentiwaki*.

34. The vowel of the antepenult or sometimes of the penult in Javanese is optionally changed to /e/. The weakening of the vowel is a stylistic device and indicates a colloquial or informal style. For an explanation of the Malay phenomenon see 2.2.3.

35. The dropping of a phoneme or a syllable in a Javanese word is another indication of colloquial or informal style (see 2.5.).

36. For most educated Indonesians the /w/ in Wabah '*plague*' is different from that in wajib '*obligation*'. The phonetic differences between the two are: /w/ is partly unvoiced and lax, while /W/ is voiced throughout and tense.

37. Wésket is the later form of beskat.

38. Such a compound word in Indonesian usually expresses a more intensified meaning than either of its element does. Such compounds are fairly common in Indonesian. Other examples include kasih-sayang '*love and affection*', hancor-lebor '*completely destroyed*', bersatu-padu '*firmly united*'.

39. The Javanese reflex of PA *b is /b/ and /w/. Dempwolff did not give any solution to the problem of two reflexes. The words with /b/ cannot be borrowings from Malay, at least not all of them. There are too many purely Javanese forms with /b/ instead of /w/ which have no Malay cognates to make this theory probable (e.g. abôt '*heavy*' from PA *beRqat cannot be a borrowing from Malay because it shows Ø for *R, whereas the Malay reflex of *R is /r/). A more plausible theory perhaps is that those words with /b/ came from one dialect of Javanese and those with /w/ from another. Whether they came from different regional dialects or different social dialects we do not know for sure, but the one that had /w/ seemed to be always higher in status than that with /b/. Further forms with /b/ probably developed /w/ by a process of analogy. For example awrat '*heavy*' may be a borrowing from Malay berat (PA *beRat), Malay /b/ having been replaced by /w/. The Javanese reflex of PA *R is uncertain (see Dyen 1953b), but if the theory proposing that all Javanese words in which the reflex of *R is /r/ are borrowings is correct, awrat cannot be inherited.

Another plausible idea would perhaps be that the changing of /b/ to /w/ was a fashion that developed later in Javanese history following some kind of analogy. It is possible that the influx of Sanskrit borrowings with /v/, which became /w/ in Javanese, had something to do with it.

40. However, there is no contrast in Indonesian between V_1V_2 and V_1vV_2 when V_1 is /i/ or /é/ and V_2 any vowel.

41. The meaning of *wajar* in Indonesian has changed a little from the meaning in Javanese. In Javanese it means '*raw, unspiced, not mixed with anything*'. It is usually for meat, eggs, etc.
42. This is known because of its pronunciation with /w/ instead of /w/.
43. Similar to this is the distribution of Javanese /ô/. In Javanese /ô/ is never found in a penultimate syllable when the final syllable has /a/ or /è/.
44. This pronunciation develops perhaps because Batak has no [o] in the penult before final /a/.
45. Stress in the Indonesian of some speakers is penultimate unless the penultimate vowel is /e/, in which case the stress is final. In the Indonesian spoken in most of Java, however, stress is final as it is in Javanese and Sundanese. Thus, in Djakarta, where forms like *tu* seem to have originated, the first syllable of *itu* is not stressed.
46. When *mata-hari* contracts to *matari*, the resulting form may be treated as a single word. This accounts for the change of the first /a/ to /e/ in the alternative pronunciation *metari* since that vowel is in the antepenultimate syllable (see 2.2.3.).

CHAPTER III
JAVANESE INFLUENCE ON INDONESIAN MORPHOLOGY

3. TYPES OF INFLUENCE

Javanese has exerted the following types of influence on Indonesian morphology: (1) new affixes have been added to Indonesian, (2) some Indonesian affixes now have additional meanings, (3) the frequency of occurrence of some Indonesian affixes has been increased, (4) the frequency of occurrence of some Indonesian affixes has been reduced, and (5) new types of morphophonemic alternations have been introduced into Indonesian.

3.1. AFFIXES ADDED TO INDONESIAN: N-, pe- -an, ke-

3.1.1. N-¹

Javanese N-, which is aN- in literary style and which was aN- or maN- in Old Javanese, is cognate with Indonesian meN-, and has analogous functions. The Javanese prefix N-, which has recently been added to the Indonesian inventory of affixes, is now in competition with meN-. One of its functions, that of making a verb root into an active transitive stem, is equally productive in both languages, e.g. in Indonesian menghantam 'to hit, box' (from hantam), menulis 'to write' (from tulis), menyambung 'to connect' (from sambung), and in Javanese ngantem 'to hit, box' (from antem), nulis 'to write' (from tulis), nyambung 'to connect' (from sambung). A second function, however, that of making an intransitive verb from adjective or noun roots, is now only productive in Javanese, though there are still relics in Indonesian. Some Javanese examples include nangis 'to weep' (from tangis 'weeping'), mutih 'to abstain from eating food containing fat, meat, etc.' (from putih 'white'), ngôtôt 'to work very hard, argue very heatedly, i.e. to do something with such force that the muscles bulge out' (from ôtôt

'muscle'), meteng 'to be pregnant' (from weteng 'stomach'). An example of a relic of this formation in Indonesian is menangis 'to cry' (from tangis). With the introduction of N- into Indonesian, this second function of the borrowed prefix has also become productive. Thus the following verbs now occur: nyaté 'to make or eat saté (roasted meat on skewers)', ngôpi 'to drink coffee' (from kôpi 'coffee'), ngebis 'to go somewhere by bus' (from bis 'bus'), nyatut 'to sell something on the black market' (from catut 'pliers', figuratively the instrument used for pulling money out of the customer's pocket), ngédan 'to act crazy' (from édan 'crazy').

N- was formerly used in Indonesian only with bases which were borrowed from Javanese, such as nggrayaq 'to rob, loot', ngganyang 'to swallow; to eat as a snack', mbajul 'to show off in order to attract the attention of girls' (from bajul 'crocodile'; mbajul means literally 'to act like a crocodile'), mbôrông 'to buy wholesale', nyolong 'to steal', njambrét 'to snatch; to pickpocket'. In fact, the prefix N- entered Indonesian through such words. It then spread to forms for which cognates occurred in Javanese, such as nangis 'to weep', mbaca 'to read', with the Javanese cognates nangis and môcô respectively. Recently, inherited Malay roots and other forms of non-Javanese origin have begun to occur with N-. These include not only nouns and adjectives which form intransitive verbs like those listed above, but verb roots as well which become transitive stems with the addition of N-, e.g. mbawa 'to bring, carry', mbeli 'to buy', njawab 'to answer', njait 'to sew', mbiôs 'to go to the movies' (from Dutch bioscope 'movies'), ngetrek 'to travel by truck' (from English truck), nyepor 'to travel by train' (from Dutch spoor 'train'). Most of these verbs have counterpoarts with meN-. Now, however, the meN- is generally considered to be more formal while N- is used in informal speech (see Chapter VI).

That the prefix N- in Indonesian is a borrowing from Javanese and not an independent reduction of inherited meN- in informal speech is indicated by the morphophonemics of the two prefixes. The formal realisation of the N- in the Indonesian prefix meN-² is as follows:³

R.1 N- becomes a homorganic nasal before a voiceless stop, and the stop is dropped,⁴ as in memukul 'strike' (from pukul), menekan 'press' (from tekan), mengurung 'encircle' (from kurung).

R.2 N- becomes /ny/ before /s/, and the /s/ is dropped, as in menyerang 'attack' (from serang).

R.3 N- becomes a homorganic nasal before a voiced stop, as in membawa 'carry, bring' (from bawa), mendengar 'hear' (from dengar), mengganti 'change' (from ganti).

R.4 N- becomes /n/ before /c/ or /j/, as in mencari 'look for' (from cari), menjual 'sell' (from jual).

R.5 N- drops before /w/, /r/, /l/, /y/, /n/, /ny/, as in mewakili 'represent' (from wakil), merasa 'feel' (from rasa), melarang 'forbid' (from larang), meyakinkan 'convince' (from yakin), menamai 'name' (from nama), menyanyi 'sing' (from nyanyi).

R.6 N- becomes /ng/ before /h/ or a vowel, as in menghukum 'punish' (from hukum), mengulang 'repeat' (from ulang).

N- becomes /ng/ before a few roots that appear to begin with /w/ or /y/ but in such cases the roots probably originally began with /u/ or /i/ respectively. /u/ and /i/ then ceased to be syllabic before a following vowel. Thus we have menguangkan 'sell, change something into money' from uang or wang 'money', and mengiakan 'say "yes", agree with' from ia or ya 'yes'. The earlier form of wang was uang and that of ya, ia.

The principle difference between the above rules and those for the combination of N- with a root in Javanese are as follows:

R.7 In Javanese N- becomes /ny/ before /c/ or /s/,⁵ as in nyusuh 'nest' (from susah 'a nest'), nyacah 'calculate' (from cacah 'number').

R.8 N- becomes /ng/ before /w/,⁶ /r/, /l/, /y/, as in ngwanèni 'to dare to face a challenge' (from wani), ngrôtô 'become level' (from rôôtô), nglôrô 'pretend to be sick' (from lôrô), ngyektèqaké 'ascertain' (from yekti).

R.9 N- becomes /nge/ before one-syllable bases, as in ngebôm 'to bomb' (from bom), ngecap 'to print' (from cap).

The new informal prefix N- in Indonesian follows the Javanese morphophonemic patterns. Thus ngrôkôq 'smoke', nyuci 'wash', ngeték 'type', ngliriq 'glance stealthily' exist side by side with the more formal merôkôq, mencuci, menték, and meliriq respectively.

In the past, the prefix of Sundanese origin nge- or nga- was more commonly used than Javanese N- to replace standard Indonesian meN- in Omong Djakarta. However, recently the Javanese prefix has become the more popular of the two in colloquial Indonesian. Thus in colloquial speech, ngedôrông 'push', (From dôrông 'push' is replaced by ndôrông, ngegrayaq 'loot, rob' (from grayaq 'loot, rob') is replaced by nggrayaq, ngejawab 'answer' (from jawab 'answer') is replaced by njawab, ngejual 'sell' (from jual 'sell') is replaced by njual.

3.1.2. pe- -an

Javanese pe- -an (pa- -an in formal or literary style) and Malay per- -an (with the allomorph pe- -an when occurring with a base containing /l/ or /r/, particularly in its first syllable) are cognate, being reflexes or PA *paR- -an. The Javanese and the Malay forms have the same function: nominal formation.

Malay has some forms with pe- -an rather than the expected per- -an. These must be borrowings from Javanese,⁷ since per- -an is the expected Malay reflex and since most of these forms are in competition with forms with per- -an. Thus pedésaqan 'villages', petamanan 'parks', pesawahan 'rice-fields', occur beside perdésaqan, pertamanan, and persawahan respectively. Javanese has similar forms with pe- -an which could be the source of borrowing, i.e. pedésan 'villages', petamanan 'parks', and pesawahan 'rice-fields'. Another reason why Malay forms with pe- -an must be considered as borrowings from Javanese is that some of them show morphophonemic alternations which are Javanese but not Malay. For example, the word pesantrén 'a Muslim religious school' occurs in Malay. The root is santri 'a Muslim'. When -an is added to a root ending in /i/ in Javanese, the /i/ and /a/ combine to form /è/. This contraction is not normal Malay morphophonemics. Therefore Malay pesantrén must be a borrowing from Javanese. Malay pebian or pabéan 'custom's house' must also be a borrowing from Javanese. The root of the word is bia or béa. In Javanese, but not in Malay, if -an is added to a root ending in /a/ the two /a/'s contract into one /a/.⁸ The same phenomenon occurs in the Malay words pecinan 'chintatown', pesiban or peséban 'audience hall', of which the roots are cina and séba or siba.

Javanese pe- -an has an allomorph pa- -an which occurs in formal or literary style.⁹ Some words with pa- -an have been borrowed into Malay. An example of such a word is panén 'crop, harvest'. Such words, however, are not analysed into root plus circumfix in Malay but are treated as single morphemes.

3.1.3. ke-

Although ke- is a productive prefix in current Indonesian, it was dead in former times. There are only a few forms with ke- in Indonesian which date back to Middle Malay: ketua 'chairman', kehendaq 'wish, desire, intention', kekasih 'the beloved'.¹⁰ To these must be added some plant and animal names, such as ketéla 'cassava', kemiri 'kemiri nut', kecambah 'bean sprout', ketimun 'cucumber', kelabang 'scorpion', ketilang 'thrush', kepinding 'bedbug', keréngga 'large red ant',

kepiting 'crab'. In the plant and animal words, however, ke- was usually considered as an integral part of the word and not as a prefix.

The prefix ke- was nearly dead in Middle Malay. The productivity of the Indonesian ke- must be due to Javanese influence. Javanese has a verbal prefix ke- which forms a passive verb. The exact meaning of this verb is either (1) that the action is performed unintentionally, e.g. kegôwô 'to be carried off unintentionally', (2) that the state described by the verb is in effect without reference to any agent having brought about that state, e.g. kesambet 'to fall, fainted', (3) that the action is able to be performed, e.g. ora ketuku 'cannot be bought' (this meaning occurs only in a negative sentence), or (4) adverbial, e.g. tibô kejungkel 'fell down head first', where kejungkel 'head first' modifies tibô 'fall'.

Malay has a prefix ter- which has all of the same meanings of Javanese ke-, i.e. (1) that the action was performed unintentionally, as in:

M.4 wah, buku saya TERBAWA amin.

'Goodness, my book WAS (UNINTENTIONALLY) TAKEN by Amin.'

(2) that the state described by the verb is in effect without reference to any agent having brought it about, as in

M.5 pintunya TERTUTUP, tetapi jendélanya TERBUKA.

'The door is CLOSED, but the window is OPEN.'

(3) that the action is able to be performed (usually occurring only with a negative), as in:

M.6 buku itu TAQ TERBELI oléhku.

'I CAN'T BUY that book.' (literally, *'That book CAN'T BE BOUGHT by me.'*)

(4) adverbial, as is

M.7 dia jatuh TERDUDUQ.

'He fell SEATED.' (i.e. *'He fell, LANDING IN A SEATED POSITION.'*)

Malay ter- also has the following two meanings not expressed by Javanese ke-: (5) that something reaches the position or location named by the base, as in:

M.8 lukanya TERTULANG.

'His wound REACHES THE BONE.'

(6) forming a superlative adjective, as in:

M.9 dia anaq yang TERPANDAY.

'He is THE SMARTEST boy.'

When the Javanese speak Indonesian they often use Javanese forms with ke- instead of the equivalent Indonesian forms with ter-. For example, they say ketemu 'found' instead of tertemu, terpaksa 'forced to, obliged to' instead of terpaksa, ketangkap or ketangkep 'caught' instead of

tertangkap, nggak kemakan instead of taq termakan '*cannot be eaten*'. As a result of their influence, ke- has been introduced into Indonesian. At first it occurred only in words of Javanese origin such as ketemu '*found*', keseléo '*sprained*', kelenger '*stunned*', ketangkap '*caught*', but now it is used with native Malay roots such as kebawa '*to be carried off unintentionally*', kesedaq '*coughing because something is caught in the windpipe; choked*', keburu '*in a hurry*', taq kebeli '*cannot be bought*', or even with foreign roots such as keritul '*to be retooled, to be fired*', kepotrét '*photographed*'. Sometimes ke- is even used to replace ter- in words such as ketawa '*to laugh*' (from tertawa) and kesôhôr '*famous, well known*' (from tersôhôr), where ter- is regarded by most people as an integral part of the word, and not as a prefix. An instance of hyper ke- is also found. The word ketelanjur '*already done, too late to do otherwise*' comes from Indonesian terlanjur or telanjur which has the same meaning. In this word, the prefix ke- has been attached to the whole word telanjur, rather than to the root lanjur.

ke-, however, is used in Indonesian only to express those meanings which it can also express in Javanese. It is never substituted for ter- in its other meanings. The distribution of ke- and ter- is similar to that of N- and meN-. ke- is used in informal, colloquial speech and ter- is used in standard or formal speech.

A loanword from Javanese such as kalap '*to be possessed by an evil spirit*', which in Javanese is analysed into the prefix ke- and the root alap '*snatch away, devour*', in Indonesian is treated as a single root. The /k/ is regarded as an integral part of the root. The same is true of kagét '*to be startled*', kabor '*to be blown away; to escape, flee*', and kambang '*to be floating*'.¹¹

3.2. INDONESIAN AFFIXES WHICH HAVE NEW ALTERNATE FORMS

Javanese affixes often express exactly the same meaning as Indonesian affixes which are not their cognates. In many cases the Javanese affixes have been borrowed, and consequently, Indonesian sometimes has two competing affixes which express the same meaning: the original Malay form, and the borrowed Javanese form. In most cases, the forms borrowed from Javanese are considered colloquial while the original Malay forms are considered formal or literary. The new forms that have come about as a result of Javanese influence include -kan expressing the same meaning as Malay per- -kan, and an unaffixed base or a base + -nya expressing the same meaning as a base affixed with ber-.

3.2.1. The Replacement of per- by -kan

In Malay the prefix per- or per- -kan forms a transitive verb base,¹² that is one to which both meN- (the active transitive prefix) and di- (the passive prefix) may be added, from a noun, adjective, number or verb root. The meaning of the resultant form is 'make (something) have (noun)', 'make (something) become (adjective or number)', or 'cause to (verb)', as in *mempergunakan* 'make use of (i.e. make something have use)' (from *guna* 'use'), *diperpanjang* 'be lengthened' (from *panjang* 'long'), *dipersatukan* 'united', literally 'be made into one' (from *satu* 'one'), *memperlihatkan* 'show', literally 'cause to see' (from *lihat* 'see'). In Old Javanese the function of Malay per- or per- -kan was carried by pi-¹³ or pi- -qaké, as can be illustrated by the forms *dipigunaqaké* 'to be used for, to be made use of', *migunaqaké* 'to make use of' (from *gunô* 'use'), *dipitôntônaké* 'to be exhibited', *mitôntônaké* 'to exhibit', literally 'to cause to see' (from *tonton* 'to see'). However, pi- is no longer productive in Javanese. Its function is now carried by -qaké, as in *nggunaqaké* 'to make use of' (from *gunô* 'use'), *ditôntônaké* 'to be exhibited', *ndawaqaké* 'to lengthen' (from *dôwô* 'long'), *nyilêqaké* 'to regard as or to make small' (from *cilêq* 'small'), *disuwijèqaké* 'to be united, to be made into one' (from *suwiji* 'one'). The loss of pi- in Javanese and its replacement by -qaké has led to a similar lessening of the Malay equivalent per- and its replacement by -kan in Indonesian. The Javanese affix -qaké in most cases corresponds to Malay -kan. Most Javanese forms containing -qaké translate in Malay to forms with -kan (examples in 3.4.). There are now in Indonesian forms with the suffix -kan and without the prefix per- which express the same meanings as forms with per-. Thus, *menggunakan* 'to make use of' and *digunakan* 'to be used' now occur as well as *mempergunakan* and *dipergunakan*, *memanjangkan* 'to lengthen' now occurs beside *memperpanjang*, *menyatukan* 'to unite' now occurs beside *mempersatukan*, *memperlihatkan* 'to show' now occurs beside *melihatkan*. However, unlike Javanese pi- and -aké, Indonesian per- and -kan are both still productive. Forms with -kan and without per- are usually used in a more informal colloquial style of speech, whereas those with per- are used in a more formal style of speech.

3.2.2. Ø, -nya

Malay has an intransitive verb forming prefix ber-, which corresponds to the absence of a prefix in Javanese. The absence of a prefix to intransitive verb stems in modern Javanese seems to have originated from the loss of a prefix a-, which was at an older stage ma-.¹⁴ Now

a- is confined to one syllable roots, or to longer roots in literary style. Occasionally a- in such words still has the form ma-. The dropping of a- or ma- in modern Javanese seems to have influenced Indonesian, for now in colloquial Indonesian ber- is also often dropped e.g. berjanji 'promise' colloquially is now janji:

M.10 dia BERJANJI akan datang.

'He PROMISED to come'.

I.10 dia JANJI akan datang.

J.10 dèwèqé JANJI arep tekô.

Other examples include berkata 'say', berpakayan 'get dressed', which are now kata and pakayan respectively:

M.11 dia BERKATA akan datang.

'He SAID he would come.'

I.11 dia KATA akan datang.

J.11 dèwèqé KÔNQÔ arep tekô.

M.12 dia BERPAKAYAN bagus sekali.

'He DRESSED very well.'

I.12 dia PAKAYAN bagus sekali.

J.12 dèwèqé KLAMBÈN apéq banget.

The dropping of ber- in colloquial speech is not the result of a direct translation from individual Javanese word models. Rather, it results from a tendency on the part of the Javanese speakers not to use a prefix when forming an intransitive verb. This must be the case because there are a few Indonesian words with ber- whose equivalents in Javanese are not unaffixed forms, yet the prefix ber- is nevertheless dropped: berjalan 'walk' and never just *laku. Similarly the colloquial form of berlari 'run' is lari although the Javanese form is mlayu or lumayu 'run' and never simply the unaffixed base *layu. In Malay and Sumatra this tendency to drop ber- is greatly reduced.

When Malay ber- is added to a noun base it forms a verb which means 'have (noun)', as in berputera lima orang 'have five children', beruang banyaq 'to have a lot of money'. In some cases ber- forms a verb meaning 'wear, put on (noun)' as in berbaju biru 'to wear a blue shirt', berkumis tebal 'to wear a thick mustache'. In non-literary Javanese such meanings are usually carried by the suffix -é¹⁵ as in putrané limô 'he has five children' (literally 'his children are five'), duwité akèh 'he has a lot of money' (literally 'his money is a lot'), klambiné biru 'his shirt is blue', brengôsé kandel 'his moustache is thick'. Or else a free morpheme such as duwé 'have', nganggo 'wear' is used, as in duwé anaq limô 'have five children', duwé duwit akèh 'have a lot of money', nganggo klambi biru 'wear a blue shirt', nganggo brengôs kandel 'wear a thick moustache'. These Javanese forms

have influenced Indonesian. Instead of ber- many people use the suffix -nya, the cognate of Javanese -é, or else such words as punya 'have', pakay 'wear' especially in colloquial speech, e.g.

I.13 abu UANGNYA banyaq.

'Abu has a lot of money.' ('Abu, HIS MONEY is much.')

I.13a abu PUNYA uang banyaq.

'Abu HAS a lot of money.'

I.14 abu BAJUNYA biru.

'Abu's shirt is blue.' ('Abu, HIS SHIRT is blue.')

I.14a abu PAKAY baju biru.

'Abu IS WEARING a blue shirt.'

The introduction of the dropping of ber- goes back at least one hundred years. Javanese borrowings of Malay forms with ber- have always been without ber-, e.g. Malay bekerja 'work' is borrowed as kerjô; Malay berjalan 'walk, run' is borrowed as jalan. When Javanese spoke Malay they used these words without the prefix ber-. Further, they dropped the prefix from other Malay words which normally had ber-. In Malay speaking areas under little influence from Javanese (Sumatra and Eastern Indonesian) ber- is much more often retained.

3.3. AFFIXES THAT HAVE DEVELOPED NEW MEANINGS

Under Javanese influence some Indonesian affixes have extended their range of meaning and increased their productivity. These are ke- -an, -an, and doubling.

3.3.1. ke- -an

Javanese has three circumfixes with the shape ke- -an or ke- -en which have influenced Indonesian. These circumfixes include an affix ke- -an forming verbs which mean 'be affected by (root)' or 'unintentionally do (the action indicated by the base)', an affix ke- -an forming nouns which mean 'the residence of (someone of rank)', and an affix ke- -en added to adjectives forming new adjectives which mean 'too (adjective)'.

3.3.1.1. Verb Forming ke- -an

Malay has a circumfix ke- -an forming verbs which mean 'be affected by (root)', e.g. kejatuhan 'to be hit by a falling object' (from jatuh 'fall'), kedatangan 'to be surprised by someone's arrival; to be attacked, afflicted' (from datang 'to arrive, come'). However, this circumfix is not productive in Malay.¹⁶ Now as a result of Javanese influence its productivity has greatly increased. Thus Indonesian now

has words such as *kejalaran* 'for something to have something else spread over it, for something to catch a disease, fire, or some other unpleasant thing' (from *jalar* 'spread'), *kelaluan* 'be passed by' (from *lalu* 'pass by'), *ketinggalan* 'be left behind (by a bus, train, etc.)' (from *tinggal* 'stay, remain') and many others which seem to be the calque of Javanese forms, such as *ketularan* 'be spread upon, catch (fire, disease, etc.)', *keliwatan* or *kelangkungan* 'be passed by', and *ketinggalan* 'be left behind'.

A particular subclass of forms made with this circumfix which seems to be the result of Javanese influence includes words meaning 'be overtaken by a particular part of the day, be late'. Thus Indonesian now has *kesiangan* 'to be overtaken by noon (as when one gets up too late)' (from *siang* 'noon'), *kemalaman* 'to be overtaken by night (as when one is travelling)' (from *malam* 'night'). The parallel Javanese forms which must be the source of the Indonesian formations are *kerinan* 'overtaken by day' (from *rinô*¹⁷ 'day') or *kawanan* 'overtaken by day' (from *awan*) or its Kromo form *kesiangan* 'overtaken by day or noon' (from *siang* 'day, noon'), and *kewéngèn* or *kedalôn* 'overtaken by night' (from *wéngi* or its Kromo form *dalû* 'night').¹⁸

Similarly, forms meaning 'to be affected by (the person or thing indicated by the base)' have increased in number due to Javanese influence. Thus the Indonesian words *ketamuan* 'be visited by' (from *tamu* 'visitor'), *kebanjiran* 'flooded' (from *banjir* 'flood'), *keairan* 'be covered with water, penetrated by water, get wet' (from *air* 'water') have been coined following Javanese models such as *ketamôn* 'to be visited by' (from *tamu* 'visitor') and *kebanjiran* 'flooded' (from *banjir* 'flood'). Parallel to Javanese, Indonesian now adds this *ke- -an* to adjective and adverb roots. Thus Indonesian has words such as *kepanasan* 'feel very hot' (from *panas* 'hot'), *keedinginan* 'feel very cold' (from *dingin* 'cold'), *kelaparan* 'feel very hungry' (from *lapar* 'hungry'), and *kedahuluan* 'be preceded by someone else in doing something' (from *dahulu* 'early first'), *ketelatan* 'be too late for a bus, train, etc.' from *telat*¹⁹ 'late, too late'). These words have been formed following the Javanese models *kepanasan* 'feel very hot', *kaðemen*²⁰ 'feel very cold' (from *aðem* 'cold'), *keluwèn* 'feel very hungry' (from *luwé* 'hunger'),²¹ *keðisiqan* 'be preceded by someone' (from *ðiséq* 'early')²² and *ketelatan* 'to be left behind'.

Javanese has another affix *ke- -an* which forms verbs meaning unintentionally 'do (something which mainly affects ones own self)' as in *kelalèn* 'to forget (unintentionally)' (from *lali* 'forget'), *keturôn* 'to fall asleep' (from *turû* 'sleep'). Some of these forms have now been calqued in Indonesian, resulting in the existence of words

such as *ketagihan* 'to suddenly have a strong desire to eat, drink or smoke (something that one has been very fond of)', *kewalahan* 'to be overwhelmed, overpowered, feel unable to do anything', *kelabakan* or *kelabakan* 'to feel desperate' have been simply borrowed into Indonesian.

Though many of the calques mentioned above are still considered colloquial, the Indonesian verb forming *ke-* *-an* is increasing rapidly in productivity. Recently several words have been coined without any direct Javanese models and have proved to be well accepted. Among those words are *keairan* 'afflicted by water' (from *air* 'water'), *kedarahan* 'afflicted by blood' (said of the brain) (from *darah* 'blood'), *kedapatan* 'found out' (from *dapat* 'to find'), and *keqénaqan* 'feel very good' (from *énaq* 'good, pleasant'). For the first three there are no clear Javanese models,²³ and for *keqénaqan* or *keqénakan* the word has been formed in a different way from the Javanese equivalent *kepénaqan* or *kepénaqen* 'feel very good', in which /p/ seems to have been epenthesised between the prefix *ke-* and the root *énaq* 'good, pleasant'.²⁴

3.3.1.2. Noun Forming *ke-* *-an*

Malay has a circumfix *ke-* *-an* forming an abstract noun which is added to adjectives, as in *kemiskinan* 'poverty' (from *miskin* 'poor'), to concrete nouns, as in *keqibuan* 'motherhood' (from *ibu* 'mother'), or to verbs, as in *keberangkatan* 'departure' (from *berangkat* 'to depart'). Javanese has a similar circumfix. In addition to these meanings, the Javanese *ke-* *-an* also means 'the residence or office of (a person of rank)'. For example *kelurahan* 'the residence of a village head' (from *lurah* 'village head'), *kabupatèn* 'the residence of a district head' (from *bupati* 'district head'), *kecamatan* 'the residence of subdistrict head' (from *camat* 'subdistrict head'). This additional Javanese meaning has now entered into Indonesian. Indonesian has borrowed the above Javanese words, and has also coined words such as *kedutaqan* 'embassy, the residence of the ambassador' (from *duta* 'ambassador'), *kementerian* 'the residence of a minister' (from *menteri* 'cabinet minister'), *kerésidénan* 'the residence of a résidén (head of an area larger than a district but smaller than a province)'.

As a result of this influence in Indonesian such words as *kementerian* can now mean either 'ministry (either in the sense of the department under the minister or the position or office of the minister)' or 'the residence of the minister'. The other words mentioned above are similarly ambiguous.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that besides having the word *kementerian* which means either 'ministry' or 'the residence of a minister', Indonesian has borrowed from Javanese the word *kemantrèn*

'the residence or office of a subdistrict head' (from mantri 'sub-district head'). Malay menteri and Javanese mantri ultimately come from the same Sanskrit word mantri 'minister'.

3.3.1.3. Ke- -an Meaning 'too (much)'

Malay expresses the meaning 'too (much)' by a word terlalu, as in:

M.15 tongkat ini TERLALU PANJANG.

'This stick is TOO LONG.'

Javanese, however, expresses this meaning with the circumfix ke- -an. The equivalent of M.12 is Javanese is:

J.15 tongkat iki KEDAWAN.

The word kedawan is formed from dôwô 'long' plus the circumfix ke- -en.

Javanese ke- -en has influenced Indonesian. The introduction of this circumfix seems to have antedated the introduction of /e/ in a closed final syllable since it is borrowed as ke- -an. Thus Indonesian now has words such as ketinggian 'too tall' (from tinggi 'tall'), kebesaran 'too big' (from besar 'big'), kekecilan 'too small' (from kecil 'small'). The above Malay sentence can now be expressed in Indonesian as:

I.15 tongkat ini KEPANJANGAN.

A recently coined word keterlaluan 'too much' should be mentioned to show that in Indonesian ke- -an in this meaning is beginning to be very productive. Clearly this word has been formed on the model of Javanese kebangetan 'too much' (from banget 'very') or kesangetan 'too much' (from sanget 'very'). Since the cognate or the equivalent of Javanese sanget or banget in Indonesian is sangat 'very', the non-occurring form *kesangatan would be expected. However, keterlaluan has instead been used (from terlalu 'too (much)'). In phrases such as dia keterlaluan and dia terlalu 'He is too much', the two words terlalu and keterlaluan express the same meaning.

While ke- -an expressing the meanings 'the residence of' and 'affected by' as described in 3.2.1.1. and 3.2.1.2. can be used in formal and literary speech, ke- -an meaning 'too (much)' is usually used only in informal colloquial speech. In a more formal style the word terlalu is used.

