

CENTRAL JAVANESE DIALECTS

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In this paper I will present a few results of my dialect research which I carried out in Central Java from February until August 1979.¹

Map 1 shows the territory in which I examined the dialects of 34 Central Javanese villages. The research was mainly carried out in those *kabupatens* of Central Java that lie to the west of an imaginary line the end points of which are the towns of Weleri in the north and Parangtritis in the south. Villages were visited in the following *kabupatens*: Brebes, Tegal, Pemalang, Pekalongan, Batang, Kendal, Banyumas, Purbalingga, Banjarnegara, Wonosobo, Temanggung, Cilacap, Kebumen, Purworejo, Kulon Progo, and Gunung Kidul. The list that appears on the following page contains the names of the villages I visited, their population, and the districts and *kabupatens* they belong to.

In this paper I will deal with two topics: (1) I will demonstrate the agreement between dialectal data and historical facts, and (2) I will comment on dialect-geographical aspects of the polite vocabulary of Javanese.

1. CONGRUENCE OF LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL BOUNDARIES – THE CASE OF CENTRAL JAVA

When comparing the various linguistic maps of a study area, dialect-geographical constellations can be recognised. These structures are made evident by the occurrence of bundles of isoglosses, that is, by the similarity in the course of several linguistic boundaries. The interpretation of the development of such constellations is either of an extra-linguistic or an intra-linguistic nature. J. Goossens (1977:74) has said with regard to the extra-linguistic view: "An areal-linguistic interpretation is extra-linguistic if it explains the spread of linguistic phenomena and the geographical contradictions between them with the aid of other than linguistic factors". This view is based on the notion that the dialect-geographical segmentation of a study area is mainly the consequence of its (cultural-)historical development.

Two bundles of isoglosses will be described below, and an attempt will be made to interpret them extra-linguistically. Both bundles run from the north to the south coast of Central Java. The first bundle can be seen on map 2 which provides a summary of phonetic isoglosses which occur in all of the words examined. Other phonogeographical isoglosses, occurring only in individual cases, however, and whose course is very similar to those on the previous map, can be

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	Name of the village	Population	District	Kabupaten
1	Murareja	2600	Sumurpanggang	Tegal
2	Sindangjaya	2200	Kersana	Brebes
3	Rajegwesi	2300	Pagerbarang	Tegal
4	Galuh Timur	5400	Tonjong	Brebes
5	Tayem	7800	Karangpucung	Cilacap
6	Sitemu	3000	Taman	Pemalang
7	Luwijawa	2400	Jatinegara	Tegal
8	Kedawung	1600	Bojong	Tegal
9	Sambirata	4000	Cilongok	Banyumas
10	Pengadegan	3400	Wangon	Banyumas
11	Gandrungmanis	19000	Gandrungmangu	Cilacap
12	Grujugan	5000	Kemranjen	Banyumas
13	Karangduren	3000	Sokaraja	Banyumas
14	Majapura	3300	Bobotsari	Purbalingga
15	Jojogan	2500	Watukumpul	Pemalang
16	Api-api	2600	Wiradesa	Pekalongan
17	Lolong	1300	Karanganyar	Pekalongan
18	Kalibening	3000	Kalibening	Banjarnegara
19	Danareja	3600	Purwanegara	Banjarnegara
20	Gumawang	1600	Kuwarasan	Kebumen
21	Buluspesantren	1300	Buluspesantren	Kebumen
22	Plumbon	5000	Sadang	Kebumen
23	Prigi	2700	Sigaluh	Banjarnegara
24	Pejawaran	2700	Pejawaran	Banjarnegara
25	Wonobodro	2500	Blado	Batang
26	Ponowareng	200	Tulis	Batang
27	Tegalombo I	1200	Tersono	Batang
28	Bojong	1000	Tretep	Temanggung
29	Tegalombo II	2400	Kalikajar	Wonosobo
30	Brunorejo	4000	Bruno	Purworejo
31	Wareng	2500	Butuh	Purworejo
32	Jogoboyo	900	Purwodadi	Purworejo
33	Banaran	5500	Galur	Kulon Progo
34	Mula	3200	Wonosari	Gunung Kidul

found on maps 3 and 4. A morphophonemic boundary with a similar course appears on map 5, a morphological isogloss appears on map 6 (here it is the eastern boundary), and the lexical boundaries can be seen on map 7 (the *krama* word is missing in the villages numbered 28, 29, 32, 33, and 34, and it is *inum* in a strip lying to their west), on map 8 (the *krama* form in villages 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, and 34 is *brambat*, while the south-western villages have no *krama* form), on map 9 (villages 28, 29, 31, 32, 33 and 34 have no *krama* word, and the south-western area has *sinḍutan*), and on map 10 (the *ngoko* word in villages 26, 27, 28, 32, 33 and 34 is *koṭɔŋ*, while in the other regions it is *suwun* or *koṣoŋ*).

The second bundle of isoglosses runs somewhat further east and can be seen on maps such as map 11 which summarises three phonetic isoglosses. A morphemic isogloss having a similar course is the boundary between the -na area and the -akən area (map 6). Lexical boundaries are the ombɛ, ombɛ/inum isogloss as *krama* words for *to drink* (map 7), the inum/umbɛ, umbɛ, ombɛ isogloss as *ngoko* words for the same meaning, the təlutih/gətah, jətah, pulut isogloss for *tree sap* (map 12), and the tumbuk/gəntəŋ isogloss as *krama* words for *to pound rice* (map 13).

Let us now look at the political and cultural history of the study area in order to provide an extralinguistic interpretation of the dialect-geographical constellations just described.

The history relevant to this area begins with the mention of the first Hindu-Javanese kingdom called Mataram.² This kingdom flourished in Central Java at the beginning of the eighth century. On the Dieng Plateau it left behind some of the most recent Hindu monuments in Java. According to Chinese reports, the rulers of Mataram regularly paid visits there. The kingdom, which is said to have been located in the area of Yogya, Solo and the old Kedu (see map 15), eventually perished and was replaced by a Buddhist Shailendra Dynasty which had its base in Sumatra. The Shailendras ruled over Central Java and its local kingdoms and pushed the conservative Hindu forces out toward the East. In the eighth century the Shailendras firmly established themselves in Central Java. In the ninth century this Buddhist kingdom was replaced by a Shivaistic one which also called itself Mataram. This Mataram was located in the area of the Mataram of the beginning of the eighth century. Only the centre was further to the south. The centre of the first Mataram was in the region of the present-day small town of Kedu, the centre of the second Mataram in the area of Yogyakarta. But soon Central Java lost its importance as the centre of the Shivaistic culture, and Eastern Java moved to the forefront. For the duration of five centuries only this part of the island is mentioned in historical records. The last and largest of the Hindu-Javanese kingdoms, namely Majapahit, was founded in East Java. At the beginning of the 16th century Majapahit gradually went into dissolution, weakened by the flowering of Malacca as a commercial centre and by the spread of Islam. The centre of power moved again from East Java to Central Java. During the reign of Sultan Agung from 1613 to 1645 the newly-founded kingdom of Mataram became the greatest power on Java. The port cities on the north coast of Java, which had been converted to Islam in the 15th century, were defeated and subjected. The cultural region of this kingdom consisted primarily of the areas of Yogya, Solo and Old Kedu. At their centre was the palace, and it formed their linguistic landscape.

