JAVANESE INFLUENCE ON INDONESIAN

by

Soepomo Poedjosoedarmo

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

MAP I: THE DISTRIBUTION OF MALAY AND JAVANESE \(\text{Page}\) viii

## INTRODUCTION

0.1. Background of the Study \(\text{Page}\) 1

0.2. Scope and Plan of the Study \(\text{Page}\) 2

0.3. Definition of Javanese and Indonesian \(\text{Page}\) 2

0.4. Methodology \(\text{Page}\) 3

## NOTES

### CHAPTER I - BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. The Linguistic Situation in Indonesia \(\text{Page}\) 5

1.1. Historical Background \(\text{Page}\) 6

1.2. Recent Sources of Influence \(\text{Page}\) 7

1.2.1. Indonesian in Djakarta \(\text{Page}\) 7

1.2.2. Direct Sources of Javanese Influence \(\text{Page}\) 8

1.2.2.1. Influence through Non-Javanese Living in Javanese Areas \(\text{Page}\) 8

1.2.2.2. Influence through Javanese Living in Non-Javanese Areas \(\text{Page}\) 10

1.2.2.4. Influence through Public Speeches by Javanese Political Figures \(\text{Page}\) 11

1.2.2.5. Influence through the Javanese Popular Arts \(\text{Page}\) 11

1.2.2.6. Influence through Literature \(\text{Page}\) 12

1.3. Reasons why Javanese is Increasingly Influencing Indonesian \(\text{Page}\) 13

1.3.1. Increase in Mobility \(\text{Page}\) 13

1.3.2. Indonesian as the National Language \(\text{Page}\) 13

1.3.2.1. Javanese Concepts \(\text{Page}\) 13

1.3.2.2. The Need to Express Polite and Humorous Ideas \(\text{Page}\) 14

1.3.2.3. Modern Western Ideas \(\text{Page}\) 14

1.3.2.4. The Need for Poetical Expressions \(\text{Page}\) 15

1.3.3. The Status of Djakarta \(\text{Page}\) 15

## NOTES

iii
### CHAPTER II - JAVANESE INFLUENCE ON INDONESIAN PHONOLOGY

2. Types of Influence
   
   2.1. The Introduction of New Phonemes
      
      2.1.1. The Introduction of \( /\dot{a}/ \)
      
      2.1.2. The Introduction of \( /o/ \)
      
      2.1.3. The Introduction of the \( /o/ /\dot{a}/ \) Contrast
      
      2.1.4. The Introduction of the \( /k/ /\dot{q}/ \) Contrast
      
   2.2. The Spread of Phonemes to New Environments
      
      2.2.1. The Introduction of Final \(-e\epsilon\#\)
      
      2.2.2. The Introduction of Initial Homorganic Nasal-Stop Clusters
      
      2.2.3. The Introduction of Consonant Clusters \( /C\epsilon/, /Cr/ \) and \( /C\omega/ \)
      
      2.2.4. The Introduction of the Cluster \(-n\theta-\)
      
      2.2.5. The Introduction of the Clusters \(-ry-, -Iy-\)
      
      2.2.6. The Introduction of \( #w-\)
      
      2.2.7. The Extension of Intervocalic \(/w/\) to New Environments
      
   2.3. The Increased Frequency of some Indonesian Phonemes and Phonemic Combinations
      
      2.3.1. The Increase in the Frequency of \( /\dot{a}/ \)
      
      2.3.2. The Increase in the Frequency of \( /o/ \)
      
      2.3.3. The Increase in Frequency of Initial and Postconsonantal \( /\gamma/ \)
      
      2.3.4. The Increase in Frequency of Intervocalic \(/w/\)

### CHAPTER III - JAVANESE INFLUENCE ON INDONESIAN MORPHOLOGY

3. Types of Influence
   
   3.1. Affixes Added to Indonesian: \( N-, pe- -an, ke-\)
      
      3.1.1. \( N-\)
      
      3.1.2. \( pe- -an\)
      
      3.1.3. \( ke-\)
      
   3.2. Indonesian Affixes which have New Alternate Forms
      
      3.2.1. The Replacement of \( per- \) by \( -kan\)
      
      3.2.2. \( \emptyset, -nya\)
      
   3.3. Affixes that have Developed New Meanings
      
      3.3.1. \( ke- -an\)
      
      3.3.1.1. Verb Forming \( ke- -an\)
      
      3.3.1.2. Noun Forming \( ke- -an\)
      
      3.3.1.3. \( ke- -an\) meaning 'too (much)'
      
      3.3.2. The Suffix \( -an\)
### Chapter III - Indonesian Suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2.1</td>
<td>The Verb Forming Suffix -an</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2.2</td>
<td>The Noun Forming Suffix -an</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2.3</td>
<td>The Adjective Forming Suffix -an</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2.4</td>
<td>Other Borrowings of Forms with -an</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.3</td>
<td>The Javanese Suffix -en</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.4</td>
<td>Doubling</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.4.1</td>
<td>Doubling which Forms an Adverb when Applied to a Number, an Adjective, or a Verb</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.4.2</td>
<td>Doubling which Forms a Verb when Added to a Verb or an Adjective</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.5</td>
<td>Doubling Plus -an</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.5.1</td>
<td>Verbs Formed by Doubling + -an</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.5.2</td>
<td>Nouns Formed by Doubling + -an</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>Indonesian Affixes with Increased Frequency</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.1</td>
<td>The Prefix meN-</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.1.1</td>
<td>meN- Forming a Transitive Verb</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.1.2</td>
<td>meN- Forming an Intransitive Verb</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.2</td>
<td>The Suffix -i</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.3</td>
<td>The Suffix -kan</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.4</td>
<td>Reduplication</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.5</td>
<td>Reduplication Plus -an</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.6</td>
<td>Doubling with Vowel Change</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>Indonesian Affixes which have Declined in Frequency of Occurrence</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.1</td>
<td>ber- -kan</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5.2</td>
<td>ter- -kan</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>Javanese Influence on Morphophonemics</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Chapter IV - The Influence of Javanese on Indonesian Syntax

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>The Introduction of New Syntactic Constructions</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.1</td>
<td><em>saya + Verb -nya</em> 'I think I should (do the action indicated by the verb) to it'</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.2</td>
<td><em>saya + Verb -kannya</em></td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.3</td>
<td>Constructions with Nominal Phrases</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.3.1</td>
<td>Borrowing of the Genitive Marker</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.3.2</td>
<td>Adjective + -nya, verb + -nya</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.4</td>
<td><em>bolénnya + verb</em> 'the way one (does the action indicated by the verb)'</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.5</td>
<td><em>Saking + (nominal) -nya ... sampay</em> 'on account of (nominal)...'</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1.6</td>
<td><em>yang + adjective</em> 'do in an (adjective) way'</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Chapter V - Javanese Influence on Indonesian Vocabulary

#### 5. Types of Influence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Influence</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loanwords</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanwords Referring to Javanese Culture</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanwords Referring to Elements of Indonesian Culture in General</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Javanese Forms More Specific in Meaning than the Malay Equivalents</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Javanese Loans with Unchanged Meanings and Exact Malay Equivalents</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanwords Expressing Modern Western Ideas</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanwords having Polite or Impolite Connotations</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanwords Containing Poetical Expressions</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanwords having Humorous Connotations</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanwords Expressing Colloquial Style</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mboq</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kōq</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tó</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lho</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lha</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Words Expressing Colloquiality</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanwords which are Homonymous with Existing Malay Forms</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanblends</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanshifts</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanshifts in which Indonesian Changes the Older Meanings</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanshifts in which the Range of Meaning of the Malay Form has been Contracted</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loanshifts in which the Range of Meanings has been Extended</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forms with Javanese Cognates</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3.3.2. Forms Influenced by Non-cognate Javanese Forms with</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Similar Meanings</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4. Loan-Translation</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1. Ordinary Loan-Translations</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2. Semi Loan-Translations</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5. The Origin of Javanese Borrowings</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6. Idiom Formation by Word Dropping</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER VI - SPEECH LEVELS</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Types of Influence</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1. The Extension of the Use of the Court Vocabulary</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2. The Increase in Number of Respect Words</td>
<td>133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1. Borrowings from Javanese in the Malay Court Vocabulary</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2. Increase in Number of Indonesian Respect Words</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3. Increase in Use of Circumlocutions</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4. The Introduction of Colloquial Indonesian</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER VII - CONCLUSION</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOTES</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INDEX</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Index of Subject Matter</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Index of Forms</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Hesio of the Austronesian family of languages. 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. 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. 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 Djambei 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).
NOTES

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.


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. 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 Mollucas (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 stories\(^5\) 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', sòngsông '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 micórô bósô 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. 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 radén 'a noble title', now has a competing form radén; lakun 'plot of a story', from Javanese lakón, has been re-borrowed as lakón 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 INDONESIAN, 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.) 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. 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 koq).

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%.

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.

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 Intojjo. 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 gamelan 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 'puppateer'. 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. 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:

1.2 Perkara ini dapat penimbulkan 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 cerai.
'BECUSE 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 Djoomartono, 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 Arjuna. General Suharto, before he assumed the presidency, was termed pengembang 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. 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. Other old Javanese stories have been re-written as children's stories by anonymous writers. Even in Malaysia, an old Javanese story was re-written by Samsuddin Saleh. Recently some Javanese writers wrote stories in Indonesian based on legends and
wayang stories found in Java. These have become very popular, especially in Jakarta and Java. In all these works Javanese elements are unavoidably abundant. Many of them, such as the words kratón '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 Jakarta 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 humourous words and expressions which Malay lacks, some Javanese honourous words have been adopted into Indonesian, e.g. ngak-ngik-ngök 'term for Western pop music', diciduq, literally 'to be scooped' which is used to mean 'to be arrested'. Some of these humourous words entered the Indonesian vocabulary via Omong 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)', mágèq '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 'opportuniastic, having two faces', ngomprèng 'misusing government care 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.
NOTES

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
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.


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.


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.


18. These children stories, which are written by anonymous writers, were published by G. Kolff & Co., Bandung, n.d.

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, /ɛ/ and /o/, and a new phonemic arrangement: initial /w/. Recently the vowel /ə/, the contrast between /k/ and /q/, the phonemic sequences -eC#; NC +voice +stop 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 phonemes\textsuperscript{1} were:

| Stops: voiceless | p | t | c | k |
| Voiceless        | b | d | j | g |
| Fricative        | s |  |  | h |
| Trill            | r |  |  |   |
| Lateral          | l |  |  |   |
| Nasal            | m | n | ny | ng |
| Glide            | w |  | y |   |

19
The Old Malay vowel phonemes\(^2\) were:

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>front</th>
<th>central</th>
<th>back</th>
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<tr>
<td>high</td>
<td>i</td>
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<td>low</td>
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Old Malay also had the diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/.\(^3\)

The Javanese consonant phonemes\(^4\) are:

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<th>labial</th>
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<th>alveolar</th>
<th>palatal</th>
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<td>stop:</td>
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<td>glide</td>
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The Javanese vowel phonemes\(^5\) are:

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<th>back</th>
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<tr>
<td>high</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
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<tr>
<td>low</td>
<td>è</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>o</td>
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</table>

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 pengatin, 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, angrèq 'orchid' as anggeriq, pabèan 'custom house' as pebian, kèncè 'molasses' as kinca; from Spanish réal 'the name of money' was borrowed as rial; from Portuguese espingarda 'name of a rifle' was borrowed as istinggar; from English 'cap' (in a rifle) was borrowed as kip; from Dutch pètje 'cap, hat' was borrowed as pici. A few Javanese forms with -è were borrowed with /ay/, e.g. capè 'tired' was borrowed as capay, satè 'a kind of chopped steak' was borrowed as satay, katè 'dwarf' as katay, landè(y)an 'spear stand' as landayan, kadè(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 perlentih.

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', bêntêng beside bînting 'fortress', bêluq beside biluq 'luff (part of a sail on a boat)', gentêng beside genting 'tile', lembêq 'soft, weak' beside lembiq, sêpît beside sîpit 'narrow (of eyes)', pêrang beside pirang 'blonde', and pêtah beside pîtah '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 [æː]. 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 perlentih, 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 perlentih.

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 /ê/, e.g. Malay (Ml) balay 'hall, house' is cognate with Javanese (Jv) balê, Ml panday 'smart, clever' is cognate with Jv pangê 'expert', Ml ngaray with Jv ngarê 'valley', Ml bulay 'albino' with Jv bulê. Javanese speakers in speaking Malay often substituted /ê/ 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 /ê/, e.g. cabay 'red pepper' beside cabé, bulay 'albino' beside bulê.6

Now Javanese words with /ê/ are regularly borrowed into Indonesian without changing the vowel, e.g. Indonesian now has jaê 'ginger', kéré 'beggar', lontê 'prostitute', lênté or perlênté 'wanderer', kaspê 'caesarea', katê 'dwarf', gegeê 'big', lawê 'yarn', selawê 'twenty-five', satê 'roasted meat on skewers', sorê 'afternoon', sepêlê 'trivial', bertêlê-têlê 'exhausted', tikê 'opium', têmpê 'bean curd oake'.