3.3.2. The Suffix -an

Both Javanese and Malay have suffixes of the shape -an. However, Javanese -an's may express meanings which cannot be expressed by Malay -an's. Many of these types of Javanese -an's have now influenced Indonesian. The following affixes of the shape -an have been introduced

into Indonesian by calquing or directly borrowing Javanese forms. They include verb, noun, and adjective forming affixes. The verb and noun forming affixes have not become productive and all examples are either direct borrowings or calques on Javanese forms. The adjective forming affixes have become very productive.

3.3.2.1. The Verb Forming Suffix -an

This affix has three meanings. The first is *'making use of (the thing indicated by the base)'*: *sepédaqan* 'ride a bicycle' (from *sepéda* 'bicycle'), *pécisan* 'wear a cap' (from *pécis* 'cap'). The equivalents of these forms in Javanese are *pitpitan* 'ride a bicycle' (from *pit* 'bicycle'),²⁶ and *pècisan* 'wear a cap'.

The second meaning is *'hold, have, make, or eat (the thing indicated by the base)'*: *selamatan* 'to have a celebration in which one makes offerings to the spirits to assure that one will be in a safe and peaceful condition' (from *selamat* 'safe, peaceful'), *tumpengan* 'to hold a celebration with a *tumpeng* ('rice-pyramid')', *rujaqan* 'to make or eat *rujaq* ('a snack made of mixed fruits')'. The equivalents in Javanese are *slametan* 'to have a *selamatan*' (from *slamet* 'safe, peaceful'), *tumpengan* 'to have a celebration with a *tumpeng*', and *rujaqan* 'to have or eat *rujaq*'.

The third meaning is *'do in a manner indicated by the base'*: *sendirian* 'by oneself' (from *sendiri* 'alone, self'), *dimakan mentahan* 'eaten raw' (from *mentah* 'raw'), *serampangan* 'carelessly' (from *serampang* 'to hit blindly'). The equivalents in Javanese are *déwéqan* 'by oneself' (from *déwé* 'alone, self'), *dipangan mentahan* 'eaten raw' (from *mentah* 'raw'), and *srampangan* 'carelessly' (from *srampang* 'to hit blindly').

3.3.2.2. The Noun Forming Suffix -an

This suffix has two meanings. The first is *'the residence of location of (the person or thing indicated by the base)'*, e.g. *gubernuran* 'the residence of the governor' (from *gubernur* 'governor'), *résidénan* 'the residence of a sub-province head' (from *résidén* 'sub-province head'), *sekolahan* 'school complex' (from *sekolah* 'school; to to school'). The equivalents in Javanese are *gupernuran* 'the residence of the governor' (from *gupernor* 'governor'), *résidénan* 'the residence of a sub-province head' (from *résidén* 'sub-province head'), and *sekolahan* 'school complex' (from *sekolah* 'school; go to school'). In Javanese this affix is quite productive, whereas in Indonesian it is restricted to borrowings. Javanese even adds -an to personal names,

forming nouns meaning *'the residence of (name)'*: *dipônegaran* means *'the residence of Prince Diponegoro'*, *pakualaman* means *'the residence of Prince Pakualam'*.

The second meaning is *'cost of (the thing indicated by the base)'*, e.g. *bécaqan* *'fare for riding in a pedicab (rickshaw-like vehicle propelled by a bicycle)'* (from *bécaq* *'pedicab'*), *sepuran* *'fare for riding on a train'* (from *sepor* *'train'*), *jaitan* *'cost of sewing (by a tailor)'* (from *jait* *'sew; tailor'*). The equivalents in Javanese are *bécaqan*, *sepuran*, and *jaitan* respectively.

3.3.2.3. The Adjective Forming Suffix -an

-an forms adjectives of several different meanings. They include: (1) *'having the characteristic of (the thing indicated by the base)'*, *'fond of doing (the activity indicated by the base)'*, (2) *'having the value of (the amount indicated by the base)'*, when added to words denoting quantity or currency denominations, (3) *'lots of'*, when added to a base indicating number, (4) *'more (adjective)'*, (5) *'being in the period of (doing the thing indicated by the base)'*, (6) *'approximately'*, which is added to numbers when they occur in phrases indicating measurements.

-an of meaning (1) may be added to (a) a noun, (b) an adjective, and (c) a verb. Examples with a noun case are: *jagoan* *'having the characteristics or qualities of a champion'* (from *jago* *'fighting rooster'*), *bénggôlan* *'of prominent quality'* (from *bénggôl* *'the biggest in size of coins in the Dutch period, worth two and a half cents'*), *jempôlan* *'the best, having excellent quality'* (from *jempôl* *'thumb, i.e. the biggest among the five fingers'*). The equivalents in Javanese are *jagoan*, *bénggôlan*, and *jempôlan*. Examples with a verb base are: *gelandangan* *'wild'* (from *gelandang* *'to roam about'*), *piaraqan* *'kept, raised (as a pet)'* (from *piara* *'to raise, look after'*), *nangisan* *'cry baby'* (from *nangis* *'to cry'*). The equivalents in Javanese are *gelandangan* *'wild'* (from *gelandang* *'to roam'*), *piaran* *'kept, raised'* (from *piarô* *'to raise'*), and *nangisan* *'cry baby'*. On analogy with these, colloquial Indonesian now has the form *beginian* *'having such a quality'* (from *begini* *'like this, such'*). This word is usually accompanied by a physical gesture of raising the thumb, so that the word means, literally, *'like this thumb'*, and figuratively *'terrific, splendid'*. This word has no model in Javanese. Examples with an adjective base are: *nakalan* *'naughty'* (from *nakal* *'naughtly'*), *kurang-adjaran* *'impudent'* (from *kurang-adjar* *'impudent'*), *malasan* *'lazy'* (from *malas* *'lazy'*). The forms with -an imply habitual display of the quality in question, whereas the forms without -an do not have

such an implication. The Javanese models for these forms are *nakalan*, *kurang-adjaran*, and *kesètan* (from *kesèt* 'lazy').

Examples of meaning (2), 'having the value of', include: *tengahan* or *uang tengahan* 'half a rupiah note' or 'half a rupiah coin' (from *tengah* 'half'), *rupiahan* 'a rupiah note' (from *rupiah*). Similarly Javanese has *tengahan* or *duwit tengahan* 'half rupiah note or coin' (from *tengah* 'half') and *rupiyahan* 'a rupiah note' (from *rupiyah*).

Examples of meaning (3), 'lots of' include: *ratusan* 'hundreds and hundreds' (from *ratos* 'hundred'), *jutaqan* 'millions and millions' (from *juta* 'million'). The Javanese equivalents are *atusan* 'hundreds and hundreds' (from *atos* 'hundreds') and *yutan* 'millions and millions' (from *yutô* 'million'). In Javanese this affix has a much wider application than in Indonesian. In Indonesian it occurs only with numbers, while in Javanese it can be added to nouns as well, e.g. *jaranan* 'lots and lots of horses' (from *jaran* 'horse') as in *dagangané jaranan* 'his merchandise was horseloads and horseloads', i.e. 'carried by lots of horses', *praôn* 'lots and lots of ships' (from *prau* 'ship').

Examples of meaning (4) 'more (adjective)' include: *kecilan* 'smaller' (from *kecil* 'small'), *besaran* 'bigger' (from *besar* 'big'). This type of word is usually followed by *sedikit* 'a little' and sometimes preceded by *agaq* 'rather', as in (agaq) *kecilan sedikit* 'a little smaller', (agaq) *besaran sedikit* 'a little bigger'. The equivalents in Javanese are *rôdô ciliqan seŕiŕéq* 'a little bigger' (from *ciléq* 'small') and *rôdô geðèn siŕéq* 'a little bigger' (from *geðé* 'bit'; *rôdô* 'rather' is equivalent to Indonesian *agaq*, *seŕiŕéq* or *siŕéq* 'a little' is equivalent to *sedikit*). On analogy with these forms, Indonesian now has the forms *duluan* 'earlier, early' (from *dulu* 'early, first') and *belakangan* 'later' (from *belakang* 'back, behind') which do not have Javanese models.

Examples of meaning (5), 'being in the period of ...' include: *sapihan* 'just weaned' (from *sapih* 'to wean (a baby)'), *susuan* 'not yet weaned, still in the period of suckling' (from *susu* 'milk; breast; (for the baby) to nurse'), *belasan* 'in one's teens' as in *anaq belasan taun* 'a child in his teens' (from *belas* 'teen'). The equivalents in Javanese are *sapihan* 'just weaned', *susôn* 'in the nursing period, not yet weaned', *welasan* 'in one's teens'.

Examples of meaning (6), 'approximately', are: *dua belasan méter* 'twelve meters', *sepuluhan tahun* 'around ten years (of age)' (from *sepuluh tahun* 'ten years'). These forms have been calqued from Javanese *rolasan mèter* 'about twelve meters' and *sepuluhan taon*.

3.3.2.4. Other Borrowings of Forms with -an

Several Javanese forms with -an have been borrowed into Indonesian as single morphemes. The word *lebaran* 'the first day after the fasting month' is such a case. In Javanese the word is analysed into the root *lebar* 'finished, over' and the suffix -an which means 'have, enjoy (the thing indicated by the base)' (3.3.2.1.). Therefore in Javanese *lebaran* means 'enjoy the fact that the obligation to fast is over'. However, in Indonesian, *lebaran* is treated as one morpheme. It is synonymous with *hari raya*, literally 'big day', another name for the holiday following the fasting month. The equivalent of Javanese *lebaran* in Indonesian is, therefore, *berhari raya* or *berlebaran* 'to have or enjoy the Big Day'. The same is true of the word *bajingan* 'scoundrel'. In Javanese the word is understood as consisting of the root *bajéng* 'squirrel' and the suffix -an 'having the quality of' (3.3.2.3.). It therefore means something like 'someone who behaves like a squirrel, i.e. an ox-cart driver, a scoundrel'. The word was borrowed into Indonesian with the meaning 'scoundrel, thief' and is treated as a single morpheme.

Many of the words with -an described above were only recently borrowed and are used only in informal, colloquial speech in Indonesian. This is especially true of the -an's which mean 'to make use of' (3.3.2.1.), 'the cost of' (3.3.2.2.), and 'more' (3.3.3.3., end).

3.3.3. The Javanese Suffix -en

Javanese has a suffix -en which forms adjectives meaning 'suffering from, afflicted with': *korèngen* 'suffering from a serious infection' (from *korèng* 'serious infection'), *uwanen* 'having grey hair' (from *uwan* 'grey hair'), *umbelen* 'suffering from a continuous flow of nasal mucus' (from *umbel* 'mucus'). Indonesian has now borrowed this suffix to mean the same thing. The borrowing seems to have antedated the introduction of -eC#, therefore this suffix has been borrowed as -an, as in *koréngan* 'suffering from a serious infection', *ubanan* 'having grey hair' (from *uban* 'grey hair'), *kudisan* 'suffering from a skin disease' (from *kudis* 'skin disease'). However, such forms are usually considered colloquial. In Malay this meaning could formerly only be expressed by the prefix *ber-*. Therefore, the word *beruban* is now synonymous in Indonesian with *ubanan*, *beringus* 'to suffer from a continuous flow of nasal mucus' (from *ingus* 'mucus') is now synonymous with *ingusan*, *berkudis* with *kudisan*, etc. The forms with *ber-* are considered more formal than those with -an.

Old Malay might have had a form -an from a Proto-Hesperonesian *-en

with the same meaning as the -an recently borrowed from Javanese. In Philippine languages there appear to be cognates of the Javanese form, indicating that it is not a Javanese innovation. For example, an Ilonggo word, with a suffix which appears to be cognate with Javanese -en, is duguqun 'bloody' (from duguq 'blood'). If the suffix *-en occurred in Proto-Hesperonesian, it may very well have had a reflex in Old Malay. However, the Malay form must have ceased to be productive before the end of the Old Malay period because in Middle Malay as well as present day standard Indonesian, such a form is not found. Javanese influence in this case, then, has reintroduced a form which long ago passed out of use in Malay.

3.3.4. Doubling

Both Malay and Javanese have morphemes of doubling. In Malay, doubling has some functions which are similar to those of doubling in Javanese. However, doubling in Javanese can express some meanings which are not expressed by doubling in Malay. Recently these Javanese forms have influenced Indonesian, and as a result doubling in Indonesian has acquired new meanings similar to those of Javanese, though their use is still limited to colloquial speech.

3.3.4.1. Doubling which Forms an Adverb when Applied to a Number, an Adjective, or a Verb

This morpheme of doubling has four meanings. The first is 'each' as in tiga-tiga 'three each', as in, e.g. diberi tiga-tiga 'were given three each'. The Javanese models are telu-telu 'three each' and diwènèhi telu-telu 'were given three each'. The second meaning is '(number) by (number)' as in:

I.16 meréka masuq LIMA-LIMA.

'They came in FIVE BY FIVE.'

(from lima 'five'). The Javanese model is:

J.16 wông-wông kuwi pôdô mlebu NGLIMÔ-NGLIMÔ.

'Those people came in FIVE BY FIVE.'

The third meaning is:

I.17 jangan BANYAQ-BANYAQ dulu.

'Don't (do something) TOO MUCH first.'

(from banyaq 'much'). The Javanese model is:

J.17 ôjô AKÈH-AKÈH ðiséq.

(from akèh 'much'). The fourth meaning is 'when (subject) finally (verb)-ed' or '(subject) just (verb)-ed' as in:

I.18 DATANG-DATANG kôq minta makan.

'You JUST ARRIVED, why ask for dinner (already).'

(from datang 'arrive'). The Javanese model is:

J.18 TEKÔ-TEKÔ kôq njaloq mangan.

(from tekô 'arrive').

3.3.4.2. *Doubling which Forms a Verb when Added to a Verb or an Adjective*

This morpheme of doubling is found only in a negative predicate phrase with forms such as taq 'not', belum 'not yet' preceding it. This doubling morpheme means something like 'still' or 'yet', as in:

I.19 ia BELUM DATANG-DATANG.

'He hasn't arrived yet.'

(from datang 'arrive').

I.20 tamu itu TAQ PULANG-PULANG.

'That guest still hasn't gone home.'

(from pulang 'go home'). The Javanese models for these sentences are

J.19 dèwèqé DURONG TEKÔ-TEKÔ.

J.20 tamu kuwi ORA MULIH-MULIH.

3.3.5. *Doubling Plus -an*

Malay and Javanese both have morphemes consisting of doubling the base and adding the suffix -an. For example, Malay has habis-habisan 'up to the end' (from habis 'finished, consumed'), and Javanese has entèq-entèqan 'up to the end' (from entèq 'finished, consumed'). Again the Javanese form can express meanings which the Malay form can not express. Recently, Indonesian has borrowed or calqued these Javanese types. Their use, however, for the most part is still confined to colloquial speech. They are of two types: noun forming and verb forming.

3.3.5.1. *Verbs Formed by Doubling + -an*

Verbs formed by doubling + -an have either adjectives or nouns as their bases. Forms of this type have three meanings. The first meaning is 'to pretend, to act like (base)': gila-gilaqan 'to act like a lunatic' (from gila 'crazy'), berani-beranian 'to act as if one were brave' (from berani 'brave, courageous'). The Javanese models are édan-édanan 'to act like a lunatic' (from édan 'crazy'), wanèn-wanènan²⁷ 'to act as if one were brave' (from wani 'brave, courageous'). The second meaning of doubling + -an is 'see which one is more (adjective)' as in cepat cepatan 'see which one is faster' (from cepat 'fast', from the Javanese cepet-cepetan 'see which one is faster'). The third meaning of doubling + -an is 'enjoy or do (the activity associated with

the noun which forms the base)' as in *sepéda-sepédaqan* 'to enjoy a bicycle ride' (from *sepéda* 'bicycle'), based on the Javanese *pit-pitan* 'to enjoy a bicycle ride' (from *pit* 'bicycle').

3.3.5.2. Nouns Formed by Doubling + -an

Doubling + -an forms a noun meaning 'a toy', as in *keréta-api-keréta-apian* 'toy train' (from *keréta-api* 'train'), based on the Javanese *sepur-sepuran* 'toy train' (from *sepur* 'train').

3.4. INDONESIAN AFFIXES WITH INCREASED FREQUENCY

Some Javanese affixes are more productive than their cognates or equivalents in Malay. Because of Javanese influence the frequency of some of the Indonesian affixes has increased recently. These include the prefix *meN-*, the suffix *-i*, the suffix *-kan*, reduplication, and doubling with vowel change.

3.4.1. The Prefix *meN-*

As indicated in 3.1.1., Javanese influence has introduced *N-* into Indonesian and has also made the Indonesian *meN-* even more productive. This is true of the *meN-* which forms transitive verbs, but it is especially true of the *meN-* which forms intransitive verbs from noun or adjective roots. The transitive and intransitive formations which have increased in productivity because of Javanese influence are based on noun roots.

3.4.1.1. *meN-* Forming a Transitive Verb

meN- is added to nouns referring to names of weapons or parts of the body to form verbs which mean 'hit someone or something with (the thing indicated by the base)': *meméstol* 'to shoot with a pistol' (from *péstol* 'pistol'), *ménumbaq* 'to throw a spear at' (from *tumbaq* 'spear'), *menyikot* 'to elbow' (from *sikot* 'elbow'), *mengupéng* 'to eavesdrop (on someone)' (from *kupéng* 'ear'). Javanese models for these forms are *méstol* (from *pestol*), *numbaq* (from *tumbaq*), *nyikot* (from *sikot*), *ngupéng* (from *kupéng*) respectively.

3.4.1.2. *meN-* Forming an Intransitive Verb

meN- is added to nouns of several types. It is added to names of vehicles to form verbs which mean 'ride on', as in *mengandông* 'to ride on an andông (horse-drawn cart)', *membécaq* 'ride on a pedicab (vehicle propelled by a bicycle)'. Javanese models for these forms are

ngandông (from anđông), mbécaq (from bécaq) respectively. meN- is added to names of foods or entertainment, to form verbs which mean 'make or enjoy', as in mengesôp 'make soup' (from sôp 'soup'), membiôs 'go to or see a movie' (from biôs, the short form of biôskop 'movie'). Javanese models are ngesôp (from sôp), mbiyôs (from biyôs) respectively. meN- is added to names of objects, or animals to form a verb meaning 'act like', as in membuntot 'always follow someone else' (from buntot 'tail'), membébéq 'to always follow someone else (like a duck)' (from bébéq 'duck'). Javanese models are mbuntot (from buntot) and mbèbèq (from bèbèq).

3.4.2. The Suffix -i

Malay and Javanese both have verb forming suffixes -i. Together with the prefixes meN- or N- respectively, these suffixes form active transitive verbs. With di- passive transitive verbs are formed. Malay -i has one allomorph -i, but Javanese -i has two alternants, -i (when following a base ending in a consonant) and -ani (when following a base ending in a vowel).²⁸ This suffix -i has several functions. Those common to both languages include (1) formation of verbs referring to repetitive actions, as in Malay menghantami 'to beat again and again' (from hantam 'beat'), and Javanese ngantemi 'to beat again and again' (from antem 'beat'), (2) formation of a verb, the recipient of which the place of the action. The recipient may be either inanimate, as in Malay menggulai 'to put sugar on (something)' (from gula 'sugar'), and Javanese nggulani 'to put sugar on (something)' (from gulô 'sugar'), or animate, as in Malay mengobati 'administer medicine' (from obat 'medicine'), and Javanese nambani 'administer medicine' (from tômbô 'medicine'). Verb bases which take animate goals may have either one or two goals. If the base can take two goals, in the presence of -i it is the animate goal which is emphasised and which is subject of the passive. An example of the latter type is Malay meminjami 'lend to' (from pinjam 'lend, borrow'), (3) formation of verbs the meaning of which is 'become or be (noun)', as in Malay mengepalai 'become or be the head or be the head (of something)' (from kepôlô 'head'). Indonesian mempunyai 'have, own' must also be of this sort, since the root punya 'have, own' came originally from empunya 'the owner'. Thus mempunyai literally means 'become or be the owner', (4) formation of verbs, the meaning of which is 'make (adjective, number)' as in Malay menyamai 'to make equal with' (from sama 'equal'), menyepulahi 'to make something become ten' (from sepuluh 'ten'), and Javanese mađani 'to make equal with' (from pođo 'equal'), nyepulahi 'make something become ten' (from sepuluh 'ten').

For several of the above meanings, Javanese *-i* is more productive than Malay *-i*. Furthermore, there is much greater tendency to use the form with *-i* in Javanese than in Malay. Malay tends to look for alternative ways to express the notions expressed by forms containing a suffix *-i*. Now, because of Javanese influence, the frequency of *-i* has increased. Not only is *-i* added to more roots, but forms with *-i* are used with greater frequency. Many forms that used to be expressed without *-i* or with a prepositional phrase are now expressed with *-i*. Of the five basic meanings of *-i* listed above, four have increased in productivity because of Javanese influence.

A number of Malay roots which formerly used prepositions to express locative meaning, in contemporary Indonesian add *-i* instead. For example:

M.21 siapa yang TIDUR DI rumah itu?
'Who SLEEPS IN that house?'

can now be expressed by:

I.21 siapa yang MENIDURI rumah itu?

on the model of:

J.21 sôpô séng NURÔNI omah kuwi?

Similarly,

M.22 anjéng itu KENCING DI cucian saya.
'That dog URINATED ON my laundry.'

can now be expressed by:

I.22 anjéng itu MENGENCINGI cucian saya.

on the model of:

J.22 asu kuwi NGUYUHI kumbahan ku.

However, this function of *-i* is still more productive in Javanese than it is in Indonesian. For example, one can say in Javanese:

J.23 warung kaé taq TUKÔNI lômbôq.
'That's the store WHERE I BOUGHT chili peppers.'

while in Indonesian one must still use a preposition to express location with this verb:

I.23 saya MEMBELI lômbôq DI warung itu.

Meaning (3), 'make oneself (the thing indicated by the base)', was formerly in Malay often expressed by menjadi 'become' plus a noun, i.e.:

M.24 ani MENJADI BUNGA dari kota itu.
'Ani BECAME THE FLOWER of that town.'

Now in Indonesian the noun may be used as the base to form a verb with *-i* which expresses the same meaning, as in:

I.24 ani MEMBUNGAI kota itu

This pattern is based on the Javanese model:

J.24 ani NGEMBANGI kuṭô kuwi.

Meaning (4), 'to make (adjective, number)' has increased in productivity in Indonesian with both adjective and number bases. An example with an adjective base which would not have occurred in older Malay is:

I.25 pemerintah MENGUATI barisan.

'The government STRENGTHENED the troops.'

The Javanese model is:

J.25 pemerintah NGUWATI barisan.

An example with a number base which would not have occurred in older Malay is:

I.26 dia MENYERATUSI rombongan itu.

'He MADE the group HAVE ONE HUNDRED MEMBERS.'

(i.e. 'He was the hundredth person to join, arrive, etc.').

The Javanese model is:

J.26 ḍèwèqé NYATUSI rômbôngan kuwi.

Finally, meaning (5) of the suffix -i was rather limited in older Malay, but it is now increasing in productivity due to Javanese influence. It is used to place emphasis on a human object or INDIRECT OBJECT of a verb that can take two goals, as in:

I.27 dia MENGIRIMI SAYA uang.

'He SENT ME some money.'

If such a verb is made passive it is the human or indirect object which must be the subject:

I.27a SAYA dikiriminya uang.

'I was sent money by him.'

The suffix -i is also used now for verbs which take only one goal if that goal is human, as in:

I.28 dia MENGAKALI SAYA.

'He PLAYED A TRICK ON ME.'

The root of mengakali is akal 'trick'. Javanese models for the above sentences are:

J.27 ḍèwèqé NGIRIMI AKU ḍuwét.

J.27a AKU dikirimi ḍèwèqé ḍuwét.

J.28 ḍèwèqé NGAKALI AKU.

3.4.3. The Suffix -kan

Indonesian has a transitive verb-forming suffix -kan which is cognate with Javanese -qaké (Ngoko) and -qaken (Kromo).²⁹ The Javanese and Indonesian suffixes have the following major meanings in common: (1) the formation of a causative verb, as in Indonesian mengurangkan 'to reduce' (from kurang 'less'), and Javanese ngurangaké 'reduce' (from kurang 'less'), (2) formation of a verb meaning 'to consider as', as in Indonesian merendahkan derajat orang 'to consider someone's status as low' (from rendah 'low'), and Javanese ngasôraké 'to consider someone's status as low' (from asôr 'low'), (3) formation of a verb with benefactive meaning, as in Indonesian membelikan 'to buy for someone else' (from buku 'buy'), (4) formation of a verb which emphasises the goal or direct object of the action, and has that goal as the subject of the passive. In this last meaning, the affix may be applied either to a base which is otherwise intransitive (i.e. has no passive) as in Indonesian mengerjakan 'to do, work on (something)' (from kerja 'work'), and Javanese ndongaqaké (slamet) 'to pray for (safety)' (from dongô 'pray'), or to an already transitive base where, however, some element other than the direct object is the subject of the passive, as in Indonesian (buku itu) diberikan '(that book) was given' (from beri 'give'), and Javanese (buku kuwi) diwénéhake '(that book) was given' (from wénéh 'give'). There may also be a few other meanings of Indonesian -kan but none of them have been affected by Javanese. All of these meanings of Javanese -qaké have wider application than their Malay counterparts had. The uses of Indonesian -kan have now been extended on analogy with the Javanese.

The causative use of the suffix -kan in Malay was nearly synonymous with the prefix per-. -kan, like per-, could be added to a noun, adjective, or verb root to form a verb meaning 'make (something) become (noun, adjective)' or 'cause to (verb)': merajakan 'make (someone) king' (from raja 'king'), menghitamkan 'make (something) black' (from hitam 'black'), menjalankan 'make (something) walk, move, run; drive' (from jalan 'walk'). The distribution of per- and -kan in Malay appears to have been arbitrary. Now, in addition to encouraging the replacement of per- by -kan in Indonesian (3.2.1.), Javanese has introduced the following sub-categories of the causative meaning: (a) 'to take or send someone or something to (the thing or person indicated by the base)', i.e. 'to cause someone or something to go to (that thing or person)', and (b) 'to pay the fare for someone on (the vehicle indicated by the base)', i.e. 'to cause someone to ride on (that vehicle)'. Examples of Indonesian calques of forms showing

meaning (a) are:

- I.29 pasien itu sudah DIDUKUNKAN.
'That patient HAS already BEEN TAKEN TO A DUKUN (medicine man).'
- I.30 penipu itu DIPULISIKAN.
'The scoundrel WAS BROUGHT TO THE POLICE (or REPORTED TO THE POLICE).'
- I.31 saya akan MEMBUKUKAN persoalan ini.
'I'm going to WRITE this case IN A BOOK.'

The Javanese models for these sentences are:

- J.29 pasien kuwi wés DIDUKUNKÉ.
J.30 tukang ngapusi kuwi DIPULISÈQAKÉ.
J.31 aku arep MBUKÔQAKÉ bap ili.

Examples of Indonesian calques of forms showing meaning (b) are:

- I.32 siapa yang akan MENGANDÔNGKAN kamu?
'Who will PAY THE ANDÔNG (horse-drawn cart) FARE FOR you?'
- I.33 nanti untuq pulangny saya akan DISEPORKAN abang saya.
'Later on the way home, I will be PAID FOR ON THE TRAIN by my big brother.'

(from sepor 'train'). The Javanese models are:

- J.32 sopo seng arep NGANDÔNGKÉ kowe.
J.33 mengko kanggo mulihé aku arep DISEPORKÉ kakang ku.

Meaning (2) of -kan 'to consider as, treat like (the thing indicated by the base)' is quite restricted in Malay but much more productive in Javanese. Under Javanese influence Indonesian formations with -kan have been calqued:

- I.34 kamu jangan mencoba MEMBUTAKAN saya.
'Don't try to TREAT me LIKE A BLIND PERSON.'
(i.e. 'Don't try to cheat me')

(from buta 'blind'),

- I.35 saya DIBÔDÔHKAN oléh anak itu.
'I was treated as if I were stupid by that child.'

(from bodoh 'stupid'). The Javanese models for these sentences are:

- J.34 kowé ôjô cobô-cobô MICAQAKÉ aku.
J.35 aku DIBÔDÔQAKÉ bocah kuwi.

Meaning (3) of -kan, the formation of a verb with benefactive meaning, has been extended to include the meaning 'to cook (something) for someone' when applied to a base which is the name of a food:

- I.36 nanti saya BUBURKAN kacang hijaw.
'Later I'll MAKE (FOR) you some mongo bean porridge.'

(from bubur 'porridge'),

- I.37 saya sedang NGESÔPKAN adiq saya.
'I am MAKING SOUP FOR my little brother.'

(from sop 'soup'). The Javanese models are:

J.36 mengko taq BUBURKÉ kacang ijo.

J.37 aku lagi NGESÔPKÉ adiqku.

As an extension of category (4), transitive verbs can now be made from bases consisting of the pronouns *begini* 'like this' and *begitu* 'like that', as in:

I.38 tongkat itu DIBEGINIKAN oléh adiq saya.

'That stick WAS DONE LIKE THIS TO by my little brother.'

I.39 dia DIBEGITUKAN oléh suaminya

'She WAS DONE LIKE THAT TO by her husband.'

Such statements are generally accompanied by a physical gesture. The Javanese models are:

J.38 tongkat kuwi DINGENEQAKE dénéng adiku

J.39 ðèwèqé DINGÔNÔQAKÉ bojoné.

3.4.4. Reduplication

Malay had REDUPLICATION. This is a process by which a base is prefixed with an element consisting of the first consonant and vowel of the base.³⁰ However, this process was not productive in Malay. Its distribution was confined to such set phrases as *tetangga* 'neighbour', *tetapi* 'but', *tetuhu* 'name of a night bird', *tetaréq* 'accordion', *pepatah* 'proverb', *tetenon* 'dragon fly', *lelaki* 'male', *bebalay* 'wooden cot'. Javanese also has reduplication, and it is still productive. Three of the meanings of reduplication in Javanese have been borrowed or calqued in Indonesian. The first of these meanings is plurality as in *tetamu* 'guests' (from *tamu* 'guest'), *tetarop* 'home decorations (usually made of leaves, papers, and fruits)', (from *tarop* 'decoration'). The Javanese models are *tetamu* and *tetarop*. The second meaning is 'the one who (has the characteristic indicated by the root)', as in *sesepoh* 'the eldest member (and thus the most respected); the honorary chairman' (from *sepo* 'old'), *jejaka* 'the bachelor' (from *jaka* 'bachelor'). The Javanese models are *sesepoh* and *jejôkô*. The third meaning is repetition or plurality of action, as in *sesumbar* 'to shout challenges again and again (to an enemy)' (from *sumbar* 'a challenge'), *bersesaji* 'to make preparations for offerings to a god' (from *saji* 'offering for a god'), *bertetarop* 'to decorate a house' (from *tarop* 'decoration'). The Javanese models are *sesumbar*, *sesaji*, and *tetarop*.

3.4.5. Reduplication Plus -an

Malay also had reduplication with a suffix -an, which was not, however, productive. Because of Javanese influence, reduplication with -an is now beginning to be productive in Indonesian. One such meaning of reduplication + -an is *'all sorts of, various types of* (the thing indicated by the base)', as in *tetumbuhan 'plants'* (from *tumbuh 'grow'*), *rerumputan 'grasses'* (from *rumput 'grass'*), *dedaunan 'leaves'* (from *daun 'leaf'*), *kekayuan 'trees, woods'* (from *tumbuh 'grow'*), *rerumputan, gegôdôngan 'leaves'* (from *gôdông 'leaf'*), and *kekayôn 'trees, woods'* (from *kayu*). A second meaning is adverb formation, as in *sesenggoqan 'sobbingly'* (from *senggoq 'sob'*), *jejeritan 'screamingly'* (from *jerit 'scream'*). The Javanese models are *sesengguqan, sesenggruqan* (from *sengg(r)oq 'sob'*), *jejeritan* (from *jerét 'scream'*).