The speech of the palace occupied a special position and aspired to a general validity especially in the area just outlined. But the cultural area of Mataram was formed not only by these old territories. Rather, the neighbouring territories to the west such as East Bagelen and East Pekalongan (see map 15) also belonged to it. The cultural ties of these areas to the cultural centre are described by Schrieke (1957:211ff.). Essentially, he says that parts of the areas outside the immediate Mataram region, among them the area of the Dieng Plateau and the surrounding territories, had a special function in this kingdom. Until these regions were transferred to the Dutch in the 19th century, they had always been of special importance to the rulers of Mataram, since the ruling princes of Mataram regarded themselves as descendants from these areas. Thus, the Dieng Plateau and its surroundings were a territory traditionally tied closely to the palace.

Comparing the (cultural-)historical boundaries with the linguistic boundaries, we see a congruence between the courses taken by both. As described above, the inner circle of the Mataram kingdom comprises the regions of Yogya, Solo and Old Kedu. The western boundaries of this circle largely correspond to the first bundle of isoglosses. Only in the extreme north and south are there occasional deviations. These will be explained below.

The second bundle of isoglosses permits the conclusion that the cultural area of Mataram extended beyond this boundary and included East Bagelen and East Pekalongan.

The cultural area of the Mataram palace thus comprised not only the territories of Yogya, Solo and Old Kedu; rather, a part of the western neighbouring areas, those of East Bagelen and East Pekalongan, also belonged to it. On the basis of their historical importance for the royal court, these western territories had many relations to the centre which were augmented by the ties of the secular culture. These factors permit us to regard the entire area as a cultural community. This finds its most visible expression in the fact that the areas under consideration in parts grew together in the new political order of Central Java: Old Kedu and Old East Bagelen were united in the Residency of Kedu of post-colonial times.

The extralinguistic interpretation of the dialectal situation would be incomplete without an explanation of the deviating or different courses taken by many isoglosses on the northern and southern coasts. On several maps it can be seen that either in the north and/or in the south isoglosses have reached far to the west in a funnel shape (e.g. maps 14, 16 and 17), or that an enclave appears in the north in which dialectal forms used further to the east occur (e.g. map 2). This northern enclave is the port city of Pekalongan with its surroundings. Such dialect constellations can be found along great communications and culture routes emanating from the cultural centre. The two great and important communications routes of Central Java, which already existed in the 17th century, run along the north and the south coast. The advance of linguistic elements can occur in two ways. It regularly happens that elements advancing from afar skip shorter or longer distances in order to spread out in an urban centre of attraction, from which they then expand into the city's area of influence. The formation of enclaves occurs in this way. More rarely, linguistic innovations also advance continually from place to place into another dialect area. In doing so, only the places along the great communications routes are influenced at first.

2. DIALECT-GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF THE POLITE VOCABULARY OF JAVANESE

A few Indonesian languages distinguish between non-polite and polite vocabulary. This phenomenon is typical for languages such as Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, and Balinese. The degree of familiarity between the speaker and the addressee and the social status of the addressee are decisive factors in the selection between non-polite and polite words. The more formal the relationship between the speaker and the addressee and the higher the social status of the addressee, the more polite is the vocabulary.

So far there have been no dialect-geographical studies on the polite vocabulary of Javanese. In the following I would like to present some results of my research on the dialect geography of the Javanese *krama* and *krama inggil* vocabulary.

Let me first remark on the polite vocabulary. The *krama* and *krama inggil* vocabulary shows less dialectal variation than the non-polite (*ngoko*) vocabulary. This is due to the fact that polite vocabulary is a relatively recent innovation. Maps 13, 18 and 19 show meanings for which there is dialectal variation on the *krama* and the *krama inggil* level. It is interesting to note that the *krama* vocabulary has more dialectal variation than the *krama inggil* vocabulary.

2.1 Some observations on the *krama* vocabulary

2.1.1 The western dialects have less *krama* vocabulary than the more eastern dialects. The area with the least amount of *krama* vocabulary is the region around Tegal (villages 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, and 8). The dialects 32, 33, 34 have more *krama* vocabulary than any other examined dialect, since the polite vocabulary probably originated in this more eastern area. From there it spread to the surrounding areas, but it did not always reach the peripheral areas. Maps 20 and 21 are examples which show that the western dialects have less *krama* vocabulary.

2.1.2 Sometimes the areas with less *krama* vocabulary have a *krama* word for meanings which appear in areas with more *krama* vocabulary without a *krama* word. Examples appear on maps 9 and 22.

2.1.3 The *krama* vocabulary of the areas with less *krama* vocabulary has the following characteristics:

(a) In some instances the *krama* word is a borrowing of the *ngoko* word of the neighbouring dialects. See map 23.

(b) In some cases the *krama* word is a borrowing of the *ngoko* word which is used in the areas with more *krama* vocabulary (see map 24). These cases seem to suggest that at the time of the spread of the polite vocabulary the *ngoko* words of the more eastern dialects were regarded as more polite. The corresponding *krama inggil* words are not always borrowed.

(c) There are instances in which the *ngoko* word of the area with less *krama* vocabulary appears as the *krama* word of the area with more *krama* vocabulary and the *krama* word of the area with less *krama* vocabulary as the *ngoko* word of the area with more *krama* vocabulary. See maps 7 and 25. In both cases one might consider the *ngoko* words of the area with less *krama* vocabulary as old borrowings from Malay, while the *krama* words were borrowed with the spread of the vocabularies from the cultural centre. The *krama* words of the area with more *krama* vocabulary could be explained as follows: *klapa*, *klɔpɔ* probably is a relatively recent borrowing from Malay; *inum* in the villages 19 - 23 probably is a borrowing from the neighbouring northern and western dialects.

(d) The *krama* word can be a relic form. The *krama* word *səwəŋ* *empty* on map 10 is older than the *ngoko* word *suwun*. NJv. *suwun* is the result of the development OJv. *-əwə-* > NJv. *-uwu-*.

(e) The *krama* form relatively often is a new formation which is constructed by analogy to certain morphophonemic processes that form *krama* vocabulary from *ngoko* words. Examples:

map 26: In the area around Yogyakarta *garu* is the neutral word for *harrow*. In the west we find *gantən* and *gantɔs* as *krama* forms. The form *gantən* is probably formed on the model

ngoko: *-ru*, *-ri* > *krama*: *-ntən*

as appears in *karuwan* : *kantənən* *certain*.

map 22: The *krama* form pənjatəs *rattan* is perhaps formed by analogy to jatəs *teak* which is the *krama* form corresponding to ngoko jati.

map 27: The *krama* form baŋbət, bambət *bamboo* is formed by analogy to the model

$$\text{ngoko: } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b \\ w \end{array} \right\} \text{ u (C) } > \text{ krama: } \left\{ \begin{array}{c} b \\ w \end{array} \right\} \text{ ət}$$

as appears in jambu : jambət *guava*.

(f) In some cases the *krama* word is identical with the *ngoko* word of a semantically close concept of the eastern dialect or a neighbouring dialect. An example appears on map 26: juŋkat which is used in several dialects as the *krama* word for *harrow* is in other dialects the *ngoko* word for *comb*.

(g) It happens that the *krama* word is identical with the *krama* word of a semantically close concept of the dialects around Yogyakarta or of a neighbouring dialect. An example: sawuŋ on map 28 is in the western dialects the *krama* word for *chicken*. In the more eastern dialects, however, it is the *krama* word for *cock*.