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

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

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

/ê/ 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 nasiyahat 'advice' was borrowed as nasihat but is now nasêhat, sihat 'healthy' was borrowed as sihat but has now become séhat, hakiykât 'truth' was borrowed as hakikat but has now become hakêkat.
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 /o/ were borrowed from Javanese or other languages, the /o/ or /o/ 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 pengôq '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 /au/. This is parallel to /ä/ being borrowed as /ay/ (see 2.1.1.). The principal allophone of /au/ 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 /au/ include Sanskrit atho 'and also' which was borrowed as ataw 'or', 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 ngasuuh, separo 'half' which was borrowed as separuh, ayo 'come on, let's' as ayuh, and sawo 'name of a sweet tasting fruit' as sawuuh 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 pêso is cognate with Ml pisaw 'knife', Jv kebo 'buffalo' with Ml kerbaw '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 [ao] 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 gingerlike root' was borrowed as deringo, béo 'parrot' as bêo, jago 'rooster,
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 /ød/ (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, puhun 'tree' occurs beside pohon, lubang 'hole' beside lobang, rubah 'change' beside robah, cuba 'try' beside coba, tulung 'help' beside telong. This is also true of old loanwords which were originally borrowed with /u/, e.g., Javanese lakon 'story, plot' which was originally borrowed as lakun now also has the form lakon, pengq 'metal layer for a scabbard' which was originally borrowed as pendq now also has the form pendof, adon '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 'dosen' which was originally borrowed as dusin or lusin now also has the form dosin or losin. Sanskrit kuţa '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-rögö 'physical exercise, sport' has been borrowed as olah-raga, butô 'giant' (ultimately from Sanskrit bhùta 'ghost, goblin') has been borrowed as bôtô, bu­dug 'leper' has been borrowed as bôdök.

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/:

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 kawlô '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-gîni 'property belonging to both husband and wife'.

It may be that famous personal names like Sukarno /sukarnô/, Suharto /suhtarô/, Subandrio /subandriyô/ and Hamengkubuwono /hamengkubuwonô/ 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 [kantông] '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 /-ôC/ as in tôkêq '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 /ɔ/ 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 /ɔ/ and /o/ of bakō 'eternal' and mbako 'tobacco', or in padi gōgō 'rice of an unirrigated field' and tari agogo 'agogo dance'.

With the emergence of the phoneme /ɔ/, such words as [tölōng] 'help', [kantōŋ] 'pocket' in which in older Malay were phonemically /tolong/ and /kantong/ in current Indonesian are /tölōng/ and /kantōŋ/.

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

In Javanese the development of a contrast between /a/ and /ɔ/ is recent. In former times [ɔ] was an allophone of /a/, since [ɔ] was confined to open final syllables or to open penultimate syllables in forms with [ɔ] 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 [ɔ] in final position. Since [ɔ] was originally an allophone of /a/, /ɔ/ was written with the letter a. Furthermore, Malay formerly borrowed Javanese words ending in /ɔ/ 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 /ɔ/ by the Javanese. Unlike the Javanese, the Dutch tended to spell Javanese /ɔ/ 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. Because of the Javanese spellings of cities like Surabaja and Jogjakarta for /surbɔyɔ/ and /yogyɔkɔrtɔ/ they are now pronounced /surabaya/ and /yogyakarta/ or /jokjakarta/ by non-Javanese. On the other hand, the
27

Dutch spelling of Solo, another name for Surakarta,\textsuperscript{18} has stuck, and thus non-Javanese and even young Javanese too, tend to give it a spelling pronunciation /solo/ rather than the correct /sólô/ 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 jumqa t, 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 /q/ and that of *k is /k/ in other positions\textsuperscript{19} e.g. PA *jejeg, Ml jejaq 'step, foot print'; PA *batuk, Ml batuq 'cough'; PA *budak, Ml buqaq 'child'; PA *tekik, Ml tekêq 'Gecko'. The reflex of PA *-g is /-k/ in Javanese, though it is usually spelled -g (m) in Javanese script), e.g. PA *jejeg, Jv jejak '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 *duugug, Jv dôgôk 'to knock'. The reflex of PA *-k is /-k/ following /e/ and /-q/ elsewhere, e.g. PA *batuk, Jv watuq 'cough'; PA *budak, Jv buqaq 'servant'; PA *tekik, Jv tekêq 'gecko'; PA *dabuk, Jv dawuq '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 câcôk 'fitting, suitable' was borrowed as câcôq, grobak 'oxen cart' was borrowed as gerobak, gÔblÔk 'stupid' was borrowed as gÔb(e)lÔq, glaêk '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', gelêdék geluduk 'thunder', gabak 'measles', gedôk 'wooden puppet', gedêk 'a kind of skin disease', gudek 'a kind of dish made of the meat of jack-fruit with coconut milk and other spices', gobôk 'boil', budek 'deaf', gedêk 'bamboo-wall', godêk 'sideburn', g(e)rebêk 'raid', mandek 'stop, unable to continue running or functioning', ajêk 'steady, stable, constant', ambêk 'collapse', pilek 'have a cold and running nose'.

The older borrowings listed before are now usually pronounced with /k/ instead of /q/. Thus câcôk, gerobak, geladaq 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)raktek, asbak 'ashtry' was borrowed as asbak, aspect 'aspect' was borrowed as aspek. English has contributed several loanwords, too, e.g. trek 'truck' from truck, bêk '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', saqaq '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. masuq 'enter' + peN- -an\(^{20}\) 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 pemasuqn 'entrance'. Similarly tumpuq + -i forms tumpuki 'to pile
something on' and alternatively tumpuqi; pândóq + -an forms pândókan 'lodgings' or pândókan.

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 -èC#, e.g. Jv ruwet 'confused, muddled' which became Ml ruét or ruwét, 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 -èC#, it is probably a spelling pronunciation, since in the romanised writing system the letter e stands for either Malay /e/ or /è/, but only /è/ 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 [resérve] became serap, baïsem /baïsem/ 'balm' became baïsam, reken /réken/ 'reckon, count' became rékan. There are also a number of cases where /e/ is borrowed as /è/ 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, anémer 'contractor' as anémér. In the final syllable of some words -óC# was substituted for -eCH, especially if the spelling was -oC, e.g. Dutch or English 'doctor' was borrowed as dôktör, Dutch koffer 'suitcase' was borrowed as kôpôr.

In Javanese borrowings such as above usually have -eCH instead of -aC# or -óC# or -óC#, e.g. mèster, mèter, modèren, rèken, anèmer, dokter, kôper.

Modern Indonesian borrowings of Javanese forms with -eCH 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 -eCH in Modern Indonesian is so strong that even inherited words which had -aC# and which have no cognates in Javanese are sometimes pronounced with -eCH 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 -eCH. The spread of -eCH 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 -eCH. 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 -eCH. Sundanese, Balinese, Sasak, and Madurese also have this sequence. However, the vast majority of forms with -eCH 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/, /ndj/, and /ngg/. Malay did not. The sequences /mb/, /nd-/, /ngj-, and /ngj/ now occur in Indonesian as the result of unassimilated borrowings such as mbêq '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. 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: mbêlos 'to manger', mbôrông 'to buy wholesale', ndôngêng 'to tell a tale', ndôngkol 'to be annoyed', njambât 'to snatch, pick-pocket', njêwér '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 /Cj/, /Cr/ and /Cw/

In Javanese there is a contrast between /Cj/ and /Cer/ as in plôk 'clap clap (the sound of applause or the palm of the hand hitting something)' versus pelôq 'mango seed'; blôk 'block, area' versus belôq 'an instrument in which a prisoner's feet are planted'. Javanese also has a contrast between /Cr/ and /Cer/ as in sri 'girl's name' vs. seri 'a draw, a tie'; kricaq 'egg shell' vs keri caq 'it tickles, brother'; bro or brah 'flaming, sparkling' vs. berô 'untitled (land)', berah 'to work as a labourer'. Javanese contrasts /CwV/ and /cu(w)V/, as in kwitânsi 'receipt' vs. kuwi tânsi 'that is a barrack'; dwi 'two (in Kawi)' vs. duwê 'to have'. Malay had none of these contrasts. Thus when Malay borrowed Javanese words with these clusters, the clusters were changed to Cer- as in kerîpêq from Jv kripêq 'a kind of chip', Cel- as in gelêdek from Jv glêdek 'thunder', CuV- as in kuñi from Jv kwêni 'a kind of mango'.27 Sometimes, there were exceptions. For example, the Javanese word tênggîlêng 'name of an animal' was borrowed into Malay as tenggîlêng, 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, and in the sequence Cer-C the /e/ and /r/
were regularly metathesised. E.g. Sanskrit (Skt) prathamā '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 /côkrôaminô tô/, 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 /brô tô/ and names of days and places like Kliwon 'one of the days of the five-day week system', Blitar, Klaṭên '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', kwalítet 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)lômprot 'sloppy' from Jv nglômprot, 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, amblas from Jv amblas 'gone, swept or eliminated away', ambles from Jv ambles 'sink under the surface', kamprêt 'young bat, (or sometimes used as a personal name)' from Jv kamprêt.

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 'conference' was first borrowed as komperėngsi or komperēnsi. 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 kônperēnsi or kônferēnsi 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 suryō 'sun' became Malay suria [suri(y)a], Javanese mulyō 'precious, noble' became mulia [muli(y)a]. It seems the personal names having such clusters as Muljadi /mulyadi/, Surjadi /suryadi/, and /Wirjono /wiryonô/ 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/ intervocally 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 wijën 'sesame seed' was borrowed as bijan or bijěn '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, vajça '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 bengkêl '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 wolondô or welondô 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. Wolondo or welondo was then borrowed as belanda by Malay. The vowel /o/ in wolondô and in the expected Malay form *bolanda was changed to /el/, because it is in the antepenultimate syllable. In colloquial speech the Javanese form is now usually lôndo.

Initial /w/ is now found in Indonesian and this /w/ has now split into /w/ and /W/. 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', wajip '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 calendar'.

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. Wêt 'law', Wéstel or pôs Wéstel 'money order', Wôr tel 'carrot' (from Dutch), Wéstet 'waistcoat', 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-/ or. 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', wajip 'to be obliged to'. Examples from Dutch are wérék or wérêk 'slave trader or kidnapper', wolanda 'Dutch, Holland'. In support of this idea it might be mentioned that many of these words, such as wérék, 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; welondó is Ngoko and its Kromo is weilandi. 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 /r/ often became /r/. 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 kuloówargô '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 kulo-wôngsô 'the aristocracy' 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 wós, 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 form 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', daqêrah '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)wa(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 intervocally between any two vowels. In older borrowings from Javanese with /w/ in environments other than (C)awa(C), (C)awi(C) or (C)wa(C) /w/ was treated as Ø, 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)awa(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 awé 'long lasting', lawé 'name of a bird', (C)awô(C) occurs in rawô '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 cassava (it is the chief food of many poor people)', (C)iwu(C) occurs in sriwulan 'name of a girl', (C)éwé(C) occurs in rëwël 'difficult to please', (C)éwa(C) occurs in perëwangan 'shaman', déwan 'council', (C)éwo(C) occurs in sëwoko 'name of a man, who was once a minister of internal affairs', (C)éwu(C) occurs in penëwù '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', lâh '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', këôk 'sound made by a losing fighting cock; defeated' vs. sëwôkô 'name of a man'.
In addition to the sequences listed above, Indonesian now has /-ewa-/ in several words including sewajarnya 'naturally', and kewajipan 'obligation'. The root wajar 'natural, common' is a borrowing from Javanesé, but the Indonesian circumfix se-nya has been substituted for the cognate Javanesé saq- -é. The root wajip has been borrowed from Arabic either directly or indirectly via Javanesé, but the morphophonemic combination with the circumfix ka--an is strictly Indonesian. Javanesé did not contribute the sequence /-ewa-/ to Indonesian directly. In fact, Javanesé tends to convert such a sequence to /-uwa-/.