Reduplication of the first and second types in 3.4.5. and of the first type mentioned above were introduced into Indonesian by writers. They are now used especially in formal situations. Reduplication of the other types, however, is generally used only in informal speech. For example, the words *memaén 'play around'* (from *maén 'play'*), *gegoakan 'screeching and squawking'* (from *goak 'the sound of a crow'*), *gegares 'gobble up everything in sight (coarse word)'* (from *gares 'shin'*, from the notion of using one's shin unfairly in soccer, i.e. *gegares* is literally *'kick everything, not only the ball, but one's opponents as well'* and figuratively *'eat everything, not only one's own food, but everything else on the table as well.'*) are used strictly in Djakarta Indonesian.

3.4.6. Doubling with Vowel Change

Malay had doubling with vowel change, but it was not productive. Its distribution was limited to a few words such as *mondar-mandér 'to and fro'*, *pontang-panting 'helter-skelter'*, *compang-camping 'in rags'*. On the other hand, Javanese doubling with vowel change is productive. Besides such set phrases as *tindaq-tandoq 'behaviour'*, *kolang-kaleng 'name of a tree and its fruit'*, *wora-wari 'name of a flower'*, Javanese has doubling with vowel change which expresses 'an erratic and repetitive action' as in *mongan-mêngèn 'eating again and again'* (from *mangan 'to eat'*), or 'an intensified degree of a situation' as in *montang-manténg 'helter skelter'*, *moraq-maréq 'scattered around in a mess'* (from *aréq 'to scatter'*).

With Javanese influence, doubling with vowel change has increased greatly in Indonesian. For example, the following words have been borrowed from Javanese: *moraq-maréq 'scattered around in a mess'*,

clingaq-clinguq 'to look here and there ignorantly' (from clinguq 'to turn and stare in a given direction'), plintat-plintut 'very sneaky; very opportunistic', recently abbreviated as plin-plan (from plintut 'to act sneaky'), korat-karit 'confused and almost eliminated (in a battle)' (from karit 'scraped irregularly'), kocar-kacir 'confused and running in various directions (in a battle)' (from kacir 'dropped and scattered'), cengar-cengir 'to keep moving one's nose up and down due to embarrassment' (from cengir 'to lift one's nose up, as when sniffing'), gembar-gembôr 'to speak loudly and continuously like water being poured out of a pail' (from gembôr 'a pail used to water plants'). For each of the above words, the second half of the word constitutes the base.³¹

3.5. INDONESIAN AFFIXES WHICH HAVE DECLINED IN FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE

Malay had some affixes for which there were no Javanese equivalents, though the ideas expressed by them could be expressed in Javanese with a word or several words. Javanese influence has caused a decline in the frequency of these affixes. These Malay forms are ber- -kan and ter- -kan.

3.5.1. ber- -kan

Malay had a circumfix ber- -kan, meaning 'having the object following as the (thing or action indicated by the base)'. For example, Malay had the well-known cliché bertatahkan ratna mutu manikam 'set with jewels of all kinds' (from tatah 'to set, to encrust') or literally 'having all sorts of set jewels'. Another example in which the form occurs twice is beratapakan langit berselimutkan embun 'having as the roof (atap) the sky and as the blanket (selimut) the dew'. In Javanese there is no form parallel to Malay ber- -kan. To express this meaning Modern Javanese would use di- (verb) nganggo 'to be (verb)-ed with' or a suffix -é. Thus for example ditatah nganggo retnô mutiô rô 'is set with gems and pearls' (from tatah 'to set, encrust'), payoné langit kemulé méngô 'the roof (payôn) is the sky (langit), the blanket (kemol) is the cloud (méngô)'. These Javanese forms have now influenced the use of an alternative mode of expression in place of ber- -kan in colloquial Indonesian, i.e. ditatah dengan ratna 'is set with jewels' and atapnya langit dan selimutnya embun 'the roof is the sky, the blanket is the cloud'. The use of forms with ber- -kan is now limited to literary style. The following examples give further illustrations: for Malay bermandikan darah 'bathing with blood' (from mandi 'to bathe'), non-literary Indonesian now has mandi (dengan) darah 'bathing (with) blood',

based on the Javanese model *adus (nganggo) getih 'bathing (with) blood'* (from *adus 'bathe'*); for *beristerikan seorang bidadari 'having as one's wife a goddess'* (from *isteri 'wife', bidadari 'goddess'*, Indonesian now has *isterinya bidadari*, based on the Javanese *bojoné widôdari 'his wife is a goddess'* (from *bojo 'wife', widôdari 'goddess'*).

3.5.2. ter- -kan

Malay *ter- -kan* is always found following *taq* or *tidaq 'not'*; *taq ter- -kan* means '*cannot be (verb)-ed*'. It has no parallel form in Javanese. Javanese forms which come closest to expressing this idea are *ora ke- 'cannot be (verb)-ed'* or *ora bisô di-(verb) dénéng 'cannot be (verb)-ed by'* which are neither cognates nor parallel constructions.

Indonesian *taq ter- -kan* now occurs much less frequently. Forms parallel to those in Javanese, i.e. *taq ter-* (parallel to *ora ke-*) and *taq dapat di-(verb) oléh* (parallel to *ora bisô di-(verb) dénéng*) are usually used instead. *taq ter- -kan* is still used in Indonesian but it is limited to literary style. In non-literary style forms parallel to the Javanese constructions are used. For example, *taq tertahankan 'cannot be resisted'* (from *tahan 'resist'*) is replaced in non-literary style by *taq tertahan* or *taq dapat ditahan*. The parallel Javanese forms are *ora ketahan* and *ora bisô ditahan* respectively. Similarly *regu itu taq tergulingkan 'the team is unbeatable'* is replaced by *regu itu taq dapat digulingkan 'the team cannot be beaten'* (*regu 'team', guling 'to knock down'*), based on the Javanese model *regu kuwi ora bisô digoléngké*.

3.6. JAVANESE INFLUENCE ON MORPHOPHONEMICS

In morphophonemics, Javanese influence on Indonesian is found in the forms of the allomorphs of *meN-* and *peN-*. As stated in 3.1.1. the differences between the realisations of *N-* in Indonesian *meN-* and *peN-* and Javanese *N-* (also *aN-* and *maN-*) and *paN-* are that:

a. before /c/, *N-* becomes /n/ in Indonesian and the /c/ remains, as in *mencuri 'to steal'* (from *curi*, R.4), whereas in Javanese *N-* becomes /ny/ and the /c/ is dropped, as in *nyuléq 'to kidnap'* (from *culéq*, R.7).

b. before /r/ and /l/, *N-* is dropped in Indonesian, as in *merasa 'to feel'* (from *rasa*), *melarang 'to forbid'* (from *larang*, R.5), whereas in Javanese *N-* becomes /ng/ as in *ngrôsô 'to feel'* (from *rôsô*), *nglarang 'to forbid'* (from *larang*, R.8).

c. before a monosyllabic root, *N-* behaves in Indonesian according to the same rules that would apply to any other root, as in *membôm*

'to bomb' (from *bôm*, R.3), *mencat* 'to paint' (from *cat*, R.4), whereas in Javanese N- always becomes /nge-/ before such roots, as in *ngebôm* 'to bomb' (from *bôm*), *ngecèt* 'to paint' (from *cèt*, R.9).

Now, however, there are quite a few words in Indonesian which follow the Javanese morphophonemic rules. Examples of Indonesian words which follow the Javanese morphophonemic rule R.7 are *menyôcôkkan* 'to check if something is correct' (from *côcôk* 'fit, correct'), *penyicél* 'one who pays in installments' (from *cicél* 'to pay in installments, on credit'), *penyacat* 'one who is always very critical of others' (from *cacat* 'defect, fault'). Examples of Indonesian words which follow rule R.8 are *penglihatan* 'sight' (from *lihat* 'see'), *penglipor* (*lara*) 'soother (of pain)' (from *lipor* 'soothe, comfort'), *pengluasan* 'enlargement, broadening' (from *luas* 'large'), *pengrusaq* 'destroyer, one who breaks (things, rules, etc.)' (from *rusaq* 'destroyed, broken, damaged'). Examples of Indonesian words which follow rule R.9 are *mengepak* 'to pack' (from *pak* 'pack'), *mengetès* 'to test' (from *tés* 'test'), *mengeték* 'to type' (from *ték* 'type'), *mengebôm* 'to bomb' (from *bôm* 'bomb'), *mengerém* 'to brake' (from *rém* 'brake'), *mengelaq* 'to seal' (from *laq* 'seal'), *mengedép* 'to stop, hide' (from *dép* 'stop, hide'), *mengecék* 'to check' (from *cék* 'check'), *mengekôp* 'to hit (a ball) with the head (as in soccer)' (from *kôp* 'head'). Many of these Javanese influenced forms exist side by side with forms exhibiting the Indonesian morphophonemic rules. Thus, for example, there are *peluasan* 'enlargement', *perusaq* 'destroyer', *mencôcôkkan* 'to see if something is correct', *mentés* 'to test', *membom* 'to bomb', *menték* 'to type', *mencék* 'to check'. Furthermore, many of the roots which do undergo Javanese morphophonemic rules are Javanese loans, as for example *côcôk* 'to fit, correct', *cicél* 'to pay in installments', *lipor* 'to comfort, soothe'. Some of them which are loans from other languages have entered Indonesian via Javanese, as e.g. *mengekôp* 'to hit (a ball) with the head', *mengeték* 'to type'. Forms such as *penglihatan* 'sight' in which the root is an inherited form but the affix undergoes Javanese morphophonemic rules are very few in number.

N O T E S

1. For the allomorphs of Javanese N- and Indonesian meN- see below in this section. For Old Javanese aN- and maN-, and also for Old Javanese a- and ma- see Zoetmulder and Poedjawijatna 1954:59-61.
2. The treatment of peN- is parallel.
3. All rules will be numbered R.X (where X represents any number). Numbering will be consecutive throughout the volume.
4. Bases from a foreign language which have not been integrated fully into Indonesian usually retain the initial consonants when meN- or peN- is added to them. For example, memfétó 'to veto' (from fétó 'veto'), mengkocar-kacérkan 'to cause (an enemy) to be scattered and confused' (from Javanese kocar-kacér 'to scatter and run around in all direction'). Perhaps on analogy with these foreign unintegrated roots or perhaps because of the influence of some regional language, several inherited Indonesian roots sometimes behave in this way, e.g. kaku 'still' becomes either mengaku or mengkaku 'to stiffen'.
5. In a few Javanese words N- plus /s/ forms /n/, as in panèwu 'sub-district head, or the head of a troop consisting of 1000 soldiers' (from sèwu 'one thousand'), penatos 'head of a troop consisting of 100 soldiers' (from satos 'one hundred'). The reason for this is unknown.
6. Alternatively N- becomes /m/ before /w/, as in moco 'read' from wócô. /ngw/ is normally considered more formal or literary than /m/.

7. Of course this does not include the allomorphs of *per-* -*an* when the base begins with /l/, /r/, /C*er*/ in which the /r/ of the prefix drops, as in *pelayaran* 'the sailing' (from *layar* 'sail'), *perasaan* 'feeling' (from *rasa* 'feel'), *peternaan* 'the raising (of cattle or fowl)' (from *ternaq* 'to raise (cattle or fowl)').

8. In Malay /q/ is inserted between the two /a/'s. Therefore we expect **pebéaqa*n, **pecinaqa*n, **pesébaqa*n.

9. See note 32 in Chapter II.

10. Takdir Alisjahbana indicates (*Tatabahasa Baru Bahasa Indonesia* II:45) that Old Malay seems to have a prefix *ke-* connected to such roots as *liwat* 'pass', *lalu* 'pass' making *keliwat* and *kelalu*. These are not found in current Indonesian.

11. In Javanese when the prefix *ke-* is added to a base beginning with *a-*, the /e/ and /a/ contract into /a/: *ke-* + *abor* 'fly' becomes *kabor* 'flown away or blown away', *ke-* + *ambang* 'float' becomes *kambang* 'to be floating'.

12. *per-* has a causative meaning. As exemplified, it can be added to different types of bases: verbs, adjectives, numbers, and also noun bases, as in *memperbudaq* 'to make somebody a slave, or to treat somebody as a slave' (from *budaq* 'slave').

13. Or sometimes *pa-*, e.g. *dipagawèqaké* 'is made to work' (from *gawé* 'work').

14. It is interesting to note that there seems to be a parallel in the dropping of /m/ and then /a/ in the Javanese prefixes *maN-* and *ma-*. See 3.1.1. For an explanation of Old Javanese *ma-* or *a-* see Zoetmulder and Poedjawijatna 1954:58-59.

15. The suffix *-é* has the form *-né* when the base ends in a vowel. Its Kromo forms are *-ipon* and *-nipon*.

16. Malay has another affix *ke-* -*an* which forms an abstract noun (examples in 3.3.1.2.).

17. When *-an* is added to a base ending in /-ô/, the /ô/ and /a/ contract into /a/.

18. When -an is added to a base ending in /u/, the /u/ and /a/ contract into /ô/.
19. From Dutch *te laat* 'too late or late'.
20. Sometimes the -an in Javanese ke- -an changes to -en when the base ends in a syllable having /e/.
21. When -an is added to a base ending in /é/, the /é/ and /a/ contract into /è/.
22. When -an is added to a base ending in -éC, -éC changes to -iC.
23. Although there is a Javanese *kebanyôn* 'filled with water' (from *banyu* 'water'), this word is very rarely used.
24. There is in Javanese the word *kénaqen* or *kenaqan* having the same meaning as *kepénaqen* or *kepénaqan*. The former, however, is much less often used than the latter. There are in Javanese a few words which insert /p/ when the prefix ke- is added, as in *kepanjingan* 'possessed by a spirit' (from *anjing* 'enter'), which expresses the same meaning as *kanjingan*. Another example is *kepentot* 'accidentally break wind' (from *entot* 'break wind').
25. *mantri* in the city of Jogjakarta has the same rank and function as *camat* elsewhere.
26. In Javanese, when -an is added to a one syllable root, the root is usually doubled.
27. The base of *wanèn-wanènan* is *wanèn*, which is derived from *wani* 'brave' plus -an.
28. The /a/ in -ani undergoes the same morphophonemic rules as /a/ in -an (notes 11, 14, 21 above): it contracts into /è/ when the base ends in /i/ or /é/ (*aji* 'respect', *ngajèni* 'to respect (somebody)', *ramé* 'noisy', *ngramèni* 'to make or inflict noise to'); it contract into /ô/ when the base ends in /u/ or /o/ (*tuku* 'buy', *nukôni* 'buy at somebody's', *soto* 'to punch', *nyôtôni* 'to punch again and again at'), and into /a/ when the base ends in /ô/ or /a/ (*tekô* 'come', *nekani* 'to come to (somebody)'; *ora* 'no', *ngorani* 'say no to somebody').

29. -qaké, -qaken have alternant forms -aké or -aken respectively when following a base ending in a consonant. In informal speech the /a/ often drops, forming -qké, -qken (-ké, -ken).

30. The vowel is generally reduced to /e/ because it is in the antepenult or a preceding syllable.

31. In Javanese it is sometimes the first element which constitutes the base, as in utang-utèng '*always borrowing money again and again*' (from utang '*borrow money*'), obah-obèh '*always moving*' (from obah '*to move*'). Sometimes neither of the two elements constitute the base, because both have changed vowels, as in mongan-mèngèn '*eating again and again erratically*' (from mangan '*to eat*').

CHAPTER IV
THE INFLUENCE OF JAVANESE ON INDONESIAN SYNTAX

4. TYPES OF INFLUENCE

Javanese influence on Indonesian syntax includes (1) the introduction of new types of syntactic constructions, (2) the introduction of different word order in some constructions, (3) decline in the use of some Indonesian constructions having the same functions as, but different forms from, comparable Javanese constructions, and (4) increase in the use of constructions similar in form and function to comparable Javanese constructions.

4.1. THE INTRODUCTION OF NEW SYNTACTIC CONSTRUCTIONS

Javanese has brought about the introduction of a number of constructions into Indonesian. These include forms in new collocations and in new meanings. The forms were introduced by the process of loan-translation. All the new constructions added are now part of the colloquial language.

4.1.1. saya + Verb -nya 'I think I should (do the action indicated by the verb) to it'

Javanese has a construction consisting of taq¹ 'by me' plus a transitive verb base to which is suffixed -(n)é (the third person singular pronoun), expressing 'I think I should (do the action indicated by the verb) to it'. For example, taq pangané 'I think I'll eat it'. Malay had no form which carried this meaning. Now in Indonesian a loan-translation has been made of taq + verb -(n)é giving rise to Indonesian saya + verb -nya (saya 'I, by me' may be equivalent to taq, though it has a wider usage, and -nya is equivalent to taq, though it has a wider usage, and -nya is equivalent to -(n)é),

as in:

- J.40 pelem kuwi TAQ PANGANÉ.
'I THINK I'LL EAT that mango.'
J.41 pelem kuwi TAQ TUKUNÉ.
'I THINK I'LL BUY that mango.'

These can now be expressed in Indonesian as:

- I.40 mempelam itu SAYA MAKANNYA.
I.41 mempelam itu SAYA BELINYA.

4.1.2. saya + Verb -kannya

The Javanese construction *taq + verb -(n)é* is not limited to un-suffixed roots. It can also occur with bases containing (q)aké. When it does *-(q)aké + -(n)é* combine to form *-qné*,² as in *taq tukôqné* 'I think I'll buy (something) for him'. Malay did not have this form either. Now in Indonesian there is a loan-translation of this construction, *saya + verb -kannya*, as in:

- I.42 amin SAYA BELIKANNYA mempelam.
'I THINK I'll buy a mango FOR Amin.'

where, since the base containing *-kan* is benefactive (see 3.4.3. for definitions of *-kan*), the meaning of *saya + -kannya* is 'I think I'll (do the action indicated by the root) for';

- I.43 amin SAYA TIDORKANNYA disini.
'I THINK I'LL PUT Amin TO SLEEP here.'

- I.44 mobilnya SAYA JALANKANNYA.
'I THINK I'LL DRIVE the car.'
(literally, 'I THINK I'LL MAKE the car RUN.')

where, since the base containing *-kan* is causitive, the meaning of *saya + -kannya* is 'I think I'll make (someone/something) do (the action indicated by the root)'. The Javanese models for these sentences are:

- J.42 amin TAQ TUKÔQNE pelem.
J.43 amin TAQ TURÔQNE kéné.
J.44 môntôré TAQ LAKÔQNE.

Javanese *-qné*, which has no Kromo equivalent, has the allomorph *-né* after a base ending in a consonant other than /n/. E.g. *taq atorné* 'let me present it' (from *ator* 'present'), *taq wènèhné* 'let me give it' (from *wènèh* 'give'). However, although this suffix is similar to *-(n)é* in its phonological shape, the two should not be confused. Historically, *-qné* derives from *-aken + -nira (-nya)*. This combination occurs in Old Javanese in such forms as *winörakenya* 'was flown away with by him' (from *wor* 'fly' + *-in-*, a passive infix, + *-aken + -nya*), *kinawasākenira* 'was strengthened by him/by them' (from *kawasa* 'strong' + *-ini-* + *-aken + -nira*.)³ The use, however, of *taq + verb + -(n)é* in the meaning of

'I think I'll', whether or not the verb base contains the suffix -qaké, is probably a relatively new development in Javanese, since it is not found in Old Javanese texts. At any rate, since Modern Javanese -qné is composed of -qaké and -(n)é, and since the cognates of these morphemes in Malay are -kan and -nya respectively, it is understandable that Javanese and Malay speakers translate the Javanese suffix into Indonesian as -kannya.

The construction saya + verb -kannya is used in colloquial style in Indonesian and is especially common among the Javanese, the Djakartanese, and the Chinese.

4.1.3. Constructions with Nominal Phrases

4.1.3.1. Borrowing of the Genitive Marker

Javanese has a third person genitive pronoun -(n)é.⁴ It is attached to the possessed noun even if the possessor is specified, e.g. omahé Abu 'Abu's house'. Malay had no such form. Now Indonesian has borrowed this genitive construction, translating the Javanese suffix -(n)é with the Indonesian third person genitive pronoun -nya:

J.45 iki OMAHÉ ABU.

'This is ABU'S HOUSE.'

J.46 SIKILÉ MÉJÓ KUWI putong.

'THE LEG OF THAT TABLE is broken.'

can now be expressed in Indonesian as:

I.45 ini RUMAHNYA ABU.

I.46 KAKINYA MÉJA itu patah.

This new Indonesian construction is now competing with the original Malay genitive construction which did not use -nya, e.g.

M.45 ini RUMAH ABU.

M.46 KAKI MÉJA ini patah.⁵

4.1.3.2. Adjective + -nya, verb + -nya

In Javanese the genitive marker -(n)é can be added to an adjective to form a noun meaning 'the (noun)ness of', e.g. ðuwor 'high', ðuwuré 'the height of'; gedé 'large', gedéné 'the (large) size of'. A form of this sort usually occurs in a genitive construction with a noun phrase, e.g.

J.47 ÐUWURÉ WIT KUWI limang méter.

'THE HEIGHT OF THAT TREE is five meters.'

J.48 GEÐÉNÉ KUCING KUWI ora karu-karuwan.

'The size of that cat is incredible.'

(i.e. 'That cat is incredibly large.')

Alternatively the word order of the two noun phrases may be reversed, e.g.

J.47 wit kuwi DUWARÉ limang méter.

'That tree is five meter's HIGH.'

J.48a kucing kuwi GEDÉNÉ ora karu-karuwan.

'That cat is incredibly LARGE.'

The suffix $-(n)é$ can also be added to a verb. The resulting noun means 'the manner of (doing the action indicated by the verb)', e.g. mlaku 'walk', mlakuné 'the way (someone) walks'; nangés 'cry', nangisé 'the way (someone) cries'. This form is commonly used in a genitive construction with an animate noun. The construction then forms the subject of a sentence, the predicate of which is a word referring to the manner of the action:

J.49 MLAKUNÉ abu cepet.

'Abu walks quickly.'

(literally, 'THE WALKING OF Abu is quick.')

J.50 NANGISÉ abu sora banget.

'Abu cries very loudly.'

(literally, 'THE CRYING OF Abu is very loud.')

Alternatively, the genitive noun is made the topic of the sentence and put first:

J.49a abu MLAKUNÉ cepet.

(literally, 'Abu, HIS WALKING is quick.')

J.50a abu NANGISÉ sora banget.

(literally, 'Abu, HIS CRYING is very loud.')

All of these constructions have been taken over into Indonesian. An adjective or a verb can be nominalised by adding *-nya*, and sentences of the same types as the Javanese can be constructed with the resulting forms:

I.47 TINGGINYA pohon itu lima méter.

I.48 BESARNYA kucing itu bukan kepalang.

I.49 (BER)JALANNYA abu cepat.

I.50 (ME)NANGISNYA abu keras sekali.

I.47a pohon itu TINGGINYA lima méter.

I.48a kucing itu BESARNYA bukan kepalang.

I.49a abu BERJALANNYA cepat sekali.

I.50a abu MENANGISNYA keras sekali.

In Javanese, the first person genitive pronoun *-ku* or the second person genitive pronoun *-mu* may be substituted for $-(n)é$ in the above constructions. In such cases the subject form of the pronoun may or may not occur in sentence initial position:

J.51 (aku) MLAKUKU cepet.
 'I WALK quickly.'
 (literally, 'I, my walking is quick.')

J.52 (kowé) MLAKUMU cepet.
 'YOU WALK quickly.'
 (literally, 'You, your walking is quick.')

These forms are also used in Indonesian now, though the sentence-initial subject form of the pronoun is almost never included:

I.51 BERJALAN SAYA cepat.

I.52 BERJALAN MU cepat.

In Javanese, to soften direct reference to oneself or the addressee, either of which may be considered too blunt, -(n)é is used instead of -ku or -mu:

J.51 (aku) MLAKUNÉ cepet.

J.52 (kowe) MLAKUNÉ cepet.

This, too has been taken over by Indonesian:

I.51a (saya) (ber-) JALANNYA cepat.

I.52a (kamu) (ber-) JALANNYA cepat.

4.1.4. boléhnya + verb 'the way one (does the action indicated by the verb)'

Another construction in Javanese which can mean 'someone's (verb)ing is (adverb)' consists of olèh or anggôn plus the suffix -(n)é⁶ followed by a verb.

J.53 OLÈHÉ MLAKU cepet.
 'HE WALKS quickly.'
 (literally, 'THE WAY HE WALKS is quick.')

J.54 OLÈHÉ NEMBANG apéq.
 'HE SINGS well.'
 (literally, 'THE WAY HE SINGS is good.')

Malay has no analogous construction. This form has also now been borrowed by Indonesian. Since Javanese olèh may express some of the same meanings as Malay boléh, i.e. 'be permitted' and 'get', the translation of the Javanese olèhé + verb in Indonesian is boléhnya + verb:

I.53 BOLÉHNYA BERJALAN cepat.

I.54 BOLÉHNYA MENYANYI baéq.

However, this form is still considered substandard by most educated Indonesians. Its use is limited to older Javanese, Djakartanese, and Chinese not educated in Indonesian.

If the agent is the first or second person singular, olèhku 'the way I (do the action indicated by the verb)' or olèhmu 'the way you (do the action indicated by the verb)' is used in Javanese. However,

these forms have not influenced Indonesian. No form *boléhku or *boléhmu is used in Indonesian.

4.1.5. Saking + (nominal) -nya . . . sampay 'on account of (nominal)...'

Javanese has a subordinate clause structure consisting of sakéng 'on account of' followed by a nominalised adjective with the suffixed genitive marker -(n)é, (or -ku or -mu for first and second persons) followed optionally by a noun in which the meaning is 'on account of (nominal) . . .'. The main clause following it is usually introduced by nganti, literally 'until', e.g.

J.55 SAKÉNG CILIQÉ barang kuwi, NGANTI ora katon.

'ON ACCOUNT OF THE SMALLNESS OF that thing, it is invisible.'

J.56 SAKÉNG KESELKU, NGANTI aku ora bisô sinau menèh.

'BECAUSE OF MY WEARINESS, I could not study any more.'

J.57 SAKÉNG NAKALMU, NGANTI ora ôhô wông séng seneng karo kowé.

'BECAUSE OF YOUR NAUGHTINESS, nobody likes you.'

Malay had no such construction. This Javanese construction has now been borrowed by Indonesian:

I.55 SAKING KECILNYA barang itu, SAMPAY taq kelihatan.

I.56 SAKING LELAH SAYA, SAMPAY saya tidaq dapat belajar lagi.

I.57 SAKING NAKALMU, SAMPAY taq ada orang yang suka padamu.

Sometimes saking is translated as karena 'because'. nganti is always translated as either sampay or hingga 'until':

I.55a KARENA KECILNYA barang itu, HINGGA taq kelihatan.

I.57a KARENA NAKALMU, HINGGA taq ada orang yang suka padamu.

In Javanese the genitive phrase (e.g. barang kuwi in J.54) may be made topic and placed at the beginning of the sentence, or it may occur in the main clause preceding or following nganti:

J.55b BARANG KUWI, sakéng ciliqé, nganti ora katôn.

J.55c sakéng ciliqé, BARANG KUWI nganti ora katôn.

J.55d sakéng ciliqé, nganti BARANG KUWI ora katôn.

These alternative constructions have also been taken over by Indonesian:

I.55b BARANG ITU saking kecilnya, sampay taq kelihatan.

I.55c saking kecilnya, BARANG ITU sampay taq kelihatan.

I.55d saking kecilnya, sampay BARANG ITU taq kelihatan.

4.1.6. yang + adjective 'do in an (adjective) way'

Javanese has an adverbial construction consisting of séng (Kromo éngkang) 'which' followed by an adjective. In isolation it forms a command meaning 'do it in an (adjective) way', as in séng cepet 'be quick; do it quickly', séng ngati-ati 'be careful; do it carefully'.

This form also occurs in an imperative sentence following the imperative form of a verb, a nominalised verb, or a nominal construction consisting of *olèh(mu) + verb* 'the way (you) do (verb)':

J.58 *mlakuwô SÉNG CEPET.*

'Walk QUICKLY.'

J.58a *mlakumu SÉNG CEPET.*

'Walk quickly.'

(literally, '*LET your walking BE QUICK.*')

J.58b *mlakuné SÉNG CEPET.*

'Walk QUICKLY.'

(literally, '*LET the walking BE QUICK.*')

J.58c *olèhmu mlaku SÉNG CEPET.*

'Walk quickly.'

(literally, '*LET the way you walk BE QUICK.*')

This construction is also found in an indicative sentence with the first person as subject and the adverbial construction following a predicate expressing an intention to do something, e.g.

J.59 *aku taq mlaku SÉNG CEPET.*

'I think I'll walk QUICKLY.'

In this type of sentence, as in the imperative, the verb may be nominalised or transformed into a nominal phrase consisting of *olèh(ku) + verb*; or its equivalent *anggon(ku) + verb*:

J.59a *(aku) MLAKUKU taq SÉNG CEPET.*

J.59c *(aku) OLÈHKU MLAKE taq SÉNG CEPET.*

J.59d *(aku) ANGGÔNKU MLAKE taq SÉNG CEPET.*

In all of these constructions the non-subject form of the pronoun *taq* (which is primarily the form for the agent of a passive verb, but in this special construction indicates intention to perform the action indicated by the verb) follows the nominalised verb and precedes what remains of the predicate, i.e. the adverbial phrase.

Malay did not have this adverbial construction, but Indonesian is now beginning to take it over. Examples of the construction in an imperative sentence are:

I.58 *berjalanlah YANG CEPAT.*

I.58a *(ber)jalanmu YANG CEPAT.*

I.58b *(ber)jalannya YANG CEPAT.*

Indonesian does not have a construction expressing intention to perform an action which is parallel to the Javanese *(aku) taq + verb*, but the same idea can be expressed by placing the future-marking particle *akan* before the verb. *yang + adjective* can also modify the verb in such a sentence:

I.59 *saya akan berjalan YANG CEPAT.*

In both Javanese and Indonesian these forms with the third person pronoun *-(n)é* and *nya*) in the nominal phrase are considered less direct and are therefore preferred when one wishes to express a milder form of address.

In Javanese this construction is also found in passive statements or questions. The passive verb in this case may be first, second, or third person:

- J.60 saqwisé taq pikér SÉNG TEMENAN . . .
 'After I have thought about it SERIOUSLY . . .'
 (literally, 'After being thought about by me SERIOUSLY . . .')
- J.61 ôpô wés kôq prêkso SÉNG TELITI?
 'Have you examined it CAREFULLY?'
 (literally, 'Has (it) been examined by you CAREFULLY?')

Analogous forms are occasionally heard in present-day spoken Indonesian. However, they are used only by Javanese and are usually considered sub-standard or incorrect by other Indonesian speakers. The analogous Indonesian forms are:

- I.60 sesudahnya saya pikir YANG SUNGGUH-SUNGGUH . . .
 I.61 apa sudah kamu periksa YANG TELITI?

Generally all uses of *yang* + adjective in Indonesian are confined to colloquial speech.

4.1.7. Negation + Doubling

Javanese has a predicate construction consisting of a negative ora 'no, not' or durong 'not yet', followed by a doubled verb, the meaning of which is 'hasn't (verb)-ed yet' or 'still hasn't (verb)-ed'. The degree of annoyance or disappointment expressed is greater with durong than with ora. Examples are:

- J.62 abu ORA TEKÔ-TEKÔ.
 'Abu HASN'T COME YET.'
 J.63 abu DURONG TEKÔ-TEKÔ.
 'Abu STILL HASN'T COME.'

Malay had no forms like these. In Indonesian a calque has been made of this construction, negation plus doubling, with ora translated as tidak 'no, not', durong as belum 'not yet', giving rise to tidak or belum followed by a doubled verb, meaning 'hasn't (verb)-ed yet' or 'still hasn't (verb)-ed':

- I.62 abu TIDAK DATANG-DATANG.
 I.63 abu BELUM DATANG-DATANG.