(h) In some instances the *krama* word probably is a borrowing from Malay. An example appears on map 13: tumbuk *to pound rice* must be interpreted as a Malay loan.

In the following I would like to comment on two dialect maps which show how Malay borrowings participate in the formation of *krama* vocabulary.

map 8: We distinguish six dialect areas: a large western area in which there exists only brambaŋ, an eastern area where brambaŋ is the *ngoko* word and brambət the *krama* form, in the north-west there are four small dialect areas: (1) *ngoko*: bawaŋ abaŋ, *krama*: brambaŋ abrit, (2) *ngoko*: bawaŋ abaŋ, *krama*: bawaŋ abrit, (3) *ngoko*: brambaŋ abaŋ, *krama*: bawaŋ abrit, (4) *ngoko*: brambaŋ abaŋ, *krama*: brambaŋ abrit.

The source of bawaŋ abaŋ is Malay bawaŋ merah, merah being replaced by its Javanese translation abaŋ. In the more eastern dialects we find the Javanese word brambaŋ, but the loan translation abaŋ also appears. In dialect area (1) the *krama* word consists of the Javanese word brambaŋ and the *krama* equivalent of abaŋ, namely abrit. In dialect (2) and in dialect (3) the *krama* expression consists of the Malay loan bawaŋ and of abrit. In dialect (4) we find as in (1) brambaŋ abrit.

map 29: We find two large dialect areas in which there exists only a neutral word for *sweet*: in the western dialects (including the dialects of Cirebon and Indramayu) we find the Malay borrowing manis and in the more eastern dialects we find lægi. On the border between these two territories there are areas in which the neighbouring neutral word appears as the *krama* word: on the periphery of the manis-area we find an area where manis is the *ngoko* word and lægi the *krama*, on the periphery of the lægi-area we find two areas where lægi is the *ngoko* word and manis the *krama* word.

2.2 Some observations on the *krama inggil* vocabulary

2.2.1 The extreme western dialects have not only less *krama* vocabulary, but also less *krama inggil* vocabulary. See map 30.

2.2.2 In some instances the *krama* and *krama inggil* words of the areas with a smaller amount of polite vocabulary and of the areas with a larger amount of polite vocabulary are exchanged. See map 31.

2.2.3 *Krama inggil* words of the areas with a larger amount of polite vocabulary often appear as *krama* words in the areas with a smaller amount of polite vocabulary. Examples: In the eastern dialects *asta hand*, *taliṅa ear*, and *wijk to clean the hands* are *krama inggil* words, in the western dialects, however, they are used as *krama* words.

NOTES

1. This research and my participation in this Congress was made possible by a grant from the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Bad Godesberg.
2. The historical facts described on the following pages are partly taken from Peacock.