However, Javanesé must be indirectly responsible for introducing the sequence, because (1) Javanesé has introduced sequences with intervocalic /w/ in the roots wajar 'natural, common' and wajip 'must, have to'. If intervocalic /w/ had not already become fairly common in Indonesian because of the many borrowings from Javanesé, chances are when wajar was combined with se-, and wajip 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

Javanesé has been instrumental in increasing the frequency of occurrence of some Indonesian phonemes and phonological combinations. Javanesé 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 Javanesé cognates having /é/ (2.1.1.). At first, it was probably only in words with Javanesé cognates having /é/ that the /i/ was changed to /é/. Later, however, in words such as petah 'fluent in speaking', idap 'sickly', idar 'circulate' which do not have Javanesé cognates, the /i/ was also changed to /é/ thus petah, 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, ridia 'gladly accept a fate' was changed to rédia, réda or réla, ril 'railway track' (from Dutch railbaan) was changed to rél. Even a borrowing from Javanesé 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 mugó-mugó 'I hope, may it be...' has recently been borrowed into Indonesian as megá-moga, Javanese ulah-rágó '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 tabbat '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 intervocalically. However, the vowel /i/ had a non-syllabic allophone [y] when preceding a vowel that was not in final syllable. For example iurán 'contribution' was phonetically [yuráh]. 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 [i], 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 lumpi 'egg roll' as [lúmpya] rather than [lumpiya]. 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', yai '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 estab-
lished 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)awa(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 /e/ in syllables before /a/, /o/ and /o/.

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

In many dialects of modern Indonesian [ë] and [ê] are allophones
of the phoneme /e/. The distribution of the allophone [ë] 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 [ê] is normally used. However,
nowadays in the idiolects of many people, [ê] is also found in the
penultimate syllable before a final syllable having /a/, /o/ and /o/,
e.g. sépaq [sépaq] 'kick', rënda [rënda] 'knit', teko [teko] 'tea pot',
bélóg [bélóg] '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 [ɛ] before /a/, /o/ and /ɔ/ seems to have been influenced by Javanese, since Javanese does not have /ɛ/ in these positions. Analogously there are tendencies on the part of some speakers to lower /ø/ to /ɛ/ in syllables before /a/ or /ɛ/, 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.) The Javanese always use /o/ in syllables before /a/ or /ɛ/, e.g. roda 'wheel', berobah 'changed', soré 'afternoon', lotrè 'lottery' and not rôda, berôbah, sôrè, 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), àë 'only, just' (from waë), ampon 'don't' (from sampon), önten 'there is' (from wönten), or the dropping of one or more unstressed syllables (i.e. penultimate or preceding), as in séq 'first' (from diséq), menówô 'if, probably' (from mbôqmenówô), ko séq 'just a second, wait a moment' (from mengko diséq), níkô 'that' (from menikô), nópô 'what' (from menópô), ngapûrô '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. Omong 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), ajà '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), 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 'sum' (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 õpô.
NOTES

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 /q/. /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] of [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:
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 /el/. 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 [æ]. The diphthong /aw/ is a glide starting from a backed [a] or [æ] to [o] (in the direction of [u]). Thus it is more or less [ə]. 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 gülé, 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 utōwō '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 athā (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.


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 /ɔ/ 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 (ⁿ ḫ), pɔpɔ and papa are spelled with the consonants only: (ⁿ ḫ).

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 /ɔ/ in his name be spelled with /a/, he is usually conservative, though this does not mean that those who spell their names with ɔ are not conservative in other respects.

18. In 1962 it was debated whether Surakarta originally was called /sɔlə/ or /solo/. It was originally /solo/. See Poedjosoedarmo, S. and Ricklefs, 1967:95.


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.

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 wesket.

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 CwV. 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 epenthesised -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 korups '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' naeq 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 genitalia'. Most Indonesians pronounce this phrase as naeq 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 /l/ 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 gerilla.

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 önten 'exist, there is' has the Kromo form wönten; 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 wajip '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 V₁V₂ and V₁ valleys V₂ when V₁ is /i/ or /e/ and V₂ 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 /o/. In Javanese /o/ is never found in a penultimate syllable when the final syllable has /a/ or /e/.

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 itu 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-

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'), ngetot '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)', ngòpi 'to drink coffee' (from kòpi 'coffee'), ngebis 'to go somewhere by bus' (from bis 'bus'), nyatur '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'), mbòròng 'to buy wholesale', nyolong 'to steal', njambré '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 mócó 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', mbëós '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 counterparts 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, 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 wakili), 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/, as in nyusuh 'nest' (from susuh 'a nest'), nyacah 'calculate' (from cacah 'number').

R.8 N- becomes /ng/ before /w/, /r/, /l/, /y/, as in ngwanèni 'to dare to face a challenge' (from wani), ngrotó 'become level' (from rótó), nglóró 'pretend to be sick' (from lóró), 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 ngrikôq 'smoke', nyuci 'wash', ngetèk 'type', ngliriq 'glance stealthily' exist side by side with the more formal merôkôq, mencuci, mentèk, and melliriq 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, nggrayaq 'loot, rob' (from grayaq 'loot, rob') is replaced by nggrayaq, ngejawap '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, 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. pedesan '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 pabian 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/. The same phenomenon occurs in the Malay words pecinán 'chinatown', pesibán 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. 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'. 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',

ket}
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. kegówô '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. tibó kejungkel 'fell down head first', where kejungkel 'head first' modifies tibó '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 jendéłanya 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, kepaksa 'forced to, obliged to' instead of terpaksa, ketangkap or ketangkep 'caught' instead of
tertangkap, nggaq 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', ketangkep 'caught', but now it is used with native Malay roots such as kebawá '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 kesóhôr 'famous, well known' (from tersóhôr), 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'.

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, 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'), memperlhatikan 'show', literally 'cause to see' (from lihat 'see').

In Old Javanese the function of Malay per- or per- -kan was carried by pi-, 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 gunó 'use'), dipitontonaké 'to be exhibited', mitontonaké '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 gunó 'use'), ditontonaké 'to be exhibited', ndawaqaké 'to lengthen' (from dówó 'long'), nyiléqaké 'to regard as or to make small' (from cíleq 'small'), disuwijeqaké '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, memperlhatikan '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-.
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', berpakayen 'get dressed', which are now kata and pakayen 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 ñuwait 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 kerjá; 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. 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 'day') or kawanan 'overtaken by day' (from awan) or its Kromo form kesiangan 'overtaken by day or noon' (from siang, noon'), and kewàngen or kedadôn 'overtaken by night' (from wéngi or its Kromo form dalu 'night').

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'), kedinginan '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 'late, too late'). These words have been formed following the Javanese models kepanasan 'feel very hot', kadem 'feel very cold' (from aëm 'cold'), keluwèn 'feel very hungry' (from luwé 'hunger'), kendisèn 'be preceded by someone' (from gisèq 'early') and ketelatan 'to be left behind'.

Javanese has another affix ke- -an which forms verbs meaning unintentionally 'do (something which mainly affects one's own self)' as in kelalèn 'to forget (unintentionally)' (from lali 'forget'), keturôn 'to fall asleep' (from turu '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', kelabaqan or kelaban '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'), kedarah 'afflicted by blood' (said of the brain) (from darah 'blood'), kedapatan 'found out' (from dapat 'to find'), and keqēnqan 'feel very good' (from ēnaq 'good, pleasant'). For the first three there are no clear Javanese models, and for keqēnqan the word has been formed in a different way from the Javanese equivalent kepēnqan or kepēnqan 'feel very good', in which /p/ seems to have been epenthesised between the prefix ke- and the root ēnaq 'good, pleasant'.

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 keqībūan '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 kelurahān 'the residence of a village head' (from lurah 'village head'), kabupatēn 'the residence of a district head' (from bupati 'district head'), kecamatān 'the residence of a 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'), kerēsidēnan 'the residence of a résidēn (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 kemantēn
'the residence or office of a subdistrict head' (from mantri 'subdistrict 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 kebangeten 'too much' (from banget 'very') or kesangeten '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 pit pitan 'ride a bicycle' (from pit 'bicycle'),26 and pécisan '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': sendiri '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 daewégan 'by oneself' (from daewé '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 (the person or thing indicated by the base)', e.g. gubernuran 'the residence of the governor' (from gubernor 'governor'), rasisdenan 'the residence of a sub-province head' (from rasisden 'sub-province head'), sekolah wan 'school complex' (from sekolah 'school; to to school'). The equivalents in Javanese are guvernuran 'the residence of the governor' (from guvernor 'governor'), rasisdenan 'the residence of a sub-province head' (from rasisden 'sub-province head'), and sekolah wan '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)': diponcégaran 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)',
2. 'fond of doing (the activity indicated by the base)',
3. 'having the value of (the amount indicated by the base)', when added to words denoting quantity or currency denominations,
4. 'lots of', when added to a base indicating number,
5. 'more (adjective)',
6. 'being in the period of (doing the thing indicated by the base)',
7. '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'), bênggolan 'of prominent quality' (from bênggol 'the biggest in size of coins in the Dutch period, worth two and a half cents'), jempolân 'the best, having excellent quality' (from jempol 'thumb, i.e. the biggest among the five fingers'). The equivalents in Javanese are jagoan, bênggolan, and jempolân. Examples with a verb base are: gelangangan 'wild' (from gelangang 'to roam about'), piaran 'kept, raised (as a pet)' (from piara 'to raise, look after'), nangisan 'cry baby' (from nangis 'to cry'). The equivalents in Javanese are gelangangan 'wild' (from gelangang 'to roam') piaran 'kept, raised' (from pîrô 'to raise'), and nangisan 'cry baby'. On analogy with these, colloquial Indonesian now has the form béginiyan 'having such a quality' (from bégini '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 nakan, kurang-adjaran, and kesetan (from keset '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 yutó '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 dagangan jaranan 'his merchandise was horseloads and horseloads', i.e. 'carried by lots of horses', praon '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 sejiq 'a little bigger' (from cileq 'small') and rôdô geğen siqeq 'a little bigger' (from gege 'bit'; rôdô 'rather' is equivalent to Indonesian agaq, sejiq or siqeq '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 saph 'to wean (a baby)'), susun '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', welasàn 'in one's teens'.

Examples of meaning (6), 'approximately', are: dua belasan métër 'twelve meters'), sepuluh tahun 'around ten years (of age)' (from sepuluh tahun 'ten years'). These forms have been calqued from Javanese rolasàn métër 'about twelve meters' and sepuluh 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 bajing '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 korèngan '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 dwènhèh 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 wong-wong kuwi pêghî mlebu NGLNÔ-NGLNÔ.
'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 AKEH-ÂKÈH gisèq.
(from akèh 'much'). The fourth meaning is 'when (subject) finally (verb)-ed' or '(subject) just (verb)-ed' as in:
I.18 DATANG-DATANG kòq minta makan.
'You JUST ARRIVED, why ask for dinner (already)纨.
(from datang 'arrive'). The Javanese model is:

J.18 TEKÔ-TEKÔ kōq njalq 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 dèwèq DüROM 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-wanènan '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 sepor '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 meN- 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 TransitiveVerb

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'), menyiköt 'to elbow' (from siköt '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 mengandóng 'to ride on an andóng (horse-drawn cart)', membécaq 'ride on a pedicab (vehicle propelled by a bicycle)'. Javanese models for these forms are
ngangông (from angông), mbécaq (from bécaq) respectively. meN- is added to names of foods or entertainment, to form verbs which mean 'make or enjoy', as in mengesóp 'make soup' (from sóp 'soup'), membiôs 'go to or see a movie' (from biôs, the short form of biôskop 'movie'). Javanese models are ngesóp (from sóp), 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 mbèbéq (from bèbéq).

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 menghantam '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 menggula '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 tômbo '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'), menyepuluh 'to make something become ten' (from sepuluh 'ten'), and Javanese mândani 'to make equal with' (from poço 'equal'), nyepuluhi '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 sopol seng NURONI omah kuwi?

Similarly,

M.22 anjing itu KENCING DI cucian saya.
'That dog URINATED ON my laundry.'
can now be expressed by:
I.22 anjing itu MENGENCINGI cucian saya.
on the model of:
J.22 asu kuwi NGUYUH I 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 TUKONI lombôq.
'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 lombôq 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 an i NGEMBANGI kuṭṭo 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 rombokan 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 ḍuwêt.

J.27a AKU dikirimimi ḍèwèqé ḍuwêt.

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). 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 ngurangqaké '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 ngasóraké 'to consider someone's status as low' (from asor 'low'), (3) formation of a verb with benefactive meaning, as in Indonesian membelikan 'to buy for someone else' (from tuku '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 suffix 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 ndongoqaké (slamet) 'to pray for (safety)' (from dongó '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 pasiën itu sudah DIDUKUNKAN.
'That patient HAS already BEEN TAKEN TO A DUKUN (medicine man).'