In Javanese, a doubled verb can also occur in a negative imperative sentence, the negative being ôjô 'don't'. The meaning of such a

sentence is 'don't ever (do the action indicated by the verb)', e.g.

J.64 ôjô lungô-lungô!

'Don't every go away!'

A calque of this form has also been made in Indonesian. Javanese ôjô 'don't' is translated into Indonesian as jangan 'don't':

I.64 jangan pergi-pergi!

If one wishes to soften such a command in Javanese ora susah or ora perlu, both meaning 'no need', may be substituted for ôjô. This is translated into Indonesian as tidaq usah or tidaq perlu, both of which also mean 'no need'. For example:

J.65 ORA SUSAH lungô-lungô.

'THERE'S NO NEED to ever go away.'

I.65 TIDAK USAH pergi-pergi.

J.66 ORA PERLU melu-melu.

'THERE'S NO NEED to ever follow along (or join in).'

I.66 TIDAK PERLU ikut-ikut.

Doubling with a negative in Javanese which means 'still not' can be applied to an adjective base as well as to a verb, as in:

J.67 abu larané ORA MARI-MARI.

'Abu is STILL NOT WELL.'

(literally, 'Abu's sickness is still not improved.')

The calque in Indonesian is:

I.67 abu sakitnya TAQ SEMBUH-SEMBUH.

If doubling of an adjective is found in a negative imperative sentence the meaning is 'don't be too (adjective)' or 'no need to be too (adjective)':

J.68 ôjô apéq-apéq!

'Don't be too good!'

I.68 jangan baik-baik

J.69 ora susah sero-sero!

'There's no need to be too loud!'

I.69 tidaq usah keras-keras!

J.70 ora perlu dôwô-dôwô!

'There's no need for it to be too long!'

I.70 tidaq perlu panjang-panjang!

4.2. NEW WORD ORDER

Javanese has influenced Indonesian word order. On the whole Javanese and Indonesian have rather similar rules of word order. There are, however, some differences in detail. Javanese influence tends to eliminate these small differences.

4.2.1. Noun + Numeral

In Malay the word order of a phrase consisting of a number modifying a noun is usually number plus counter (if there is one) plus noun, as in *tiga buah mangga* 'three mangos' (literally 'three fruit mango'), *dua orang anaq* 'two children' (literally 'two person child').

In Javanese the word order is noun followed by number.⁷ A counter is usually not used in Javanese.⁸ Examples of the Javanese construction are *pelem telu* 'three mangos', *bocah loro* 'two children'.

The Javanese word order now often appears in Indonesian, although usually only in colloquial speech, as in *mangga tiga buah* 'three mangos', *anaq dua orang* 'two children'. Sometimes the counter is dropped:

I.71 dia punya MANGGA TIGA.

'He has THREE MANGOS.'

I.72 dia punya ANAQ DUA.

'He has TWO CHILDREN.'

The forms meaning 'all', 'several', 'few', and 'most' function like numerals in Javanese and Malay. Javanese has influenced these forms, as it has the numerals, to occur after nouns in Indonesian. Examples of the Javanese constructions are *omah-omah kabèh* 'all the houses', *wông-wông mau kabèh* 'all of them', *wông-wông sawetôrô* 'several people'. Such meanings in Malay are normally expressed by *semua rumah*, *segala mereka itu*, *beberapa orang(-orang)* respectively. The New Indonesian forms *rumah-rumah semua*, *mereka itu semua*, *orang(-orang) berberapa* respectively have come in.

4.2.2. Placement of Forms Meaning 'Very' Following Adjective

The Javanese forms meaning 'very' follow the adjective which they modify, e.g. *bagos banget* 'very handsome' (*bagos* 'handsome', *banget* 'very'). In Malay the forms *amat*, *sangat* 'very' normally precede the adjective they modify:⁹ *sangat bagus*, *amat bagus*. Now, under the influence of Javanese, these forms often follow the adjective they modify, e.g. *bagus amat* 'very handsome'. Similarly *cantiq sungguh* 'really beautiful' replaces *sungguh cantiq* on the model of Javanese *ayu tenan*. In the colloquial speech of Djakarta *cantiq banget* 'very beautiful', borrowing Javanese *banget* 'very', is used.

4.2.3. The Placement of Question Words

In Malay, the placement of a question word such as *kapan* or *bila(mana)* 'when' and *mengapa* 'why' is usually at the beginning of the clause, but in Javanese its placement is alternatively at the end, at the beginning, or sometimes even in the middle of the clause. In Javanese it does not

make any difference as far as formality is concerned whether the question word is at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of the sentence.

For example, the Malay sentence:

- M.73 KAPAN dia akan datang?
'WHEN is he coming?'

can be expressed in Javanese by any of the following:

- J.73 KAPAN dèwèqé olèhé arep tekô?
 J.73a dèwèqé KAPAN olèhé arep tekô?
 J.73b olèhé arep tekô dèwèqé KAPAN?

Similarly:

- M.74 MENGAPA dia tidaq datang?
'WHY didn't he come?'

may be translated into Javanese as:

- J.74 KENÔ ÔPÔ dèwèqé ora tekô?
 J.74a dèwèqé KENÔ ÔPÔ ora tekô?
 J.74b dèwèqé ora tekô KENÔ ÔPÔ?

Because of Javanese influence, word order in questions has now become freer in Indonesian. The question word may sometimes be put at the end or even in the middle of the sentence. Such sentences are usually considered colloquial:

- I.73a dia KAPAN akan datang?
 I.73b dia akan datang KAPAN?
 I.74a dia MENGAPA tidaq datang?
 I.74b dia tidaq datang KENAPA?

4.3. DECREASING THE USE OF CONSTRUCTIONS WHICH DO NOT HAVE JAVANESE ANALOGUES

Some Indonesian syntactic constructions which are not analogous with constructions found in Javanese tend to fall into disuse.

4.3.1. Subject + Predicate

The word order predicate followed by subject was very common in Middle Malay. This word order has not been at all common in Javanese since at least the 16th or 17th century. In modern Indonesian, especially in the spoken language, subject followed by predicate is becoming the more usual order. Javanese has probably been instrumental in this development. Javanese influence in this case must have begun even in the Middle Malay period through the Javo-Malay literature. In fact, in Middle Malay works which are heavily influenced by Javanese, such as *Hikajat Bandjar* and *Hikajat Hasanuddin*, predicate subject word order is less frequent than in purely Malay works of the same period,

such as *Sedjarah Melaju*.

Javanese may not be the only influence which has contributed to the decrease in predicate subject word order in Malay. Sundanese, Dutch, and English may also have been partly responsible for this change.

In Middle Malay predicate subject order was most frequently found in (1) questions with question words, and (2) sentences narrating past events with an adjunct or sub-clause of time or condition preceding it. Very often such sentences began with *maka* 'thus', *setelah* 'after', *sesempaynya* 'when (he) arrived', etc., and the predicate was accompanied by the emphasis particle *-lah*. Examples of the use of predicate subject order in questions are:

M.75 . . . anaq jinkah tuanhamba?

' . . . are you a son of a spirit?'

M.76 rélakah tuanhamba?

'Are you willing?' 'Do you mind?'

M.77 orang manakah kamu . . . ?

'What (nationality) are you?'

Examples of predicate subject order in active statements are:

M.78 adapun setelah sampay menteri kepada nabi kidir,¹⁰ . . .

'After the minister arrived in front of the prophet Chidir, . . .'

M.79 setelah ésoq harinya, maka pergilah perdana menteri itu kepada nabi kidir.

'The next morning, the prime minister (then) went to the prophet Chidir.'¹¹

M.80 sesempaynya didempat itu, belututlah ia.

'Arriving at that place, she knelt down.'

M.81 setibanya disungay itu, maka mandilah ia.

'Arriving at the river, he then took a bath.'

Examples of predicate subject order in passive sentences are:

M.82 setelah itu maka dipalu oranglah genderang berangkat dan ditiup oranglah nafiri.

'After that then, the drums (a signal) to depart were hit by people and the trumpets were blown by people.'

M.83 arkian maka dihadiahkan raja Iskandar akan¹² tuan puteri Syahrul Bariah kembali kepada ayahnya.

'Thus her highness Sjahroe'l bariah was awarded by King Iskandar back to her father.'

In modern spoken Indonesian, the question particle *apa* is widely used in questions expecting a 'yes or no' answer. This is the result of Javanese influence (5.3.3.1.). With the use of this question particle, the word order is usually subject predicate rather than the

reverse and the Malay question particle -kan is dropped:

I.75 . . . apa tuanhamba anaq jin?

I.76 apa tuanhamba réla?

In other questions subject predicate order is just as common now as is predicate subject:

I.77a saudara orang mana?

I.77 orang mana saudara?

Javanese models for word order in questions are:

J.75 menôpô penjenengan putrô jim?

J.76 menôpô penjenengan rilô?

J.77a penjenengan sakéng pundi?

J.77a is the normal order in Javanese. Though the reverse order might occur for some sort of stylistic effect, it is clearly felt by the native speaker to be a transformation of the neutral form J.77a. In Indonesian on the other hand, I.77 and I.77a probably occur with about equal frequency.

In narrative statements where predicate subject order was formerly used in Malay, subject predicate is now more common, particularly in spoken Indonesian. In conjunction with the reduction of predicate subject order, the introductory particles *maka*, *hatta*, and *arkian*, all meaning something like 'thus', and the predicate marking particle *-lah* have decreased in frequency in the spoken language. None of these have Javanese equivalents. In place of the introductory particles, *maka*, *hatta*, and *arkian*, *lalu* 'then' and *lantas* 'then', which are equivalent to Javanese *banjor* and *lajeng*, are now often substituted. The Indonesian equivalents of the Malay narrative statements cited above, then, are:

I.78 setelah menteri itu sampay didepan nabi kidir, . . .

I.79 ésoq harinya, perdana menteri itu lalu pergi ke nabi kidir.

I.80 sesampaynya ditempat itu, ia lalu berlutut.

I.81 setibanya disungay itu, ia lalu mandi.

I.82 sesudah itu genderang tanda berangkat dipaul dan nafiri ditiup.

I.83 tuan puteri Syahrul Bariah lalu dihadiahkan kembali kepada ayahnya oléh raja Iskandar.

The Javanese models are:

J.78 saqsampunipon mantri menikô dumugi éng ngajengipon nabi kidir, . . .
kidir, . . .

J.79 enjéngipon, patih menikô lajeng késah dateng nabi kidir.

J.80 satekané éng pangônán kuwi, dèwèqé banjor jèngkèng.

J.81 satekané éng kali kuwi, dèwèqé banjor ados.

- J.80 sawsampunipun menikô kendang tondô biḍal dipontaboh lan nafiri diponungelaken.
- J.81 puteri syahrul bariah lajeng kaparéngaken wangsul ḍumateng ramanipun dénéng rôjô iskandar.

4.3.2. The Replacement of Malay barang

Malay had several constructions containing the word barang: (1) barang + a question word, e.g. barang siapa '*whoever, anyone*' (from siapa '*who*'), barang apa '*whatever, anything*' (from apa '*what*'), barang kemana '*wherever, anywhere*' (from kemana '*where*'); (2) barang + a nominalised verb (containing the suffix -ku '*my*', -mu '*your*', or -nya '*his, her, its*'), e.g.

- M.84 BARANG KATAKU didengar baik2.
'*WHATEVER I SAID was listened to carefully.*'
(literally, '*ALL MY WORDS were listened to carefully.*')
- M.85 BARANG TINGKAHNYA menarik hati.
'*WHATEVER SHE DOES is charming.*'
(literally, '*ALL HER ACTIONS are charming.*')

(3) barang + a quantity word, meaning '*approximately, just about*', e.g.

- M.86 berilah saya BARANG LIMA RUPIYAH.
'*Give me just about five rupiyah.*'
- M.87 minumlah BARANG SETEGUQ.
'*Drink just about one gulp.*'

(4) barang + a passive verb, meaning '*may it be*', e.g.

- M.88 BARANG DISAMPAYKAN ALLAH hendaqnya maksudmu itu
'*MAY GOD GRANT your wish.*'
(literally, '*MAY your wishes BE GRANTED BY GOD.*')
- M.89 BARANG DIKUTDQ TUHAN perbuatanmu itu!
'*MAY GOD CURSE your deed!*'
(literally, '*MAY your deed BE CURSED BY GOD!*')

Javanese has no real equivalent of Malay barang.¹³ Meanings which are expressed by barang in Malay are expressed in other ways in Javanese. Usage (1) above, barang + a question word, is expressed in Javanese by a question word + waé, i.e. sôpô waé '*whoever, anyone*' (from sôpô '*who*'), ôpô waé '*whatever, anything*' (from ôpô '*what*'), nèng ngendi waé '*wherever, anywhere*' (from nèng ngendi '*(to) where*'). Usage (2), barang + a nominalised verb, is expressed in Javanese by ôpô waé séng + a verb, as in:

- J.84 ÔPÔ WAÉ SÉNG TAQ ÔMÔNGKÉ dirumgôqaké temenan.
- J.85 ÔPÔ WAÉ SÉNG DISDLAHAKÉ mranani ati.

or by saqbarang + a nominalised verb:

J.84a SAQBARANG ÔMÔNGKU dirungôqaké temenan.

J.85a SAQBARANG SOLAHÉ mranani ati.

Usage (3), barang + a quantity word, is expressed in Javanese by kirô-kirô + a quantity word + waé:

J.86 aku wènèhônô KIRÔ-KIRÔ LIMANG RUPIYAH WAE.

J.87 ombénen KIRÔ-KIRÔ SAQCEGUQAN WAÉ.

Usage (4), barang + a passive verb, is expressed in Javanese by mugô-mugô waé 'may it be':

J.88 MUGÔ-MUGÔ WAÉ DIKABULKÉ PANGÉРАН panyuwonmu.

J.89 MUGÔ-MUGÔ WAÉ DISÔTKÉ DÉNÉNG SÉNG KUWÔSÔ patrapmu kuwi.

In Indonesian nowadays, constructions with barang are falling into disuse, and constructions similar to the Javanese are usually used instead. Thus, barang + a question word is usually replaced by a question word + saja, e.g. siapa saja 'whoever, anyone', apa saja 'whatever, anything', kemana saja 'wherever, anywhere'. barang + a nominalised verb is usually replaced by either apa saja yang + verb on the model of Javanese ôpô waé séng + verb, as in:

I.84 apa saja yang saya katakan didengarkan baiq-baiq.

I.85 apa saja yang diperbuat menariq hati.

or sebarang + nominalised verb on the model of Javanese saqbarang + nominalised verb:

I.84a SEBARANG KATANYA didengarkan baiq-baiq.

I.85a SEBARANG TINGKAH LAKUNYA menariq hati.

barang + a quantity word is now replaced by kira-kira + quantity word + saja on the model of Javanese kirô-kirô + quantity word + waé, as in:

I.86 berilah saya KIRA-KIRA LIMA RUPIYAH SAJA.

I.87 minumlah KIRA-KIRA SETEGUQ SAJA.

barang + a passive verb meaning 'may it be' is now replaced by mudah-mudahan saja + a passive verb on the model of Javanese mugô-mugô waé + a passive verb:

I.88 MUDAH-MUDAHAN SAJA DISAMPAYKAN ALLAH (hendaqnya) madsudmu itu.

I.89 MUDAH-MUDAHAN SAJA DIKUTOQ TUHAN perbuatanmu itu.

Indonesian saja 'just, only' is equivalent to Javanese waé in most of its meanings, e.g. Javanese semono waé 'just that' is equivalent to Indonesian sekian saja, Javanese mengko waé 'just (do it) later' is equivalent to Indonesian nanti saja. Now saja has been extended to cover all the meanings of Javanese waé, and since barang was involved in most of the Malay constructions which have been replaced by constructions with saja, the use of barang has been greatly reduced.

4.4. INCREASING USE OF INDONESIAN CONSTRUCTIONS ANALOGOUS TO THE JAVANESE

As a result of Javanese influence, Indonesian constructions similar in form and meaning to the Javanese have greatly increased in frequency of occurrence.

4.4.1. Adjective + sekali 'very (adjective)'

Indonesian has a form *sekali* 'very', which unlike other Malay words with the same meaning (*amat*, *sangat*; see 4.2.2.), follows the adjective it modifies, e.g. *bagus sekali* 'very good'. *sekali* is therefore similar in function and position of occurrence to Javanese *banget*, as in *bagos banget* 'very handsome; very good'. The Indonesian form with an adjective followed by *sekali* has now increased in frequency.

4.4.2. yang . . . 'the one which is . . .'

Indonesian has a form *yang* 'which, who, that' which is equivalent to Javanese *séng* 'which, who, that'. Both Indonesian *yang* and Javanese *séng* are usually followed by a word or words which together form a phrase meaning 'the one which is . . .', e.g. Indonesian *yang besar* and Javanese *séng gedé*, both meaning 'the one which is big', Indonesian *yang sedang tidur* and Javanese *séng lagi turu*, both meaning 'the one who is sleeping', Indonesian *yang mana* and Javanese *séng endi* both meaning 'which one' (literally 'the one which is where?'). Both Indonesian *yang* phrases and Javanese *séng*-phrases can function as subjects of clauses, as in:

I.90 *yang besar itu nakal.*

'The big one is naughty.'

(literally, 'The one who is big is naughty.')

J.90 *séng gedé kuwi nakal.*

or modify nouns, as in:

I.91 *anaq yang besar itu nakal.*

'The big boy is naughty.'

(literally, 'The boy who is big is naughty.')

The difference between the Indonesian phrase with *yang* and the Javanese phrase with *séng* is in their frequency. *yang* is optional in the following types of constructions in Indonesian: (1) in questions in which the predicate is a question word, such as *siapa* 'who', *yang mana* 'which one', and the subject is a noun or a nominalised verb or adjective, as in:

I.92 *yang mana (YANG) JERUQ BALI?*

'Which one is THE POMELO (large sweet citrus fruit)?'

I.93 siapa (yang) mau?
'Who IS WILLING (to do it)?'

I.94 yang mana (YANG) TERCANTIQ?
'Which one is THE PRETTIEST?'

(2) in a verbal phrase which modifies a noun, where the verb has the prefix ber- and means 'have, wear (root)'; and where head and modifier together form the subject of a sentence:

I.95 perempuan (YANG) BERBAJU KETAT itu gemuq sekali.
'That woman WHO'S WEARING A TIGHT SKIRT is very fat.'

I.96 professor (YANG) BERAMBUT GÔNDRÔNG itu ingin menjadi pastor.
'That professor WHO HAS LONG HAIR wants to become a priest.'

(3) in any verbal phrase which modifies siapa or barang siapa in the meaning 'whoever', and where head and modifier together form the subject of a sentence:

I.97 SIAPA (YANG) MAU boléh ikut.
'WHOEVER WANTS can come along.'

I.98 BARANG SIAPA (YANG) MENGGALI LUBANG terperôsôq sendiri kedalamnya.
'WHOEVER DIGS A HOLE will be trapped in it himself.'

I.99 BARANG SIAPA (YANG) DIDEKATINYA tentu tertariq kepadanya.
'WHOEVER IS APPROACHED BY HER will certainly be attracted by her.'

In Javanese séng is obligatory in all of these environments:

J.92 séng endi SÉNG jeroq bali?

J.93 sôpô SÉNG GELEM?

J.94 séng endi SÉNG AYU DÉWÉ?

J.95 wông wadôn SÉNG KLAMBINÉ KETAT kuwi lemu banget.

J.96 profésôr séng rambuté gônдрông kuwi kepéngén dadi pastor.

J.97 SÔPÔ SÉNG GELEM kenô mèlu.

J.98 SÔPÔ WAÉ SÉNG NDUĐOQ LUWENG bakal kejeplông déwé nèng njeroné.

J.99 SÔPÔ WAÉ SÉNG DICEĐAQI mestî ketaréq.

With the influence of Javanese, Indonesian yang is now usually retained in all of these constructions.

N O T E S

1. taq '*by me*' is a Ngoko form. Its Kromo equivalent is kulô. The Kromo equivalent of I.40 is Pelem meniko kulo tedanipon.
2. -qné has no Kromo equivalent. The alternant -qné is used when the base ends in a vowel or /n/. Elsewhere its form is -né. If the base ends in an /n/, /n/ is dropped when -qné is added. If the base ends in a vowel, the vowel behaves as though it were combining with /a/. See note 30, Chapter III.
3. Zoetmulder 1954, vol.1:71, 130.
4. For the Kromo forms and the distribution of the allomorphs, see note 16, Chapter III. The third person may be either animate or inanimate.
5. For possession on the part of the first or second person, there is no difference between the Javanese and the Malay constructions. An example of the first person genitive construction in Malay is rumahku '*my house*', in Javanese omahku '*my house*'; of the second person in Malay is (among numerous forms) rumahmu '*your house*', in Javanese omahmu (Ngoko) or griyo sampéyan (Kromo) '*your house*'.
6. The Kromo of olèhé is angsalipon and that of anggôné is anggènipon.
7. In Javanese there is a construction consisting of a number with a linker /ng/ followed by a noun. However, the meaning it carries is different from noun followed by a number (+ counter). The former expresses a measurement, or that something is '*as big as, as worthy as, as much as, etc.* (number of the (noun), e.g. telong omah '*as big as*

three houses', but omah telu '*three houses*'; telong rupiyah '*(worth) three rupiyah*', but rupiyah telu '*three rupiyah*'.

8. The form *iji*, etymologically related to *wiji* '*seed*', is occasionally met in Javanese. Malay counters include *biji* (literally '*seed*'), *buah* (literally '*fruit*'), *ékôr* (literally '*tail*'), *orang* (literally '*man*'), *batang* (literally '*stick*'), *pôkôq* (literally '*tree*'), *utas* (literally '*string*'), *kerat* (literally '*slice*'), *butir* (literally '*round*'), *lembar* or *helay* (literally '*sheet*'), and others.

9. *sekali* '*very*', however, follows the adjective it modifies: *bagos sekali*. See 4.4.1.

10. *kidir* was pronounced with /x/ (a voiceless velar fricative) in Arabic, and probably by some educated religious scholars in Middle Malay as well. However, the chances are that most speakers of Middle Malay equated Arabic /a/ with Malay /k/.

11. For further examples and discussion see Emeis, M.G. 1945:6, 16.

12. *akan* was formerly used in Malay as a particle preceding the object of an active verb or the subject of a passive verb. It has now generally declined in this function.

13. *barang* occurs in several Javanese idioms: *barang-kalir* '*anything, all sorts of things*', *mbarang gawé* '*having festivity*', *ora barang-barang* '*doing nothing*', but none of these represented standard grammatical patterns upon which other phrases can be built. Javanese *barang* occurs in one construction which is similar to (2) above, with the difference that in Javanese the prefix *saq-*, or *se-* is used, e.g. *saqbarang solahé* '*anything she does*'. This form is, however, less common than *ôpô solahé* or *saqsolah-solahé* which have the same meaning.

CHAPTER V
JAVANESE INFLUENCE ON INDONESIAN VOCABULARY

5. TYPES OF INFLUENCE

The Indonesian vocabulary has been enriched by many borrowings from Javanese. The types of borrowings include LOANWORDS (Javanese words borrowed directly without change in meaning, LOANBLEND (new idioms built partly from Javanese elements and partly from Indonesian elements), LOANSHIFTS (Indonesian words acquiring new meanings on the basis of Javanese models), and LOAN-TRANSLATIONS (new words constructed from Indonesian forms parallel to Javanese composite models).

5.1. LOANWORDS

Javanese loans into Indonesian include words referring to Javanese culture, words referring to Indonesian culture in general, words expressing ideas which have been introduced as a result of modernisation in Indonesia, words expressing the polite vs. non-polite distinction, words having poetical colouring and words having humorous connotations.

5.1.1. Loanwords Referring to Javanese Culture

Because of Indonesian's position as the national language, it has had to develop means of expressing concepts which are important in any of the cultures of the country, including, of course, Javanese. In courts, in parliamentary debates, and in schools, for example, when elements of Javanese culture are the subject of discussion, many Javanese terms have to be used. If Indonesian happens to have equivalents for the Javanese terms, the Indonesian words are sometimes used. However, many Javanese terms have been adopted. Such words include:

A. Loanwords referring to the wayang 'Javanese shadow puppet' performance:

wayang	'Javanese shadow puppet'
wayang kulit	'leather puppet'
wayang wông	'wayang performance played by men'
wayang goléq	'wayang performance with wooden puppets'
dalang	'puppeteer' (see 1.2.2.5.)
kelir	'screen (for performance with leather puppets)'
raksasa	'giant'
gara-gara	'commotion' (see 1.2.2.5.)
perang tanding	'duel'
lakôn	'plot, story'

B. Loanwords referring to gamelan music:

gamelan	'Javanese music'
uyôn-uyôn	'concert'
mat-matan	'enjoying the beauty of music'
pélôk	'Javanese 7 note scale' (somewhat like Western minor scale)
sléndro	'Javanese 5-note scale'
suling	'flute'
gông	'gong'
rebap	'Javanese violin'
gambang	'wood xylophone'

C. Loanwords referring to vocal music:

tembang	'Javanese song'
gérông	'choir sung by male singers accompanying gamelan music'
senggagan	'interlude between lines in a song'
sindén	'female soloist'
panembrama	'a serenade'
suloq	'chanting by a dalang to set the mood for a scene'

D. Loanwords referring to dances:

(te)lédég	'woman street dancer'
serimpi	'a dance by girl dancers'
bedôyô	'dance by court girl dancers'
petilan	'a dance depicting a fragment of a story'
kiprah	'a phase in a dance when a male warrior is dancing with full splendor'
tayungan	'a victory dance of Bima'
gandrung	'dance depicting a male warrior in love'

- E. Loanwords referring to the audience of a performance:
- | | |
|---------|----------------------------------|
| nôntôn | <i>'watch'</i> |
| gayeng | <i>'pleasant and refreshing'</i> |
| nanggap | <i>'invite a performance'</i> |
- F. Loanwords referring to batik making:
- | | |
|------------|--|
| cap | <i>'printed'</i> |
| tulis | <i>'hand painted, not printed'</i> |
| pola | <i>'pattern, design'</i> |
| luriq | <i>'striped woven material, not batik'</i> |
| geringsing | <i>'name of a batik pattern'</i> |
| malam | <i>'wax'</i> |
| canting | <i>'dipper'</i> |
| celop | <i>'dyed'</i> |
| kerôq | <i>'scrape the wax off the cloth'</i> |
- G. Loanwords referring to Javanese costumes:
- | | |
|--------------------|--|
| kemben, kembangan | <i>'a piece of long cloth which is wrapped around the bodice or waist'</i> |
| sorjan | <i>'male jacket in Jogjakarta'</i> |
| setagé | <i>'cloth belt'</i> |
| selôp ¹ | <i>'a kind of sandal or slipper which covers only the front part of the foot and which is worn by men'</i> |
| sayaq | <i>'skirt'</i> |
| susoq | <i>'hair pin'</i> |
| kuloq | <i>'headdress for a prince'</i> |
| dôdôt | <i>'batik worn by court officials'</i> |
- H. Loanwords referring to housing:
- | | |
|------------|---|
| joglo | <i>'a type of Javanese house with a very high pointed roof'</i> |
| pekarangan | <i>'lot, yard'</i> |
| émpér | <i>'porch'</i> |
| pendôpô | <i>'front hall'</i> |
| gedék | <i>'bamboo wall'</i> |
| ambén | <i>'bamboo bed'</i> |
- I. Loanwords referring to food and meals:
- | | |
|--------------|---|
| gado-gado | <i>'a kind of vegetable salad with peanut butter sauce (the vegetables are usually of Western origin, e.g., cabbage, tomatoes, beans)'</i> |
| pecel, pecal | <i>'a kind of vegetable salad with very hot peanut sauce (the vegetables are mostly of Javanese origin, e.g. spinach, string beans, beansprouts)'</i> |

- | | |
|---------|--|
| rujaq | <i>'all sorts of fruits mixed with a hot sauce'</i> |
| gudek | <i>'dish with boiled unripe jackfruit'</i> |
| rames | <i>'all sorts of dishes mixed together'</i> |
| lemper | <i>'a snack made of steamed sticky rice with fried ground meat inside'</i> |
| témpé | <i>'soybean curd'</i> |
| keripiq | <i>'a kind of chip, usually made of fried soybean curd'</i> |
- J. Loanwords referring to drinks:
- | | |
|-------------|--|
| céndôl | <i>'little cakes made of rice or sago flour and used for filling in an iced drink'</i> |
| és dawet | <i>'iced drink made from cendol and coconut milk'</i> |
| wédang jaé | <i>'hot drink with ginger in it'</i> |
| kôpi tubroq | <i>'instant coffee, Javanese style'</i> |
- K. Loanwords referring to plants and fruits:
- | | |
|-------------------|---|
| sawo | <i>'a very sweet tasting fruit with thin, smooth, shiney seeds'</i> |
| k(e)luwih, keluih | <i>'a kind of breadfruit used only as a vegetable'</i> |
| kelôr | <i>'a kind of tree with small round leaves'</i> |
| walikukon | <i>'a kind of tree for making walking sticks'</i> |
| jaraq | <i>'castor oil plant'</i> |
| paré | <i>'bitter melon'</i> |
- L. Loanwords referring to animals, fish, insects:
- | | |
|---------|---|
| kalông | <i>'big bats'</i> |
| bandeng | <i>'fish usually raised near the sea shore'</i> |
| bunglôn | <i>'chameleon'</i> |
| béo | <i>'parrot'</i> |
| banténg | <i>'Javanese bull'</i> |
| kancil | <i>'mousedeer'</i> |
- M. Loanwords referring to plant disease:
- | | |
|----------------|---|
| urét | <i>'worm which eats the roots of rice'</i> |
| walang sangit | <i>'a rotten smelling grasshopper'</i> |
| sundep, sundap | <i>'insect which lives on the leaves of rice'</i> |
| buboq | <i>'woodworm'</i> |
- N. Loanwords referring to farming:
- | | |
|---------|---|
| panén | <i>'harvest'</i> |
| tegal | <i>'dry field'</i> |
| gôgô | <i>'upland rice'</i> |
| lunggoh | <i>'field given to a village official as payment'</i> |

- génjah *'rice which becomes ripe in a short time'*
 ijôn *'the practice of mortgaging or selling crops, especially rice, when they are still green'*
- O. Loanwords referring to mystical life:
- dukun *'shaman, medicine man'*
 mati-rôgô *'practicing asceticism for some high ideals'*
 prihatin *'to lead an unpleasant life for a high ideal'*
 kleniq *'mystical calculation'*
 saraséhan *'session (of some mystical group)'*
 pamrih *'hidden desire, hidden personal intention'*
 primbôn *'book of horoscope'*
 nyenen-kemis *'practice of fasting on Monday's and Thursday's'*
- P. Loanwords referring to the ritual of birth, marriage, death:
- tingkep *'ceremony for the seventh month of pregnancy'*
 selapanan *'ceremony for the 35th day after a child's birth'*
 kirap *'the displaying of newly married couples to the public; the bride and groom walk around the village with a procession'*
 layat *'expressing condolence by coming to the home of the dead person and accompanying the corpse to the cemetery'*
- Q. Loanwords referring to palace life:
- k(e)ratôn *'palace'*
 sitinggil, sitihinggil *'a quarter where the king sits in an official meeting'*
 pagelaran *'a quarter where high officers sit in an official meeting'*
 paséban *'a quarter where people sit in an official meeting'*
 bangsal *'hall'*
 pengéran *'prince'*
- R. Loanwords referring to Javanese etiquette
- krômô *'the polite level of Javanese language'*
 sila *'cross-legged manner of sitting'*
 pamit *'asking permission to leave'*
 tatacara *'customs'*
- S. Loanwords which are kinship terms and terms of address:
- paq *'a term of reference for an elderly male'*
 mas *'a term of reference for a young gentleman'*
 mbaqyu *'a term of reference for a married young woman'*
 embah *'a term of reference for a very old person'*

rômô	'a term of reference for a Catholic priest'
ki	'a term of reference for a respected old man or teacher'

T. Loanwords referring to government officials:

bupati	'regent'
camat	'head of a sub-district'
lurah	'head of a village'
pamông praja	'civil service'
pamông désa	'village officials'

5.1.2. Loanwords Referring to Elements of Indonesian Culture in General

There are also many Javanese loans expressing concepts which are not confined to Javanese culture. Malay often had equivalents for these loanwords. However, Javanese words were adopted to express these ideas because the Javanese forms were more specific than the Malay, or because the Malay forms were not widely known. The Javanese not knowing the Malay equivalents, used the Javanese words, which gradually passed into the Indonesian of non-Javanese.