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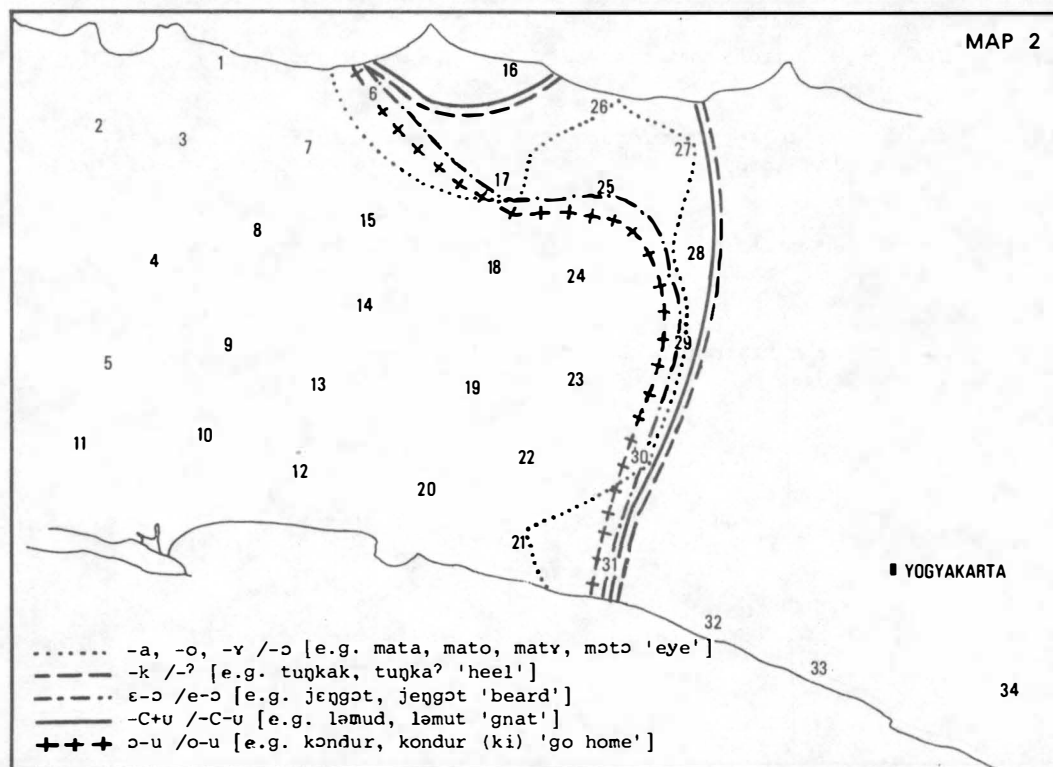
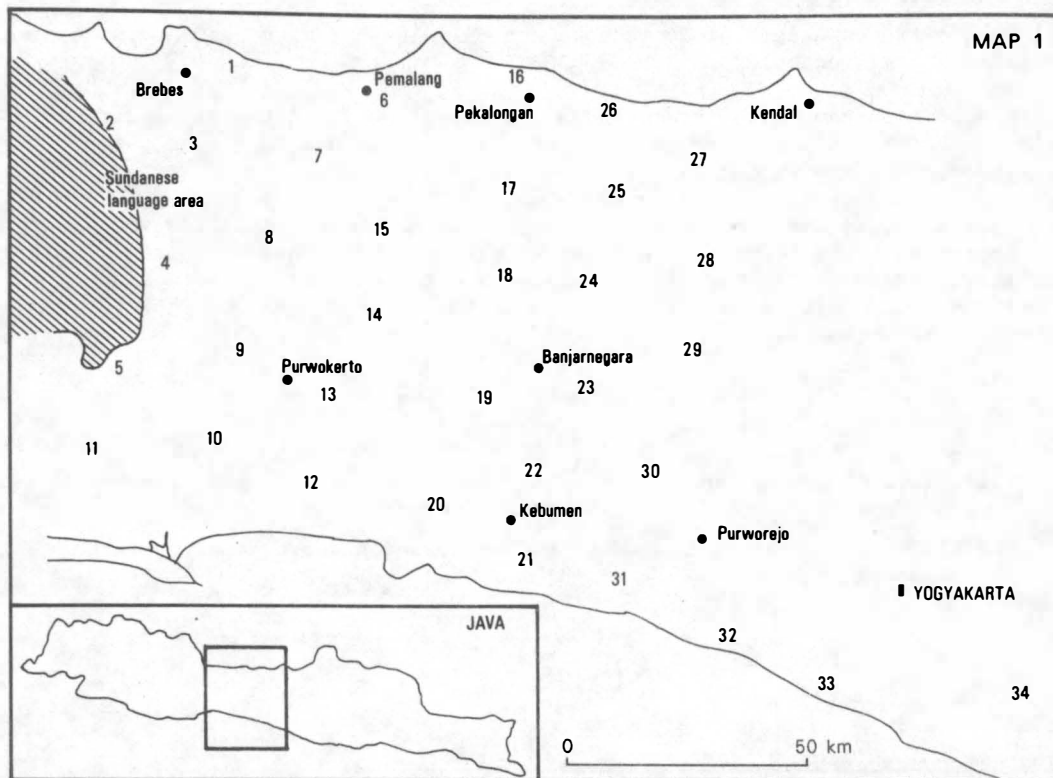
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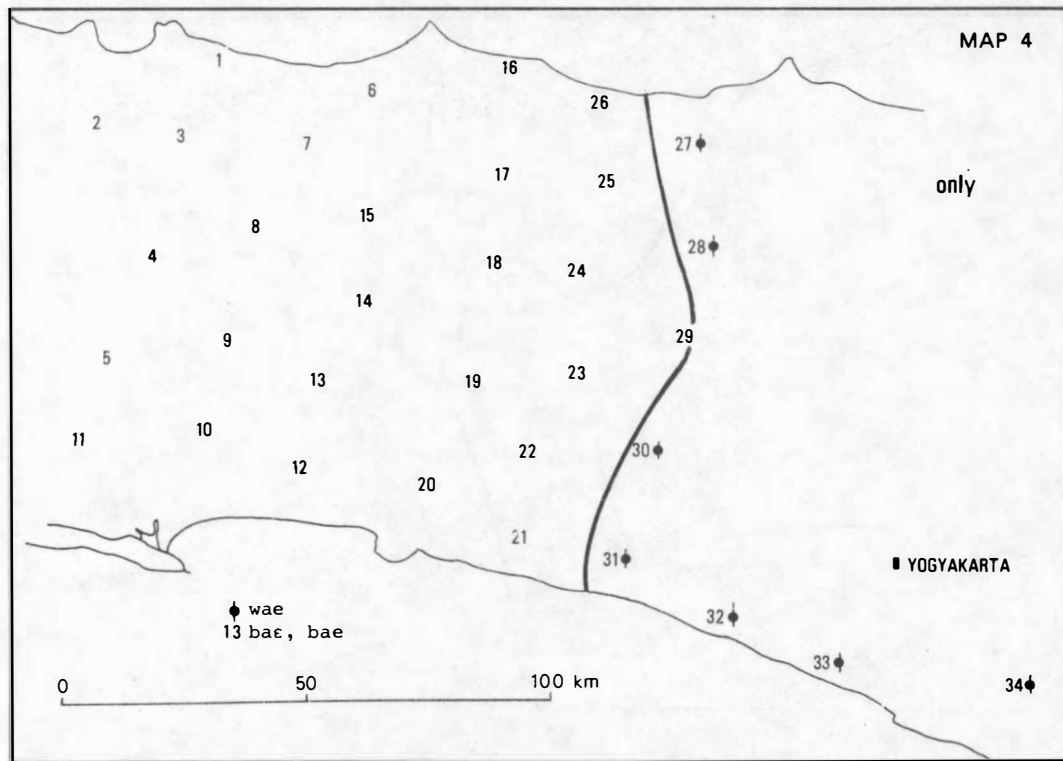
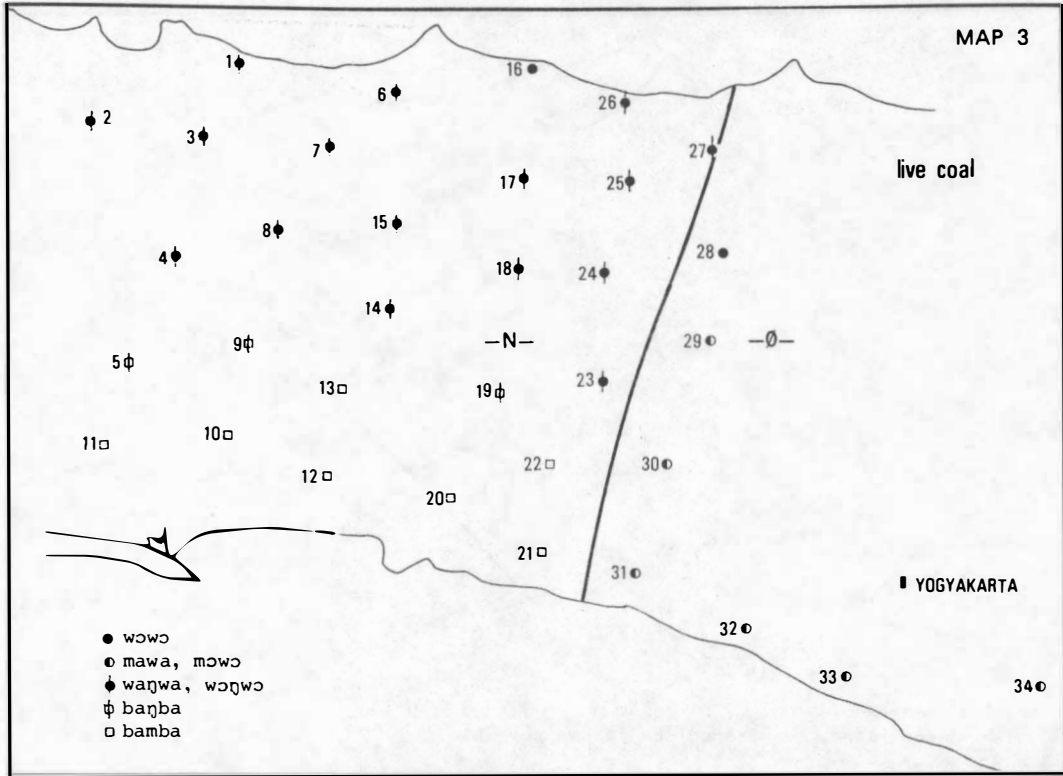