I.30 penipu itu DIPULISIKAN.
'The swindler 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 pasiën kuwi wês DIDUKUNKÉ.
J.30 tukang ngapusí 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 pulangnya 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 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 mango 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 DIBEGINUKAN 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 kuwí DINGENEQAKE dénéng adiku
J.39 ãewèqé DINGÔNQAKÉ 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. 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', teteréq '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'), teterop 'home decorations (usually made of leaves, papers, and fruits)', (from tarop 'decoration'). The Javanese models are tetamu and teterop. 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 sepoh 'old'), jejaká 'the bachelor' (from jaka 'bachelor'). The Javanese models are sesepoh and jejkô. 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 teterop.
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 tuwuw 'grow'), rerumputan, gegōgōngan 'leaves' (from gōgōng 'leaf'), and kekayon 'trees, woods' (from kayu). A second meaning is adverb formation, as in sesenggogan 'sobbingly' (from senggo 'sob'), jejeritan 'screamingly' (from jeirit 'scream'). The Javanese models are sesengguqan, sesenggruqan (from sengg(o)q 'sob'), jejeritan (from jeirit '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 meman 'play around' (from maén 'play'), gegoakan 'screching and squawking' (from goak 'the sound of a crow'), gegraes 'gobble up everything in sight (coarse word)' (from gares 'shin', from the notion of using one's shin unfairly in soccer, i.e. gegraes 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-mandër '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-mengen 'eating again and again' (from mangan 'to eat'), or 'an intensified degree of a situation' as in montang-mantēng 'helter skelter', moraq-marēq 'scattered around in a mess' (from arēq '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-marēq '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 opportunistio', 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-gembor 'to speak loudly and continuously like water being poured out of a pail' (from gembor '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 beratahkan 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 retnó mutiëró 'is set with gems and pearls' (from tatah 'to set, encrust'), payoné langit kemulé mégó 'the roof (payôn) is the sky (langit), the blanket (kemol) is the cloud (mégó)'. 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) dênéng '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) olêh (parallel to ora bisô di-(verb) dênéng) 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 dîtahan. The parallel Javanese forms are ora ketahan and ora bisô dîtahan respectively. Similarly reguitu taq tergulingkan 'the team is unbeatable' is replaced by reguitu taq dapat digulingkan 'the team cannot be beaten' (regu 'team', guling 'to knock down'), based on the Javanese model regu kuwi ora bisô digolêngké.

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 nyulék 'to kidnap' (from culèq, 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 bóm, R.3), mencat 'to paint' (from cat, R.4), whereas in Javanese N- always becomes /nge-/ before such roots, as in ngebóm 'to bomb' (from bóm), ngecét 'to paint' (from cét, 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 menyócökkán 'to check if something is correct' (from cócök 'fit, correct'), penyícél 'one who pays in installments' (from cicél 'to pay in installments, on credit'), penyácät 'one who is always very critical of others' (from cacat 'defect, fault'). Examples of Indonesian words which follow rule R.8 are penglíhatán 'sight' (from lihat 'see'), penglipör (lara) 'soother (of pain)' (from lipör 'soothe, comfort'), pengluasán '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 mengépak 'to pack' (from pak 'pack'), mengetés 'to test' (from tés 'test'), mengeték 'to type' (from ték 'type'), mengébóm 'to bomb' (from bóm 'bomb'), mengerém 'to brake' (from rém 'brake'), mengelaq 'to seal' (from laq 'seal'), mengédép 'to stop, hide' (from dép 'stop, hide'), mengecék 'to check' (from cék 'check'), mengekóp 'to hit (a ball) with the head (as in soccer)' (from kóp 'head'). Many of these Javanese influenced forms exist side by side with forms exhibiting the Indonesian morphophonemic rules. Thus, for example, there are peluasán 'enlargement', perusaq 'destroyer', mencócökkán 'to see if something is correct', mentés 'to test', membóm '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 cócök 'fit, correct', cicél 'to pay in installments', lipör 'to comfort, soothe'. Some of them which are loans from other languages have entered Indonesian via Javanese, as e.g. mengekóp 'to hit (a ball) with the head', mengeték 'to type'. Forms such as penglíhatán 'sight' in which the root is an inherited form but the affix undergoes Javanese morphophonemic rules are very few in number.
NOTES

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, memféto 'to veto' (from féto 'veto'), mengkocar-kacerkan '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 /r/, /l/, /Cer/ in which the /r/ of the prefix drops, as in pelayaran 'the sailing' (from layar 'sail'), perasaqan 'feeling' (from rasa 'feel'), peternaaqan 'the raising (of cattle or fowl)' (from ternaaq 'to raise (cattle or fowl)'.

8. In Malay /q/ is inserted between the two /a/'s. Therefore we expect *pebēaqaqan, *pecinaqaqan, *pesēbaqaqan.

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 /el/ 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 /ø/.

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 /ɛ/, the /ɛ/ and /a/ contract into /ê/.

22. When -an is added to a base ending in -eC, -eC 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 kénäqen or kenaqan having the same meaning as kepénäqen or kepénäqan. 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 kepanjīngan 'possessed by a spirit' (from anjīng 'enter'), which expresses the same meaning as kanjīngan. 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 /ê/ when the base ends in /i/ or /ɛ/ (aji 'respect', ngajèni 'to respect (somebody)', ramè 'noisy', ngaramèni 'to make or inflect noise to'); it contract into /ø/ when the base ends in /u/ or /ø/ (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 /ø/ or /a/ (tekô 'come', nekanâni '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)è (the third person singular pronoun), expressing 'I think I should (do the action indicated by the verb) to it'. For example, taq panganè '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)è 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)è),

85
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 unsuffixed 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 tukônqé '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 BELIKANNNYA 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 TIDORKANNNYA disini.
'I THINK I'LL PUT Amin TO SLEEP here.'
I.44 mobilnya SAYA JALANKANNNYA.
'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 TUKOQNÉ pelem.
J.43 amin TAQ TURÖQNÉ kéné.
J.44 mónôrê TAQ LAKÔQNÉ.

Javanese -qné, which has no Kromo equivalent, has the allomorph -né after a base ending in a consonant other than /n/. E.g. taq atroné 'let me present it' (from ator 'present'), taq wênehné 'let me give it' (from wêneh '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 winôrankônya 'was flown away with by him' (from wor 'fly' + -in-, a passive infix, + -aken + -nya), kinawasãkenirá '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. 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 OM AHÉ ABU.
   'This is ABU'S HOUSE.'
J.46 SIKILÉ MÉJÔ KUWI putong.
   'THE LEG OF THAT TABLE is broken.'

can now be expressed in Indonesian as:

I.45 i ni 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 in i RUMAH ABU.
M.46 KAKI MÉJA in i patah.

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. ñuwró 'high', ñuwuré 'the height of'; gege 'large', gegeñé 'the (large) size of'. A form of this sort usually occurs in a genitive construction with a noun phrase, e.g.

J.47 ÑUWURÉ 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 QUARÉ limang mèter.
'That tree is five meter's HIGH.'
J.48a kucing kuwi GEDENÉ 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 mèter.
I.48 BESARNYA kucing itu bukan kepalam.
I.49 (BER)JALANNYA abu cepat.
I.50 (ME)NANGISNYA abu keras sekali.
I.47a pohon itu TINGGINYA lima mèter.
I.48a kucing itu BESARNYA bukan kepalam.
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 anggon plus the suffix -(n)é 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 sakén '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 CIŁIQÉ barang kuwi, NGANTI ora katon.
   'ON ACCOUNT OF THE SMALLNESS OF that thing, it is inviable.'

J. 56 SAKÉNG KESELKU, NGANTI aku ora bisó sínau menéh.
   'BECAUSE OF MY WEARINESS, I could not study any more.'

J. 57 SAKÉNG NAKALMU, NGANTI ora ônô wông séng séneng 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 legi.
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 ciłiqé, nganti ora katôn.
J. 55c sakéng ciłiqé, BARANG KUWI nganti ora katôn.
J. 55d sakéng ciłiqé, 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 sén̄g (Kromo éngkang) 'which' followed by an adjective. In isolation it forms a command meaning 'do it in an (adjective) way', as in sén̄g cepet 'be quick; do it quickly', sén̄g ngatí-atí '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 MLAKU taq SÉNG CEPET.
J.59d (aku) ANGGÔNKU MLAKU 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 (-ně 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 saqwisė taq pikér SĖNG TEMENAN . . .
   'After I have thought about it SERIOUSLY . . .'
   (literally, 'After being thought about by me SERIOUSLY . . .')

J.61 ḍōpō wēs kōq prēkso SĖNG TELĪTI?
   '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 TELĪTI?

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 TEKŌ-TEKŌ.
   'Abu HASN'T COME YET.'

J.63 abu DURONG TEKŌ-TEKŌ.
   '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 tidaq 'no, not', durong as belom 'not yet', giving rise to tidaq or belom followed by a doubled verb, meaning 'hasn't (verb)-ed yet' or 'still hasn't (verb)-ed':

I.62 abu TIDAQ DATANG-DATANG.
I.63 abu BELOM DATANG-DATANG.

In Javanese, a doubled verb can also occur in a negative imperative sentence, the negative being ḍōjō 'don't'. The meaning of such a
sentence is 'don't ever (do the action indicated by the verb)', e.g.

J.64 őjő lungô-lungô:
' Don't every go away! '

A calque of this form has also been made in Indonesian. Javanese őjô '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 őjô. 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 TIDAQ 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 őjô 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 dówô-dówô!
'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 anak 'two children' (literally 'two person child').

In Javanese the word order is noun followed by number. A counter is usually not used in Javanese. 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', anak dua orang 'two children'. Sometimes the counter is dropped:

1.71 dia punya MANGGA TIGA.
   'He has THREE MANGOS.'
1.72 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 kabèn 'all the houses', wông-wông mau kabèn 'all of them', wông-wông sawetóró '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: 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 Ñewêqê olêhê arep tekô?
J.73a Ñewêqê KAPAN olêhê arep tekô?
J.73b olêhê arep tekô Ñewêqê KAPAN?

Similarly:

M.74 MENGAPA dia tidaq datang?

'WHY didn't he come?'

may be translated into Javanese as:

J.74 KENÔ Òpô Ñewêqê ora tekô?
J.74a Ñewêqê KENÔ Òpô ora tekô?
J.74b Ñewêqê ora tekô KENÔ Òpô?

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  rèlah 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 èsoq harinya, maka pergilah perdana menteri itu kepada nabi kidir.
    'The next morning, the prime minister (then) went to the prophet Chidir, . . .'
M.80 sesamaynya didempat itu, belutulah 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 citiup oranglah nafiri.
    'After that then, the drums (a signal) to depart were hit by people and the trumpets were blown by people.'
M.83 arkania maka dihadihkan raja Iskandar akan tuan puteri Syahru Bariah kembali kepada ayahnya.
    'Thus her highness Sjahroë'is 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 tuanamba anak jin?
I.76 apa tuanamba 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 menopó penjenengan putró jim?
J.76 menopó penjenengan rilô?
J.77a penjenengan sakéng puntí?

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 lajeong, are now often substituted.

The Indonesian equivalents of the Malay narrative statements cited above, then, are:

I.78 setelah menteri itu sampay diedepan 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 dihadihkan kembali kepada ayahnya oléh raja Iskandar.

The Javanese models are:

J.78 saqsampunipon mantri menikó dumugi éng ngajengipon nabi kidir,...
J.79 enjéngipon, patih menikó lajeng késah dateng nabi kidir.
J.80 satekané éng panggónan kuwi, dèwèqé banjor jèngkèng.
J.81 satekané éng kali kuwi, dèwèqé banjor ados.
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, it's'), 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 + waê, i.e. sôpô waê 'whoever, anyone' (from sôpô 'who'), ôpô waê 'whatever, anything' (from ôpô 'what'), nêng ngendi waê 'wherever, anywhere' (from nêng ngendi '(to) where'). Usage (2), barang + a nominalised verb, is expressed in Javanese by ôpô waê sêng + a verb, as in:

J.84 ÔPÔ WAÊ SÊNG TAQ ÔMÔNGKÉ dirumgôqaké temenan.

J.85 ÔPÔ WAÊ SÊNG DISDLAHAKÉ mranani atî.
or by saqbarang + a nominalised verb:
J.84a SAQBARANG ÔMÔNGKU dirungôqaké temenan.
J.85a SAQBARANG SOLAHÉ mrânan ati.

Usage (3), barang + a quantity word, is expressed in Javanese by kirô-kirô + a quantity word + waé:
J.86 aku wênêhônô KIÔ-KIÔ LIMANG RUPIYAH WAÉ.
J.87 ombéné KIÔ-KIÔ 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 PANGÉRAN 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 opô waé sêng + verb, as in:
I.84 apa saja yang saya katakan didengarkan baîq-baîq.
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 baîq-baîq.
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 DISAMPA竞选 ALLAH hendraqnya) madsudmu itu.
I.89 MUDAH-MUDAHAN SAJA DIKUTOQ TUHAN perbuatamu 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 seng 'which, who, that'. Both Indonesian yang and Javanese seng 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 seng gege, both meaning 'the one which is big', Indonesian yang sedang tidur and Javanese seng lagi turu, both meaning 'the one who is sleeping', Indonesian yang mana and Javanese seng endi both meaning 'which one' (literally 'the one which is where?'). Both Indonesian yang phrases and Javanese seng-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 seng gege kuwi nakal.

or modify nouns, as in:

I.91 anak 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 seng 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 GONDONG 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 SIA PA (YANG) MENGGALI LUBANG terperösőq sendiri kedalamnya.
'WHOEVER DIGS A HOLE will be trapped in it himself.'
I.99 BARANG SIA PA (YANG) DIDEKATINYA tentu tertariq kepadanya.
'WHOEVER IS APPROACHED BY HER will certainly be attracted by her.'

