

# Standard vs. Peripheral Javanese Dialects: The Lexical Evidence

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# Outline of the Talk

- Javanese Dialect Mapping Project: JFS
- What are the 'peripheral' dialects? How are they characterized?
- Lexical Remnants? Non-Javanese, apparently non-Austronesian lexical elements
- Is there a lexical substratum?

# Javanese Dialect Mapping Project

## Jakarta Field Station

- J Javanese
  - JW West Javanese
    - JWB Banten
    - JWC Cirebon
  - JC Central Javanese
    - JCPT Tegal
    - JCPP Pemalang
    - JCPK Pekalongan
    - JCY Yogyakarta
    - JCS Surakarta/Solo
    - JCBC Cilacap
    - JCBP Purwokerto
    - JCBK Kebumen
- JE East Javanese
  - JES Surabaya
  - JEM Malang
  - JEK Kediri
  - JED Madiun
  - JEL Lumajang
  - JEO Osing
  - JEB Banyuwangi
  - JETN Ngadas (Tengger)
  - JETR Ranu Pane (Tengger)
- JO Outer Javanese
  - JOP Papuan Javanese

# Project Goals

- Collect naturalist speech recordings
- Create searchable database, filemaker
- Create word lists with specific usage areas
- Focus on depth of recordings, breadth in time
- Focus on non-'standard' dialects
- Open source, i.e. share data

# Standard Javanese

- Taken to represent the Yogya/Solo dialects
- Most often described in grammars, dictionaries, etc.
- Phonology:
  - Vowel Raising and Vowel Harmony
    - /teka/ ‘come’      [təkɔ]
    - /mata/ ‘eye’      [mɔtɔ]

- Morphosyntax
  - Elaborate paradigm of applicative verbal suffixes, coding for valence, mood, benefactive, etc

Mood	Voice	Prefix	Neutral	Appl. I	Appl. II
Indicative	Active	N-	∅	-i	-ake
	Pass I	tak-/kok-/di-		-i	-ake
	Pass II	Ke-		-an	∅
Imperative	Active	N-	-a	-ana	-na
	Pass I	∅	-en	-ana	-na
Propositive	Active	(aku) tak N-	∅	-i	-ake
	Pass I	tak-	-e	-ane	-ne
Subjunctive	Active	N-	-a	-ana	-na
	Pass I	tak-/kok-/di-	-en	-na	-na

- Sociolinguistic: fully articulated speech level system

Englis h	Ngoko	Madyo	Krama	Krama Andhap	Krama Inggil
say	kandha	sanjang	criyos	matur	ngendika
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	kowe		sampeyan		penjeneng an
1 <sup>st</sup> person	aku		kula	dalem	



- Many of these defining features, are not present in many other dialects of Javanese
- In fact, it turns out that each of the three highlighted features is a fairly recent development
- Clynes (1994), among others, provides convincing evidence from Balinese borrowings that the elaborate speech level system is an earlier innovation than once thought

- The speech level system probably arose in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries out of the highly stratified courts of Mataram (post Majapahit)
- Early lexical borrowings show that during the Old/Middle Javanese period, this same kind of structure had not yet developed, e.g. 'eat'

Jav: mangan

nedha/i

dhahar

Sud: dahar

tuang

- Similarly, the vowel raising and vowel harmony patterns are recent innovations
- They are not present in Old/Middle Javanese

	‘ten’	‘village’
OJ	[dasa]	[desa]
MJ	[dɔsɔ]	[desɔ]

OJ from Hunter (1999)

- OJ also relied much more heavily on an elaborate verbal prefix and infix paradigm, though it was also rich in applicative endings

OJ pa-/ka-

ma-/a-

-in-/-um-

# SO?

- The 'standard' dialects turn out to be the most innovative
- These innovations spread out radially from the center, though unevenly
- Not necessarily affected by geographical distance

# JAVA



# Banyumas

- Phonology: no vowel raising, no harmony
- 1. Ya neg ana wong mlebu nyong bukag gerbang thog  
*ya if exist person enter 1sg open gate only*  
*'If someone comes in, I'll just open the gate'*  
ya = [ya] \*[yo]  
ana = [ana] \*[ɔnɔ]
- No final devoicing

# Banyumas

- Morphosyntax: reduced paradigm of applicative suffixes
  - No independent forms for neutral, imperative, propositive, and irrealis applicatives, no –ake, -ana
- 2. mbukak-i (\*-ana) bae lemarine nggone nyong  
*open                      only cupboard place 1sg*
- 3. wong nyong nuduh-na (\*ake) ngarep pasar  
*prtc 1sg show                      N-front market*



# Pemalang

- Phonology: no vowel raising, no harmony
  - idiosyncratic  $a > \text{ə} / \_ \#$
- 1. mbuh ana sing omong dua M apa ana sing omong lima  
*neg exist rel say two billion Q exist rel say five*  
'I don't know, some say two billion, some say five'

# Pemalang

- Morphosyntax: reduced applicative paradigm, no –ana, no –ake

2. kon tak-golet-i (\*ana)

*2sg 1sg-look-i*

'I looked for you'

3. ujung-unjung di-dol-na (\*ake) jas kuwe.

