

MASTER'S THESIS

A DESCRIPTION OF SURABAYAN JAVANESE

with

Special Reference to its Linguistic Etiquette

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STATEMENT OF AUTHORSHIP

I hereby confirm that the work presented in this master's thesis has been performed and interpreted solely by myself except where explicitly identified to the contrary. I confirm that this work is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Goethe University Frankfurt for the degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics and has not been submitted elsewhere in any other form for the fulfilment of any other degree or qualification.



Signature

Frankfurt, 11 May 2017

Place, Date

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

General abbreviations:

[...~...]	alternative pronunciation	MM	Malaysian Malay (<i>Bahasa Malaysia</i>)
Ar.	Arabic	MoJ	Modern Javanese
AVP	agent-verb-patient	ms	milliseconds
cf.	confer (see)	NP	noun phrase
CJ	Central Javanese	OJ	Old Javanese
e.g.	exempli gratia (for example)	PAn	Proto-Austronesian
EJ	Eastern Javanese	sb.	somebody
En.	English	sth.	something
F0	formant 0 (fundamental frequency)	StJ	Standard Javanese
F1	first formant	SuJ	Surabayan Javanese
F2	second formant	SV	subject-verb
fn.	footnote	SVO	subject-verb-object
Hz	Hertz	TAM	tense, aspect, mode
id.	idem (same meaning as the preceding word)	T-V	tū-vōs (informal and formal 2SG)
i.e.	id est (that is)	VPA	verb-patient-agent
IM	Indonesian Malay (<i>Bahasa Indonesia</i>)	VS	verb-subject
Jv.	Javanese in general	WJ	Western Javanese

Glossing abbreviations:

?	unclear morpheme	IMP	imperative
~	reduplicated morpheme	IMPV	imperfective
>	direction of action	INCL	inclusive
1	first person	IND	indicative
2	second person	INF	infinitive
3	third person	INT	intensifier
ACC	accusative	IRREAL	irrealis
ADJZ	adjectivizer	k.o.	kind of
ADVS	adversative	LINK	linker between attribute and noun
ADVZ	adverbializer	LL	low level (level 0)
AGT	agent	LOC	locative
AGTV	agentivizer (doer of an action)	M	male; masculine
AL	alus level (polite level in East Java)	ML	mid level (level 1)
ALS	alus level Surabaya (polite level in Surabaya)	NEG	negative particle
ANAPH	anaphoric	NFOC	non-focused
APPL	applicative	NFOR	non-formal
AUX	auxiliary	NMZ	nominalizer
AV	agent voice	NOM	nominative
BEN	benefactive	NP	proper noun
CAUS	causative	OBJ	object
CL	classifier	OBJFOC	object focus
CLER	clerical usage	PASS	passive with 3 rd person as agent
COMP	comparative degree	PAT	patient
COP	copula	PL	plural
DAT	dative	POSS	possessive
DCL	declarative	PP	passive participle
DEF	definiteness marker	PRES	present tense
DFR	deferential	PROCL	proclitic
DISJ	disjunctive	PROG	progressive
DIST	distal (far from the speaker)	PROP	propositive
DM	discourse marker	PROX	proximal (near to the speaker)
DO	direct object	PV	patient voice
EQ	equative degree (as...as)	Q	question tag
EXCL	exclamation	RC	relative clause
EXIST	existential	RED	reduplication
F	female; feminine	REL	relativizer; relative particle
FOC	focused	ROY	royal usage
FOR	formal	SG	singular
FUT	future	SL	slang; impolite level (level -1)
GEN	genitive	STAT	stative passive
GEO	geographic	SUBJ	subject
HHL	extremely high level (court usage) (level 3)	SUBO	subordinator
HL	high level (level 2)	V	verb
HON	honorific	VOC	vocative
HORT	hortative	VOL	volitive

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ABSTRACT

This thesis aims to examine the Javanese dialect of the city of Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia. The city and its surroundings are known for their peculiar dialect, which exhibits very characteristic phonological and morphological features not found in other dialects of Javanese.

First, a discussion on Javanese dialectology is presented, then sociolinguistic issues of the dialect of Surabaya are addressed with the focus on the dialect's prevalence in the media. A tentative linguistic description of salient aspects of its grammar follows, and special attention is given to the linguistic etiquette of Surabayan Javanese, as it is known to Central Javanese speakers for being very impolite and rude. This thesis shows how politeness in Surabayan Javanese is expressed despite its sounding discourteous to the Central Javanese ear. Central Javanese is a very prominent example of the extensive use of a speech level system, similar to Japanese and Korean, however Surabayan Javanese on the contrary does not feature this system anymore and has given way to a binary T-V distinction, especially with regards to the language of younger speakers. This change makes Surabayan Javanese pragmatically similar to colloquial Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*) and many European languages such as German, French, and Spanish. While this development is best observed in younger speakers, many older speakers in Surabaya now also disregard the refined speech level system such as the one used in Central Javanese. By the means of a brief typological summary of politeness systems throughout the world, I demonstrate that Surabayan Javanese can be categorized as a T-V language. Despite the pride for their dialect and its constant use at home, speakers of Surabayan Javanese fear conversing in their mother tongue in areas where the classical speech level system is still prominent and switch to *Bahasa Indonesia*.