In Javanese seng is obligatory in all of these environments:
J.92 seng endi SENG jeroq bali?
J.93 sôpô SENG GELEM?
J.94 seng endi SENG AYU ÐÉWÉ?
J.95 wong wadón SENG KLAMBINÉ KETAT kuwi lemu banget.
J.96 profésór seng rambuté gondrong kuwi kepénèn dadi pastor.
J.97 SOPÔ SENG GELEM kenô mêlu.
J.98 SÔPO WAÉ SENG NDUQOQ LUWENG bakal kejeglông ÐÉWÉ nèng njerôné.
J.99 SÔPO WAÉ SENG DICEDAQI mesći ketaréq.

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

1. taq 'by me' is a Ngoko form. Its Kromo equivalent is kulê. The Kromo equivalent of I.40 is Pelem meniko kulo tedanipon.

2. -qné has no Kromo equivalent. The alternate -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.


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 olêhé 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 wi.ji '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', mbbarang 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 òpô 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), LOANBLENDs (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 wong: 'wayang performance played by men'
- wayang golég: 'wayang performance with wooden puppets'
- dalang: 'puppeter' (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 zylophone'

C. Loanwords referring to vocal music:

- tembang: 'Javanese song'
- gérông: 'choir sung by male singers accompanying gamelan music'
- senggaqan: '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)lédéq: 'woman street dancer'
- serimpi: 'a dance by girl dancers'
- bedôyô: 'dance by court girl dancers'
- petîlan: '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'
- gandrong: 'dance depicting a male warrior in love'
E. Loanwords referring to the audience of a performance:

nôntôn  'watch'
gayeng  'pleasant and refreshing'
nanggap  'invite a performance'

F. Loanwords referring to batik making:

cap  'printed'
tulis  'hand painted, not printed'
pola  'pattern, design'
luriq  'striped woven material, not batik'
geringsing  'name of a batik pattern'
malam  'wax'
canting  'dipper'
celop  'dyed'
kerôq  'scrape the wax off the cloth'

G. Loanwords referring to Javanese costumes:

kemben, kemban  'a piece of long cloth which is wrapped around the bodice or waist'
sorjan  'male jacket in Jogjakarta'
setagén  'cloth belt'
selôp  'a kind of sandal or slipper which covers only the front part of the foot and which is worn by men'
sayaq  'skirt'
susôq  'hair pin'
kuloq  'headdress for a prince'
dôdôt  'batik worn by court officials'

H. Loanwords referring to housing:

joglo  'a type of Javanese house with a very high pointed roof'
pekaranangan  'lot, yard'
émprêr  'porch'
pendôpô  'front hall'
gedék  'bamboo wall'
ambén  'bamboo bed'

I. Loanwords referring to food and meals:

gado-gado  'a kind of vegetable salad with peanut butter sauce (the vegetables are usually of Western origin, e.g., cabbage, tomatoes, beans)'

pecel, pecal  'a kind of vegetable salad with very hot peanut sauce (the vegetables are mostly of Javanese origin, e.g. spinach, string beans, beansprouts)'
rujaq  'all sorts of fruits mixed with a hot sauce'
gudek  'dish with boiled unripe jackfruit'
rames  'all sorts of dishes mixed together'
lemper  'a snack made of steamed sticky rice with fried ground meat inside'
témpé  'soybean curd'
keripiq  'a kind of chip, usually made of fried soybean curd'

J. Loanwords referring to drinks:
céndól  'little cakes made of rice or sago flour and used for filling in an iced drink'
és dawet  'iced drink made from cendol and coconut milk'
wédang jaé  'hot drink with ginger in it'
kópi tubroq  'instant coffee, Javanese style'

K. Loanwords referring to plants and fruits:
sawo  'a very sweet tasting fruit with thin, smooth, shiney seeds'
k(e)luwih, keluih  'a kind of breadfruit used only as a vegetable'
kélôr  'a kind of tree with small round leaves'
walikutukon  'a kind of tree for making walking sticks'
jaraq  'castor oil plant'
pâtê  'bitter melon'

L. Loanwords referring to animals, fish, insects:
kalông  'big bats'
bandeng  'fish usually raised near the sea shore'
bunglôn  'chameleon'
béo  'parrot'
banténg  'Javanese bull'
kancil  'mousedeer'

M. Loanwords referring to plant disease:
urét  'worm which eats the roots of rice'
walang sangit  'a rotten smelling grasshopper'
sundep, sundap  'insect which lives on the leaves of rice'
buboq  'woodworm'

N. Loanwords referring to farming:
panén  'harvest'
tegal  'dry field'
gogô  'upland rice'
lungghoh  'field given to a village official as payment'
genjah 'rice which becomes ripe in a short time'
ijón '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-rágó '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'
sełapanan 'ceremony for the 35th day after a child's birth'
kirap 'the diplaying 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
krômò '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'
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'
- nerimō: 'to accept one's fate ungrudgingly'
- kerasan: 'feeling at home'
- lega: 'relieved'
- kerañjining: 'uncontrollably excited'
- emoc: 'unwilling to accept'
- wirang: 'deeply embarrassed because some dishonourable thing has been done'
- tagih, ketaqihan: 'desiring to eat, drink or get something because of addiction'
B. Loanwords referring to taste, smell, etc.:

- **gurih**: 'nutty, like the taste of coconut, peanut etc.'
- **sepert, sepat**: 'the taste of a fruit which is still young and unripe'
- **bacin**: 'rotten smelling, like the smell of very bad breath'
- **sangit**: 'a strong and unpleasant smell, like that of a certain grasshopper or oversteamed food'
- **gősông**: 'overcooked'
- **môgôl**: 'uncooked'
- **m(e)lempe**: 'stale'

C. Loanwords referring to beauty, etc.:

- **môntôk**: 'plump, full'
- **luwes**: 'attractive and graceful, not necessarily beautiful'
- **ngganteng**: 'handsome and calm'
- **cébôl**: 'dwarf'
- **lumayan**: 'so-so'

D. Loanwords referring to a person's character:

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

E. Loanwords referring to a quality of something:

- **ampuh**: 'superior, powerful'
- **jitu**: 'excellent, able to outlast seven rivals, \(^2\)
- **jempôl(an)**: 'champion, the best, excellent'
- **tôk-cér**: 'in a very good condition (for a car), it starts very well'
- **bôbrôq**: 'dillapidated'
- **kunô**: 'old, ancient'
- **kôlôt**: 'old, conservative'
- **kawaq**: 'old, rusted, experienced'
- **jompo**: 'very old and unable to do anything worthwhile'
F. Loanwords referring to the state of a situation:

répét  'busy and muddled'
gégér  'in high commotion'
gayeng  'harmonious and festive'
serem  'hair raising'
ambias  'gone, no trace left'
gagal  'unaccomplished'

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

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

H. Loanwords referring to eating, speaking, sitting:

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

I. Loanwords referring to carrying, stealing:

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

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

gabah  'unhusked rice'
merang  'the dry top part of the stalk of rice'
katol  'layer next to the rice grain, which has a lot of vitamins'
gelugu  'coconut tree'
janor  'young and yellow coconut leaves'
degan  'young coconut fruit, the water and the meat of which are very delicious to eat'
K. Loanwords connected with work and labour:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Javanese Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lembar</td>
<td>'work overtime'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngoyó</td>
<td>'exert oneself too much'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>libur</td>
<td>'vacation'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mògøq</td>
<td>'strike'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loyo</td>
<td>'exhausted'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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'; sòq³ 'pretend to be something one really isn't, therefore snobbish, conceited' which in Javanese means 'once in a while'; matang or mantep '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Javanese Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>macan</td>
<td>'tiger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>céléng</td>
<td>'boar'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>menjangan</td>
<td>'deer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bajing</td>
<td>'squirrel'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapi</td>
<td>'cow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

B. Loanwords referring to plants and herbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Javanese Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laös</td>
<td>'laos root'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunir</td>
<td>'tumeric'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaé</td>
<td>'ginger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kencor</td>
<td>'ginger-like root'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

C. Loanwords referring to parts of human body:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indonesian</th>
<th>Javanese Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sikot</td>
<td>'elbow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuping</td>
<td>'ear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bôkông</td>
<td>'bottom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jénggôt</td>
<td>'beard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dengkol</td>
<td>'knee'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Malay forms are siku, telinga, pantat, janggut, and lutut respectively.
D. Loanwords referring to geographical names:

- kali 'river'
- telaga 'lake'
- pesisir 'beach'

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

E. Loanwords referring to cooking:

- goréng 'fry'
- gódók 'boil'
- bumbu 'spices'

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

F. Loanwords referring to actions:

- jótós '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'
- kulón 'west'
- pójóq 'corner'

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

H. Loanwords referring to character, behaviour:

- wataq 'character'
- édan 'crazy, insane'
- pintar 'smart'
- góblók 'stupid'

The Malay forms are sipat or kelakuan, gila, panday, pandir or dingu 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 perlú 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. 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)'
- buroh 'labourer'
- mûgûq 'strike'
- bedah 'surgery'
- pelonco 'freshman student'
- rôngrong 'undermine'
- berontaq 'revolt'
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 widespread 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
- wadoq
- congōr
- gōglōk
- utek
- cōkōr

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
- surya
- candra
- puspa
- kusuma
- ibu-pertiwi
- asmarā
- panti
- darma

- 'dead, kaputt'
- 'belly'
- 'mouth or nose'
- 'stupid'
- 'brain'
- 'leg'

- 'star'
- 'sun'
- 'moon'
- 'flower'
- 'flower'
- 'motherland'
- 'love'
- 'house, home'
- 'service'
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  'girl, virgin'
watas  'border'
waja  'steel'
waspada  'alert'
wejangan  'advice, message'
gawat  'serious'
jejaka  'bachelor'
rerungkutan  'bush'
kembang  'flower'
mekar  'blossom'
wangi  'fragrant'

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-ngok  'term for Western popular music'
plintat-plintut  'having two faces, opportunistic and sneaky'
céngéng  'cry-baby'
jaka-tínting  'a bachelor who is still pure, i.e. never has had an affair' (jaka 'bachelor', tínting 'the sound of pure and high quality metal when it is hit')
ságóq  'bribe' (lit. 'to knock down fruit from a tree with a long stick')
ngólîr  'to curry favour, apple polish' (lit. to act like a kólîr 'an elastic chord around waist', i.e. 'embrace somebody's belly')
digunduli  'be defeated badly in a game' (lit. be shaved completely until no hair is left on the head')
ngiler  'to crave (for) something' (lit. 'to drool')
ngompréng  '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')
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. It's 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 lebar sekali, TÔ?
'Her eyes are very large, AREN'T THEY?'
5.1.7.4. Iho

Iho is a particle expressing surprise:

I.108 LHO, dari, mana?

'GOODNESS, where have you come from?'

When kòq is combined with Iho the idea of being surprised is emphasised:

I.109 LHO, KÔQ sudah datang lagi?

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

Iho 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!'

Iho 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:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lagi</td>
<td>'in the process of doing something'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rada</td>
<td>'rather'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bakal(an)</td>
<td>'be going to'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nggaq</td>
<td>'no, not'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaya</td>
<td>'like, as'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saben</td>
<td>'every, each'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tòq</td>
<td>'only'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
lantaran  'because'
pada  '(do something) plural'
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. LOANBLENDs

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, and the Javanese elements precede the Malay elements:

- omong-kosong  ‘nonsense, empty talk; phatic communion’
- mèsem-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 jempol  ‘wishful thinking’ (lit. ‘thumb sucking’)
- ambil tindakan  ‘prosecute, take action. take measures’
- siang bolong  ‘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 bhaṣā  ‘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 Kuţţo-gedé, but now known by most Indonesians as Kota-gedé. Literally it means 'big town'. Malay kota 'town' is from Sanskrit.

serikat-buroh  
'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 raksösõ is from Sanskrit râkṣas(a) 'demon'.

buta-warna  
'colour blind' (lit. 'blind (at) colour'). Javanese warnõ '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)o 'tax' is from Malay bâya 'charge, fare' which in turn came from Sanskrit vyāya 'piece(s)'.

perwira tinggi  
'high officers'. Indonesian perwira 'officer' is from Javanese prawirõ 'hero, officer', which ultimately came from Sanskrit pra 'forward, onward, forth' and vTrä '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 wärtõ and Malay berita came from Sanskrit vṛtta 'thing happened'.

warga-negara  
'citizen' (lit. 'the member or family of a country'). Javanese wargõ '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**
  - 'university student' (lit. 'super student').
  - maha 'super, the most' is from Sanskrit
  - maha 'great, mighty' and Javanese siswô is from Sanskrit ciṣya 'pupil'.