5.1.2.1. *Javanese Forms More Specific in Meaning than the Malay Equivalents*

In most cases Javanese forms with more specific meanings than their Malay equivalents have been taken over into Indonesian without changing the meaning. However, there are a few words which have been borrowed into Indonesian with slightly changed meaning.

Javanese loanwords expressing more specific ideas with the meanings unchanged include:

A. Loanwords referring to a feeling or disposition:

ayem	'happy and peaceful'
nerimô	'to accept one's fate ungrudgingly'
kerasan	'feeling at home'
lega	'relieved'
keranjingan	'uncontrollably excited'
emoh	'unwilling to accept'
wirang	'deeply embarrassed because some dishonourable thing has been done'
tagih, ketagihan	'desiring to eat, drink or get something because of addiction'

B. Loanwords referring to taste, smell, etc.:

gurih	<i>'nutty, like the taste of coconut, peanut etc.'</i>
sepet, sepat	<i>'the taste of a fruit which is still young and unripe'</i>
bacin	<i>'rotten smelling, like the smell of very bad breath'</i>
sangit	<i>'a strong and unpleasant smell, like that of a certain grasshopper or oversteamed food'</i>
gôsông	<i>'overcooked'</i>
môgôl	<i>'uncooked'</i>
m(e)lempem	<i>'stale'</i>

C. Loanwords referring to beauty, etc.:

môntôk	<i>'plump, full'</i>
luwes	<i>'attractive and graceful, not necessarily beautiful'</i>
ngganteng	<i>'handsome and calm'</i>
cébôl	<i>'dwarf'</i>
lumayan	<i>'so-so'</i>

D. Loanwords referring to a person's character:

sembrônô	<i>'careless'</i>
waspada	<i>'alert'</i>
céngéng	<i>'cry-baby, weakling'</i>
serakah	<i>'wanting to own everything'</i>
réwél	<i>'difficult to please'</i>
agung	<i>'great and noble and broadminded'</i>

E. Loanwords referring to a quality of something:

ampuh	<i>'superior, powerful'</i>
jitu	<i>'excellent, able to outlast seven rivals'²</i>
jempôl(an)	<i>'champion, the best, excellent'</i>
tôk-cér	<i>'in a very good condition (for a car), it starts very well'</i>
bôbrôq	<i>'dillapidated'</i>
kunô	<i>'old, ancient'</i>
kôlôt	<i>'old, conservative'</i>
kawaq	<i>'old, rusted, experienced'</i>
jompo	<i>'very old and unable to do anything worthwhile'</i>

F. Loanwords referring to the state of a situation:

<i>répôt</i>	<i>'busy and muddled'</i>
<i>gégér</i>	<i>'in high commotion'</i>
<i>gayeng</i>	<i>'harmonious and festive'</i>
<i>serem</i>	<i>'hair raising'</i>
<i>ambias</i>	<i>'gone, no trace left'</i>
<i>gagal</i>	<i>'unaccomplished'</i>

G. Loanwords referring to someone's reaction to something:

<i>meringis</i>	<i>'grinning painfully'</i>
<i>merôngôs</i>	<i>'(grinning) showing one's teeth so protruding'</i>
<i>melongo</i>	<i>'gaping because of amazement'</i>
<i>merengut</i>	<i>'showing a sour appearance, with the mouth and face contracted'</i>

H. Loanwords referring to eating, speaking, sitting:

<i>gado</i>	<i>'eating a dish intended for a meal (i.e. not a snack) without rice'</i>
<i>ganyang</i>	<i>'eat (a snack) leisurely'</i>
<i>ngôbrôl</i>	<i>'to chatter'</i>
<i>ngocéh</i>	<i>'to jabber like a baby or a bird'</i>
<i>ceréwet</i>	<i>'talkative'</i>
<i>nôngkrông</i>	<i>'to squat on a bench'</i>

I. Loanwords referring to carrying, stealing

<i>gôtông</i>	<i>'to carry a heavy object with both hands, usually by more than one person'</i>
<i>emban</i>	<i>'to carry a child or something precious with two hands folded against one's stomach'</i>
<i>géndông</i>	<i>'to carry a baby, a basket etc. on one's back, with or without a cloth strap'</i>
<i>nyôlông</i>	<i>'to steal in the day time without breaking the door of the house'</i>
<i>serôbôt</i>	<i>'rob something forcefully, snatching the thing and then running away'</i>
<i>gerayaq</i>	<i>'to loot'</i>

J. Loanwords referring to parts or conditions of rice, coconut:

<i>gabah</i>	<i>'unhusked rice'</i>
<i>merang</i>	<i>'the dry top part of the stalk of rice'</i>
<i>katol</i>	<i>'layer next to the rice grain, which has a lot of vitamins'</i>
<i>gelugu</i>	<i>'coconut tree'</i>
<i>janor</i>	<i>'young and yellow coconut leaves'</i>
<i>degan</i>	<i>'young coconut fruit, the water and the meat of which are very delicious to eat'</i>

K. Loanwords connected with work and labour:

lembur	'work overtime'
ngôyô	'exert oneself too much'
libur	'vacation'
môgôq	'strike'
loyo	'exhausted'

Javanese loans expressing more specific ideas than their Malay equivalents whose meanings have been slightly changed in Indonesian include: *santer* 'strong (for rumour)' which in Javanese means 'quick, fast'; *germô* 'a madam' which in Javanese means 'hunter'; *sôq*³ 'pretend to be something one really isn't, therefore snobbish, conceited' which in Javanese means 'once in a while'; *matang* or *mateng* 'mature' which in Javanese means 'ripe, cooked'; *mantap* or *mantep* 'stable' which in Javanese means 'determined'.

5.1.2.2. Javanese Loans with Unchanged Meanings and Exact Malay Equivalents

Javanese loans whose meanings are unchanged and which have exact Malay equivalents include:

A. Loanwords referring to animals:

macan	'tiger'
cé léng	'boar'
menjangan	'deer'
bajing	'squirrel'
sapi	'cow'

The Malay forms with these meanings are: *harimaw*, *babi-hutan*, *rusa*, *tupay*, and *lembu* respectively.

B. Loanwords referring to plants and herbs:

laôs	'laos root'
kunir	'tumeric'
jaé	'ginger'
kencor	'ginger-like root'

The Malay forms are *lengkuas*, *kunyit*, *halia*, *cekor* respectively.

C. Loanwords referring to parts of human body:

sikot	'elbow'
kuping	'ear'
bôkông	'bottom' ⁴
jénggôt	'beard'
dengkol	'knee'

The Malay forms are *siku*, *telinga*, *pantat*, *janggut*, and *lutut* respectively.

D. Loanwords referring to geographical names:

kali	'river'
telaga	'lake'
peisir	'beach'

The Malay forms are sungai, danaw, and pantay respectively.

E. Loanwords referring to cooking:

goréng	'fry'
gôdôk	'boil'
bumbu	'spices'

The Malay forms are rendang, rebos, and rempah-rempah respectively.

F. Loanwords referring to actions:

jôtôs	'box'
tendang	'kick'
ngaso	'have a rest'

The Malay forms are tinju, sépaq or sipaq, and istirahat respectively.

G. Loanwords referring to direction:

kidol	'south'
kulôn	'west'
pôjôq	'corner'

The Malay forms are selatan, barat, and sudot respectively.

H. Loanwords referring to character, behaviour:

wataq	'character'
édan	'crazy, insane'
pinter	'smart'
gôblôk	'stupid'

The Malay forms are sipat or kelakuan, gila, panday, pandir or dungu respectively.

I. Loanwords referring to feeling:

kangen	'longing for, homesick'
jéngkél	'annoyed'
marem	'satisfied'
betah	'endure, stand against'

The Malay forms are rindu, kesal, puas, and tahan respectively.

J. Loanwords which have a grammatical function:

bisa	'can, be able to'
butuh	'need'

The Malay forms are dapat and perlu respectively.

These Javanese loans are competing with the existing Malay equivalents. When such words were first introduced into the Indonesian

vocabulary, they were usually regarded as colloquial or even sub-standard. However, as more and more people used them, they came to be considered as standard, just as their Malay equivalents were.

The number of such competing forms is large. The fact that it is not only Javanese which has contributed such forms to the Indonesian vocabulary may help to explain why Indonesian often has many different words to express the same meaning.

5.1.3. Loanwords Expressing Modern Western Ideas

Javanese loans have been taken from Old Javanese as well as from Modern Javanese. In most cases the Javanese words were deliberately introduced by scholars, teachers, or public speakers when they attempted to translate Western technical terms.⁵ These words were therefore spread through books and papers written in Indonesian. Some, however, especially among the Modern Javanese loans, were used widely before they were used as technical terms. In this case, they may have been introduced into Indonesian through oral speech. The following are selected examples:

A. Loanwords from Old Javanese:

pidana	'crime'
tindaq pidana	'criminal act'
daluwarsa	'due date'
paripurna	'plenary, complete'
panitera	'secretary'
teruna	'cadet'
perwira	'officer'
wisuda	'inauguration'
gatra	'word-root'
parama-sastra	'grammar'

B. Loanwords from Modern Javanese

yayasan	'institution'
juru-rawat	'nurse'
pendadaran	'test, examination'
olah-raga	'physical exercise'
imbuhan	'affix (in grammar)'
buruh	'labourer'
môgôq	'strike'
bedah	'surgery'
pelonco	'freshman student'
rôngrông	'undermine'
berontaq	'revolt'

adu ayu	<i>'beauty contest'</i>
ngebot	<i>'overspeed' or 'overload'</i>
wayang	<i>'movie-theatre' (only in Malaysia)</i>

5.1.4. Loanwords having Polite or Impolite Connotations

The inhibitions of the Javanese with regard to forms reflecting the relative social status of the first, second, and third persons, have caused Javanese speakers to use Javanese polite words when talking or writing to or about a respected person. Some of these Javanese polite words have been passed to non-Javanese Indonesian. These words may have been Kromo or Kromo-Inggil words, Old Javanese words or Javanese terms of address. Examples are provided in 6.2.2.

The Javanese tend to use special rude words when they convey that they do not respect the addressee or the person spoken about. This habit is wide spread among the uneducated Javanese and extends to all classes of speakers when they are angry and uncontrolled. This habit has been carried into their Indonesian. The Djakartanese were among the first people to pick up such rude words, and gradually they passed on to other Indonesians. These words include:

modar	<i>'dead, kaputt'</i>
wadoq	<i>'belly'</i>
côngôr	<i>'mouth or nose'</i>
gôglôk	<i>'stupid'</i>
utek	<i>'brain'</i>
côkôr	<i>'leg'</i>

5.1.5. Loanwords Containing Poetical Expressions

Most Javanese nowadays regard Old Javanese (Kawi) words as having poetical connotations. In fact, to them a poet or a literary writer is by definition a man who is very good at Kawi. Nowadays many young Javanese write Indonesian poetry. It is therefore understandable that occasionally they use Kawi words, which then are picked up by other writers. Some of these words are:

kartika	<i>'star'</i>
surya	<i>'sun'</i>
candra	<i>'moon'</i>
puspa	<i>'flower'</i>
kusuma	<i>'flower'</i>
ibu-pertiwi	<i>'motherland'</i>
asmara	<i>'love'</i>
panti	<i>'house, home'</i>
darma	<i>'service'</i>

Apart from Old Javanese words, Modern Javanese words which mean 'flower', 'blossom' and the like, as well as words containing /w/ or reduplication are sometimes considered poetic by the Javanese. These, too, have been passed on to some non-Javanese poets. The following is a selection of loanwords from Modern Javanese with poetical connotations:

perawan	<i>'girl, virgin'</i>
watas	<i>'border'</i>
waja	<i>'steel'</i>
waspada	<i>'alert'</i>
wejangan	<i>'advice, message'</i>
gawat	<i>'serious'</i>
jejaka	<i>'bachelor'</i>
rerungkutan	<i>'bush'</i>
kembang	<i>'flower'</i>
mekar	<i>'blossom'</i>
wangi	<i>'fragrant'</i>

5.1.6. Loanwords having Humorous Connotations

Javanese has many words with humorous connotations. Occasionally one of these words is picked up by a journalist or a prominent public speaker and subsequently spread throughout the country. This usually happens when an important or an exciting event occurs in the country, especially in the capital city, Djakarta.

Such words are considered humorous because of their sounds, allusions, or a mixture of the two. The following are a few examples:

ngak-ngik-ngôk	<i>'term for Western popular music'</i>
plintat-plintut	<i>'having two faces, oportunistic and sneaky'</i>
céngéng	<i>'cry-baby'</i>
jaka-tingting	<i>'a bachelor who is still pure, i.e. never has had an affair' (jaka 'bachelor', tingting 'the sound of pure and high quality metal when it is hit')</i>
sôgôq	<i>'bribe' (lit. 'to knock down fruit from a tree with a long stick')</i>
ngôlôr	<i>'to curry favour, apple polish' (lit. to act like a kôlôr 'an elastic chord around waist', i.e. 'embrace somebody's belly')</i>
digunduli	<i>'be defeated badly in a game' (lit. be shaved completely until no hair is left on the head')</i>
ngiler	<i>'to crave (for) something' (lit. 'to drool')</i>
ngompréng	<i>'to misuse a government vehicle for one's own benefit' (lit. 'to act like a kompréng 'a young deer', running around freely and joyfully without any worry, or like an ompréng 'empty tin can')</i>

5.1.7. Loanwords Expressing Colloquial Style

Indonesian has borrowed some sentence particles, which in Javanese are usually used in informal speech. Most of these particles have no equivalents in Malay. Their use in Indonesian is limited also to colloquial speech. They are *mbôq*, *kôq*, *tô*, *lho* and *lha*.

5.1.7.1. *mbôq*

mbôq is a particle making a command or a request milder:

- I.100 MBÔQ jangan lari!
'Come on, don't run!'

5.1.7.2. *kôq*

kôq is a particle expressing a mild denial of what was said or thought by the addressee. Its basic meaning is *'why (do you think)?'*:

- I.101 kaya gitu KÔQ manis.
'She (he)'s NOT so cute (contrary to what you just said or thought).'
 (literally, *'Why (do you think) one like that is cute?'*)

kôq may also express mild surprise, implying that the predicate is contrary to what the speaker expected:

- I.102 lu KÔQ udah dateng lagi.
'What are you doing here again?'
 (literally, *'My, have you come here again! (WHEN you're NOT EXPECTED)'*)

kôq might also emphasise that a statement is only a suggestion:

- I.103 NAMPAQNYA KÔQ mau hujan.
'IT SEEMS TO ME it is going to rain.'

5.1.7.3. *tô*

tô is a particle expressing a milder question:

- I.104 KAPAN TÔ berangkatnya?
'WHEN is he going to leave?'

tô may express a question which expects no answer:

- I.105 o, INI TÔ orangnya?
'O, SO THIS is the man?'

It may also express a mild command or request:

- I.106 AYO TÔ kita berangkat sekarang!
'COME, PLEASE, let's just leave right now!'

tô may also, like Malay *-kan*, form a tag question:

- I.107 ia matanya lébar sekali, TÔ?
'Her eyes are very large, AREN'T THEY?'

5.1.7.4. lho

lho is a particle expressing surprise:

I.108 LHO, dari, mana?

'GOODNESS, where have you come from?'

When kôq is combined with lho the idea of being surprised is emphasised:

I.109 LHO, KÔQ sudah datang lagi?

'GOOD GRIEF, (you) have come here again?.'

lho may express a reminder that the fact is not as may have been expected or thought:

I.110 saya nggaq punya duit, LHO!

'REMEMBER, I don't have any money!'

lho may also point to some direction or draw the addressee's attention to a certain fact:

I.111 INI LHO dompétmu!

'HERE IT IS, your wallet!'

5.1.7.5. lha

Lha means *'here it is'*:

I.112 LHA INI APA orangnya!

'Here he is, the man!'

I.113 LHA ITU pacarnya datang!

'THERE SHE IS, his girl friend is coming!'

Lha may mean *'and so'*:

I.114 LHA ini untoq apa?

'AND SO, what is it for?'

I.115 LHA maksutmu gimana?

'SO, what do you want?'

5.1.7.6. Other Words Expressing Colloquiality

In addition to the particles described in 5.1.7.1.-5.1.7.5., Indonesian has borrowed quite a few other words from Javanese to express colloquiality. Many of these words have Malay equivalents, which are usually used in standard Indonesian. The Javanese borrowings usually have very high frequency. They include:

lagi	<i>'in the process of doing something'</i>
rada	<i>'rather'</i>
bakal(an)	<i>'be going to'</i>
nggaq	<i>'no, not'</i>
kaya	<i>'like, as'</i>
saben	<i>'every, each'</i>
tôq	<i>'only'</i>

lantaran	'because'
pada	'(do something) plurally'
emôh	'don't want to'
ômông	'talk'
kôncô	'friend'
maling	'thief'
édan	'crazy, insane'

5.1.8. Loanwords which are Homonymous with Existing Malay Forms

Sometimes Malay has words which are similar in phonetic shape to newly adopted Javanese loans but which are very different in meaning. They include *langgar* 'small mosque' which in Malay meant 'to run over, collide'; *bisa* 'be able to' which in Malay meant 'poison'; *sendal* 'to snatch' which in Malay meant 'to insert something in order to close a breach or an opening'; *butoh* 'need, necessity' which in Malay meant 'penis'. The Indonesian words now generally retain both meanings.

5.2. LOANBLENDINGS

There are a few loanblends in Indonesia which result from Javanese influence. They include:

A. Loanblends of which both the Javanese and Malay elements are inherited free morphemes,⁶ and the Javanese elements precede the Malay elements:

omong-kosong	'nonsense, empty talk; phatic communion'
méseme-simpol	'smiling and smiling' (a dvandva compound)
panti-asuhan	'nursing home'
tawan-hati or menawan-hati	'attractive, charming'

B. Loanblends of which both the Javanese and Malay elements are inherited free forms, and the Javanese elements follow the Malay elements:

isapan jempôl	'wishful thinking' (lit. 'thumb sucking')
ambil tindakan	'prosecute, take action. take measures' ⁷
siang bôlông	'broad daylight' (lit. 'day with a hole')
kepala somah	'the head of the house, household'

C. Loanblends of which the Javanese elements are inherited free morphemes, the Malay elements are in themselves loanwords from other languages, and the Javanese element precedes the Malay elements:

tata-bahasa	'grammar' (lit. 'the order of a language'). Malay bahasa is from Sanskrit bhāṣā 'speech, language'
-------------	--

tata-buku '*book-keeping*' (lit. '*the order of a book*').
buku is from Dutch boek '*book*'.

D. Loanblends of which the Javanese elements are inherited free morphemes, the Malay elements are loanwords from other languages, and the Javanese elements follow the Malay elements:

kota-gedé 'name of a town near Jogjakarta; the original name in Javanese is Kuṭō-gedé, but now known by most Indonesians as Kota-gedé. Literally it means '*big town*'. Malay kota '*town*' is from Sanskrit.

serikat-buruh '*labour union*' (lit. '*association for the labourers*'). Malay serikat '*association*' is from Arabic sharikat '*company*'.

E. Loanblends of which the Javanese elements are originally loanwords from other languages, the Malay elements are inherited free morphemes or words, and the Javanese elements follow the Malay elements:

rapat-raksasa '*public meeting*' (lit. '*gigantic meeting or meeting of giants*'). Javanese raksasô is from Sanskrit rakṣas(a) '*demon*'.

buta-warna '*colour blind*' (lit. '*blind (at) colour*'). Javanese warnô '*colour*' is from Sanskrit varna '*colour*'.

F. Loanblends of which the Javanese elements are loanwords from other languages, the Malay elements are inherited free morphemes, and the Javanese elements precede the Malay elements:

béa-cukay '*tax(ation)*'. Both béa and cukay mean '*tax*'. The Javanese bé(y)ô '*tax*' is from Malay biaya '*charge, fare*' which in turn came from Sanskrit vyaya '*piece(s)*'.

perwira tinggi '*high officers*'. Indonesian perwira '*officer*' is from Javanese prawirô '*hero, officer*', which ultimately came from Sanskrit pra '*forward, onward, forth*' and vīra '*man of might*'.

G. Loanblends of which both the Javanese and the Malay elements are in themselves loanwords from foreign languages, and the Javanese elements precede the Malay elements:

warta-berita '*news*'. Both Javanese wartô and Malay berita came from Sanskrit vṛtta '*thing happened*'.

warga-negara '*citizen*' (lit. '*the member or family of a country*'). Javanese wargô '*family*' is from Sanskrit varga '*group*', and Malay negara is from Sanskrit nagara '*city*'.

H. Loanblends of which both the Javanese and the Malay elements are in themselves loanwords from foreign languages, and the Javanese elements follow the Malay elements:

maha-siswa	' <i>university student</i> ' (lit. ' <i>super student</i> '). maha ' <i>super, the most</i> ' is from Sanskrit maha ' <i>great, mighty</i> ' and Javanese siswô is from Sanskrit ciṣya ' <i>pupil</i> '.
kota-madya	'a political term for a middle sized city'. Malay kota ' <i>town, city</i> ' is from Sanskrit kuṭṭa ' <i>fort</i> ' and Javanese madyô ' <i>middle</i> ' is from Sanskrit madhya ' <i>middle</i> '.

5.3. LOANSHIFTS

Some Indonesian forms have undergone loanshifts under Javanese influence. They include (1) Indonesian forms which change their meanings, (2) Indonesian forms which contract their meanings, (3) Indonesian forms which extend their meanings.

5.3.1. Loanshifts in which Indonesian Changes the Older Meanings

In such cases the Javanese has a cognate with a different meaning. The older meaning is dropped and the Javanese meaning is taken over. *Bangsai*, in Malay originally referred to a garage, or horse stable or some other kind of unprestigious store house. In Javanese *bangsai* refers to a grand hall, used for dancing, sports, or some other kind of prestigious performance. Now in Indonesian the word *bangsai* always means '*big hall*' and not '*stable*' or '*store house*'. Similarly *membôlôs* was in Malay '*penetrate through, pierce through*', but in Javanese '*play truant, cut class*'. In modern Indonesian it means '*play truant, cut class*'.

5.3.2. Loanshifts in which the Range of Meaning of the Malay form has been Contracted

In Malay *boléh* means (1) '*can, be permitted to*' and (2) '*be able to*'. In Javanese *olèh* (which is probably cognate to *bolèh*⁸), means only '*can, be permitted to*' and not '*be able to*'. Now in Indonesian *boléh* is used only in the meaning '*be permitted to*'. The meaning '*be able to*' is dropped from use. In Malaysia, however, the older range of meaning still occurs.

Kitap (from Arabic *kitab* '*book*') means any book in Malay including '*the holy book* (Qur'an)'. In Javanese *kitab* is mostly meant for '*holy book*'. For ordinary '*book*' the word *buku* is used. Now in Indonesian the word *kitab* is usually used only to refer in the '*holy book*'.

5.3.3. Loanshifts in which the Range of Meanings has been Extended

There are a few Indonesian forms whose meanings have been extended to coincide with the range of meaning which their Javanese cognates or equivalents have.

5.3.3.1. Forms with Javanese Cognates

In Malay *bagos* or *bagus* means '*good* (for behaviour or quality)'. In Javanese *bagos* means '*good looking* (for a boy)'. In modern Indonesian the word *bagos* means both.

Kembang in Malay means '*to blossom, bloom*' or '*to develop*'. In Javanese *kembang* means '*flower*'. Now in Modern Indonesian *kembang* means either '*to develop, to blossom, bloom*' or '*flower*'.

Apa in Malay may mean '*what*' or '*what sort*':

M.116 *itu apa?*

'What's that?'

M.117 *dia orang apa?*

'What sort of man is he?'

In Javanese, the cognate of Malay *apa*, which is *ôpô*, has the same meanings:

J.116 *ôpô kuwi?*

J.117 *gèwèqé kuwi wông ôpô?*

Javanese *ôpô* is also used as a question marking particle in '*yes or no*' questions. It may occur at the beginning of the sentence, between the subject and predicate, or at the end of the sentence:

J.118 *ôpô kowé wés mangan?*

'Have you eaten yet?'

J.118a *Kowé ôpô wés mangan?*

J.118b *Kowé wés mangan ôpô?*

Javanese *ôpô* may also mean '*or*' in a question asking if something is 'A or B?':

J.119 *bocah kaé lanang ôpô wadôn?*

'Is that kid a boy or a girl?'

Indonesian *apa* has now extended its meaning to coincide with those of Javanese *ôpô*:

I.118 *apa kamu sudah makan?*

I.118a *kamu apa sudah makan?*

I.118b *kamu sudah makan apa?*

I.119 *anaq itu laki-laki apa perempuan?*

5.3.3.2. Forms Influenced by Non-cognate Javanese Forms with Similar Meanings

Malay sendiri means 'alone, by oneself' as in:

M.120 saya pergi sendiri.

'I went by myself.'

In Javanese the word *déwé* means 'alone, by oneself' as in:

J.120 aku lungô *déwé*.

'I went by myself.'

In addition *déwé* means 'the most' as in:

J.121 aku lemu *déwé*

'I am the fattest.'

Influenced by Javanese *déwé*, Indonesian sendiri now means both 'alone, by oneself' and 'the most'. Thus:

I.121 saya gemuk sendiri.

'I am the fattest.'

Baru also means 'just done' as in:

M.122 dia baru kawin.

'He has just got married.'

Javanese has a word lagi which means 'just (done)' as in:

J.122 aku lagi tekô.

'I have just arrived.'

In addition, lagi means 'in the process of doing something'. The combination of lagi + verb is equivalent to the 'progressive tenses' in English:

J.123 aku lagi mangan.

'I am eating.'

Influenced by the Javanese lagi Indonesian baru has now acquired a new meaning 'in the process of doing something' as in:

I.123 saya baru makan.

'I am eating.'

The word kalaw in Malay means 'if' as in:

M.124 kalaw hari hujan, saya taq akan pergi.

'If it rains, I won't go.'

In Javanese yèn also means 'if' as in:

J.124 yèn udan, aku ora arep lungô.

'If it rains, I won't go.'

However, Javanese yèn can also function as a conjunction and mean 'that' as in:

J.125 aku ngerti yèn kowé lagi mangan.

'I knew that you were eating.'

Influenced by Javanese *yèn*, Indonesian *kalaw* has now acquired a new meaning 'that' as in:

- I.125 *saya tahu kalaw sawdara baru makan.*
'I knew that you were eating.'

The meanings of the word *sudah* in Malay include 'already' as in:

- M.126 *saya sudah makan.*
'I have already eaten.'

It also means 'over', as in:

- M.127 *pésta makan belum sudah.*
'The dinner party is not over yet.'

Javanese has a word *wés* whose meanings include 'already' as:

- J.126 *aku wés mangan.*
'I have already eaten.'

and 'over', as in:

- J.127 *péstané durong wés.*
'The dinner is not over yet.'

In addition Javanese *wés* means 'so long', as in:

- J.128 *wés yô, aku arep muléh.*
'So long (okay), I am going home now.'

It also conveys the idea of 'a reluctant agreement to something in order to solve a problem', as in:

- J.129 *yô wés!*
'Well, okay (if you insist)!'

Indonesian *sudah* has now acquired the two meanings 'so long' as in:

- I.128 *sudah ya, saya mau pulang.*
'So long (okay), I am going home now.'

and 'a reluctant agreement to something', as in:

- I.129 *ya sudah!*
'Well, okay (if you insist)!'⁹

5.4. LOAN-TRANSLATION

Very closely related to the process of meaning extension is the process of loan-translation. There are two types of loan-translations from Javanese models: (1) ordinary loan-translation in which the entire Javanese model is translated, and (2) semi-loan-translation in which only a part of the Javanese model is translated.

5.4.1. Ordinary Loan-Translations

Ordinary loan-translations into Indonesian are based on Javanese models of either a single word having more than one morpheme or several words. Examples of one-word Javanese models are *kabôtan*

'mind, object' (from abôt 'heavy') which is translated into Indonesian as keberatan (from berat 'heavy'); jebulé or jebul-jebulé 'finally it turns out' (from jebol 'end, tip') is translated into Indonesian as ujung-ujungnya (from ujung 'end, tip'). Examples of Javanese models having more than one word are klèru tômpô 'misunderstand' (from klèru 'wrong', tômpô 'receive') which is translated into Indonesian as keliru terima (from keliru 'wrong' and terima 'receive') or as salah terima (from salah 'wrong' and terima 'receive'); Javanese dôl gadé 'to mortgage a rice field or any other land' (from dôl 'sell' and gadé 'pawn') is translated as jual gaday (from jual 'sell' and gaday 'pawn'); Javanese rôndô mènèr 'name of type of rice', lit. 'cheerful widow' (from rôndô 'widow' and mènèr 'cheerful; sparkling') is translated into Indonesian as janda menyala 'sparkling widow' (from janda 'widow' and menyala 'burning'); Javanese mlebu koṭaq 'already defeated, therefore not allowed to compete in the game any more' (lit. 'enter the box') (from mlebu 'enter' and koṭaq 'box')¹⁰ is translated as masuk kotaq (from masuk 'enter' and kotaq 'box').

5.4.2. Semi Loan-Translations

There are a few Javanese models in which half of the phrase has been translated into Indonesian and the other half left in Javanese. For example Javanese antem krômô 'do something bluntly' has been translated into Indonesian as hantam krômô; témpé ḍelé 'soybean cake' has been translated as témpé kedelay and pèyèq urang 'shrimp chips' has been translated as péyéq udang.

5.5. THE ORIGIN OF JAVANESE BORROWINGS

Not all Indonesian words borrowed from Javanese are inherited Javanese words. Some of them had been borrowed by Javanese from other languages. The origins of Javanese borrowings include:

A. Inherited forms, such as wayang 'the Javanese puppet show', pedôman 'compasses', panén 'harvest' and ôtôt 'muscle'. Wayang is from PA *bayang 'shadow', pedôman is from Javanese dôm 'needle, compasses', which in turn is from PA *ZaRum 'needle, compasses'. Panén is from Javanese pa-ani-an (from ani or ani-ani which means 'the knife for cutting rice stalk'), and ôtôt is from PA *uRat 'muscle, vein'.¹¹

B. Borrowings of Arabic origin, such as ruah 'the eighth month' (from Arabic arwah 'spirit'), nyenén-kemis 'fast on Mondays and Thursdays, be almost dead and breathe very slowly' (which is from Arabic isnain 'Monday' and khamis 'Thursday').¹²

C. Borrowings of Sanskrit origin,¹³ such as warna 'colour' which is from Sanskrit varṇa 'colour, appearance', warga 'member' which is from Sanskrit varga 'group, family'.

D. Borrowings from Dutch origin, such as belanda 'Dutch' (from Dutch holland 'Holland'),¹⁴ wérek 'slave trader' (from Dutch werk 'work').

E. Borrowings of English origin, such as trek¹⁵ (from English truck), Maliôbôrô 'name of a main street in Jogja' (from English Marlborough, name of an English officer).