The most valuable contributions to a linguistic description of Surabayan Javanese have been made by Soetoko et al. (1984), Kisayani-Laksono (2004a), and Hoogervorst (2006; 2008; 2009). In this thesis, I mostly rely on these sources and my own data to present an overview of Surabayan Javanese with a special reference to its linguistic etiquette in terms of speech levels, honorifics, and the awareness of these within the Surabaya speech community.

Keywords: Javanese, dialectology, linguistic etiquette, politeness, grammar, speech levels, Surabaya, Indonesia

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is the result of a one-year stay in Surabaya from August 2014 to September 2015, during which I conducted field research in and around the city. A self-designed questionnaire, appointments with the local TV station JTV, YouTube videos, chats, interlinear glossing of the tentative corpus that arose during my fieldwork, as well as personal interviews with residents of Surabaya have helped me gain insight into the culture and the language of Indonesia's second biggest city.

Coming from Indonesia's capital Jakarta, Surabaya is the main hub for travel to East Java and onward to Bali or Lombok, with the busiest long-distance bus terminal of Indonesia, the biggest harbor, and the third biggest airport of the country. The Indonesian National Route 1 runs right through the center of Surabaya and the Trans-Java toll road is supposed to end in Surabaya upon completion. The population of Surabaya is a cosmopolitan mix of the original East Javanese people (*wong Jowo* or more specifically *arèk Suroboyo*), the neighboring Madurese (*wong Meduro*), and those of Chinese decent (*wong Cino* or *singkèk*¹), who have been settling around Surabaya since the 15th century (Rafferty 1984:250). The Arabs (*wong Arab*) have their own quarter called *Ampèl*² and Western foreigners (*londo*³) now also find their way into the city.

If we draw a circle around Yogyakarta and Solo, the so-called centers of Javaneseness (*kejawèn*), Surabaya lies in the eastern periphery⁴. Although the Javanese of Banyuwangi, for example, is spoken a lot further to the east, it is often not classified as a dialect in the periphery, but rather as a distinct language called *boso Osing*, being strongly influenced by Balinese.

While EJ has been under scientific research for about one hundred years, a surprisingly small number of scholars have focused on the EJ dialect of Surabaya. Apart from very recent works by Tom Gunnar Hoogervorst and Kisayani-Laksono, the only available resources on this particular dialect are some short treatises and theses written in IM or Jv., which are not easily accessible as they are scattered among various university libraries throughout East Java. While

¹ The designation *singkèk*, or sometimes *singkèh*, is derived from Taiwanese Hakka 新客 *sin kheh* (also *sin khek*) “newcomer, new guest” (Maryknoll Language Service Center 2001:491; 863) and describes people of Chinese descent, often mixed with locals from Indonesia. *Totok* is a term nowadays used in Indonesia for those who are of pure Chinese descent (Zhōngyuán Dàxué Yǐngyòng Huáyǔ Wénxuéxì 中原大學應用華語文學系 2006:11, fn. 15).

² The term *ampèl* means “bamboo” in Javanese, and the district is inevitably connected with the name Sunan Ampel alias Radèn Rahmat, one of the venerated *Wali Songo* (i.e. Nine Saints) who brought Islam to Indonesia. He was born in 1401 in Champa of both Chinese and Arab descent, worked in the compound Ngampel Denta of Surabaya, spread Islam in East Java, and had built one of the oldest mosque of Java, i.e. Masjid Ampel with his students in 1421, where he was also buried in 1481. For further reading, see Pigeaud & de Graaf (1976).

³ This term is derived from Javanese *wlanda*, an old word for the Dutch people, probably derived from Portuguese *holanda* (Grijns, de Vries, and Santa Maria 1983:7).

⁴ Hatley (1984:1) explains that “those more distant from the *alus kraton* (i.e. courtly high level), and their culture, are measured as increasingly *kasar* (i.e. rude).”

Hoogervorst's works focus on the sociolects used by various ethnic groups in Surabaya, especially those of younger speakers, Kisayani-Laksono examines the phonology and morphosyntactic features compared with other dialects of Javanese. I have therefore felt the need to contribute to the recent interest in the dialect of Surabaya by concentrating on lexical and pragmatic aspects such as linguistic etiquette, style, and lexicology.