- **kota-madya**
  - 'a political term for a middle sized city'.
  - Malay kota 'town, city' is from Sanskrit kuṭṭa 'fort' and Javanese madyô 'middle' is from Sanskrit madhya 'middle'.

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.

- **Bangsal**, in Malay originally referred to a garage, or horse stable or some other kind of unprestigious store house. In Javanese bangsal refers to a grand hall, used for dancing, sports, or some other kind of prestigious performance. Now in Indonesian the word bangsal always means 'big hall' and not 'stable' or 'store house'. Similarly membölès 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 bolèh means (1) 'can, be permitted to' and (2) 'be able to'. In Javanese olèh (which is probably cognate to bolèh⁸), means only 'can, be permitted to' and not 'be able to'. Now in Indonesian bolèh 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 kitap is mostly meant for 'holy book'. For ordinary 'book' the word buku is used. Now in Indonesian the word kitap 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 ṭpō, has the same meanings:
J.116 ṭpō kuwi?
J.117 Ḟeweqe kuwi wông ṭpō?

Javanese ṭpō 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 ṭpō kowé wés mangan?
'Have you eaten yet?'
J.118a Kowé ṭpō wés mangan?
J.118b Kowé wés mangan ṭpō?

Javanese ṭpō may also mean 'or' in a question asking if something is 'A or B?':
J.119 bocah kaé lanang ṭpō wadôn?
'Is that kid a boy or a girl?'

Indonesian apa has now extended its meaning to coincide with those of Javanese ṭpō:
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 lungó 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 gemuq 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 tekó.
'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 yen also means 'if' as in:
J.124 yen udan, aku ora arep lungó.
'If it rains, I won't go.'

However, Javanese yen can also function as a conjunction and mean 'that' as in:
J.125 aku ngerti yen kowé lagi mangan.
'I knew that you were eating.'
Influenced by Javanese yen, 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 pesta 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 pestaan durong wés.
'The dinner is not over yet.'

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

J.128 wés yó, 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 yó 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)!'

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 kabótan
'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 klérù tempô 'misunderstand' (from klérù 'wrong', tempô '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 dól gâgé 'to mortgage a rice field or any other land' (from dól 'sell' and gâgé 'pawn') is translated as jual gaday (from jual 'sell' and gaday 'pawn'); Javanese rônô mêntèr 'name of type of rice', lit. 'cheerful widow') (from rônô 'widow' and mêntèr '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') 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; têmpê gêlê 'soybean cake' has been translated as têmpê kedelay and pêyêq urang 'shrimp chips' has been translated as pêyêq 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', panên 'harvest' and ôtôt 'muscle'. Wayang is from PA *bayan 'shadow', pedôman is from Javanese dôm 'needle, compasses', which in turn is from PA *zarrum 'needle, compasses'. Panên is from Javanese pa-ani-an (from ani or ani-ani which means 'the knife for cutting rice stalk'), and ôtôt is from PA *urut 'muscle, vein'.

B. Borrowings of Arabic origin, such as ruah 'the eighth month' (from Arabic arwah 'spirit'), nyênén-kemis 'fast on Mondays and Thursdays, be almost dead and breathe very slowly' (which is from Arabic isnain 'Monday' and khamis 'Thursday').
C. Borrowings of Sanskrit origin,\textsuperscript{13} such as \textit{warna} 'colour' which is from Sanskrit \textit{vara} 'colour, appearance', \textit{warga} 'member' which is from Sanskrit \textit{varga} 'group, family'.

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

E. Borrowings of English origin, such as \textit{trek}\textsuperscript{15} (from English \textit{truck}), \textit{Malióbóró} 'name of a main street in Jogja' (from English \textit{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 \textit{mana-suka} 'free choice, as you like it' (term used in a radio program when listener selects music) from Javanese \textit{mônô-sukô} 'free choice' which was formed from Malay \textit{mana} 'which, whichever' and \textit{suka} 'like'. Similarly Indonesian \textit{masuk-angin} 'an ailment the symptoms of which are excessive gas and chilli' is from Javanese \textit{masoq-angin} which in turn is from Malay \textit{masuk} 'enter' and \textit{angin} 'wind'.

\textbf{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 \textit{dukô} 'I don't know' (from kulô \textit{nyuôn dukô} 'I beg (your) anger (at my stupidity)'), \textit{nuwon} 'excuse me' (from \textit{nuwon sêwu pangapunten} '(I) beg one thousand pardons'), \textit{nuwon} 'thanks' (from \textit{mator nuwon} '(I) say thanks', \textit{emboh} '(I) don't know' (from aku tamboh 'I ask a question'), \textit{kirangan} '(I) don't know' (from kulô kirang mangertôs 'I am short of knowledge' or kulô kekirangan pangertôsan '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 \textit{tau} '(I) don't know' (from saya \textit{tidaq tau} 'I don't know'), \textit{mana} 'How is that possible?' (from bagaymana bisa 'how is that possible'). There are even some calques of shortened Javanese phrases e.g. \textit{masa(q)} 'impossible!' from \textit{masa(kan) begitu} 'How can that be possible?' The Javanese model is \textit{môngsô} 'impossible' from \textit{môngsô ngono} 'How is that possible?' or \textit{môngsô kdyô ngono} 'How is it possible like that?'
NOTES

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 anggq '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 /el/ and /ol/ contracting into /ol/. 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 *wisuq 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 kotaq 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 Syaqqb, 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 kemis '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.

¹
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 vocabulary 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. 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 BUNITING
   'Sarinah is PREGNANT.'
I.132a BELIAYU sudah lanjut USIANYA
   'HE is already of an advanced AGE.'
I.132b IAIN 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 anak '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. Some of these seem to be borrowings from Javanese.
6.2.1. Borrowings from Javanese in the Malay Court Vocabulary

The Malay court vocabulary 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:

titia ng 'I', for a subject when speaking to the sultan or other high ranking noblemen.

kaul a '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.

kau la 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 (layônán) 'corpse, dead body'

sôngsông 'umbrella'

kamul 'blanket'

paduka mator 'fourth wife'

ayér emas 'child'

The word titia ng '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 layonan or layuan 'corpse' is from Javanese layon '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 layon, but Malay morphological rules do not. Thus Malay layonan has a double or hyper suffix -an. Malay songsong 'royal umbrella' is from Javanese Kromo Inggil songsong '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), 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malay</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>manira</td>
<td>'I', used by an officer when addressing a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subordinate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hulun, ulun</td>
<td>'I', used when a subject to the king or a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>high nobleman.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakanira</td>
<td>'you', used by an officer to a subordinate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>andika</td>
<td>'you', used respectfully toward elders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sampian</td>
<td>'you', used in a more respectful way than</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>andika.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
B. Words showing humility:

- hingga
- suhun
- amit
- amit kembali
- maaturi amit
- kaula amit
- among karsa
- ator
- maator
- ator sambah
- ator salam
- maaturi
- mancatu
- maaraq
- maunjungi
- lumiring
- mahayapkan
- mahistukan

C. Words showing respect to the agent or possessor:

- hadus
- mantoq
- ngandika
- mular
- patak
- rigi, ngregeni
- mangampil
- barambit lawan
- wastu
- wasiat
- linggi
- barsamsam
- langgana
- salira
- sarual
- swargi
- sumalah
- kagungan
- kagungan dalam
- hastana
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{möhôn maqaf} & \quad '(I) beg your pardon', based on Jv nyuwon pangapunten; \\
\text{möhôn periksa} & \quad '(may I) ask (you) a question', based on Jv nyuwon priksô; \\
\text{möhôn keterangan} & \quad '(may I) ask (you) for information', based on Jv nyuwon keterangan; \\
\text{möhôn pamit} & \quad '(may I) ask (you) for permission to leave', based on Jv nyuwon pamit; \\
\text{möhôn pengëstu} & \quad '(may I) ask for your blessings', based on Jv nyuwon pengëstu; \\
\text{möhôn pinjam} & \quad '(may I) borrow', based on Jv nyuwon ngampil; \\
\text{surat permöhôn} & \quad 'a letter of request or application', based on Jv serat panyuwan; \\
\text{hatör periksa} & \quad 'inform', based on Jv aтор priksô; \\
\text{menghatorkan terimakasih} & \quad 'to say thanks', based on Jv ngatoraken panuwon; \\
\text{menghatorkan selamat} & \quad 'to congratulate', based on Jv ngatoraken sugeng; \\
\text{menghatorkan bélasungkawa} & \quad 'to extend condolence' based on Jv ngatoraken bélosungkôwô.
\end{align*}
\]

Kromo Inggil forms that have been borrowed into Indonesian include:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{abdi} & \quad 'servant' \\
\text{puteri} & \quad 'girl' \\
\text{puterâ} & \quad 'boy' \\
\text{tamû} & \quad 'guest' \\
\text{tamû agong} & \quad 'distinguished guest' \\
\text{asma} & \quad 'name' \\
\text{karûsa} & \quad 'will' \\
\text{tênja} & \quad 'faeces' \\
\text{lûhor} & \quad 'noble' \\
\text{lôlôs} & \quad 'to escape' \\
\text{lelûhor} & \quad 'ancestors' \\
\text{tîndaq-tandoq} & \quad 'behaviour' \\
\text{tîndakan} & \quad 'action'
\end{align*}
\]
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 jupônô buku kuwi 'bring me that book!' one would say tulong, aku jupônô buku kuwi literally 'help me, bring me that book!'

Instead of aîjìmu pîrô? 'How many younger siblings do you have?' one would say aîjînê pîrô 'How many younger siblings are there?'. Instead of kulô bâdê mator 'I want to speak' one would say keparengô kulô bâdê mator 'allow me, I want to speak'. Very often hesitation forms such as kuwi (Ngoko), menîkô (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 sikahkan 'please (in offering)' as in:
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 duduq 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 mulay bicara.
'Allow me to start speaking.'

These are based on the following Javanese models:

J.137 COBÔ lunggoh segêlô
'Please sit down for a minute!'

J.138 TULONG aku jupögô 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 wiêt 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 sawdâra ITU nakal.
'You are ER.. naughty.'
I.143 sawdara ITU ANU berbau.  
'You ER WHATCHAMACALLIT 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 WHATCHAMACALLIT 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) /ɛ/ for the standard /ay/ (2.2.1.), (3) /o/ for the standard /aw/ (2.2.2.), (4) /ɛ/ 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 Jakarta Indonesian all the new elements described in Chapter IV.

Javanese loans which appear in the vocabulary of Jakarta 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 Jakarta 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, Jakarta 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 Jakarta Indonesian has become a separate colloquial style of Indonesian.

Although its use was first confined to Jakarta, 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.
NOTES

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.

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.
NOTES

1. The phoneme /f/ has been added to Javanese; a less aspirated pronunciation of the aspirated stops /b/, /d/, /ğ/, /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 sawetêrê + 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 ðpê 'what' and sêng 'which' have decreased in frequency. For a more complete discussion on the influence of Indonesian on Javanese, see Soepome Poedjosoedarmo 1967.
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INDEX

A. INDEX OF SUBJECT MATTER

adjective -nya
adjective + sekali
affixes

ə
-aké, aken, see -qaké, -qaken, -aken-nira, -aken-nya
-an
-aN (N-, maN-)
ber-
ber- -kan
di-
-en
-x-en
-é (-né)
-i
-kan
-kannya
-ke-
ke- -an
ke- -en
-kku
-lah
-ma-
maN-
meN-
-mu
-N-