F. Borrowings the elements of which are ultimately Malay, but which have been combined by Javanese and borrowed back into Indonesian, such as Indonesian mana-suka 'free choice, as you like it' (term used in a radio program when listener selects music) from Javanese mônô-sukô 'free choice' which was formed from Malay mana 'which, whichever' and suka 'like'. Similarly Indonesian masuk-angin 'an ailment the symptoms of which are excessive gas and chills' is from Javanese masoq-angin which in turn is from Malay masuk 'enter' and angin 'wind'.

5.6. IDIOM FORMATION BY WORD DROPPING

The phenomenon of word dropping is similar to the phenomenon of word shortening (2.6.). Word dropping occurs in the informal styles of Javanese (both informal Ngoko and Madyo Kromo). It is a process whereby fixed phrases are shortened by dropping one or more words. The resulting formations are usually idioms since their meanings cannot be determined from the combined meanings of the morphemes involved. Examples of such abbreviated phrases are dukô 'I don't know' (from kulô nyuwon dukô 'I beg (your) anger (at my stupidity)', nuwon 'excuse me' (from nuwon sèwu pangapunten '(I) beg one thousand pardons'), nuwon 'thanks' (from mator nuwon '(I) say thanks', emboh '(I) don't know' (from aku tamboh 'I ask a question'), kirangan '(I) don't know' (from kulô kirang mangertôs 'I am short of knowledge' or kulô kekirangan pangertôs 'I am short of information').

This process of shortening phrases by dropping words when speaking in an informal style, has been applied to Indonesian. Examples of such abbreviated forms are tau '(I) don't know' (from saya tidaq tau 'I don't know'), mana 'How is that possible?' (from bagaymana bisa 'how is that possible?'). There are even some calques of shortened Javanese phrases e.g. masa(q) 'impossible!' from masa(kan) begitu 'How can that be possible?' The Javanese model is môngsô 'impossible' from môngsô ngono 'How is that possible?' or môngsô kôyô ngono 'How is it possible like that?'

N O T E S

1. The Javanese word *selôp* is from Dutch *slof* '*slippers*'.
2. *jitu* is a shortening of *siji + pitu* meaning '*seven against one*' (i.e. one person can outdo seven).
3. The word *sôq* '*once in a while*' is often found in a phrase such as *sôq anggaq* '*sometimes haughty*' and *sôq aksi* '*sometimes snobbish*'. These phrases have apparently experienced some kind of omission of a word, and thus *sôq* in itself now means '*haughty*' or '*snobbish*'. Such omissions of a word from an idiom is a usual phenomenon in Javanese and Djakarta Indonesian (5.6.).
4. At least for some people *bôkông* is the preferred word for '*bottom, buttocks*', because the word *pantat* which originally meant '*bottom, buttocks*', has acquired the meaning of '*female genitalia*'.
5. In deciding what word should be used to translate the Western technical terms in the absence of a suitable Malay word, the background of the scholar or the writer plays a significant role. A person who admires Old Indonesia tends to choose an Old Javanese word. A Sumatranese or a devout muslim tends to choose an Arabic word. A Javanese tends to choose a Modern Javanese word. If he is a young and liberal Indonesian a Christian or a Chinese, he tends to choose the Dutch or English word.
6. For loanblends consisting of a Malay free morpheme and a Javanese bound morpheme, see Chapter III.
7. *ambil tindakan* is probably a literal translation of English '*take steps, take action*'.

8. There is not yet any convincing theory for the etymology of the Malay word *boléh* or Javanese *olèh*. Perhaps Malay *boléh* came from *beroléh* 'to get, find' with /r/ dropping and /e/ and /o/ contracting into /o/. In Malay *boléh* and *beroléh* are in some contexts synonymous, both meaning 'to find, get'. However, it is not clear why the /r/ would have dropped. If, on the other hand, the /b/ of *boléh* is not from the *ber-* of *beroléh* there may be a parallel case of the presence and absence of initial /b/ in Malay *bésoq* 'tomorrow', Javanese *mbésoq* 'later on (far in the future)', Ml *ésoq(hari)* 'tomorrow' Jv *ésoq* 'morning'. Here, however, both languages show forms with /b/, though in Javanese the forms with /b/ are always pre-nasalised. Perhaps the roots in the proto-language of Javanese and Malay were **bulih* and **bisuk* and the Javanese dropped initial /b/ if it was not pre-nasalised (though it certainly did not do so in all words). Ml *ésoq* might then be a borrowing from Javanese. Another possible explanation is that an initial /b/ in the Javanese words changed to /w/ (which is a common occurrence in Javanese) and that the /w/ was then dropped. However, there is no evidence for **wulih* or **wisuk* ever existing.

9. The word *déh* or *dah* in Omong Djakarta which expresses this reluctant agreement is a development of Indonesian *sudah*.

10. This idiom *mlebu kotal* is taken from *wayang*. A puppet is put back into its box when it is no longer needed in the show.

11. For PA **bayang* see Dempwolff 1938:20. For PA **ZaRum* see Dempwolff 1938:45, and Dyen 1951:534; for PA **uRat* see Dempwolff 1938:160.

12. *ru(w)ah* 'the 8th month of the Arabic calender' was popularly used only in Java. In the Malay speaking region it was known as *Syaqban*, which is the real name in Arabic. In this month the Javanese honour the spirit of the dead ancestors before entering the month of fasting. *Senén* is a Javanese pronunciation. In Malay it is *senin*. Fasting on Mondays and Thursdays was a popular Javanese practice. And such an idiom as *napasé nyenèn kemís* 'his breath (comes) on Mondays and Thursdays' (a description for somebody who is almost dead) was also a Javanese phrase.

13. See 2.2.6.

14. See 2.2.6.

15. The word *trek* '*truck*' must have come via Javanese (from English) because of the fact that it has /e/ in the final syllable. /e/ was never in a final syllable in Malay phonology.

CHAPTER VI SPEECH LEVELS

6. TYPES OF INFLUENCE

Both Javanese and Malay have SPEECH LEVELS, forms that indicate the social position of, distant from, and/or respect toward the addressee or referent. It should be made clear that speech levels are not social dialects, since all speakers use all levels.¹

In Javanese the speech levels are complex and involve a large portion of the vocabulary. There are three main levels: KROMO is the distant or formal level, MADYO is the intermediate level, and NGOKO is the informal level. The choice of one of these levels is determined by such factors as relative social status of speaker and addressee, relative ages of speaker and addressee, to what degree speaker and addressee are acquainted, and, within families usually, relative generations of speaker and addressee. In addition to these three basic levels, there are two sets of honorific forms used either in addressing or referring to a respected person: KROMO INGGIL words glorify the person, possessions, and actions of the addressee or referent, and KROMO ANDAP words humble the person, possessions, and actions of the speaker or a third person before the addressee or another respected third person. Kromo Inggil/Kromo Andap (KI/KA) words may be used with any of the three main levels. Their use with reference to the addressee is not a matter of relative but rather of absolute status. If the addressee holds a respected position in the society, the KI/KA vocabulary will be used regardless of which of the three main levels the speaker is using. The three main levels, the presence or absence of KI/KA words, and a few other factors combine to make up nine sub-levels in the dialect of Jogjakarta. The use of KI/KA words in reference to a third person is determined by the status of that person relative to other persons involved in the situation being discussed.

KI/KA words can be used in reference to a third person regardless of which of the nine sub-levels is used. For a complete discussion of Javanese speech levels see Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo 1968.

The Malay speech levels are far more restricted than the Javanese. They involve only a small number of forms and are used far less frequently. The Malay speech levels consist of a special court vocabulary² which is somewhat analogous to the KI/KA vocabulary of Javanese. In Malay, however, the honorific forms are used only in addressing or referring to God, the king, or other members of the royal family.

In addition to the specific sets of vocabulary comprising the speech levels, both Javanese and Malay make use of circumlocutions to be polite, though Javanese does so much more than Malay did. Javanese also makes use of a number of devices such as word shortening (2.5.) and word dropping (5.6.) to indicate informality.

Javanese has had the following types of influences on Indonesian speech levels: (1) the use of the Malay court vocabulary has been extended to refer to people outside the royal court, (2) the vocabulary of respect has been increased by borrowings from Javanese, (3) the use of circumlocutions has increased, and (4) special colloquial forms have been introduced.

6.1. THE EXTENSION OF THE USE OF THE COURT VOCABULARY

From the language we know that a Javanese speaker pays special attention to defining his relationship with individuals and to determining their social rank. The Javanese seem to be obsessed with ideas of respect and politeness. This obsession is extended to their speech in other languages including Indonesian. Speaking in ordinary Malay without the respect vocabulary is felt by the Javanese to be like speaking in NGOKO LUGU, i.e. the lowest of the nine levels in Javanese, in which no formality or respect is expressed. Therefore they feel uneasy when they must speak to or refer to a highly respected person, such as the President, the Sultan, a cabinet member, or even a school master. This is especially true if the addressee is a Javanese. Something must be added to indicate the speaker's respect for the addressee. This has been the case despite the official encouragement given since the outbreak of the 1945 revolution to use the same language for everyone, high and low.³ As a result most of the words from the court vocabulary were treated as Kromo Inggil words, extended to the President, high government officials and other respected people. Speakers of other languages with analogous speech levels (i.e. Sundanese, Balinese,

Madurese, and Sasak) doubtlessly followed similar practices, which lent support to the Javanese innovations. This has now been passed to the other Indonesians.

The following sentences exemplify court vocabulary which has now passed over to ordinary speech, but which has become a special honorific vocabulary, like the Javanese Kromo Inggil/Kromo Andap. The forms with upper-case in the a. sentences are from the court vocabulary, those in the b. sentences their equivalents in ordinary speech. The English equivalents are also in upper-case.

- I.130a itu ISTANA presiden
'That is the presidential PALACE.'
- I.130b itu RUMAH teman saya
'That is my friend's HOUSE.'
- I.131a guru saya sedang HAMIL
'My teacher is EXPECTING.'
- I.131b sarinah sedang BUNTING
'Sarinah is PREGNANT.'
- I.132a BELIAW sudah lanjut USIANYA
'HE is already of an advanced AGE.'
- I.132b IA sudah lanjut UMORNYA.
'He is already of an advanced age.'

Honorific forms are used to refer to the citizens, the people, the public, audiences, and the country as is the case of honorific forms in Javanese. For example: kedawlatan raqyat '*people's authority*', utusan raqyat '*people's mission*' (but suruhan Sarinah '*Sarinah's messenger*'), persembahan kepada negara '*presentation to the country*' (but pemberian kepada Sarinah '*gift for Sarinah*'), rumah sakit bersalin '*public maternity hospital or hospital for delivering a baby*' (but Sarinah melahirkan anaq '*Sarinah gave birth*').

6.2. THE INCREASE IN NUMBER OF RESPECT WORDS

Javanese words in the past entered the Malay court vocabulary. Now more Javanese words have been borrowed to form the Indonesian vocabulary of respect. Compared to the Javanese Kromo Inggil/Kromo Andap vocabulary, the number of Malay court vocabulary words is actually rather small. Many concepts which must be expressed in Kromo Inggil in Javanese are carried by ordinary words in Malay. While there are more than 260 word roots in the Javanese Kromo Inggil/Kromo Andap vocabulary, the Malay court vocabulary has less than 70.⁴ Some of these seem to be borrowings from Javanese.

6.2.1. Borrowings from Javanese in the Malay Court Vocabulary

The Malay court vocabulary⁵ consisted of 30 pronouns, 75 nouns, verbs and adjectives indicating respect for the person to whom they were applied (like Jav Kromo Inggil), and 17 nouns, verbs, and particles indicating humility on the part of the speaker (like Javanese Kromo Andap). Of these, the following are suspected of being Javanese borrowings:

titiang	'I', for a subject when speaking to the sultan or other high ranking noblemen.
kaula	'I', for a subject, especially a woman, when speaking to a high ranking nobleman.
pengiran	'you', from the sultan to a wazir 'minister' or ceteria 'knight'.
ayér emas	'he, she', used when a subject talks about his son or daughter in the presence of a high nobleman.
kaula pengiran	...(followed by a name) 'he', used when a subject or lower ranking official talks about another subject in the presence of the sultan or other high nobleman.
duli pengiran	'he', when the sultan talks about his wazir.
menyampiri	'to give a name, title'
mangkat	'dead'
layuan (layônan)	'corpse, dead body'
sôngsông	'umbrella'
kamul	'blanket'
paduka mator	'fourth wife'
ayér emas	'child'

The word titiang 'I' seems to have been derived from Javanese tiang or tiyang 'man' (Kromo). Kaula 'I' seems to have come from Javanese kawulô or kulô 'I' which ultimately came from Sanskrit akula 'race, family'. Pengiran came from Javanese pengéran came from Javanese pengéran 'prince', a title usually given to the king's son. The phonological shape of emas suggests that it may be a borrowing from Javanese. The Javanese emas or mas 'gold' is an element in many compound terms of reference or address, such as kakang (e)mas 'older brother', adi (e)mas 'little brother', nimas 'miss', mbôqmas 'Mrs.' etc. However, the Javanese terms are all terms of respect whereas for the situation in which the Malay term was used, reference to one's own offspring in the presence of a high nobleman, a humble term would be in order. Malay bersiram 'to take a bath' seems to be connected to Javanese siram 'take a bath'. Malay mangkat 'to pass away' seems to have come from Javanese mangkat 'depart', which is cognate with Malay berangkat 'to depart'. mangkat is formed by adding m- (the development

of the infix -um- added to a base beginning with a vowel) to angkat. This prefix otherwise occurs in Malay only in clearly Javanese borrowings, so that the form mangkat must be a Javanese borrowing. Malay layônan or layuan 'corpse' is from Javanese layôn 'dead body, corpse'. Both Malay and Javanese have the word layu. However, in Javanese layu means 'dead', while in Malay it means 'to wither, fade'. In addition, the rules of Javanese morphology permit such contractions as layu + -an into layôn, but Malay morphological rules do not. Thus Malay layônan has a double or hyper suffix -an. Malay sôngsông 'royal umbrella' is from Javanese Kromo Inggil sôngsông 'umbrella'. Malay kamul or kemul is from Javanese kemul 'blanket'. Malay persalinan 'dresses, attire' seems to be from Javanese Ngoko salin 'clean clothes'. Malay menyampiri 'to give a name or a title' seems to have come from Javanese nyampiri 'to give a name, title, or bureaucratic position'. In the Old Javanese kingdoms if somebody were appointed to hold a certain post by the king, usually he was given a cloth, which was often yellow, as a badge, which he should wear over his shoulder and around his body. This is how the word sampir 'to hang on' or nyampiri 'to hang on somebody's shoulder' came to mean 'to give a title, a name or position'. Malay mator in paduka mator 'fourth wife' must be derived from ator or hator 'to present'. With the same morphological reasoning as was used for mangkat it can be concluded that mator must be a borrowing from Javanese.

These are the words strongly suspected of being Javanese borrowings. There are probably others, which are more difficult to prove because of the lack of morphological or etymological evidence.

In addition to the above list, there are many other forms in the polite language, which occur in literary works from Bandjar (South Borneo),⁶ written in Malay, but which do not appear in other types of Malay and which are all Javanese loans. These forms include:

A. Personal pronouns:

manira	'I', used by an officer when addressing a subordinate.
hulun, ulun	'I', used when a subject to the king or a high nobleman.
pakanira	'you', used by an officer to a subordinate.
andika	'you', used respectfully toward elders.
sampian	'you', used in a more respectful way than andika.

B. Words showing humility:

hinggi	'yes'
suhun	'thank you'
amit	'to beg, ask to for'
amit kombali	'to ask for permission'
maaturi amit	'to beg leave'
kaula amit	'I am sorry, I apologise'
amông karsa	'If you allow, with due respect to your personal feeling'
ator	'word, say'
maator	'to say, inform'
ator sambah	'to speak humbly'
ator salam	'to present greetings'
maaturi	'to invite respectfully'
mancatu	'to request humbly'
maaraq	'to present oneself before royalty'
maunjungi	'to pay a ceremonial visit to a superior'
lumiring	'to submit oneself to, to follow obediently'
mahayapkan	'to flank a nobleman', 'serve a nobleman by sitting next to him'
mahistukan	'to promise allegiance to'

C. Words showing respect to the agent or possessor:

hadus	'to take a bath'
mantoq	'to go home'
ngandika	'to speak'
mular	'to weep'
patak	'to bury'
rigi, ngregéni	'to appreciate, value'
mangampil	'to take, carry'
barambit lawan	'together with'
wastu	'effectively become a king'
wasiat	'expression of last will'
linggih	'to sit down'
barsamsam	'to be attracted by, charmed by'
langgana	'not willing'
salira	'body'
sarual	'pants'
swargi	'the late'
sumalah	'the late', 'dead'
kagungan	'to possess, own'
kagungan dalam	'the king's property'
hastana	'royal graveyard'

karsa	'will, wish, desire'
apura	'pardon'
jampana	'sedan chair'
bangsal	'assembly hall'
banyu	'water'
rayi	'younger sibling'
raka	'older brother'
rama	'father'
kang rayi	'your younger brother or sister'
kang rama	'your father'
baksa	'dance'
barbaksa	'to dance'

D. Titles of nobility:

radén	'title for a person of royal descent'
aria	'predicate for a high official'
ratu	'king, queen, viceroy'
gusti	'title for a girl born of a father of noble blood and mother of lower class or concubine'
dipati	'title for a nominal governor, or head of a territorial unit under the realm of the kingdom'
kyai	'title for dignitaries'

How all these polite words came to be borrowed from Javanese by Malay is not known for certain. Many of them perhaps came into Malay by way of Javanese literature that had been translated or retold in Malay by either Malay or Javanese writers. Some others perhaps entered Malay through Javanese political and cultural influence in the past. The latter theory seems to be more likely, since the farther a Malay royal court is situated from Java (which implies the less Javanese political or cultural influence), the fewer Javanese borrowings are found in its court vocabulary. If the court vocabulary of Bandjar (as indicated by *Hikajat Bandjar*) is compared with that of Brunei (as compiled by D. Brown) and that in Malakka (as shown by Syed Alwi), Bandjar clearly has the largest court vocabulary and the largest number of Javanese loans, Brunei has the second largest number, and Malakka has the fewest.

6.2.2. Increase in Number of Indonesian Respect Words

Concern about politeness is especially great when a Javanese must address another Javanese in Indonesian. There are many occasions on which a Javanese must speak in Indonesian to another Javanese, for example in official meetings, in government offices, in schools, or

even in ordinary informal conversation in the presence of non-Javanese. In such situations, the more unofficial the situation and the higher the status of the addressee, the more the speaker will attempt to show his respect and politeness. Since the existing Indonesian vocabulary of respect is insufficient to indicate his respect toward the addressee, new forms have been coined. Either an Indonesian translation of Javanese honorific forms or a straight borrowing of the Javanese Kromo Inggil/Kromo Andap vocabulary is used. Some of these translations and Javanese honorific forms have come into the speech of non-Javanese. Examples of new formations on analogy with Javanese Kromo Andap forms (which honour the recipient) include:

môhôn maaf	'(I) beg your pardon', based on Jv nyuwon pangapunten;
môhôn periksa	'(may I) ask (you) a question', based on Jv nyuwon priksô;
môhôn keterangan	'(may I) ask (you) for information', based on Jv nyuwon katerangan;
môhôn pamit	'(may I) ask (you) for permission to leave', based on Jv nyuwon pamit;
môhôn pengéstu	'(may I) ask for your blessings', based on Jv nyuwon pengèstu;
môhôn pinjam	'(may I) borrow', based on Jv nyuwon ngampil;
surat permôhônan	'a letter of request or application', based on Jv serat panyuwunan;
hator periksa	'inform', based on Jv ator priksô;
menghatorkan terimakasih	'to say thanks', based on Jv ngatoraken panuwon;
menghatorkan selamat	'to congratulate', based on Jv ngatoraken sugeng;
menghatorkan bélasungkawa	'to extend condolence' based on Jv ngatoraken bélosungkôwô.

Kromo Inggil forms that have been borrowed into Indonesian include:

abdi	'servant'
puteri	'girl'
putera	'boy'
tamu	'guest'
tamu agong	'distinguished guest'
asma	'name'
karsa	'will'
ténja	'faeces'
luhor	'noble'
lôlôs	'to escape'
leluhor	'ancestors'
tindaq-tandoq	'behaviour'
tindakan	'action'

These forms, like the court vocabulary forms listed in 6.1. are used in a way parallel to the Kromo Inggil vocabulary in Javanese. For example:

- I.133a PUTERA bapaq berapa orang?
'How many CHILDREN do you have?'
- I.133b ANAQ saya lima orang.
'I have five CHILDREN.'
- I.134a TINDAKAN bapaq sangat bijaksana.
'Your ACTION was very wise, (sir).'
- I.134b PERBUATAN orang itu tidaq baik.
'The ACTION of that man was not good.'

More Kromo Inggil words are heard in Indonesian sentences in Java than elsewhere. Some examples of Kromo Inggil words which are heard only in Java are putera-wayah 'descendants', éyang 'grandparent', kondur 'go home', gerah 'sick, ill', dalem 'home'. Such words are generally used only among the Javanese.

Some Old Javanese words have also been borrowed by Indonesian to express politeness. They include wanita 'woman' or 'female', pria 'male', tiwas or téwas 'killed', pribadi 'oneself, person', wanita tuna susila 'woman prostitute', tuna wisma 'homeless', tuna karya 'jobless, unemployed', tuna aksara 'illiterate', tuna nétra 'blind'.

In addition some Javanese terms of address have been borrowed by Indonesian (see 5.1.1. S.).

6.3. INCREASE IN USE OF CIRCUMLOCUTIONS

In Javanese it is often considered blunt and impolite to come directly to the point. Thus politeness is expressed in Javanese by circumlocutions. For examples, instead of the direct form lungguhô 'sit down!' one would say cobô lungguhô literally 'try to sit down!'. Instead of aku jupoqnô buku kuwi 'bring me that book!' one would say tulong, aku jupoqnô buku kuwi literally 'help me, bring me that book!'. Instead of ađimu pirô? 'How many younger siblings do you have?' one would say ađiné pirô 'How many younger siblings are there?'. Instead of kulô badé mator 'I want to speak' one would say keparengô kulô badé mator 'allow me, I want to speak'. Very often hesitation forms such as kuwi (Ngoko), menikô (Kromo) 'that' or 'er..', anu 'whatchamacallit' are inserted in sentences to avoid getting straight to the point. For example instead of ôpô kowé wis mbayar utangmu? 'Have you paid your debt?' one would say ôpô kowé wis, anu, mbayar utangmu? 'Have you, er, paid your debt?'

Malay has round-about expressions, too, to express politeness, e.g. the use of such forms as sikhakan 'please (in offering)' as in:

I.135 SILIHKAN dudoq
'PLEASE sit down!'

I.136 SILAHKAN makan
'PLEASE eat!'

With Javanese influence the use of less direct expressions in Indonesian has increased considerably. Thus in Indonesian expressions such as the following often occur now:

I.137 COBA dudoq sebentar
'PLEASE sit down for a minute!'

I.138 TÔLÔNG ambilkan saya buku itu.
'PLEASE, bring me that book!'

I.139 NAMANYA siapa?
'What is your name' (lit. 'what is THE NAME?')

I.140 TINGGALNYA dimana?
'Where are you staying' (lit. 'where is THE STAYING?')

I.141 PERKENANKANLAH SAYA mulai bicara.
'Allow me to start speaking.'

These are based on the following Javanese models:

J.137 COBÔ lunggoh sedélô
'Please sit down for a minute!'

J.138 TULONG aku jupoqnô buku kuwi
'Please, bring me that book!'

J.139 NAMINÉ sinten?
'What is your name' (lit. 'what is THE NAME?')

J.140 MANGGÔNÉ nèng ngendi?
'Where are you staying' (lit. 'where is THE STAYING?')

J.141 KEPARENGÔ KULÔ wiwét mator
'ALLOW me to start speaking'

Though Malay has always had words such as *anu* 'whatchamacallit' and *itu* 'that', they were formerly used only as slot fillers, i.e. when one could not think of what one wanted to say, or when one was too lazy to give an explicit statement, but knew that the listener knew what was meant. Their use as hesitation particles between the subject and the predicate in order to delay the actual utterance of the predicate is a new phenomenon in Indonesian, and it is clearly of Javanese origin. In fact, a favourite way for non-Javanese Indonesians to tease the Javanese used to be to imitate their speech, inserting *itu* or *itu anu* between each subject and predicate. Such words are now commonly used without any intention of mocking the Javanese. Examples of sentences containing them include:

I.142 sawdara ITU nakal.
'You are ER.. naughty.'

I.143 sawdara ITU ANU berbau.

'You ER WATCHAMACALLIT smell!'

They are based on the following Javanese models:

J.142 kowé KUWI nakal

'You are ER.. naughty'

J.143 kowé KUWI ANU mambu.

'You are ER WATCHAMACALLIT smell!'

6.4. THE INTRODUCTION OF COLLOQUIAL INDONESIAN

Djakarta Indonesian, which arose through intimate contact between the uneducated natives of Djakarta and the educated people who have recently arrived and settled there (1.3.1.), has become an analogue for the Javanese Ngoko level, and for some uses of the Madyo level. It is never used on official occasions or in addressing someone deserving respect or someone with whom the speaker is not familiar. Like Ngoko it is used in informal situations with friends of one's own age and social group. It is like Madyo in that it is used by the working and uneducated class in situations where educated persons would use standard Indonesian (the uneducated Javanese use Madyo in many situations where educated Javanese would use Kromo). It is used by upper class people in speaking to workers as are both Madyo and Ngoko in Javanese. In other words, Djakarta Indonesian functions in the Indonesian of Djakarta as the informal speech levels function in Javanese. This is true among non-Javanese as well as among Javanese, particularly if the former are native speakers of one of the other languages which has speech levels (Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese, and Sasak).

Apart from the fact that the Javanese attitude toward Djakarta Indonesian has been influential in its development into a colloquial style of Indonesian, the Javanese language itself has contributed a great deal in the formation of this informal speech style. A very large proportion of the "peculiar" forms which differentiate Djakarta Indonesian from standard Indonesian originate from Javanese, though many of them have entered indirectly via Omong Djakarta. This is true in the realm of phonology, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary.

Javanese has, for example, contributed the following phonological features which differentiate colloquial Indonesian from standard Indonesian: (1) -eC# for the standard -aC# (2.3.1.), (2) /é/ for the standard /ay/ (2.2.1.), (3) /o/ for the standard /aw/ (2.2.2.), (4) /é/ for /i/ (2.2.1.), (5) /o/ for /u/ (2.2.2.), (6) the dropping of -e- (2.3.3.), and probably also (7) the dropping of an initial consonant or even a syllable (2.6.).

Javanese has at least contributed the following morphological features: (1) the prefix N- (3.1.1.), (2) the use of Ø instead of ber- (3.2.2.), (3) the use of ke- instead of ter- (3.1.3.), (4) the use of ke- -an instead of terlalu (3.3.1.3.), (5) the use of meN- -kan instead of memper- -kan (3.2.1.), (6) the use of -an in the meaning of 'suffering from' (3.3.2.), (7) the use of -an in the meaning of 'more...' (3.3.2.).

Javanese has contributed to the syntax of Djakarta Indonesian all the new elements described in Chapter IV.

Javanese loans which appear in the vocabulary of Djakarta Indonesian include rough words (5.1.4.), humorous words (5.1.6.), words expressing colloquiality (5.1.7.), as well as some words which have exact Malay equivalents (5.1.2.2.). In addition, Javanese has also been instrumental in the formation of idioms formed by word dropping (5.6.).

Not only, then, is Djakarta Indonesian like the informal levels of Javanese in function, but its form relative to standard Indonesian is like the form of Madyo relative to Kromo, in that it contains many abbreviated and dialectal forms, i.e. word shortening, word dropping, and the dropping or shortening of affixes, as well as much vocabulary and some morphological and syntactic structures from Omong Djakarta.

At first, Djakarta Indonesian was popular only among the students, but later it spread to the Djakartanese in general including the educated and the political elite. Many people used it indiscriminately both in talking to friends or to low class workers and in addressing respected strangers. However, in the last decade Djakarta Indonesian has become a separate colloquial style of Indonesian.

Although its use was first confined to Djakarta, this is no longer true. It is also used by many students and educated people in other cities, especially by those who have at one time or another been to Djakarta. Students studying abroad use it when talking among themselves. Novels and short stories recently published use it in their dialogues. In short, this colloquial speech is spreading to many areas of Indonesia.

N O T E S

1. Among the Javanese, people of the lower class are less adept at manipulating the speech levels than people of the higher class, and, in fact, skill at manipulating the speech levels is one of the criteria for distinguishing social dialects. Nevertheless, the point is still valid that all speakers, regardless of social class attempt to use all levels. It is the social position of the addressee or referent that mainly determines choice of vocabulary.
2. A complete list of the Malay court vocabulary is given in an article I am preparing for publication.
3. When the proclamation of Independence was made and the fighting broke out in 1945, it was demanded that everybody treat everybody else as his equal, regardless of rank or status. On formal occasions a term such as sawdara '*relative*' was suggested, and in informal occasions terms of address such as bung '*brother*', paq '*father*' were to be used. Formerly bung was used only in addressing a lower class young man in Djakarta, and paq in addressing an elderly lower class man in Java. The usages suggested at the time of the Independence Proclamation have now entered the language, though with social connotations rather different from what had been officially suggested.
4. The various personal pronouns are excluded from this number.
5. These numbers are estimates based on lists compiled by Syed Alwi (1960), Donald Brown (1969), and words which I have found in various pieces of Malay literature.
6. Ras, J. 1968.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, Indonesian has been greatly influenced by Javanese on all levels: phonological, the borrowing of Javanese phonemes and combinations of phonemes which did not formerly occur in Indonesian (2.1. and 2.2.); morphological and syntactic, the borrowing of Javanese syntactic patterns (4.1. and 4.2.), and functional morphemes (3.1.); lexical, the borrowing or calquing of Javanese words and expressions (5.1., 5.4.). In addition many Indonesian forms have taken on additional meanings because their Javanese cognates or analogous forms had such meanings (3.3. and 5.3.).

Javanese and Malay have probably been influencing each other for many centuries, perhaps even for a millenium. When two languages are in contact for an extended period it often happens that one becomes dominant and the other is eventually extinguished. In the case of creolisation the extinguished language has altered the dominant language drastically. In the case of Javanese and Malay, however, no extinction has taken place or even begun. Rather, the two languages, though becoming more and more similar, have maintained their separate identities. The explanation for this is probably sociological. When a language is extinguished or a creole is formed it seems always to be because the group speaking one language is socially dominant over the group speaking the other. Neither Javanese nor Malay, however, in the language of a socially dominant group. Where the two languages are in the most intimate contact, in Java, each serves a specific function within an integrated society: Javanese is the language of the home, the language for expressing emotion, while Indonesian (or Malay) is the language of learning and formality, the language used for expressing the intellect, as well as an instrument for communicating with outsiders. The way in which Javanese and Indonesian (or Malay) have been influencing each other gives good testimony of the social

relations among the members of the two speech communities.

Further, we have seen the nature of the Javanese influence on Indonesian. A good portion of Javanese forms have been adopted because they had no Indonesian equivalents. This is particularly true in connection with concepts peculiar to Javanese culture. Javanese could also often express modern ideas by borrowing from its own literary vocabulary (often of Sanskrit origin), for which Indonesian had no equivalent. Javanese also often was rich in vocabulary with denotations having Indonesian equivalents but with connotations of poeticalness, humorousness, or politeness, which the Indonesian forms lacked. Javanese words having connotations of informality have been largely responsible for introducing the colloquial style of speech into Indonesian. However, in addition to introducing a large body of needed vocabulary, Javanese has given Indonesian a large number of synonyms for already existing words. These words have probably entered the language because of the large number of Javanese-speaking Indonesians, many of whom did not know the language very well and so substituted Javanese words when they did not know the Indonesian equivalents (5.1.2.2.).