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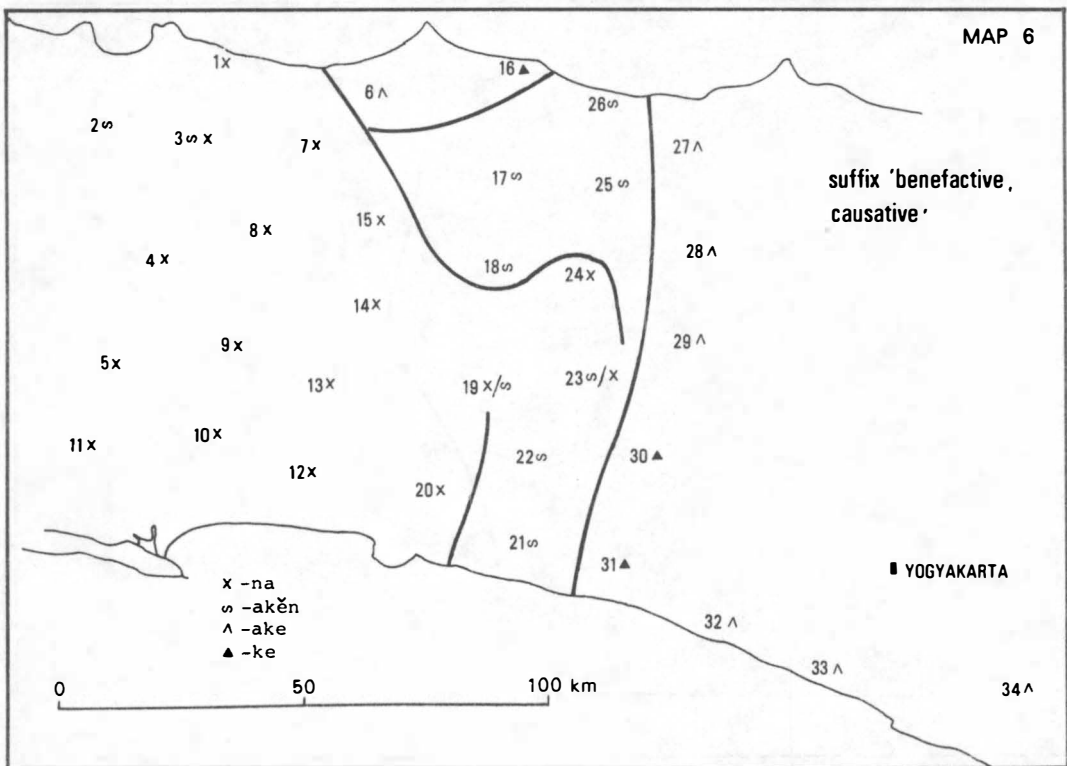
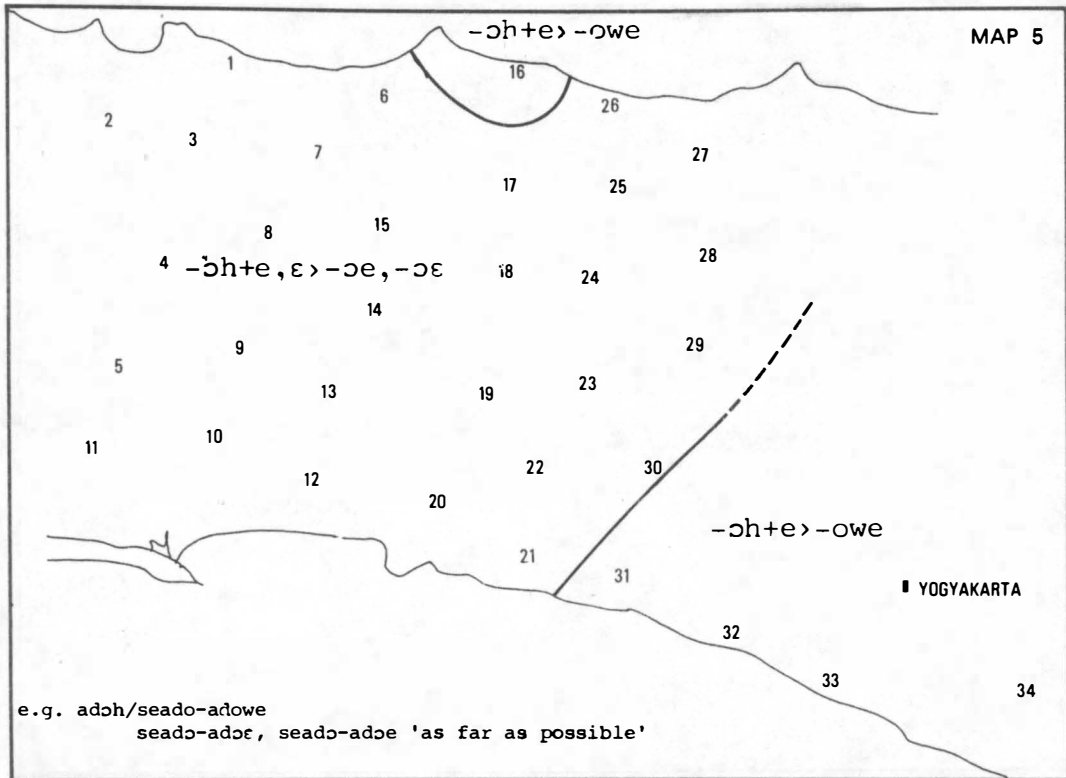
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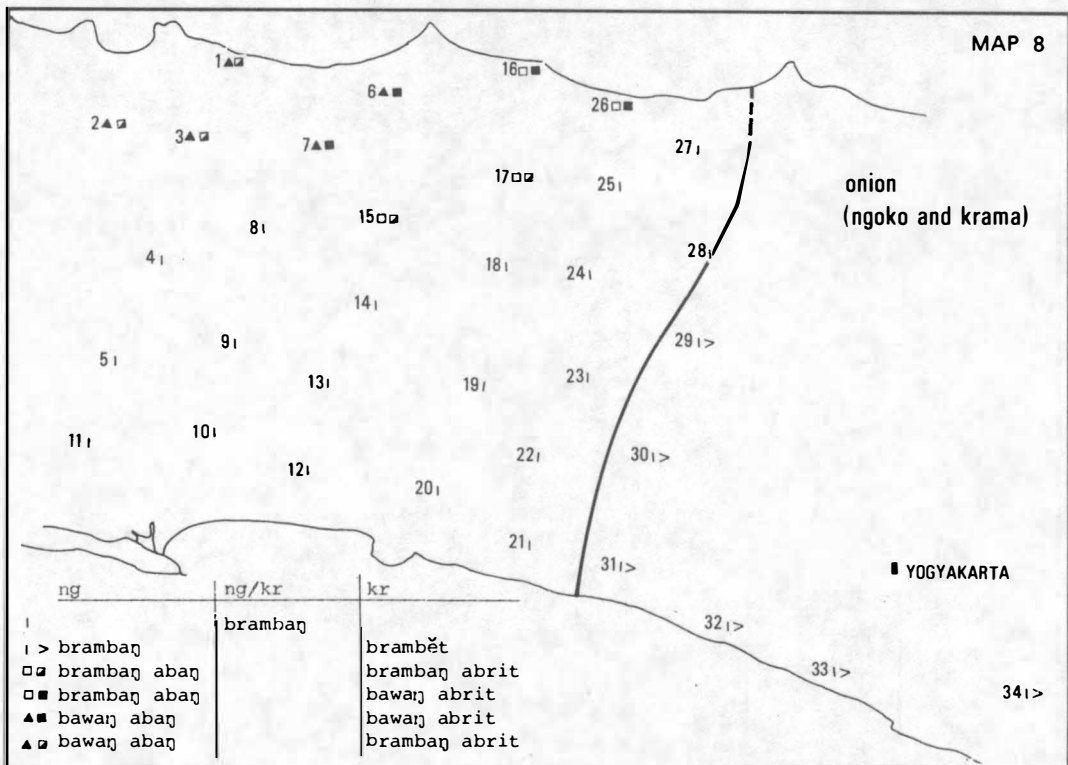
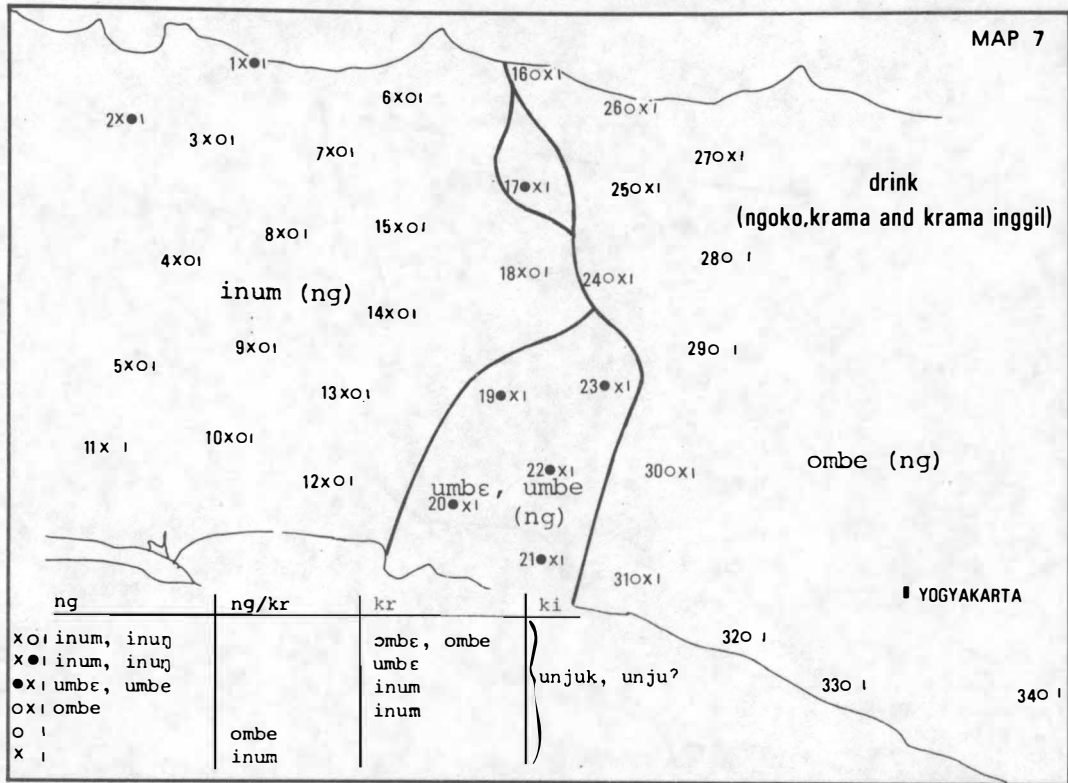