4.1.3.2.
4.4.1.
3.2.2.
4.1.2.
3.3.2.1., 3.3.2.2., 3.3.2.3., 3.3.3., 3.3.5.
3.3.1., 3.6.
3.3., 3.2., 3.2.2.
3.5., 3.5.1.
3.2.1., 3.5.1.
3.3.3.
3.3.3.
3.2.2., 3.5.1., 4.1.1., 4.1.2., 4.1.3.1., 4.1.3.2.
3.4., 3.4.2.
3.2., 3.2.1., 3.4.3., 4.1.2.
4.1.2.
3.1.3., 3.3.1.1.
3.3.1., 3.3.1.1., 3.3.1.2., 3.3.1.3.
3.3.1., 3.3.1.3.
4.1.3.2.
4.3.1.
3.2.2.
3.1.1., 3.6.
3.1.1., 3.2.1., 3.4., 3.6.
4.1.3.2.
3.1.1., 3.4.1., 3.6.
-nya
pa-
*p*aR- -an
pe- -an, pa- -an
peN-
per-
per- -an
per- -kan
pi-
pra-
-qaké, -qaken
-qné
ter-
barang + a passive verb
barang + a quantity word
calque, see loan-translations
circumlocutions
colloquial Indonesian
Djakarta Indonesian
doubling
doubling plus -an
doubling with vowel change
hyper-Javanisation
Indonesian
Javanese Indonesian
Javanism
Kromo
Kromo Andap
Kromo Inggil
Loanblends
Loanshifts
Loan-translations
Loanwords
Madyo
Malay, Middle Malay, Old Malay
Malay Court vocabulary
Malayan Malay
Morphophonemics
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative plus doubling</td>
<td>4.1.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Indonesian</td>
<td>6.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun plus numeral</td>
<td>4.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngoko</td>
<td>6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngoko Lugu</td>
<td>6.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Malay</td>
<td>0.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>olèh</em> -é + verb</td>
<td>4.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omong Djakarta</td>
<td>1.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question words</td>
<td>4.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplication</td>
<td>3.4.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reduplication plus -an</td>
<td>3.4.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relaxification</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saja</em></td>
<td>5.1.7.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saking</em> -ne, -nya</td>
<td>4.1.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saya</em> + verb -nya</td>
<td>4.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>saya</em> + verb -kannya</td>
<td>4.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard Indonesian</td>
<td>1.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subject plus predicate</td>
<td>4.3.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taq</em> ter- -kan</td>
<td>3.5.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>taq</em> + verb -né</td>
<td>4.1.1., 4.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>waé</em></td>
<td>2.2.6., 2.5., 4.3.2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{Ar} & \text{Arabic} \\
\text{Ch} & \text{Chinese} \\
\text{D} & \text{Dutch} \\
\text{E} & \text{English} \\
\text{Ind} & \text{Indonesian} \\
\text{Jap} & \text{Japanese} \\
\text{Jv} & \text{Javanese} \\
\text{Mad} & \text{Madurese} \\
\text{Ming} & \text{Minangkabau} \\
\text{Ml} & \text{Malay} \\
\text{PA} & \text{Proto-Austronesian} \\
\text{Port} & \text{Portuguese} \\
\text{Skt} & \text{Sanskrit} \\
\text{Sp} & \text{Spanish} \\
\text{Sun} & \text{Sundanese} \\
\text{Tm} & \text{Tamil}
\end{array}
\]

If a word occurs in Indonesian as well as another language it will be marked for both.

\[
\begin{align*}
aaneemer (D), \text{anémér, anèmer (Jv)} & \quad 2.2. \\
abdi & \quad 6.2.2. \\
abôt (Jv) & \quad 2.2.6. \\
abôt, kabôtan (Jv) & \quad 5.4.1. \\
adegan (Jv, Ind) & \quad 1.2.2.4. \\
adem (Jv, Ind) & \quad 2.2.1. \\
adon & \quad 2.1.2. \\
adôn (Jv, Ind) & \quad 2.1.2. \\
adu ayu (Jv, Ind) & \quad 5.1.3. \\
adun (Ml) & \quad 2.1.2. \\
aé (Jv) & \quad 2.5. \\
agung (Jv, Ind) & \quad 5.1.2.1. \\
ajek (Jv, Ind) & \quad 2.1.4. \\
akula (Skt) & \quad 2.2.4. \\
*akula barga & \quad 2.2.4. \\
alasan & \quad 2.2.4.
\end{align*}
\]
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.
ambлас 5.1.2.1., 2.2.3.
amblek 2.1.4.
ambles 2.2.3.
amit, maaturi amit, amit kembali, kaula amit 6.2.1.
among 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 (M1) 2.1.1.
anggôné + verb (Jv) 4.1.4.
anggrèq (Jv, Ind) 2.1.1.
angker (Jv, Ind) 2.2.
ango 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.
aría 6.2.1.
arkian (M1) 4.3.1.
arwah (Ar) 5.5.
aspak (D) 2.1.4.
asma 6.2.2.
asmara 5.1.5.
aspect (D), aspék 2.1.4.
ataw 2.1.2.
ático 2.1.2.
ator 6.2.1.
ator salam 6.2.1.
awang-awang 2.3.4.
awét 2.2.7.
awét (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.
bacin (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.
baka (an) (Jv, Ind) 5.1.7.6.
bakò (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.
bangsai (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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>barsamsam</td>
<td>6.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baru</td>
<td>5.3.3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baruna</td>
<td>2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batas</td>
<td>1.3.2.4., 2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*batuk (PA)</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batuq</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawa</td>
<td>2.2.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawah</td>
<td>2.2.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*bayang (PA)</td>
<td>5.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bêa-cukay</td>
<td>5.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedah (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedok (Jv), bedok</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bedôyô (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belakang, blakang</td>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belanda</td>
<td>2.2.4., 5.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beledu</td>
<td>2.1.2., 2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belérang</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beliau</td>
<td>6.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beligu (M1)</td>
<td>2.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belirang</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>béloq</td>
<td>2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belôq, blôk (Jv)</td>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belum, belom</td>
<td>3.3.4.2., 4.1.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beluku (M1)</td>
<td>2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bêluq (M1)</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bêngkêl</td>
<td>2.2.4., 2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bêntêng</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bentoq</td>
<td>2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bêo (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1., 2.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beradu</td>
<td>6.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berapa, brapa</td>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bêraq</td>
<td>1.3.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beras</td>
<td>2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berat, keberatan</td>
<td>5.4.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berita</td>
<td>2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berôbah</td>
<td>2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berôbah</td>
<td>2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berontaq</td>
<td>5.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bersalin</td>
<td>6.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bersantap</td>
<td>6.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bersiram</td>
<td>6.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*berta</td>
<td>2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bertélétélé
beskat (M1) 2.1.1.
betah (Jv, Ind) 2.2.6.
bhása (Skt) 5.1.2.2.
bhuta (Skt) 2.1.2.
bijaksana (M1) 2.2.6.
bijén (M1) 2.2.4.
bijil (M1) 2.2.6.
biluq (M1) 2.1.1.
bingkil (M1, Jv) 2.2.4.
binting (M1) 2.1.1.
biola (M1) 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 (M1) 2.2.4.
boléh 5.3.2.
*bôleh -ku, *bôleh-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.
brroker (E), berokar (M1) 2.2.
Broto (Jv, Ind) 2.2.3.
buboq (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
*budak (PA) 2.1.4.
budaq (M1) 2.1.4.
budaq (Jv) 2.1.4.
budèk (Jv), budek 2.1.4.
budug (Jv) 2.1.2.
buka 2.1.3.
*buka (PA) 2.1.3.
bukô (Jv) 2.1.3.
bulay (M1) 2.1.1.
bule (Jv, Ind) 2.1.1.
bumbu (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.2.
bunglon (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
bunting (M1) 6.1.
bupati (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
buroh (Jv, Ind) 5.1.3.
buta-warna 5.2.
butó (Jv) 2.1.2.
butuh (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.2., 5.1.8.
cabay (M1) 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 (M1) 2.1.1.
capé 2.1.1.
cekor (M1) 5.1.2.2.
celop (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
céndol (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
ceréwét 5.1.2.1.
céból (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.1.
céléng (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.2.
céngéng (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.
daqerah 2.2.4.
da rma

dawlat

degan (Jv, Ind)

dénéng

dengkol (Jv, Ind)

deket, dekat

derebar, driver (E)

dering

déwan

déwasa

déwi

diciduk

digunduli

dinamo (D)

dinamu

dipati

diséq (Jv)

divaça (Skt)

doctor (D), dôktôr, dôkter (Jv, Ind)

domingo (Port)

dosin

dozijn (D)

dôdôt (Jv)

dôl gaqé

dôm (Jv)

driver (E), derébar

dukô (Jv), kulô nyuwon dukô (Jv)

dukun (Jv, Ind)

dungu (M1)

Durna

durong (Jv)

*durug (PA)

dusin (M1)

duwé (Jv)

dwi (Jv, Ind)

dwi-windu (Jv, Ind)

Dwidjo (Jv, Ind)

*gabuk (PA)

gahar (Jv)

gawug (Jv)

géwé (Jv)

gògòk (Jv)
*dugdug (PA)
emas (ayer _____)
embah (Jv)
embah (Jv, Ind)
emboh, aku tamboh (Jv)
emôh (Jv, Ind)
*(e)kelewarga
engko (Jv)
édan (Jv, Ind)
edap
êdar
émpér
ês dawet
espingarda (Port)
éyang (Jv)
gabah (Jv, Ind)
gabak (Jv, Ind)
gado (Jv)
gado-gado (Jv, Ind)
gagal (Jv, Ind)
gambang (Jv, Ind)
gamelan (Jv, Ind)
gandin (Ml)
gandên
gandrong (Jv, Ind)
ganyang (Jv, Ind)
gara-gara
gatra
gawat (Jv, Ind)
gayeng (Jv, Ind)
gerah (Jv)
gerayaq (Jv, Ind)
gering
geringsing (Jv, Ind)
germó (Jv, Ind)
gérông (Jv, Ind)
gestapu
gedé
gedék
gedèk (Jv), gedék
gedôk (Jv), gedôk
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gelègèk (Jv), gelèdéq</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gelugu (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gendèr (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gendir (M1)</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genténg</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genting (M1)</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gila</td>
<td>5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>giwang</td>
<td>2.2.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gégér (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gëndông</td>
<td>5.1.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>génjah (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glègèk (Jv), gelègèk</td>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glagak (Jv), geladaq</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goqèk (Jv), godèk</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gogo, tari agogo</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goréng</td>
<td>5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gorés</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gòblòk (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.4., 5.1.2.2., 5.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gògòk (Jv), godok</td>
<td>2.1.4., 5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gògò (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.3., 5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gông (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gônò-gini (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gósông (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gòtòng (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gudek</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guòdek (Jv), gudek</td>
<td>2.1.4., 5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guòdik (Jv), gudik</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurem (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurih (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guris (M1)</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gusti (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>6.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grebek (Jv)</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grobak (Jv)</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hadus (M1)</td>
<td>6.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hak</td>
<td>2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakékat</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hakikat (M1)</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haklykat (Ar)</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haliya (M1)</td>
<td>5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamengkubuwono (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hamil</td>
<td>6.1.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
hanglo (Ch) 2.1.2.
hantam krómô 5.4.2.
harimaw 5.1.2.2.
 hastana (M1) 6.2.1.
hator periksa, menghatorkan (M1) 6.2.2.
hatta (M1) 4.3.1.
heho (Jap) 2.1.2.
 hidup 2.2.4.
hinggih (M1) 6.2.1.
holland (D) 2.2.6.
hulun, ulun (M1) 6.2.1.
ia 2.3.3., 6.1.
ialah 2.3.3.
Ibrahim 2.1.3.
ibu-peritwi 5.1.5.
idap (M1) 2.3.1.
idar (M1) 2.3.1.
ijón 5.1.1.
imbuhan 1.3.2.3.
iccer (Jv, Ind) 2.2.
isapan-jempól 5.2.
isnain (Ar) 5.5.
istinggar (M1) 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.
jampa na (M1) 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.
jawótô (Jv, Ind) 2.2.7.
jeboi, jebul-jebulé 5.4.1.
jejaka 5.1.5.
jejaq
jejeq (PA)
jejak (Jv)
jempol (an) (Jv, Ind)
jenggot
jengkel
jitu (Jv, Ind)
joglo (Jv, Ind)
jompo (Jv, Ind)
jotob (Jv, Ind)
jual gaday
jumahat, jumaqat, iumat, jumaqat
juru-rawat
kadavan
kadé(y)an (Jv)
kagungan (Jv, Ml)
kagungan dalam (Ml)
kal
*kala (PA)
kalaw
kali (Jv, Ind)
kalong (Jv, Ind)
kampré
kamul (Ml)
kancil (Jv, Ind)
kang rama (Ml)
kang rayi (Ml)
kangen (Jv, Ind)
kantong
kantung (Ml)
karsa
kartika
kaspé (Jv, Ind)
kataq (Ml)
katé (Jv, Ind)
katol (Jv, Ind)
kaula (Ml)
kaula pengiran (Ml)
kawaq (Jv, Ind)
kawij (Jv, Ind)
kawulô (Jv)
kaya
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.
keluwi, keluih (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
kembang, kember 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.
kepengin (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.
kéré (Jv, Ind) 2.1.1.
kéripiq (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.
kéök (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 (M1) 2.1.1.
kiôs 2.2.7.
kip (M1) 2.1.1.
kiprah (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
kirō-kirō 4.3.2.
kirangan, kulo kirang mangertōs (Jv) 5.6.
kirap (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
kirō2 (Jv) 4.3.2.
kitab (Ar) 5.3.2.
kitap 5.3.2.
kalṭen (Jv) 2.2.3.
klenq (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
klēru-tōmpō (Jv) 5.4.1.
kliwōn (Jv, Ind) 2.2.3., 2.2.7.
koffer (D), kōpōr, kōper (Jv, Ind) 2.2.
komperéngsi 2.2.4.
komperénσi 2.2.4.
kondur (Jv, M1) 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.
kōlō (Jv) 2.1.3.
kōlōt (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.1.
kōncō (Jv, Ind) 2.1.3., 5.1.7.6.
kōnferēnsi 2.2.4.
kōnperēnsi 2.2.4.
kōpi tubroq (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
kōq (Jv, Ind) 1.2.2.1., 5.1.7.
kōruptor 2.2.
kratōn (Jv, Ind) 1.2.2.6.
krīcaq, keri caq (Jv) 2.2.3.
kritiek (D), kritik 2.1.4.
krōmō (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
krupōq, keraupq (Jv, Ind) 2.2.3.
kuasa 2.2.4.
kubis (M1) 2.1.2.
kula (M1) 2.2.4.
kula-bangsa 2.2.6.
kula barga 2.2.6.
kula-wangsa (M1) 2.2.4.
kuloq (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
ku lōn (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.2.
ku lōwargō (Jv) 2.2.4
ku lō-wōngsō (Jv) 2.2.6.
ku nīr (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.2.
kunō (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.
kwāllitēt, kwāllta 2.2.3.
kwitansī, kuwi tanga (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.
lakōn (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.
landē(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.
laōh 2.2.7.
laōs 5.1.2.2.
lawē 2.1.1.
lawēt 2.2.7.
lawī 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.
legō (Jv) 2.1.3.
lembēq (Jv, Ind) 2.1.1.
lembiq (Ml) 2.1.1.
lembu (M1, Jv) 5.1.2.2.
lembur (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.1.
lemper (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
lengkuas (M1) 5.1.2.2.
enté (M1) 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, M1) 6.2.1.
luat (Jv, M1) 2.1.1.
lobang 2.1.2.
lonté (Jv, Ind) 2.1.1.
lös (Jv, Ind) 2.1.2.
lotré 2.4.
loyo (Jv, Ind) 2.1.2., 5.1.2.1.
lôndó (Jv) 2.2.6.
lot(e)ré 2.4.
lubang (M1) 2.1.2.
lumayan 5.1.2.1.
lumiring (M1) 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 (M1) 2.1.2.
lutut 5.1.2.2.
luwes (Jv, Ind) 2.2., 5.1.2.1.
maaraq (M1) 6.2.1.
maator (M1) 6.2.1.
maaturi (M1) 6.2.1.
macan (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.2.
macem-macem, macam-macam 2.2.
maha-siswa 5.2.
mahayapkan (M1) 6.2.1.
mahistukan (M1) 6.2.1.
maka (M1) 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.
mangampiil (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-rögô (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
maunjungi (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.
mbólôs (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.
melepem (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.1.
melongo (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.1.
men (Jv) 2.5.
mengo (Jv) 2.5.
mengo 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 (M1) 6.2.1.
merang (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.1.
merengut (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.1.
meringis (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.1.
merongos (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.1.
meter (D), méter, mètre (Jv) 2.2.
mésem-simpol 5.2.
minggu 2.1.2.
mlebu košaq (Jv) 5.4.1.
modar (Jv, Ind) 5.1.4.
modern (D), modéren, modère (Jv) 2.2.
moga-moga 2.3.2.
morka (M1) 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.
imôntôk (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.1.
mudah-mudahan (Ind) 4.3.2.
mugô-mugô (Jv) 2.3.2., 4.3.2.
mular (Jv, M1) 6.2.1.
mulia 2.2.4.
muljadi (Jv, Ind) 2.2.4.
mulyô (Jv) 2.2.4.
nanggap (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
nasîhat 2.1.1., 2.3.1.
nasîhat (M1) 2.1.1., 2.3.1.
nasîyhat (Ar) 2.1.1.
ndemaq (Jv, Ind) 2.2.2.
ndongeng (Jv, Ind) 2.2.2.
ndôngkôl (Jv, Ind) 2.2.2.
ndôrô (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.
nqandika (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)lômprot (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 1.3.3., 5.1.6.
(Jv, Ind)
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.
njambré (Jv, Ind) 2.2.2.
njéwèr (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 sêwu pangapunten (Jv) 5.6.
nyenén-kemis (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1., 5.5.
nyôlîng (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.
or (Jv) 2.1.3., 3.5.2., 4.1.7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ora perlu (Jv)</td>
<td>4.1.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ora susah (Jv)</td>
<td>4.1.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôjô (Jv)</td>
<td>4.1.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ômông</td>
<td>5.1.7.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ômông-kósông</td>
<td>5.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ônten (Jv)</td>
<td>2.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôpó (Jv)</td>
<td>5.3.3.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ôtôt (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pabean (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pada</td>
<td>5.1.7.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>padi gogo</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Paduka) mator (Jv, M1)</td>
<td>6.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pagelaran (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakanira (Jv, M1)</td>
<td>6.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakay</td>
<td>3.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamit (Jv, M1)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamong desa</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamong praja</td>
<td>2.2.3., 5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pamrih (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pangapuro (Jv)</td>
<td>2.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panitera</td>
<td>5.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panday</td>
<td>2.1.1., 5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pandir (M1)</td>
<td>5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panembrama</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panén</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panèn (Jv)</td>
<td>5.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paniek (D), panik</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pantat (M1)</td>
<td>5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pantay</td>
<td>5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panti (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>panti-asuhan</td>
<td>5.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papaq (Jv), papak (Jv)</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parama-sastṛa</td>
<td>5.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paq (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>1.3.2.2., 5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paré (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paripurna</td>
<td>5.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parlenté (Jv, M1)</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paséban (Jv, M1)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pataq (M1)</td>
<td>6.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patéq (M1)</td>
<td>6.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pebian (M1)</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