*finally sold coat that*

'In the end, she sold the coat.'

# Banten

- Phonology: a > ə \_# uniformly, no harmony (influence from Sunda/Betawi??)
- 1. orə ilok bebelanjə nanə geh weruh Eet sing dhagang  
*neg ever shop neg-exist emph see Eet rel trade*  
'I don't like shopping at all, I just know that Eet is the seller.'

# Banten

- Morphosyntax: reduced pattern, more work needed!

2. lamun sing bagian jabe disogok gati tah?

*if rel part outside poke.into hard Exl*

*'But it's hard to poke into it (gutter) from the outside.'*

*expected: disogokake*

# Osing

- Phonology: mixed, strong tendency to vowel raising and harmony, though not uniform
  - vowel raising is not blocked by suffixation
1. keluarga onok telu.  
*family exist three*  
'There are three people in my family.'
  2. Konco-ne ison iku bagi-bagi.  
*friend 1sg that divide*  
'My friends are all different.'

# Osing

- Morphosyntax: reduced applicative paradigm
  1. umpane podho2 nyegurno dheke ole ison osing ok.  
*bait same plunge 3sg get 1sg neg emph*  
'We put in the bait together, he got some fish, i  
didn't'

# Tengger

- Phonology: no vowel raising, no harmony

1. Mau iku eyang manja kol dhek gaga sing adoh.

*pst that 1sg plant cabbage in field rel far*

'I just planted cabbage in the far field.'

# Tengger

- Morphosyntax: reduced paradigm of applicative suffixes
1. Wonge njukukna teka wuwunge.  
person N-take-na from roof-E  
'He took it from the roof.'



# Tengger

- Sociolinguistics: almost uniquely among Javanese dialects, there is no indigenous speech level system
1. Biyung, ana sega dhek congormu.  
*grandma exist rice on mouth/face-2sg*  
'Grandma, there's rice stuck on your face.'

# Pronouns

	First Person	Second Person
Tengger	eyang (m) isun (f)	sira, rika
Banyumas	nyong	sira, rika
Pemalang	e/injong	kon, kowe
Banten	kite, kule	sire
Osing	i(ng)sun	(h)iro, siro, riko
Central Java	aku	kowe
East Java	aku	koen, kowe

# Human Body Parts

	nose/mouth	eye	head
Yogya/Solo	irung	mripat	sirah
Tengger	congor	mata	ndhas
Banyumas	cungur	mata	ndhas
Banten	cungur	mate	endhas
Osing	irong	moto	ndias

# Agriculture

	to plant	to hoe	field
Yogya/Solo	nandur	gebuk	tegal
Tengger	manja	molah	gaga
Banyumas	nandur	macul	kebun/tegal
Osing	nandiur	macol	tegalan
Banten	nandur	macul	tegal

# Other Lexical Items

	near	money	what	not exist
Yogya	cedhak	dhuit	opo	ora ono
Tengger	parek	picis	paran	nana
Banyumas	perek	dhuwit	apa	langka
Banten	parek	picis	ape	lake
Osing	parek	picis	paran	hing ono
Pemalang	parek	dhuit	apa	langka

- In some cases, it is the Yogya/Solo root which can be traced back to Old/Middle Javanese:

aku, (h)irung, tandur, pacul, tegal, apa, ora ana

- In other cases, it is the other dialects which can trace roots back to Old/Middle Javanese:

i(ng)sung, ri + ika, mata, endhas, parek, pisis (?),  
gaga

- There are three cases where there is an OJ root with a different meaning
  - sira '3<sup>rd</sup> person'
  - um-olah 'busy with, moving with'
  - langka 'functionary'
- It seems clear that the first two have undergone shift, but it is not clear that 'langka' in OJ and the modern dialects are clearly related

- There are several cases with no OJ root:  
eyang, mripat, congkor, manja, cedhak, paran
- Fully half of these examples are present in  
Tengger
- Tengger is perhaps the most isolated, and  
therefore conservative of Javanese  
dialects



English	Tengger	Javanese
elbow	cengkul	sikut
rib	belong gambang	iga
meet	campuh	ketemu
pull	mbatek	narik
fall	tiba	rutu
monkey	kethek	pethes

# Conclusions

- In phonology, morphosyntax, lexicon, and sociolinguistic features, it is the 'standard' dialects which have been most innovative
- There are many shared features in geographically discontinuous dialects
- The unexplained origin of many lexical elements, especially in Tengger, points to a possible substratum language

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