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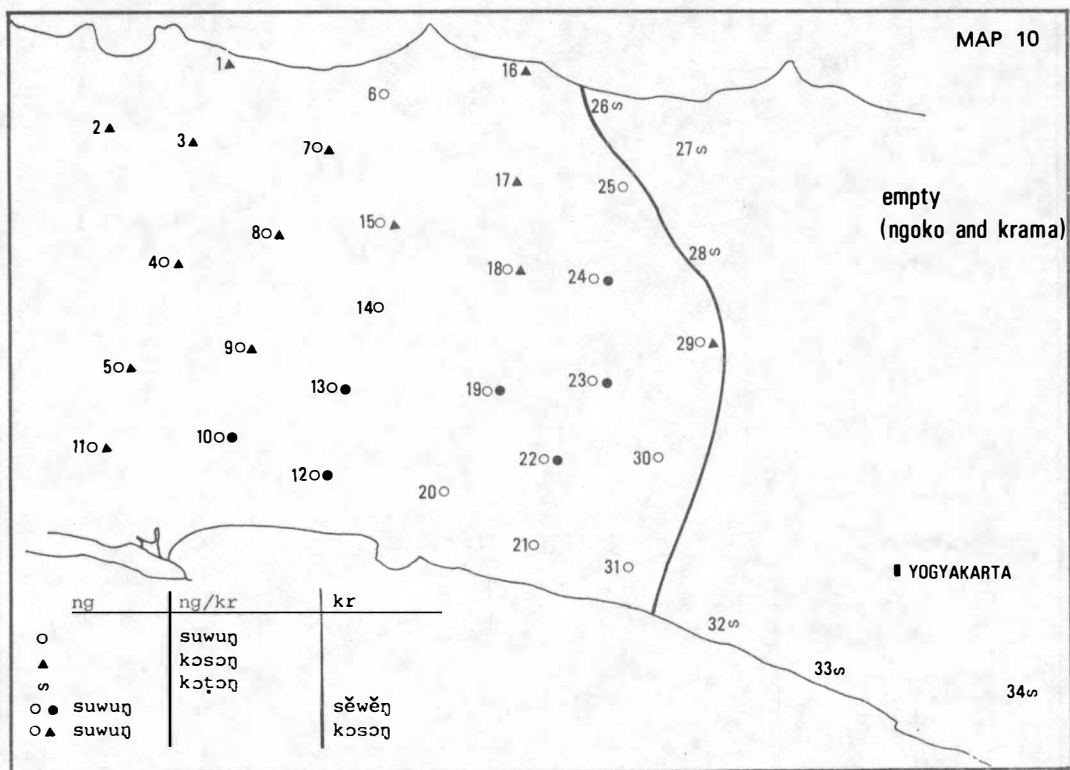
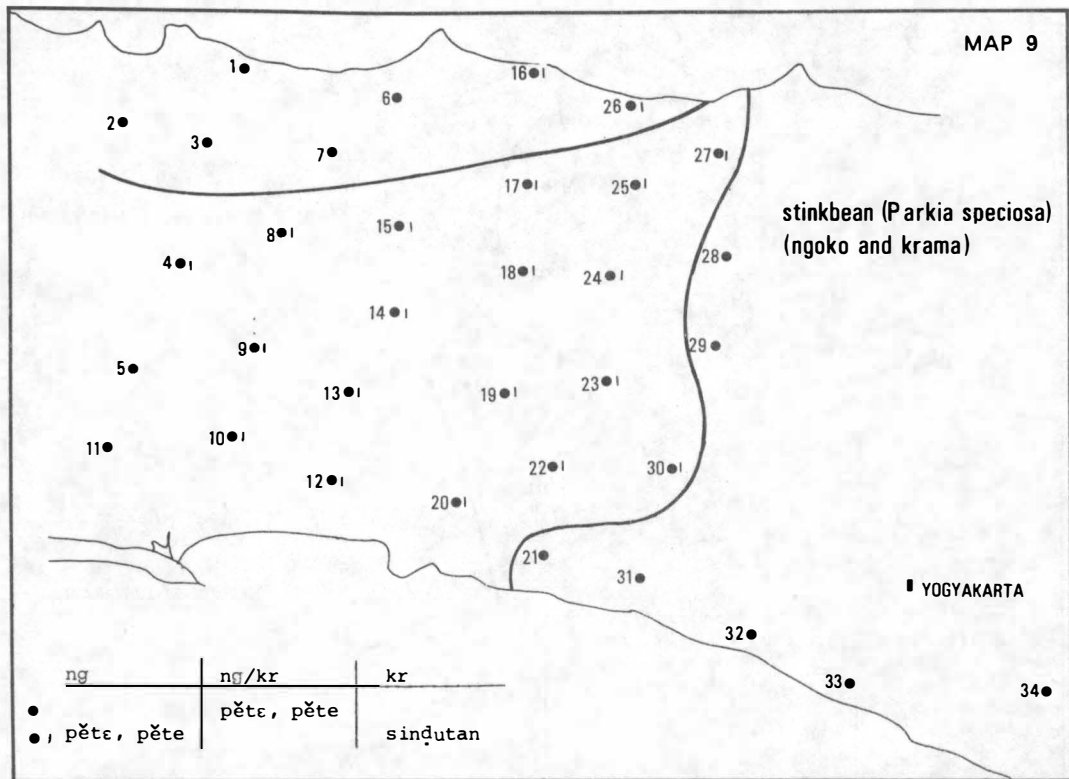
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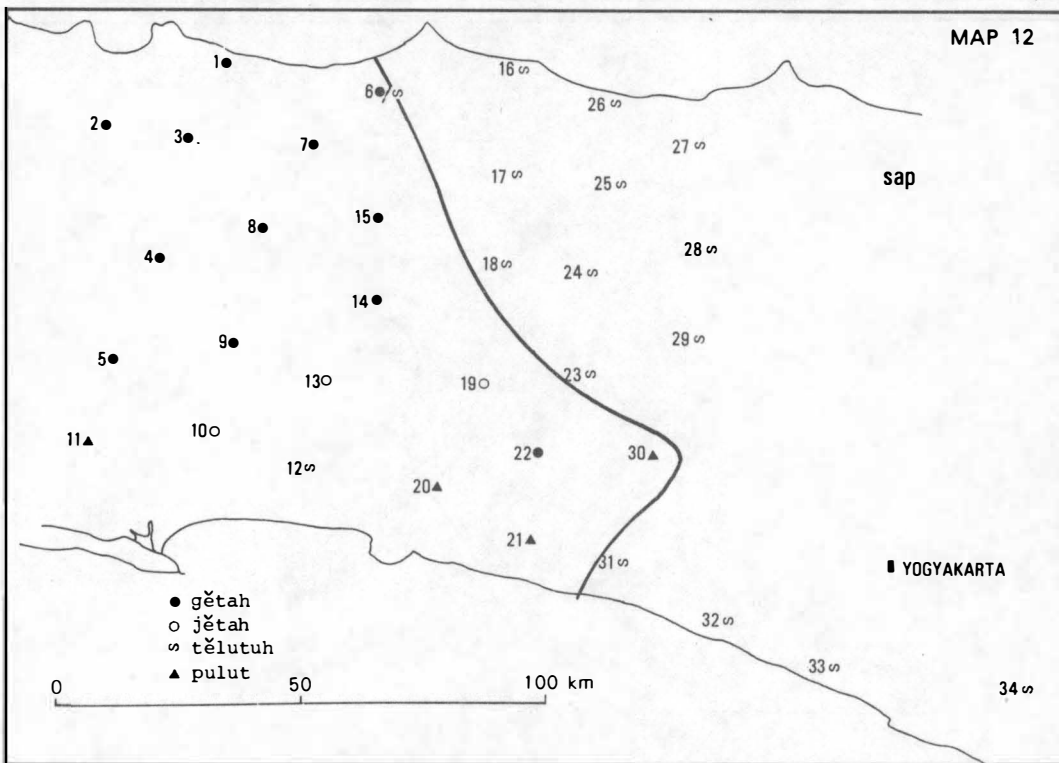
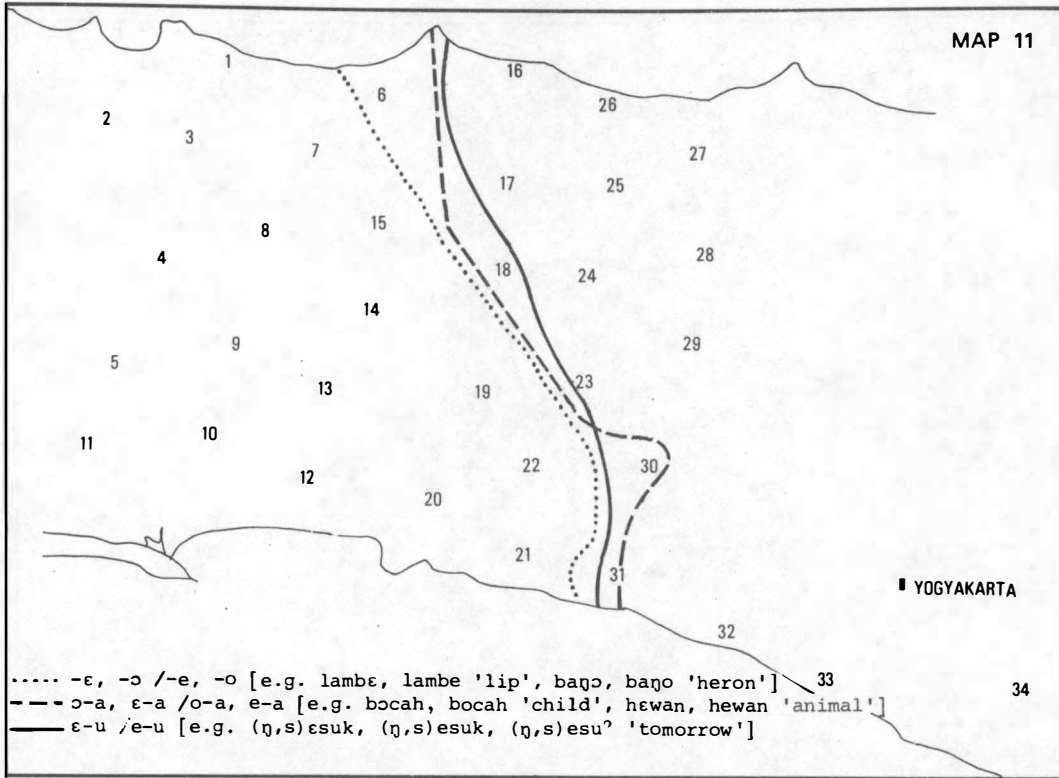