This thesis has four main sections: (1) A brief overview of the linguistic situation of Indonesia with a short discussion on the dialectology of Javanese, previous studies on its dialects, as well as phonological and morphological features of them; (2) A summary of the sociolinguistic situation of Surabaya giving insight into the historical background of the language used in Surabaya, its social status, and its prevalence in the media; (3) A linguistic description with an introduction to orthographical conventions, a phonological sketch, morphological analysis, and syntactic features; (4) A discussion on the linguistic etiquette by means of a typological outline of politeness systems throughout the world, thereupon determining how politeness is expressed in Surabayan Javanese. The conclusion summarizes my findings as to a tentative linguistic description and pragmatic analysis of Surabayan Javanese.

There is no linguistic text corpus available for Javanese dialects. The Jakarta Field Station of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology⁵ had been working on such a corpus but it was closed in 2015 with the data still waiting to be uploaded. While Surabayan Javanese may now be considered a written dialect, this is only a very recent development thanks to social media such as Facebook, Twitter, Path, and Instagram, as well as messenger services like SMS, WhatsApp, and LINE. Except for short announcements and advertisements, the dialect remains unwritten in public, though. For this study, I have built my own text corpus containing about 13,500 tokens, consisting mostly of scripted news from Surabaya's TV station JTV, songs, and staged comedy. Spontaneous speech in the corpus is often mixed with IM.

⁵ Available at <http://jakarta.shh.mpg.de/>.

1 LINGUISTIC SITUATION OF INDONESIA

The Republic of Indonesia is the fifteenth largest country of the world comprising 17,508 islands with only some 6,000 of them being inhabited by more than 250 million people of various ethnic groups (Central Intelligence Agency 2016) and stretching from the Andaman Sea of the Indian Ocean in the west to the Arafura Sea of the Pacific Ocean in the east. Indonesia's geodesic distance measures about 5,000 km (3,100 miles) along the equator. There are about 700 living languages spoken in Indonesia, most of them in the Special Region of Papua (Lewis, Simon, and Fennig 2015).

To unify the country after its declaration of independence from the Netherlands in 1945, the new nation needed to choose one language as the official and national language. Three languages appeared to be possible candidates: (a) Dutch, the colonial language of the elite, which had been used in official writing for more than three centuries; (b) Javanese, the language of the largest ethnic group of Indonesia, which had approximately 33.3 million native speakers in 1942 (Boomgaard and Gooszen 1991:121)⁶, being 47.8% of Indonesia's total population at that time (Paauw 2009:2), with a written tradition of more than a thousand years in its own writing system; and (c) Malay, the former lingua franca of the Malay Archipelago (also called the Malay World or Nusantara) with an even longer written tradition than Javanese, but being the native language of less than 5% of Indonesia's population at that time. Nevertheless, due to its function as a lingua franca for more than two thousand years in the region and because spoken Malay was regarded as being easy to learn with little morphology (Paauw 2009:2), it was chosen as Indonesia's official and national language called *Bahasa Indonesia*, in English usually referred to as *Indonesian* and in this thesis called *Indonesian Malay* (IM). Linguistically, IM is a variant of Malay. The official language of Malaysia, linguistically being another variant of Malay, is called *Bahasa Malaysia*, between 1986 and 2007 named *Bahasa Melayu*⁷, and in this thesis called *Malaysian Malay* (MM).

Despite the fast spread of *Bahasa Indonesia*, hereinafter referred to as IM, other indigenous languages have survived in daily conversation, informal writing, the local media, and in the case of larger regional languages as school subjects, while the use of Dutch in Indonesia has

⁶ As a reference, the number of the indigenous population from all regencies in Central and East Java in 1942 has been used.

⁷ The designations *Bahasa Malaysia* "Malaysian" and *Bahasa Melayu* "Malay" have been alternating up to the present and should not be confused. **Malay** in the linguistic sense refers to the Western Malayo-Polynesian language of Malaysia, Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore, East Timor, and parts of Southern Thailand. While in Indonesia, its name **Bahasa Indonesia** has not changed since the *Sumpah Pemuda* "youth pledge" in 1928, its naming in Malaysia has been an ongoing dispute until today: The language used to be called **Bahasa Melayu** until independence from the United Kingdom. From 1969 to 1986, it was renamed to **Bahasa Malaysia** to instill a sense of Malaysian identity amongst the citizens. When Datuk Seri Anwar Ibrahim became the Minister of Education in 1986, the official name became **Bahasa Melayu** again. In 2007, the term reverted to **Bahasa Malaysia** to include the Chinese, Indian, and other ethnic group and to create a sense of nationalism (Wong and Edwards 2007). However, since 2009 the media have been using the designation **Bahasa Melayu** again, and since 2015 efforts have been made to re-establish the term officially (Suganya 2015).