As a result of the adoption of numerous Javanese forms which did not exist in Malay, the increase in productivity of phonological, morphological, and syntactic forms similar to the Javanese (2.3., 3.4., 4.4.), and the decline in the use of forms and constructions for which there were no parallels or analogous forms in Javanese (3.5., 4.3.), Indonesian has now become closer in form to Javanese.

The two languages also have become more similar due to the fact that Indonesian, as the national language of the country, has influenced the regional languages including Javanese.¹ Javanese forms that are parallel or analogous to Indonesian forms have increased in frequency.² Javanese forms which have no parallel forms in Indonesian have declined in frequency.³ Furthermore, a tendency has now developed to be somewhat lax in the use of the Javanese speech levels. The Javanese tend to be increasingly informal, thus making Ngoko the most important level of speech.

Javanese and Indonesian are now influencing each other at an accelerating rate. The causes in this case are obvious enough. Indonesian is influencing Javanese because Indonesian is the national language and therefore most Javanese now learn to speak it. Javanese is influencing Indonesian because Javanese has the largest number of speakers of any of the regional languages and because many Javanese occupy important positions in society (Chapter I). As communication improves and more people become bilingual the mutual influence between the two languages is bound to increase. Thus it can be expected that Indonesian and Javanese will continue to become more similar, though maintaining their separate identities, at least during the near future.

N O T E S

1. The phoneme /f/ has been added to Javanese; a less aspirated pronunciation of the aspirated stops /b/, /d/, /d̥/, /j/, /g/ has come about; the prefix *ber-* and the circumfix *per- -an* have been added; numerous words and phrases have been borrowed or calqued from Indonesian to express modern concepts.
2. The distribution of final /-a/, initial and intervocalic /h/, the use of the prefixes *a-* and *pe-*, especially in literary style, and the distribution of a syntactic construction using *sawetôrô* + noun '*several*' have increased in frequency.
3. The use of the suffix *-éng*, the prefix *ka-*, the infixes *-in-* and *-um-*, reduplication, and the use of the construction markers *ôpô* '*what*' and *séng* '*which*' have decreased in frequency. For a more complete discussion on the influence of Indonesian on Javanese, see Soepome Poedjosoedarmo 1967.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. TEXTS

AJIP, Rosidi

1962 *Roro mendut*. Djakarta: Aryaguna.

ANONYMOUS

n.d. *Adji Saka*.

n.d. *Srikandi Beldjar Memanah*.

n.d. *Penangsang*.

n.d. *Radja Erlangga*.

n.d. *Modjopahit*.

n.d. *Si Lebai Malang*.

n.d. *Pekderdjaan Kawin Seri Ardjuna*. Bandung: G. Kolff.

CASPARIS, J.G. de

1950 *Inscripties uit de Çailendra-tijd*. Bandung: A.C. Nix.

1956 *Selected inscriptions from the 7th to the 9th century A.D.* Bandung: Masa Baru.

DATOEK BESAR, R.A. and R. ROOLVINK, eds

1953 *Hikajat Abdullah*. Djakarta/ Amsterdam: Djambatan.

DJQJODIGOENO, Nji S. and Ki NOTOBROTO

1954 *Kumpulan tjerita wajang, vols.1 & 2*. Djakarta: Endang.

DREWES, G.W.J.

1955 *Een 16de Eeuwse Maleise vertaling van de Burda van Al-Būşiri*.
The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

EDEL, J.

1938 *Hikajat hasanuddin*. Utrecht.

EMEIS, Marinus Gerardus, ed.

1952 *Bunga rampai melaju kuno*. 2nd edn. Djakarta, Groningen: J.B. Wolters.

FIRMAN, Muntaco

1957 Tjermin Djakarta. *Berita Minggu* (Weekly newspaper). Djakarta.

1958- Gampang Djakarta. *Berita Minggu*. Djakarta.

1960

GAREM

1954 *25 Tahun Djableng Kotjok, 1929-1954*. Djakarta: Penerbit "Gula".

HARAHAP, Parada

1939 *Riwayat Dr. A. Rivai*. Medan: Handel Mij. Indische Drukkerij.

HARDJOWIROGO, Pak

1965 *Sedjarah wayang purwa*. 4th edn. Djakarta: Balai Pustaka.

HERMAN, Pratikta

1962 *Ramayana, Valmiki*. Djakarta: Widjaja.

196? *Gadjah Mada*. Djakarta: Widjaja.

1964-
1968 *Bende Mataram*. 23 vols. Jogjakarta.

HILL, A.H. ed. trans.

1960 *Hikajat raja-raja pasai*. *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 23/2:

LUBIS, Mochtar

1956 *Perempuan*. Djakarta: Timun Mas.

MINTARDJA, S.H.

1965-
1968 *Nagasasra sabuk inten*. 25 vols. Jogjakarta.

MOTINGGO, Boesje

1964 *Titisan dosa diatasnja*. Bukittinggi-Djakarta: N.V. Nusantara.

NAVIS, A.A.

1967 *Kemarau*. Bukittinggi-Djakarta: N.V. Nusantara.

1966 *Robohnja surau kami*. 3rd edn. Bukittinggi-Djakarta.

PAMUNTJAK, K. St., N. St. ISKANDAR and A. Dt. MADJOINDO

1961 *Peribahasa*. 8th edn. Djakarta: Balai Pustaka.

PANE, Sanusi

1949 *Ardjunawiwaha Mpu Kanwa: disalin dari bahasa Djawa Kuno*. 2nd edn. Djakarta: Balai Pustaka.

PRIJOHUTOMO

1934 *Nawaruci*. Groningen-The Hague-Batavia: J.B. Wolters.

PRIJONO

1938 *Sri Tanjung, Een Oud Javaansch verhaal*. The Hague: N.V. de Nederlandsche Boek- en steindrukkerij v.h. H.T. Smits.

RADJAB, Muhammad

1950 *Semasa ketjil dikampung: autobiografi seorang anak Minangkabau*. Djakarta.

1954 *Perang Paderi di Sumatera Barat (1803-1838)*. Perpustakaan Perguruan Kem. P.P. dan K.

RAS, J.

1968 *Hikajat Bandjar*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

RUSLI, Mh.

1956 *Anak dan kemanakan*. Djakarta: Balai Pustaka.

SITUMORANG, T.D. and A. TEEUW, eds

1952 *Sedjarah Melaju, Menurut terbitan Abdullah (ibn Abdulkadir Munsji)*. Djakarta/Amsterdam.

SUKARNO, Ir.

1963 *Dibawah bendera revolusi*, vol.1. 2nd edn. Djakarta.

TEEUW, A., ed.

1966 *Shair Ken Tambuhan (Seri Klasik Melayu)*. Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press/University of Malaya Press.

WOLFF, John U.

n.d. Unpublished material on Indonesian lessons.

YAMIN, Muhammad

1951 *Ken Arok dan Ken Dedes*. Djakarta: Balai Pustaka.

B. NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, JOURNALS

Angkatan Bersendjata. Edisi Pusat. Djakarta.

Ariwanti Waspada. Jogjakarta. 1965.

Bahasa dan Budaya (Madjallah Populer jang berdasarkan Ilmu Pengetahuan tentang bahasa dan budaya). Djakarta. Lembaga dan Budaya Fakultas Sastra dan filsafat Universitas Indonesia. 1954.

Berita Harian, Naskah Malaysia. Kuala Lumpur: Straits Time Press. 1969.

Berita Minggu. Djakarta. 1957-1960.

Berita Yudha. Edisi Pusat. 1969.

Berita Yudha Minggu. Edisi Pusat. Djakarta. 1969.

Duta Rakjat. Medan. 1960.

Harian Kami. Djakarta. 1969.

Harian Umum. Surabaya. 1969.

Kedaulatan Rakjat. Jogjakarta. 1968-1970.

Kompas. Djakarta. 1968-1970.

Mekar Sari. Jogjakarta. 1968-1969.

Mingguan Malaysia. Akhbar kebangsaan Tulen. Kuala Lumpur. 1969.

Panjebar Semangat. Surabaya. 1966-1967.

Pedoman. Djakarta. 1969.

Sinar Harapan. Djakarta. 1969.

Suara Rakjat. Surabaya. 1968.

Suluh Marhaen. Denpasar. 1969.

Tjenderawasih. Djajapura (West Irian). 1969.

C. REFERENCES

ABD. RACHMAN ASJ'ARI, R.

1960 *Perkembangan dan Tatabahasa Indonesia*. Surabaya: Amir Hasan C.V.

ALISJAHBANA, S. Takdir

1953 *Tatabahasa Baru Bahasa Indonesia*. vol.1, 7th edn, vol.2, 5th edn. Djakarta: Pustaka Rakjat.

1949 *The Indonesian language. By product of Nationalism. Pacific Affairs*.

- ANDERSON, Ben
 1966 The languages of Indonesian politics. *Indonesia* 1:89-116.
- BIRO STATISTIK PUSAT
 1961 Sensus Penduduk 1961 and Seluruh Indonesia (Population sensus 1961).
 Mimeograph.
- BLOOMFIELD, Leonard
 1933 *Language*. New York: Henry Holt.
- BROWN, Donald E.
 1969 Socio-political history of Brunei, a Bornean Malay sultanate.
 Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University.
- CASTLES, Lance
 1967 The ethnic profile of Djakarta. *Indonesia* 3:153-204.
 Continuity and Change. *Indonesia* 2, 1966:213-222.
- COWAN, J. Milton, ed.
 1961 *A dictionary of modern written Arabic*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University
 Press.
- DAHL, Otto Chr.
 1951 *Malagache et Maanjan, une comparaison linguistique*. Oslo: Egede-
 Instituttet.
- DEMPWOLFF, Otto
 1934 *Vergleichende Lautlehre des austronesischen Wortschatzes*. *Zeitschrift
 für Ethnographie*. 3 vols. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- Development Cabinet. *Indonesia* 6, 1968:193.
- DYEN, Isidore
 1949 On the history of the Trukese. *Language* 25:420-436.
 1951 Proto-Malayo-Polynesian *X. *Language* 27:534-540.
 1953a *The Proto-Malayo-Polynesian laryngeals*. Baltimore: Linguistic Society
 of America.
 1953b Dempwolff's *R. *Language* 29:359-366.
 1965 *The lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian languages*.
 Baltimore: Waverly Press.
- ECHOLS, John M. and Hassan SHADILY
 1963 *An Indonesian-English dictionary*. 2nd edn. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell
 University Press.
- EMEIS, Marinus Gerardus.
 1945 *Vorm en functie in klassiek en modern Maleisch; de verbale constructies,
 proeve van een syntactisch onderzoek*. Utrecht: J. Winters.
- FERGUSON, C.A.
 1959 Diglossia. *Word* 15/2:
- FERGUSON, C.A., ed.
 1960 *Linguistic diversity in South Asia. Studies in regional, social and
 functional variation*. Bloomington: Indiana U.P.
- FINCH, Susan and Daniel LEV
 1965 *Republic of Indonesia Cabinets 1945-1965*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Monograph series,
 Modern Indonesia Project, SEAP, Cornell University.

- FOKKER, A.
 1950 *Beknopte grammatica van de Bahasa Indonesia*. 4th edn. Groningen: J.B. Wolters.
- GERICKE, J.E.C. and T. ROORDA
 1847 *Javaansch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek*. Amsterdam.
- GONDA, J.
 1952 *Sanskrit in Indonesia*. Nagpur.
- GORIS, R.
 1938 *Beknopt Sasaksch-Nederlandsch Woodenboek*. Singaradja (Bali): Publicatie Kirtya Leifrinck-Van der Tuuk.
- GUNNING, Johannes Gerardus Hermanus
 1881 *Een Javaansch geschrift uit de 16 de eeuw, handelende over den Mohammedaanschen godsdienst naar een Leidsch handschrift, uitgegeven en met aantekeningen voorzien*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- HADIDJAJA, Tardjan
 1963 *Tatabahasa Indonesia Untuk S.G.A. dan S.M.A.* 2nd edn. Djakarta: Kirana.
- HALL, Robert A., Jr
 1964 *Introductory linguistics*. Philadelphia and New York: Chilton.
- HILGERS-Hesse
 1965 *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Bahasa Indonesia*. Heidelberg.
- HOCKETT, Charles Francis
 1958 *A course in modern linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.
- HORNE, Elinor McCullough
 1961 *Beginning Javanese*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- JOUSTRA, M.
 1907 *Karo-Bataksch Woordenboek*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- JUYNBOLL, H.H.
 1902 *Kawi-Balinesch-Nederlandsch Glossarium*. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- KAHIN, George McT.
 1963 *Nationalism and revolution in Indonesia*. 6th printing. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.
- KAHLER, Hans
 1966 *Worterverzeichnis des Omong Djakarta*. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer.
- KERSTEN, S.V.D.
 Garis Besar Tatabahasa Bali. MS.
- KILIAAN, H.
 1904 *Madoereesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek*. Leiden.
- LANMAN, C.R.
 1967 *A Sanskrit reader*. 7th edn. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- LE ROUX, C.C.F.M.
 1929 *De Elcan's tocht door den Timorarchipel met Magalhaes schip "Vitoria". Feestbundel Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen, part II*. Weltevreden: G. Kolff.

- LEKKERKERKER, C.
 1918 De Baliërs van Batavia. *De Indische Gids* 1:409-431.
- LI, Chuan-shou
 1966 *Ikhtisar sejarah kesusasteraan Melayu baru, 1830-1945*. Kuala Lumpur: Pustaka Antara.
- MacDONELL, Arthur Anthony
 1924 *A practical Sanskrit dictionary with transliteration, accentuation and etymological analysis throughout*. London: Oxford University Press.
- MARSDEN, William F.R.S.
 1812 *A grammar of the Malayan language*. London.
 1812 *A dictionary of the Malayan language, in two parts, Malayan English and English Malayan*. London.
- MEES, C.A.
 1954 *Tatabahasa Indonesia*. 4th edn. Djakarta-Groningen: J.B. Wolters.
- MUHADJIR
 1964 Dialek Djakarta. *Madjallah Ilmu-Ilmu sastra Indonesia* (Februari) 25-52.
- MULIONO, Anton Murdado
 1965 On grammatical categories in Indonesian. M.A. thesis. Cornell University.
- NABABAN, P.W.J.
 1966 Toba-Batak: a grammatical description. Ph.D. thesis, Cornell University. Published as:
 1981 *A Grammar of Toba-Batak*. PL, D-37.
- NEDERLANDSCH AARDRIJKSKUNDIG GENOOTSCHAP
 1938 *Atlas van tropisch Nederland*. Batavia.
- PANGANIBAN, Jose Villa
 1966 *Talahuluganang Pilipino-Ingles*. Manila: Kawanihan Ng Palimbagan.
- PIGEUD, Theodor
 1938 *Javaans-Nederlands handwoordenboek*. Groningen, Djakarta: J.B. Wolters.
- POERWADARMINTA, W.J.S.
 1945 *Bausastra Indonesian-Djawi*. 3rd edn. Djakarta.
 1948 *Bausastra Djawi-Indonesia*. Djakarta.
 1961 *Kamus Umum Bahasa Indonesia*. 3rd edn. Djakarta.
- PRAWIRAATMADJA, S.
 1955 *Kinklusi Paramasastra, beserta persamaannja Djawa-Indonesia*. Surabaya: Marfiah.
 1957 *Bausastra Djawa-Indonsia*. Surabaya: Express Marfiah.
- PRIJOHUTOMO, Mas
 1937 *Javaansche sprakkunst*. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- ROOLVINK, R.
 1948 *De Voorzetsels in klassiek en modern Maleis*. Doklum.
- ROORDA, T.
 1855 *Javaansche grammatica*. Part I. Amsterdam: Johannes Müller.

- SANTA MARIA, L.
 1967 *I Prestiti Portoghesi Nel Malese-Indonesiano*. Napoli.
- SATJADIBRATA, R.
 1948 *Kamoes Basa Soenda*. Djakarta: Bale Poestaka.
 1956 *Kamus Leutik Indonesia-Sunda Djeung Sunda-Indonesia*. 3rd edn. Djakarta: Balai Pustaka.
 1956 *Unda-usuk basa Sunda*. Djakarta: Balai Pustaka.
- SLAMETMULJANA, R.
 1960 *Kai dah Bahasa Indonesia*. Djakarta: Djembatan.
- SOEPOMO POEDJOSOEDARMO
 1967 Indonesian influence on Javanese. M.A. thesis, Cornell University.
 1968 Javanese speech levels. *Indonesia* 6:54-81.
 1969 Word list of Javanese non-ngoko vocabularies. *Indonesia* 7:165-190.
- SOEPOMO POEDJOSOEDARMO and M.C. RICKLEFS
 1967 The establishment of Surakarta, a translation from the *Babad Gianti*. *Indonesia* 4:88-108.
- STEVENS, Alan
 1965 Language levels in Madurese. *Language* 41:294-302.
 1966 The Madurese reflexes of Proto-Malayopolynesian. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 86:147-156.
 1968 *Madurese phonology and morphology*. American Oriental Series 52. New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society.
- SUBAGIO SASTROWARDOJO
 1958 *Sedjarah Pemakaian Bahasa Indonesia di wilayah Jogjakarta*. Bahan skripsi. MS.
- UHLENBECK, E.M.
 1941 *Beknopte Javaansche grammatica*. Batavia: Volkslectuur.
 1949 *De Structuur van Javaanse morpheem*. Batavia.
 1960 *De systematiek der Javaansa pronomina*. The Hague: M. Nijhoff.
- UMAR, Junus
 1965 *Sedj arah dan perkembangan kezarah Bahasa Indonesia dan Bahasa Indonesia*. Malang Pusat: Lembaga Penerbitan I.K.I.P.
- VAN DER TUUK, H.N.
 1861 *Bataksch-Nederduitsch Woordenboek*. Amsterdam: Frederijk Muller.
- WEINREICH, Uriel
 1953 *Languages in contact, findings and problems*. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York.
- WOLFF, John U.
 1966 *Beginning Cebuano Part I*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- ZAIN, Sutan Muhammad
 1960 *Kamus moderen Bahasa Indonesia*. Djakarta: Grafika.
- ZOETMULDER, P.J.
 1950 *De taal van het Adiparwa*. Bandung: A.C. Nix.
- ZOETMULDER, P.J. and I.R. POEDJAWIJATNA
 1954 *Bahasa Parwa, Tatabahasa Djawa Kuno, parts I & II*. Djakarta: N.V. Obor.

INDEX

A. INDEX OF SUBJECT MATTER

adjective -nya	4.1.3.2.
adjective + sekali	4.4.1.
affixes	
Ø	3.2.2.
-aké, aken, see -qaké, -qaken, -aken-nira, -aken-nya	4.1.2.
-an	3.3.2.1., 3.3.2.2., 3.3.2.3., 3.3.3., 3.3.5.
-aN (N-, maN-)	3.1.1., 3.6.
ber-	3.3., 3.2., 3.2.2.
ber- -kan	3.5., 3.5.1.
di-	3.2.1., 3.5.1.
-en	3.3.3.
*-en	3.3.3.
-é (-né)	3.2.2., 3.5.1., 4.1.1., 4.1.2., 4.1.3.1., 4.1.3.2.
-i	3.4., 3.4.2.
-kan	3.2., 3.2.1., 3.4.3., 4.1.2.
-kannya	4.1.2.
ke-	3.1.3., 3.3.1.1.
ke- -an	3.3.1., 3.3.1.1., 3.3.1.2., 3.3.1.3.
ke- -en	3.3.1., 3.3.1.3.
-ku	4.1.3.2.
-lah	4.3.1.
ma-	3.2.2.
maN-	3.1.1., 3.6.
meN-	3.1.1., 3.2.1., 3.4., 3.6.
-mu	4.1.3.2.
N-	3.1.1., 3.4.1., 3.6.

-nya	3.2., 3.2.2.
paN-	3.6.
*paR- -an	3.1.2.
pe- -an, pa- -an	3.1.2.
peN-	3.6.
per-	2.2.3., 3.2.1., 3.4.3.
per- -an	3.1.2.
per- -kan	3.2.
pi-	3.2.1.
pra-	2.2.3.
-qaké, -qaken	3.2.1., 3.4.3., 4.1.2.
-qné	4.1.2.
ter-	3.1.3.
barang + a passive verb	4.3.2.
barang + a quantity word	4.3.2.
calque, see loan-translations	5.4.
circumlocutions	6.3.
colloquial Indonesian	6.4.
Djakarta Indonesian	1.2.1.
doubling	3.3.4., 4.1.7.
doubling plus -an	3.3.5.
doubling with vowel change	3.4.7.
hyper-Javanisation	2.3.2.
Indonesian	0.3., 1.
Javanese Indonesian	0.3.
Javanism	1.2.2.4.
Kromo	6.
Kromo Andap	6.
Kromo Inggil	6.
Loanblends	5.2.
Loanshifts	5.3.
Loan-translations	5.4.
Loanwords	5.1.
Madyo	6.
Malay, Middle Malay, Old Malay	0.3., 1.
Malay Court vocabulary	6.2.1.
Malayan Malay	0.3.
Morphophonemics	3.6.

Negative plus doubling	4.1.7.
New Indonesian	6.3.
Noun plus numeral	4.2.1.
Ngoko	6.
Ngoko Lugu	6.1.
Old Malay	0.3.
olèh -é + verb	4.1.4.
Omong Djakarta	1.2.1.
Question words	4.2.3.
Reduplication	3.4.5.
Reduplication plus -an	3.4.6.
Relaxification	2.1.1.
saja	5.1.7.6.
saking -ne, -nya	4.1.5.
saya + verb -nya	4.1.1.
saya + verb -kannya	4.1.2.
Standard Indonesian	1.2.1.
Subject plus predicate	4.3.1.
taq ter- -kan	3.5.2.
taq + verb -né	4.1.1., 4.1.2.
waé	2.2.6., 2.5., 4.3.2.

B. INDEX OF FORMS

This index includes all forms discussed in the thesis. Forms for which no language is indicated are Indonesian. Symbols used for other languages are as follows:

Ar = Arabic	Ming = Minangkabau
Ch = Chinese	Ml = Malay
D = Dutch	PA = Proto-Austronesian
E = English	Port = Portuguese
Ind = Indonesian	Skt = Sanskrit
Jap = Japanese	Sp = Spanish
Jv = Javanese	Sun = Sundanese
Mad = Madurese	Tm = Tamil

If a word occurs in Indonesian as well as another language it will be marked for both.

aaneemer (D), anémér, anèmer (Jv)	2.2.
abdi	6.2.2.
abôt (Jv)	2.2.6.
abôt, kabôtan (Jv)	5.4.1.
adegan (Jv, Ind)	1.2.2.4.
adem (Jv, Ind)	2.2.1.
adon	2.1.2.
adôn (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2.
adu ayu (Jv, Ind)	5.1.3.
adun (Ml)	2.1.2.
aé (Jv)	2.5.
agung (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
ajek (Jv, Ind)	2.1.4.
akula (Skt)	2.2.4.
*akula barga	2.2.4.
alasan	2.2.4.

Ali Sastroamidjojo (Jv)	2.2.3.
amat	4.2.2.
ambén	5.1.1.
ambèn	2.1.1.
ambil-tindakan	5.2.
ambin	2.1.1.
ambias	5.1.2.1., 2.2.3.
amblek	2.1.4.
ambles	2.2.3.
amit, maaturi amit, amit kombali, kaula amit	6.2.1.
amông karsa	6.2.1.
ampon	2.5.
ampuh (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
ancer-ancer (Jv, Ind)	2.2.
andika	6.2.1.
anggeriq (Ml)	2.1.1.
anggôné + verb (Jv)	4.1.4.
anggrèq (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
angker (Jv, Ind)	2.2.
anglo	2.1.2.
ani-ani (Jv)	5.5.
antem krômô (Jv)	5.4.2.
anteng (Jv, Ind)	2.2.
anu (Jv, Ind)	6.3.
apa	4.3.1., 5.3.3.1.
apen (Jv, Ind)	2.2.
apura (Jv)	6.2.1.
aria	6.2.1.
arkian (Ml)	4.3.1.
arwah (Ar)	5.5.
asbak (D)	2.1.4.
asma	6.2.2.
asmara	5.1.5.
aspect (D), aspék	2.1.4.
ataw	2.1.2.
átho	2.1.2.
ator	6.2.1.
ator salam	6.2.1.
awang-awang	2.3.4.
awét	2.2.7.
awèt (Jv)	2.1.1.

awit (Ml)	2.1.1.
awrat (Jv)	2.2.6.
ayem (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
ayo (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2.
ayuh	2.1.2.
babi-hutan	5.1.2.2.
basin (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
back (E), bék	2.1.4.
baé (Jv)	2.2.4.
bagay	2.2.4.
bagos, bagus (Jv, Ind)	5.3.3.1.
baja	2.2.6., 1.3.2.4.
bajan	2.2.4.
bajing (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
baka	2.1.3.
bakal(an) (Jv, Ind)	5.1.7.6.
bakô (Jv, Ind, Ar)	2.1.3.
baksa	6.2.1.
balay	2.1.1.
balé (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
bali (Jv)	2.2.4.
balsem, balsam	2.2.
banara, benara	2.2.4.
bandeng	5.1.1.
bangaw	2.1.2.
banget	4.2.2.
bango	2.1.2.
bangsa	2.2.4.
bangsal (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1., 5.3.1., 6.2.1.
bangsol (Jv)	2.2.6.
banjur (Jv)	4.3.1.
banténg (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
banyu (Jv, Ind)	6.2.1.
bapaq (Jv, Ind)	2.1.4.
barambit lawan	6.2.1.
barang (Ml)	4.3.2.
barang apa (Ml)	4.3.2.
barang kemana (Ml)	4.3.2.
barang -ku, -mu, -nya (Ml)	4.3.2.
barang siapa (Ml)	4.3.2., 4.4.2.
barat	5.1.2.2.

barsamsam	6.2.1.
baru	5.3.3.2.
baruna	2.2.4.
batas	1.3.2.4., 2.2.4.
*batuk (PA)	2.1.4.
batuq	2.1.4.
bawa	2.2.7.
bawah	2.2.7.
*bayang (PA)	5.5.
béa-cukay	5.2.
bedah (Jv, Ind)	5.1.3.
bedok (Jv), bedok	2.1.4.
bedôyô (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
belakang, blakang	2.2.3.
belanda	2.2.4., 5.5.
beledu	2.1.2., 2.2.4.
belérang	2.1.1.
beliau	6.1.
beligu (Ml)	2.1.2.
belirang	2.1.1.
bélôq	2.4.
belôq, blôk (Jv)	2.2.3.
belum, belom	3.3.4.2., 4.1.7.
beluku (Ml)	2.2.4.
béluq (Ml)	2.1.1.
béngkél	2.2.4., 2.1.1.
bénténg	2.1.1.
bentoq	2.2.4.
béo (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1., 2.1.2.
beradu	6.1.
berapa, brapa	2.2.3.
béraq	1.3.2.2.
beras	2.2.4.
berat, keberatan	5.4.1.
berita	2.2.4.
berôbah	2.4.
berôbah	2.4.
berontaq	5.1.3.
bersalin	6.1.
bersantap	6.1.
bersiram	6.2.1.
*berta	2.2.4.

bertélé-télé	2.1.1.
beskat (Ml)	2.2.6.
betah (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
bhāṣā (Skt)	5.2.
bhuta (Skt)	2.1.2.
bijaksana (Ml)	2.2.6.
bijén (Ml)	2.2.4.
bijil (Ml)	2.2.6.
biluq (Ml)	2.1.1.
bingkil (Ml, Jv)	2.2.4.
binting (Ml)	2.1.1.
biola (Ml)	2.2.6.
bisa	5.1.8., 5.1.2.2.
blanco (D)	2.1.2.
blangko	2.1.2.
bligo (Jv)	2.1.2.
Blitar (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3.
bôbrôq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
bôdôk	2.1.2.
boek (D)	5.2.
bôkông (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
bola-bali (Jv)	2.2.4.
bolanda (Ml)	2.2.4.
boléh	5.3.2.
*boleh -ku, *boleh-mu, boléh -nya + verb	4.4.1.
bôlôs, membôlôs	5.3.1.
bongko (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2.
bota	2.1.2.
brah, berah (Jv)	2.2.3.
brô, berô (Jv)	2.2.3.
broker (E), berokar (Ml)	2.2.
Broto (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3.
buboq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
*budak (PA)	2.1.4.
budaq (Ml)	2.1.4.
buḍaq (Jv)	2.1.4.
buḍek (Jv), budek	2.1.4.
buḍug (Jv)	2.1.2.
buka	2.1.3.
*buka (PA)	2.1.3.
bukô (Jv)	2.1.3.

bulay (Ml)	2.1.1.
bule (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
bumbu (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
bunglôn (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
bunting (Ml)	6.1.
bupati (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
buroh (Jv, Ind)	5.1.3.
buta-warna	5.2.
butô (Jv)	2.1.2.
butuh (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2., 5.1.8.
cabay (Ml)	2.1.1.
cabé (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
cabé-rawit (Jv, Ind)	2.3.4.
cagaq (Jv)	2.1.4.
camat (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
canting (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
candra	5.1.5.
cap (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
cap (E)	2.1.1.
capay (Ml)	2.1.1.
capé	2.1.1.
cekor (Ml)	5.1.2.2.
celop (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
céndôl (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
ceréwét	5.1.2.1.
cébôl (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
céléng (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
cénggég (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1., 5.1.6.
coba	2.1.2., 6.3.
conferentie	2.2.4.
côcôk	2.1.4.
côkôr	5.1.3.
côngôr	5.1.3.
cuba	2.1.2.
dalang	1.2.2.5., 5.1.1.
dalem	6.2.2.
daluwarsa	5.1.3.
danaw	5.1.2.2.
dapat	5.1.2.2.
dapet, dapat	2.2.
daqérah	2.2.4.

darma	5.1.5.
dawlat	6.1.
degan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
dénéng	3.4.3.
dengkol (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
deket, dekat	2.2.
derebar, driver (E)	2.2.4.
dering	2.1.2.
déwan	2.2.7.
déwasa	2.1.1.
déwi	2.2.7.
diciduk	1.3.2.2.
digunduli	5.1.6.
dinamo (D)	2.1.2.
dinamu	2.1.2.
dipati	6.2.1.
diséq (Jv)	2.5.
divaçā (Skt)	2.1.1.
doctor (D), dôktôr, dôkter (Jv, Ind)	2.2.
domingo (Port)	2.1.2.
dosin	2.1.2.
dozijn (D)	2.1.2.
dôdôt (Jv)	2.
dôl gadé	5.4.1.
dôm (Jv)	5.5.
driver (E), derébar	2.2., 2.2.6.
dukô (Jv), kulô nyuwon dukô (Jv)	5.6., 6.1.
dukun (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
dungu (Ml)	5.1.2.2.
Durna	1.2.2.5.
durong (Jv)	4.1.7.
*durug (PA)	2.1.4.
duzin (Ml)	2.1.2.
duwé (Jv)	2.2.3.
dwi (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3.
dwi-windu (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3.
Dwidjo (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3.
*ḍabuk (PA)	2.1.4.
ḍahar (Jv)	6.1.
ḍawuq (Jv)	2.1.4.
ḍéwé (Jv)	5.3.3.2.
ḍôḍôk (Jv)	2.1.4.