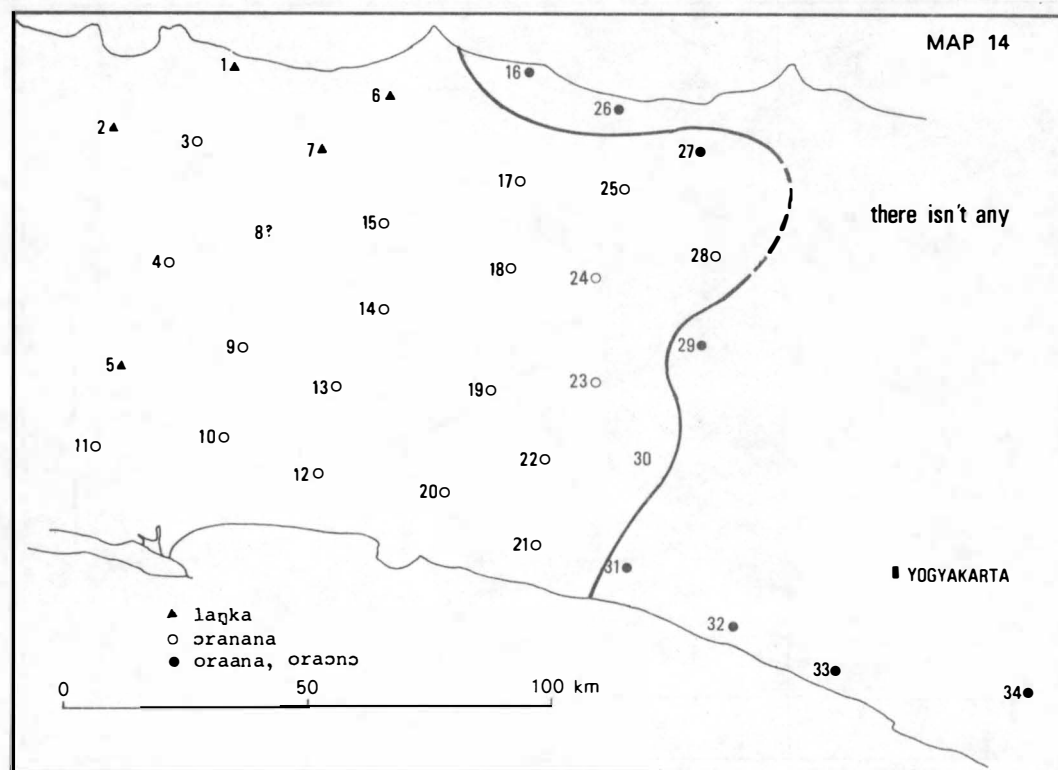
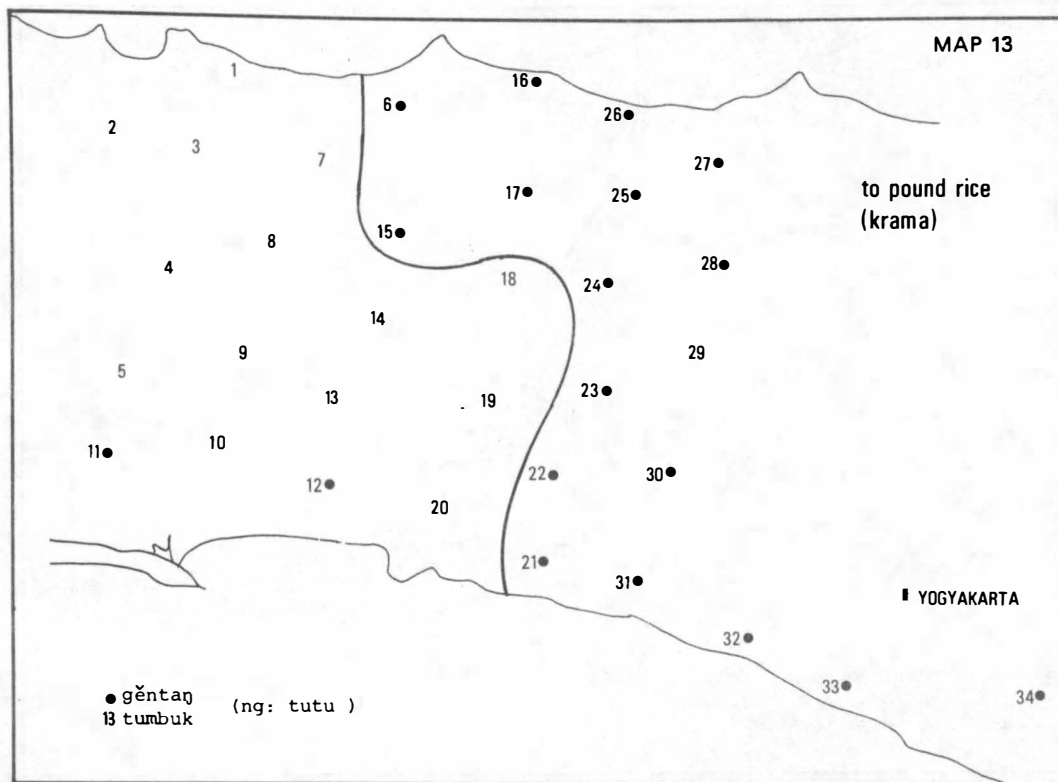