pecal, pecel  2.2., 5.1.1.
pedoman  5.5.
pekarangan (Jv, Ind)  5.1.1.
pelonco (Jv, Ind)  5.1.3.
pélók (Jv, Ind)  5.1.1.
pemasukan  2.1.4.
pemberian  6.1.
pendadaran (Jv, Ind)  5.1.3.
pendoq  2.1.2.
penduq (M1)  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 (M1)  2.1.1.
pengéran (Jv, Ind)  5.1.1.
pengiran (M1)  6.2.1.
perang gerilya  2.2.4.
perang gorila  2.2.4.
perang tanding (Jv, Ind)  5.1.1.
perasaqan, prasaqan  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 (M1)  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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pinter</td>
<td>2.2., 5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirang</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pisau</td>
<td>2.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pitah</td>
<td>2.1.1., 2.3.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plin-plan</td>
<td>1.3.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plintat-plintut</td>
<td>5.1.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plôk, pelôq (Jv)</td>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plonco, pelonco</td>
<td>2.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pohon</td>
<td>2.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pola (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pôjôq (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pôlôwijô (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prakârâ (Skt), prakôrô (Jv), perkara</td>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praktijk (D), perakték</td>
<td>2.1.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prathama (Skt), pratômô (Jv), pertama</td>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presidén</td>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pria</td>
<td>2.2.3., 6.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pribadi</td>
<td>6.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prihatin (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.3., 5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prijono (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primbôn (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puas</td>
<td>5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puhun (Ml)</td>
<td>2.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulaw</td>
<td>2.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulo (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punya</td>
<td>3.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puspa</td>
<td>5.1.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putera</td>
<td>6.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putera-wayah</td>
<td>6.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puteri</td>
<td>6.2.2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Question words:** kapan, bila(mana), mengapa 4.2.3.
rames (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
raon 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.
reakat (Ar, Ind) 2.1.4.
reken (D), rekan, rèken (Jv) 2.2.
rempah-rempah 5.1.2.2.
rendang 5.1.2.2.
republiek (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.
rôndô mèntèr (Jv) 5.4.1.
rôngrông (Jv, Ind) 5.1.3.
rubah (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, ruwèt 2.2.
saben (Jv, Ind) 5.1.7.6.
saja
    apa ___
    siapa ___
    kemana ___
    apa ___ yang
    nanti ___
    sekian ___
saking . . -(n)é. . (Jv) 4.3.2.
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.
sarí-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.
selöp (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
semar (Jv), super semar 1.2.2.5.
seembrônô (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.1.
sendal (Jv, Ind) 5.1.8.
sendiri 5.3.3.2.
senggqan (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.
wsewajarnya 2.2.7.
séhat 2.1.1.
séng (Jv) 4.4.2.
séng + adjective (engkang + adjective) 4.1.6.
sépaq 2.1.1., 2.4.
sépaq, sipaq 5.1.2.2.
sépêt 2.1.1.
ség (Jv) 2.5.
séri 2.4.
séwôkô (Jv, Ind) 2.2.7.
séwu (Jv, Ind) 2.2.7.
sharikat (Ar) 5.2.
siang-bölông 5.2.
sïhat (Ml) 2.1.1.
sikot (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.2.
siku (Jv, Ind) 5.1.2.2.
sila (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
silahkan 6.3.
sindén (Jv, Ind) 5.1.1.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Section</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sipaq (M1)</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipat (M1)</td>
<td>2.2.6., 5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipit</td>
<td>2.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sirep (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitinggil, sitit hinggil (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siuman</td>
<td>2.2.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siwah</td>
<td>2.2.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slamet (Jv)</td>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sléndro (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solo (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soré (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.1., 2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorjan (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soré</td>
<td>2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sógòq (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sókô guru (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóléh</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>söngsông (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>6.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sônô</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sôpô séng</td>
<td>4.4.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sóq (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sri, seri (Jv)</td>
<td>2.2.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sriwulan (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subandriyo (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sudah</td>
<td>5.3.3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sudot</td>
<td>5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suharto (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suhun (Jv)</td>
<td>6.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sukarno (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suling (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sulq (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sumalah (Jv, M1)</td>
<td>6.2.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sundep, sundap (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sungay</td>
<td>5.1.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surabaya</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surakarta</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surat permôhônân</td>
<td>6.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suria</td>
<td>2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surjadi (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suroboyo (Jv)</td>
<td>2.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>surya</td>
<td>5.1.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suryô (Jv)</td>
<td>2.2.4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>susah</td>
<td>2.5.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.
tabóq (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.
tawón 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.
témé delé (Jv, Ind)  5.4.2.
témé 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.
tó (Jv, Ind)  5.1.7.
tóq (Jv, Ind)  5.1.7.6.
tók-cér (Jv, Ind)  5.1.2.1.
tókéq  2.1.3.
tólóng  6.3.
traktór  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-rógó  2.1.2., 2.3.2.
umor  6.1.
*ù(n)tek (PA)  2.1.4.
umót  5.1.1.
umrip  2.2.6.
*uRat (PA)  5.5.
usah  2.5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>usia</td>
<td>6.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utaba (Mad)</td>
<td>2.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uta vā (Skt)</td>
<td>2.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utówó (Jv)</td>
<td>2.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utek (Jv)</td>
<td>2.1.4., 5.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utusan</td>
<td>6.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uvāca (Skt)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>uyôn-uyôn</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vac (Skt)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vaṇça (Skt)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varga (Skt)</td>
<td>2.2.6., 5.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varṇa (Skt)</td>
<td>5.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varuna (Skt)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veludo (Port)</td>
<td>2.1.2., 2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb plus -nya</td>
<td>4.1.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vicaksana (Skt)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>viola (Port)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vṛttta (Skt)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wadah (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wadonq (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.6., 5.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waé (Jv)</td>
<td>2.2.6., 2.5., 4.3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sōpō waé (Jv)</td>
<td>4.3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ópó waé (Jv)</td>
<td>4.3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngendi waé (Jv)</td>
<td>4.3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semono waé (Jv)</td>
<td>4.3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mengko waé (Jv)</td>
<td>4.3.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagai (Tm)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wahyu (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waja (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>1.3.2.4., 2.2.6., 5.1.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wajan (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wajar (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.6., 2.2.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wajip</td>
<td>2.2.6., 2.2.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waktu</td>
<td>2.2.7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walang sangit (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walasan (Ml)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walli</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>walikukun (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>5.1.1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wangi (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.2.6., 5.1.5.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wangsol</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanita</td>
<td>2.2.6., 6.2.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wannara (Tm)</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
waras (Jv, Ind) 2.2.6.
warga (Jv, Ind) 5.5.
warga-negara 5.2.
warna 5.5.
warip (M1) 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.
welondô (Jv) 2.2.6.
weluku (Jv) 2.2.6.
wewenang (Jv, Ind) 2.2.6.
wéđang 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.
wiji (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.
wolondô (Jv, M1) 2.2.6.
wönten (Jv) 2.5.
wös (Jv) 2.2.6.
wujot (Jv, Ind) 2.2.6.
wuku (Jv, Ind) 2.2.6.
Wabah 2.2.6.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wafat</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wahan</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waistcoat (E), beskat</td>
<td>2.2., 2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakaf</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waren</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wésel</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wésket</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wét</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Winkel (D), bingkil, bengkel</td>
<td>2.1.1., 2.2., 2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wortel</td>
<td>2.2.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>2.3.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yalah</td>
<td>2.3.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yang</td>
<td>2.3.3., 4.4.2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yang plus adjective</td>
<td>4.1.6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yayasan (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.3.3., 5.1.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yayi (Jv, Ind)</td>
<td>2.3.3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yèn (Jv)</td>
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