*ḍugḍug (PA)	2.1.4.
emas (ayer _____)	6.2.1.
embah (Jv)	5.1.1.
emban (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
emboh, aku tamboh (Jv)	5.6.
emôh (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1., 5.1.7.6.
*(e)kelewarga	2.2.6.
engko (Jv)	2.5.
édan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2., 5.1.7.6.
édap	2.3.1.
édar	2.3.1.
émpér	5.1.1.
és dawet	2.2.7., 5.1.1.
espingarda (Port)	2.1.1.
éyang (Jv)	6.2.2.
gabah (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
gabak (Jv, Ind)	2.1.4.
gado (Jv)	5.1.2.1.
gado-gado (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2., 5.1.1.
gagal (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
gambang (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
gamelan (Jv, Ind)	1.2.2.5., 5.1.1.
gandin (Ml)	2.1.1.
gandèn	2.1.1.
gandrung (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
ganyang (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
gara-gara	1.2.2.5., 5.1.1.
gatra	5.1.3.
gawat (Jv, Ind)	2.3.4., 5.1.5.
gayeng (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1., 5.1.2.1.
gerah (Jv)	6.1., 6.2.2.
gerayaq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
gering	6.1.
geringsing (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
germô (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3., 5.1.2.1.
gérông (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
gestapu	1.2.2.5.
gedé	2.1.1.
gedék	2.1.4., 5.1.1.
gedèk (Jv), gedék	2.1.4.
gedôk (Jv), gedôk	2.1.4.

gelèḍèk (Jv), gelédéq	2.1.4.
gelugu (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
gendèr (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
gendir (Ml)	2.1.1.
genténg	2.1.1.
genting (Ml)	2.1.1.
gila	5.1.2.2.
giwang	2.2.7.
gégér (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
géndông	5.1.2.1.
génjah (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
glèḍèk (Jv), gelèḍèk	2.2.3.
gladak (Jv), geladaq	2.1.4.
godèk (Jv), godék	2.1.4.
gogo, tari agogo	2.1.3.
goréng	5.1.2.2.
gorés	2.1.1.
gôblôk (Jv, Ind)	2.1.4., 5.1.2.2., 5.1.3.
gôḍôk (Jv), godok	2.1.4., 5.1.2.2.
gôgô (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3., 5.1.1.
gông (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
gônô-gini (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3.
gôsông (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
gôtông (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
gudek	5.1.1.
guḍek (Jv), gudek	2.1.4., 5.1.1.
guḍik (Jv), gudik	2.1.4.
gurem (Jv, Ind)	2.2.
gurih (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
guris (Ml)	2.1.1.
gusti (Jv, Ind)	6.2.1.
grebek (Jv)	2.1.4.
grobak (Jv)	2.1.4.
hadus (Ml)	6.2.1.
hak	2.2.4.
hakékat	2.1.1.
hakikat (Ml)	2.1.1.
hakiykat (Ar)	2.1.1.
halia (Ml)	5.1.2.2.
Hamengkubuwono (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3.
hamil	6.1.

hanglo (Ch)	2.1.2.
hantam krômô	5.4.2.
harimaw	5.1.2.2.
hastana (Ml)	6.2.1.
hator periksa, menghatorkan (Ml)	6.2.2.
hatta (Ml)	4.3.1.
heiho (Jap)	2.1.2.
hidup	2.2.4.
hinggi (Ml)	6.2.1.
holland (D)	2.2.6.
hulun, ulun (Ml)	6.2.1.
ia	2.3.3., 6.1.
ialah	2.3.3.
lbrahim	2.1.3.
ibu-peritwi	5.1.5.
idap (Ml)	2.3.1.
idar (Ml)	2.3.1.
ijôn	5.1.1.
imbuhan	1.3.2.3.
incer (Jv, Ind)	2.2.
isapan-jempôl	5.2.
isnain (Ar)	5.5.
istinggar (Ml)	2.1.1.
istirahat	5.1.2.2.
istana	6.1.
itu	6.3.
iuran	2.3.3.
jaé (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1., 5.1.2.2.
jago (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2.
*jajag (PA)	2.1.4.
jajak (Jv)	2.1.4.
jaka-tingting	5.1.6.
jampana (Ml)	6.2.1.
janda-menyala	5.4.1.
jangan	4.1.7.
janor (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
jaraq	5.1.1.
jawil (Jv)	2.3.4.
jawôtô (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
jebol, jebul-jebulé	5.4.1.
jejaka	5.1.5.

jejaq	2.1.4.
*jejeg (PA)	2.1.4.
jejek (Jv)	2.1.4.
jempôl(an) (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
jénggôt	5.1.2.2.
jéngkél	5.1.2.2.
jitu (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
joglo (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
jompo (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
jôtôs (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
jual gaday	5.4.1.
jumahat, jumaqat, iumat, jumaqat	2.1.4.
juru-rawat	5.1.3.
kadayan	2.1.1.
kadé(y)an (Jv)	2.1.1.
kagungan (Jv, Ml)	6.2.1.
kagungan dalam (Ml)	6.2.1.
kala	2.1.3.
*kala (PA)	2.1.3.
kalaw	5.3.3.2.
kali (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
kalông (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
kamprét	2.2.3.
kamul (Ml)	6.2.1.
kancil (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
kang rama (Ml)	6.2.1.
kang rayi (Ml)	6.2.1.
kangen (Jv, Ind)	2.2., 5.1.2.2.
kantong	2.1.2.
kantung (Ml)	2.1.2.
karsa	6.2.1., 6.2.2.
kartika	5.1.5.
kaspé (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
katay (Ml)	2.1.1.
katé (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
katol (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
kaula (Ml)	2.1.3., 6.2.1.
kaula pengiran (Ml)	6.2.1.
kawaq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
kawi (Jv, Ind)	2.3.4.
kawulô (Jv)	2.1.3., 6.1.
kaya	5.1.7.6.

ke belakang	1.3.2.2.
kebo (Jv)	2.1.2.
kelakuan	5.1.2.2.
keliat	2.2.7.
kelir	5.1.1.
keliru terima	5.4.1.
keliwat	2.2.7.
keliwatan	2.2.7., 2.3.4.
k(e)liwôn (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
keluarga	2.2.6., 2.2.7.
keluwih, keluih (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
kemban, kemben	5.1.1.
kembang	5.1.5., 5.3.3.1.
kena apa	2.5.
kenapa	2.5.
kencor (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
kepala-somah	5.2.
kepingin (Jv)	2.1.1.
kepingin	2.1.1.
kepribadian (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3.
keranjingan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
kerasan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
k(e)ratôn (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
kerbaw	2.1.2.
keré (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
keripiq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
k(e)riwil (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
keroq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
kesal	5.1.2.2.
kewajipan	2.2.7.
kélôr (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
kéncô (Jv)	2.1.1.
kéôk (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
kéq	2.5.
kéré (Jv, Ind)	2.4.
khamis (Ar)	5.5.
ki (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
kidol (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
kilo	2.1.2.
kinca (Ml)	2.1.1.
kiôs	2.2.7.
kip (Ml)	2.1.1.

kiprah (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
kirô-kirô	4.3.2.
kirangan, kulô kirang mangertôs (Jv)	5.6.
kirap (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
kirô2 (Jv)	4.3.2.
kitab (Ar)	5.3.2.
kitab	5.3.2.
klaṭèn (Jv)	2.2.3.
kleniq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
klèru-tômpô (Jv)	5.4.1.
kliwôn (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3., 2.2.7.
koffer (D), kôpôr, kôper (Jv, Ind)	2.2.
komperéngsi	2.2.4.
komperénsi	2.2.4.
kondur (Jv, Ml)	6.2.2.
kota	2.1.2., 5.2.
kota-gedé	5.2.
kota-madya	5.2.
kobis (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2.
ko séq (Jv)	2.5.
kôlô (Jv)	2.1.3.
kôlôt (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
kôncô (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3., 5.1.7.6.
kônferénsi	2.2.4.
kônperénsi	2.2.4.
kôpi tubroq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
kôq (Jv, Ind)	1.2.2.1., 5.1.7.
kôruptor	2.2.
kratôn (Jv, Ind)	1.2.2.6.
kricaq, kerî caq (Jv)	2.2.3.
kritiek (D), kritik	2.1.4.
krômô (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
krupoq, kerupoq (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3.
kuasa	2.2.4.
kubis (Ml)	2.1.2.
kula (Ml)	2.2.4.
*kula-bangsa	2.2.6.
*kula barga	2.2.6.
kula-wangsa (Ml)	2.2.4.
kuloq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.

kulôn (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
kulôwargô (Jv)	2.2.4
kulô-wôngsô (Jv)	2.2.6.
kunir (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
kunô (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3., 5.1.2.1.
kunyit (Ml)	5.1.2.2.
kuping (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
kusuma	5.1.5.
kuta	2.1.2.
kuṭa (Skt)	2.1.2.
kuwajipan (Jv)	2.2.7.
kuwèn (Jv), kuini	2.2.3.
kwalitét, kwalita	2.2.3.
kwitansi, kuwi tangsi (Jv)	2.2.3:
kyai (Jv)	6.2.1.
lagi (Jv, Ind)	5.1.7.6., 5.3.3.2.
lahir, melahirkan	6.1.
lajeng (Jv)	4.3.1.
lakôn (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2., 5.1.1.
lakun (Ml)	2.1.2.
lalu	4.3.1.
lali	3.3.1.1.
landayan (Ml)	2.1.1.
landé(y)an (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
langgana (Ml)	6.2.1.
langgar (Jv, Ind)	5.1.8.
*langit, langit (Jv), langit	2.1.3.
lantaran	5.1.7.6.
lantas	4.3.1.
laôh	2.2.7.
laôs	5.1.2.2.
lawé	2.1.1.
lawét	2.2.7.
lawi	2.2.7.
lawu (Jv)	2.2.7.
layat (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
layuan (Ml)	6.2.1.
lega (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
legô (Jv)	2.1.3.
lembéq (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
lembaliq (Ml)	2.1.1.

lembu (Ml, Jv)	5.1.2.2.
lembur (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
lemper (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
lengkuas (Ml)	5.1.2.2.
lenté (Ml)	2.1.1.
léwat	2.1.1.
lha (Jv, Ind)	5.1.7.
lho (Jv, Ind)	5.1.7.
libur (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
linggih (Jv, Ml)	6.2.1.
liwat (Jv, Ml)	2.1.1.
lobang	2.1.2.
lonté (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
losin (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2.
lotré	2.4.
loyo (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2., 5.1.2.1.
lôndô (Jv)	2.2.6.
lot(e)rê	2.4.
lubang (Ml)	2.1.2.
lumayan	5.1.2.1.
lumiring (Ml)	6.2.1.
lunggoh (Jv)	5.1.1.
lurah (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
luriq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
luruk (Jv)	2.1.4.
lusin (Ml)	2.1.2.
lutut	5.1.2.2.
luwes (Jv, Ind)	2.2., 5.1.2.1.
maaraq (Ml)	6.2.1.
maator (Ml)	6.2.1.
maaturi (Ml)	6.2.1.
macan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
macem-macem, macam-macam	2.2.
maha-siswa	5.2.
mahayapkan (Ml)	6.2.1.
mahistukan (Ml)	6.2.1.
maka (Ml)	4.3.1.
malam	5.1.1.
males, malas	2.2.
maling (Jv, Ind)	5.1.7.6.
mana, bagaymana bisa	5.6.
mana-suka	5.5.

mancatu (Ml)	6.2.1.
mandek (Jv, Ind)	2.1.4., 2.2.
mang (Jv)	2.5.
mangampil (Ml)	6.2.1.
mangkat (Jv, Ml)	6.2.1.
mangkel, mengkal	2.2.
manira (Ml)	6.2.1.
mantap, mantep	2.2., 5.1.2.1.
mantoq (Jv, Ml)	6.2.1.
marem (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
mas (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
masa(q), masakan begitu	5.6.
masuk-angin (Ml, Jv)	5.5.
masuk kotaq	5.4.1.
mat-matan	5.1.1.
mata-hari	2.5.
matang, mateng (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
matari, metari	2.5.
mati-rôgô (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
maunjung (Ml)	6.2.1.
mawas-diri (Jv, Ind)	2.3.4.
mawôn (Jv)	2.5.
mbako (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3.
mbaqyu (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2., 5.1.1.
mbetawi (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
mboya (Jv)	2.1.3.
mbôlôls (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
mbôq (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2., 5.1.7.
mbôqmenôwô (Jv)	2.5.
mbôrông (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
meester (D), méstér, mèster (Jv)	2.2.
mekar	5.1.5.
melempem (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
melongo (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
men (Jv)	2.5.
mengko (Jv)	2.5.
mengko diséq (Jv)	2.5.
menikô (Jv)	2.5.
menjangan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
menôpô (Jv)	2.5.
menôwô (Jv)	2.5.
menumpuki	2.1.4.

menyampiri (Ml)	6.2.1.
merang (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
merengut (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
meringis (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
merôngôs (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
meter (D), méter, mèter (Jv)	2.2.
méseem-simpol	5.2.
minggu	2.1.2.
mlebu koṭaq (Jv)	5.4.1.
modar (Jv, Ind)	5.1.4.
modern (D), modéren, modèren (Jv)	2.2.
moga-moga	2.3.2.
morka (Ml)	6.1.
moto	2.1.2.
motto (Jap)	2.1.2.
môgôl (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
môgôq (Jv, Ind)	1.3.2.3., 5.1.2.1., 5.1.3.
môhôn	6.1.
môhôn keterangan	6.2.2.
môhôn maqaf	6.2.2.
môhôn pamit	6.2.2.
môhôn pengéstu	6.2.2.
môhôn periksa	6.2.2.
môhôn pinjam	6.2.2.
môngsô (Jv), môngsô kôyô ngono, môngsô ngono	5.6.
mônô-sukô (Jv)	5.5.
môntôk (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
mudah-mudahan (Ind)	4.3.2.
mugô-mugô (Jv)	2.3.2., 4.3.2.
mular (Jv, Ml)	6.2.1.
mulia	2.2.4.
muljadi (Jv, Ind)	2.2.4.
mulyô (Jv)	2.2.4.
nanggap (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
naséhat	2.1.1., 2.3.1.
nasihat (Ml)	2.1.1., 2.3.1.
nasiyhat (Ar)	2.1.1.
ndemaq (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
ndongéng (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
ndôngkôl (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
ndôró (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3., 2.2.2.

nerimô (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
nèng mburi (Jv)	1.3.2.2.
nga-, nge- (Sun)	3.1.1.
ngak-ngik-ngôk (Jv, Ind)	1.3.2.2., 5.1.6.
ngandika (Ml)	6.2.1.
ngapurô (Jv)	2.5.
ngaray (Ml)	2.1.1.
ngaré (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
ngaso (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2., 5.1.2.2.
ngasuh (Ml)	2.1.2.
ngawor (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
ngebot (Jv, Ind)	5.1.3.
ng(e)lômprôt (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3.
ngganteng (Jv, Ind)	2.2., 5.1.2.1.
nggaq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.7.6.
nggembôs (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
nggrayaq (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
nggubris (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
ngiler (Jv, Ind)	5.1.6.
ngocéh (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
ngompréng, ompréng, kompréng (Jv, Ind)	1.3.3., 5.1.6.
ngôbrôl (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
ngôlôr (Jv, Ind)	5.1.6.
ngôyô (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
nikô (Jv)	2.5.
njagalan (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
njambrét (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
njéwér (Jv, Ind)	2.2.2.
nôngkrông (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
nôntôn (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
nôpô (Jv)	2.5.
nuwon (Jv), mator nuwon (Jv)	5.6.
nuwon sèwu pangapunten (Jv)	5.6.
nyenén-kemis (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1., 5.5.
nyôlông (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
nyuwon (Jv)	6.1.
noun + numeral	4.2.1.
olah-raga	2.1.2., 2.3.2., 5.1.3.
olanda	2.2.6.
olèh (Jv)	4.1.4., 5.3.2.
ora (Jv)	2.1.3., 3.5.2., 4.1.7.

ora perlu (Jv)	4.1.7.
ora susah (Jv)	4.1.7.
ôjô (Jv)	4.1.7.
ômông	5.1.7.6.
ômông-kôsông	5.2.
ônten (Jv)	2.5.
ôpô (Jv)	5.3.3.1.
ôtôt (Jv, Ind)	5.5.
pabean (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
pada	5.1.7.6.
padi gogo	2.1.3.
(Paduka) mator (Jv, Ml)	6.2.1.
pagelaran (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
pakanira (Jv, Ml)	6.2.1.
pakay	3.2.2.
pamit (Jv, Ml)	5.1.1.
pamong desa	5.1.1.
pamong praja	2.2.3., 5.1.1.
pamrih (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
pangapuro (Jv)	2.5.
panitera	5.1.3.
panday	2.1.1., 5.1.2.2.
pandir (Ml)	5.1.2.2.
panembrama	5.1.1.
panén	5.1.1.
panèn (Jv)	5.5.
paniek (D), panik	2.1.4.
pantat (Ml)	5.1.2.2.
pantay	5.1.2.2.
panti (Jv, Ind)	5.1.5.
panti-asuhan	5.2.
papaq (Jv), papak (Jv)	2.1.4.
parama-sastra	5.1.3.
paq (Jv, Ind)	1.3.2.2., 5.1.1.
paré (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
paripurna	5.1.3.
parlenté (Jv, Ml)	2.1.1.
paséban (Jv, Ml)	5.1.1.
pataq (Ml)	6.2.1.
patéq (Ml)	6.1.
pebian (Ml)	2.1.1.

pecal, pecel	2.2., 5.1.1.
pedôman	5.5.
pekarangan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
pelonco (Jv, Ind)	5.1.3.
pélôk (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
pemasukan	2.1.4.
pemberian	6.1.
pendadaran (Jv, Ind)	5.1.3.
pendoq	2.1.2.
penduq (Ml)	2.1.2.
pendôpô, pendapa (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3., 5.1.1.
pendôq (Jv)	2.1.2.
penéwu (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
pengantèn (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1.
pengantin (Ml)	2.1.1.
pengéran (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
pengiran (Ml)	6.2.1.
perang gerilya	2.2.4.
perang gorila	2.2.4.
perang tanding (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
perasaan, prasaan	2.2.3.
perawan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.5.
perempuan	2.2.6.
peréwangan (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
p(e)rimbôn (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3.
perlintih (Ml)	2.1.1.
perlu	5.1.2.2.
persembahan	6.1.
perwira-tinggi	5.2.
pesisir (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
petilan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
pérang	2.1.1.
péso (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2.
pétah	2.1.1., 2.3.1.
petje (D)	2.1.1.
Pétruk	1.2.2.5.
pèyèq udang	5.4.2.
pèyèq urang (Jv)	5.4.2.
pici	2.1.1.
pidana	1.3.2.3., 5.1.3.
pidato (Ming)	2.2.1.
pilek (Jv), pilek	2.1.4., 2.2.

pinter	2.2., 5.1.2.2.
pirang	2.1.1.
pisau	2.1.2.
pitah	2.1.1., 2.3.1.
plin-plan	1.3.3.
plintat-plintut	5.1.6.
plôk, pelôq (Jv)	2.2.3.
plonco, pelonco	2.1.2.
pohon	2.1.2.
pola (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
pôjôq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
pôlôwijô (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3.
prakārā (Skt), prakôrô (Jv), perkara	2.2.3.
praktijk (D), perakték	2.1.4.
prathama (Skt), pratômô (Jv), pertama	2.2.3.
presidén	2.2.3.
pria	2.2.3., 6.2.2.
pribadi	6.2.2.
prihatin (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3., 5.1.1.
Prijono (Jv, Ind)	2.2.3.
primbôn (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
puas	5.1.2.2.
puhun (Ml)	2.1.2.
pulaw	2.1.2.
pulo (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2.
punya	3.2.2.
puspa	5.1.5.
putera	6.2.2.
putera-wayah	6.2.2.
puteri	6.2.2.
question words: kapan, bila(mana), mengapa	4.2.3.
rada	5.1.7.6.
radén	2.2.1.
radèn (Jv)	2.1.1.
radin (Ml)	2.1.1.
radio (D, Ind)	2.1.2.
raka	6.2.1.
raksasa	5.1.1.
rama	6.2.1.

rames (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
raôn	2.2.7.
rapat raksasa	5.2.
ratu (Jv, Ind)	6.2.1.
rawon (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
rayi (Jv, Ind)	6.2.1.
rebap (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
rebos	5.1.2.2.
rekaqat (Ar, Ind)	2.1.4.
reken (D), rekan, rèken (Jv)	2.2.
rempah-rempah	5.1.2.2.
rendang	5.1.2.2.
republik (D), republik	2.1.4.
rerungkutan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.5.
reserve (D), serap	2.2.
real (Sp)	2.1.1.
reda	2.3.1.
rédla	2.3.1.
rél	2.3.1.
réla	2.3.1.
rénda	2.4.
répôt	5.1.2.1.
réwél	2.2.7., 5.1.2.1.
rial (Ml)	2.1.1.
ridla	2.3.1.
rigi	6.2.1.
ril	2.3.1.
rindu	5.1.2.2.
robah	2.1.2.
roda	2.4.
rôda	2.4.
rôh	2.1.2.
rômô (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3., 5.1.1.
rôngô mènèr (Jv)	5.4.1.
rôngrông (Jv, Ind)	5.1.3.
ruah (Jv, Ind)	5.5.
rubah	2.1.2.
ruh, ruh (Ar)	2.1.2.
rujaq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
rumah	6.1.
rupa	2.2.6.
rusa	5.1.2.2.

ruwet (Jv, Ind), ruét, ruwét	2.2.
saben (Jv, Ind)	5.1.7.6.
saja	
apa _____	
siapa _____	
kemana _____	
apa _____ yang	
nanti _____	
sekian _____	4.3.2.
saking . . . -(n)é. . . (Jv)	4.1.5.
saking + (nominal)-nya	4.1.5.
salah terima	5.4.1.
saléh	2.1.3.
salira (Ml)	6.2.1.
sampéyan	2.5.
sampian (Ml)	6.2.1.
sampon (Jv)	2.5.
sana	2.1.3.
sangat	4.2.2.
sangit (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
santer (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
sapi (Jv, Ind)	1.2.2.
saq barang (Jv)	4.3.2.
saqat	2.1.4.
saraséhan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
sareng, saréng (Jv, Ind)	2.2.
saré (Jv)	6.1.
sari-arinya	2.5.
sarual	6.2.1.
satay (M)	2.1.1.
saté (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1., 2.4.
sauh (Ml)	2.1.2., 2.2.7.
sawah	2.2.7.
sawi	2.2.7.
sawit	2.2.7.
sawo (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2., 2.2.7., 5.1.1.
suwuh	2.1.2.
saya	4.1.1., 4.1.2.
sayaq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
sebarang	4.3.2.
sebelah, seblah	2.2.3.
sehari-harinya	2.5.

*seksek (PA)	2.1.4.
selapanan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
selatan	5.1.2.2.
selawé (Jv)	2.1.1.
selôp (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
semar (Jv), super semar	1.2.2.5.
sembrônô (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
sendal (Jv, Ind)	5.1.8.
sendiri	5.3.3.2.
senggaqan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
separo (Jv, Ind)	2.1.2.
separuh	2.1.2.
sepélé	2.1.1.
sepet (Jv), sepat	5.1.2.1.
serakah (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
serem (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
serem (Jv), seram	2.2.
serikat-buroh	5.2.
serimpi (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
serôbôt (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
sesek (Jv)	2.1.4.
setagén (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
sewajarnya	2.2.7.
séhat	2.1.1.
séng (Jv)	4.4.2.
séng + adjective (enggang + adjective)	4.1.6.
sépaq	2.1.1., 2.4.
sépaq, sipaq	5.1.2.2.
sépét	2.1.1.
séq (Jv)	2.5.
séri	2.4.
séwôkô (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
séwu (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
sharikat (Ar)	5.2.
siang-bôlông	5.2.
sihat (Ml)	2.1.1.
sikot (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
siku (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
silá (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
silahkan	6.3.
sindén (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.

sipaq (Ml)	2.1.1.
sipat (Ml)	2.2.6., 5.1.2.2.
sipit	2.1.1.
sirep (Jv, Ind)	2.2.
sitinggil, sitit hinggil (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
siuman	2.2.7.
siwah	2.2.7.
Slamet (Jv)	2.2.3.
sléndro (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
Solo (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3.
soré (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1., 2.4.
sorjan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
soré	2.4.
sôgôq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.6.
sôkô guru (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3.
sôléh	2.1.3.
sôngsông (Jv, Ind)	6.2.1.
sônô	2.1.3.
sôpô séng	4.4.2.
sôq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
sri, seri (Jv)	2.2.3.
sriwulan (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
Subandriyo (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3.
sudah	5.3.3.2.
sudot	5.1.2.2.
Suharto (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3.
suhun (Jv)	6.2.1.
Sukarno (Jv, Ind)	2.1.3.
suling (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
suloq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
sumalah (Jv, Ml)	6.2.1.
sundep, sundap (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
sungay	5.1.2.2.
Surabaya	2.1.3.
Surakarta	2.1.3.
surat permôhônân	6.2.2.
suria	2.2.4.
Surjadi (Jv, Ind)	2.2.4.
Suroboyo (Jv)	2.1.3.
surya	5.1.5.
suryô (Jv)	2.2.4.
susah	2.5.

susoq	5.1.1.
sungguh	4.2.2.
surat perintah sebelas maret	1.2.2.5.
swargi (Jv, Ind)	6.2.1.
tabaco (Sp)	2.1.2.
tabôq (Jv)	2.1.4.
tagih (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
tahan	5.1.2.2.
tai	1.3.2.2.
tambo (Ming)	2.1.2.
tamu (Jv, Ml)	6.2.2.
tamu agong (Jv, Ind)	6.2.2.
tanpa	2.2.4.
taon	2.2.7.
taq (Jv)	3.3.4.2., 3.5.2., 4.1.1., 4.1.2., 4.1.6.
taq plus verb -(n)é	4.1.1., 4.1.2.
tata-bahasa	5.2.
tata-buku	5.2.
tata-cara	5.1.1.
tau	2.2.7., 5.6.
tawan-hati, menawan-hati	5.2.
tawan (Jv, Ind)	2.3.4.
tawôn	2.2.7.
tawbat	2.3.2.
tayungan (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
tegal (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
tekèq (Jv)	2.1.4.
*tekik (PA)	2.1.4.
telaga	5.1.2.2.
telédéq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
telinga	5.1.2.2.
tembakaw	2.1.2.
tembang (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
tendang (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.2.
tenan (Jv)	4.2.2.
tengah hari	2.5.
tengari	2.5.
terpédo	2.1.2.
teruna	1.3.2.4., 5.1.3.
têko (Ch, Ind)	2.1.2., 2.4.
témpé (Jv, Ind)	2.1.1., 5.1.1.

témpé delé (Jv, Ind)	5.4.2.
témpé kedelay	5.4.2.
ténja (Jv, Ind)	1.3.2.2.
téwas	2.1.1.
tidaq	4.1.7.
tiké	2.1.1.
tindaq pidana	5.1.3.
tingkep (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
tinju	5.1.2.2.
tiwas, téwas	2.1.1., 2.3.1., 6.2.2.
tiwol (Jv, Ind)	2.2.7.
Tjokroaminoto	2.2.3.
tobat	2.3.2.
tolong	2.1.2.
torpedo (D)	2.1.2.
tô (Jv, Ind)	5.1.7.
tôq (Jv, Ind)	5.1.7.6.
tôk-cér (Jv, Ind)	5.1.2.1.
tôkéq	2.1.3.
tôlông	6.3.
traktôr	2.2.
trek	5.5.
trenggileng (Jv), tenggileng	2.2.3.
truck (E), trek	2.1.4.
tulis	5.1.1.
tulung	2.1.2.
tuna aksara	6.2.2.
tuna karya	6.2.2.
tuna nétra	6.2.2.
tuna susila	6.2.2.
tuna wisma	6.2.2.
tupay	5.1.2.2.
tutok (Jv), tutoq (Jv)	2.1.4.
ujung-ujungnya	5.4.1.
ulah-rôgô	2.1.2., 2.3.2.
umor	6.1.
*u(n)tek (PA)	2.1.4.
urét	5.1.1.
urip	2.2.6.
*uRat (PA)	5.5.
usah	2.5.

usia	6.1.
utaba (Mad)	2.1.2.
uta vā (Skt)	2.1.2.
utôwô (Jv)	2.1.2.
utek (Jv)	2.1.4., 5.1.3.
utusan	6.1.
uvāca (Skt)	2.2.6.
uyôn-uyôn	5.1.1.
vac (Skt)	2.2.6.
vança (Skt)	2.2.6.
varga (Skt)	2.2.6., 5.5.
varṇa (Skt)	5.5.
varuna (Skt)	2.2.6.
veludo (Port)	2.1.2., 2.2.6.
verb plus -nya	4.1.2.
vicaksana (Skt)	2.2.6.
viola (Port)	2.2.6.
vṛtta (Skt)	2.2.6.
wadah (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
wadoq (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6., 5.1.3.
waé (Jv)	2.2.6., 2.5., 4.3.2.
sôpô waé (Jv)	4.3.2.
ôpô waé (Jv)	4.3.2.
ngendi waé (Jv)	4.3.2.
semono waé (Jv)	4.3.2.
mengko waé (Jv)	4.3.2.
wagai (Tm)	2.2.6.
wahyu (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
waja (Jv, Ind)	1.3.2.4., 2.2.6., 5.1.5.
wajan (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
wajar (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6., 2.2.7.
wajib	2.2.6., 2.2.7.
waktu	2.2.7.
walang sangit (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
walasan (Ml)	2.2.6.
wali	2.2.6.
walikukun (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
wangi (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6., 5.1.5.
wangsol	2.2.6.
wanita	2.2.6., 6.2.2.
wannara (Tm)	2.2.6.

waras (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
warga (Jv, Ind)	5.5.
warga-negara	5.2.
warna	5.5.
warip (Ml)	2.2.6.
waris (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
warong (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
warta	2.2.6.
warta-berita	2.2.6., 5.2.
wasiat	6.2.1.
waspada	2.2.6., 5.1.2.1., 5.1.5.
wastu	6.2.1.
wataq	2.2.6., 5.1.2.2.
watas	1.3.2.4., 2.2.6., 5.1.5.
watuq (Jv)	2.1.4.
wawancara	1.3.2.3., 2.2.6.
wayang (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1., 5.1.3., 5.5.
wejangan (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6., 5.1.5.
wekdal (Jv)	2.2.6.
wektu (Jv)	2.2.6.
welandi (Jv)	2.2.6.
welôndô (Jv)	2.2.6.
weluku (Jv)	2.2.6.
wewenang (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
wédang jaé (Jv, Ind)	5.1.1.
wérek, wérék	2.2.6., 5.5.
wés (Jv)	5.3.3.2.
wibawa (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
wijèn (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
wijil (Jv)	2.2.6.
wilayah (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
wirang (Jv)	5.1.2.1.
Wirjono (Jv)	2.2.4.
wisuda	5.1.3.
wola-wali (Jv)	2.2.6.
wolôndô (Jv, Ml)	2.2.6.
wônten (Jv)	2.5.
wôs (Jv)	2.2.6.
wujot (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
wuku (Jv, Ind)	2.2.6.
Wabah	2.2.6.

Wafat	2.2.6.
Wahan	2.2.6.
waistcoat (E), beskat	2.2., 2.2.6.
Wakaf	2.2.6.
Waren	2.2.6.
Wésel	2.2.6.
Wésket	2.2.6.
Wét	2.2.6.
Winkel (D), bingkil, bengkel	2.1.1., 2.2., 2.2.6.
Wortel	2.2.6.
ya	2.3.3.
yalah	2.3.3.
yang	2.3.3., 4.4.2.
yang plus adjective	4.1.6.
yayaan (Jv, Ind)	2.3.3., 5.1.3.
yayi (Jv, Ind)	2.3.3.
yèn (Jv)	5.3.3.2.
yogia (Jv, Ind)	2.3.3.
yuda	2.3.3.
yuran	2.3.3.
yuyu (Jv, Ind)	2.3.3.
*ZaRum (PA)	5.5.