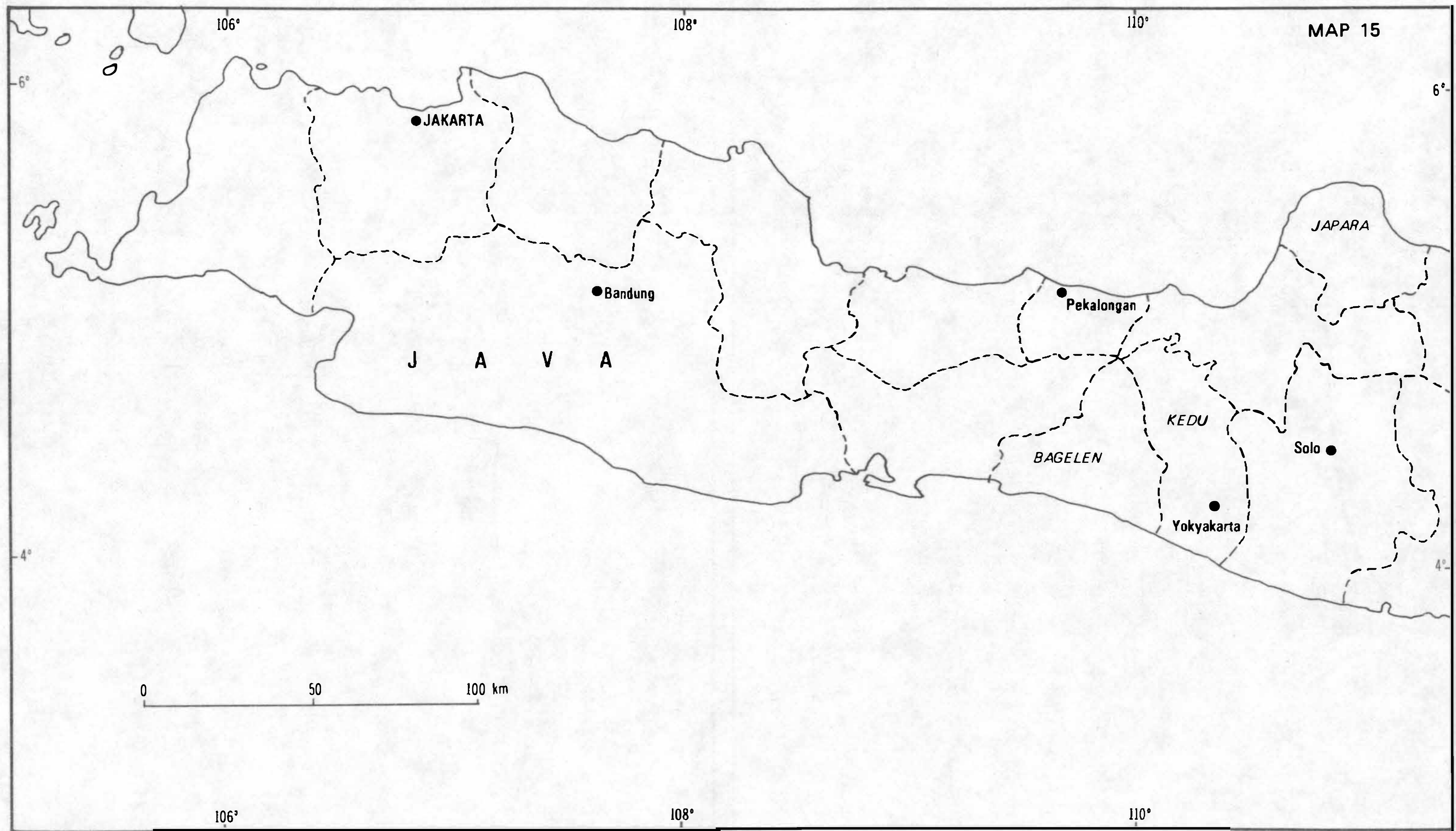












Javanese administrative boundaries

