Standard vs. Peripheral Javanese Dialects: The Lexical Evidence

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KOLITA
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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
    - JW Banten
    - JW Cirebon
  - JC Central Javanese
    - JCPT Tegal
    - JCPP Pemalang
    - JCPK Pekalongan
    - JCY Yogyakarta
    - JCS Surakarta/Solo
    - 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’ [mɔtc]
• Morphosyntax
  – Elaborate paradigm of applicative verbal suffixes, coding for valence, mood, benefactive, etc
• **Sociolinguistic: fully articulated speech level system**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Ngoko</th>
<th>Madyo</th>
<th>Krama Andhap</th>
<th>Krama Inggil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>say</td>
<td>kandha</td>
<td>sanjang</td>
<td>criyos</td>
<td>matur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>kowe</td>
<td></td>
<td>sampeyan</td>
<td>penjenengan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td></td>
<td>kula</td>
<td>dalem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• 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 15th and 16th 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>‘ten’</th>
<th>‘village’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OJ</td>
<td>[dasa]</td>
<td>[desa]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MJ</td>
<td>[desɔ:]</td>
<td>[desɔ:]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
Banyumas

- Phonology: no vowel raising, no harmony

1. Ya neg ana wong mlebu nyong bukag gerbang thog

   "If someone comes in, I’ll just open the gate"

   ya = [ya] *[yo]
   ana = [ana] *[-components]

- 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 > ə /_#

1. mbuh ana sing omong dua M apa ana sing omong limə
   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-seek-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 nane 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>First Person</th>
<th>Second Person</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tengger</td>
<td>eyang (m) isun (f)</td>
<td>sira, rika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banyumas</td>
<td>nyong</td>
<td>sira, rika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemalang</td>
<td>e/inyong</td>
<td>kon, kowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banten</td>
<td>kite, kule</td>
<td>sire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osing</td>
<td>i(ng)sun</td>
<td>(h)iro, siro, riko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Java</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>kowe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Java</td>
<td>aku</td>
<td>koen, kowe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Human Body Parts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>nose/mouth</th>
<th>eye</th>
<th>head</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yogya/Solo</td>
<td>irung</td>
<td>mripat</td>
<td>sirah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengger</td>
<td>congor</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>ndhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banyumas</td>
<td>cungur</td>
<td>mata</td>
<td>ndhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banten</td>
<td>cungur</td>
<td>mate</td>
<td>endhas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osing</td>
<td>irong</td>
<td>moto</td>
<td>ndias</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Agriculture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>To Plant</th>
<th>To Hoe</th>
<th>Field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yogya/Solo</td>
<td>nandur</td>
<td>gebuk</td>
<td>tegal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengger</td>
<td>manja</td>
<td>molah</td>
<td>gaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banyumas</td>
<td>nandur</td>
<td>macul</td>
<td>kebun/tegal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Osing</td>
<td>nandiur</td>
<td>macol</td>
<td>tegalan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banten</td>
<td>nandur</td>
<td>macul</td>
<td>tegal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Other Lexical Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>near</th>
<th>money</th>
<th>what</th>
<th>not exist</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yogya</td>
<td>cedhak</td>
<td>dhuit</td>
<td>opo</td>
<td>ora ono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tengger</td>
<td>parek</td>
<td>picis</td>
<td>paran</td>
<td>nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banyumas</td>
<td>perek</td>
<td>dhuwit</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>langka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banten</td>
<td>parek</td>
<td>picis</td>
<td>ape</td>
<td>lake</td>
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<tr>
<td>Osing</td>
<td>parek</td>
<td>picis</td>
<td>paran</td>
<td>hing ono</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pemalang</td>
<td>parek</td>
<td>dhuit</td>
<td>apa</td>
<td>langka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
• 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 ‘3rd 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, congor, manja, cedhak, paran

• Fully half of these examples are present in Tengger

• Tengger is perhaps the most isolated, and therefore conservative of Javanese dialects
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<th>Javanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>elbow</td>
<td>cengkul</td>
<td>sikut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rib</td>
<td>belong</td>
<td>iga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gambang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meet</td>
<td>campuh</td>
<td>ketemuu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pull</td>
<td>mbatek</td>
<td>narik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fall</td>
<td>tiba</td>
<td>rutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monkey</td>
<td>kethek</td>
<td>pethes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 discontiguous dialects.
• The unexplained origin of many lexical elements, especially in Tengger, points to a possible substratum language.
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