nearly disappeared by now. Today, more than 215.8 million people are able to communicate in IM as opposed to only about 16.6 million who cannot (Badan Pusat Statistik 2015:206). These factors suggest that Indonesia is a country of prolific diglossia⁸ with the official and national language used in public, especially in urban areas, and the regional languages used at home, mostly in villages. Diglossia is omnipresent all over Indonesia, but all the more so in large urban areas with a high number of migrants from other provinces such as Jakarta, Surabaya, Bandung, and Denpasar. Sneddon (2003:520) states that “occurrence of many regional languages used alongside the national languages adds a further dimension to diglossia in Indonesia.”

Most of these urban centers are situated on the island of Java where several languages are spoken: Betawi is used by about five million people in and around Jakarta; Sundanese is spoken by 34 million people mostly in West Java, Banten, and Jakarta; Madurese is spoken by approximately seven million on the island of Madura and the eastern regencies of East Java; and Javanese is used by about 69 million native speakers in Central Java, East Java, and the northcoast of West Java; more than 84 million all over the world use Javanese as their first language (Lewis, Simon, and Fennig 2015). Being situated at the north-central cost of East Java, Surabaya’s language is mainly Eastern Javanese, but as Surabaya is a city with many migrants from other parts of Indonesia and other countries, especially China, the language used in public is colloquial IM with many Javanese elements. The bilingualism of the people of Surabaya does not only result in a diglossic situation between the two languages, but also in sort of a mixed language between IM and Javanese (Hoogervorst 2006:60). Javanisms are very frequent in colloquial IM of Surabaya and are usually spread through the media. The following abridged dialog from a daily conversation held in IM between two Surabaya residents (S_1 and S_2) exemplifies this mixed language; obvious Javanisms are in bold print, influences from languages other than IM are underlined. Each line has a translation into standard Indonesian Malay (IM) and English (En):

S_1 : *Wés, cobaké nantik tak SMSé, tak SMSé yo, gampang banget. Udh, dikasih, mbayar, udah. Kan hanya dua minggu.*

IM: Sudah, nanti saya coba untuk mengiriminya SMS, mudah sekali. Sudah, berilah, bayarlah, sudah.

En: Alright, I’m gonna try to send her an SMS, okay, that’s easy. Alright, give it, pay, done.

S_2 : *Seharusnya kan gitu. Cuman ini orang yang dimintain tolong itu ló kok pergi. Sék mbulet-mbulet.*

IM: Seharusnya begitu, bukan? Tetapi orang yang dimintai tolong itu tiba-tiba pergi. Masih berbelit-belit.

En: Well, it should be like that. But it’s just that the person I asked for help just went away. It’s still kinda kinky.

S_1 : *Wés, gak usah minta tolong, wés ngónó aé, mbayar ngónó. Kan itu yo mbayar to kowé neng kono?*

IM: Sudah, tidak usah minta tolong, ke sana sajalah, bayarlah. Kamu juga membayar di sana, bukan?

En: Alright, don’t need to ask for help, just go there and pay. That’s also the place where you gotta pay, ain’t it?

⁸ Ferguson (1959:336) defines diglossia as follows: “Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language, [...] there is a very divergent, highly codified [...] superposed variety [...], which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation.”

S₂: *Iya, sama aja.*
IM: Ya, sama saja.
En: Yeah, the same.

S₁: *Lah, iyalah, wés. Gak usah. Pokoké yo tikèt, terós tabungan bapakmu utowo tabunganmu dhéwé, terós ... iku apa ... iku apa?*
IM: Lah, tentu saja, sudah. Tidak usah. Pokoknya tiket, lalu tabungan ayahmu atau tabunganmu sendiri, lalu ... apa itu ... apa itu?
En: So, yeah, alright. No need then. Anyway, the ticket, then your dad's savings or your own savings, then ... what's it ... what's it?

S₂: *Tabungané harus berapa itu?*
IM: Tabungannya harus berapa?
En: How much should the saving be?

This example merely serves as an illustration of a hybrid vernacular between both languages; the mix of IM and Javanese in general has been described by Errington (1998), while Hoogervorst (2006; 2008:42-49) has outlined the case of Surabaya, the mix of which he calls *Surabayan Malay*. It is noteworthy that the dialog given above is very typical for young Javanese speakers of East Java who grew up speaking IM within a Javanese community. This thesis, however, focuses on the Javanese dialect of Surabaya, not on the Malay variant used in the city.

1.1 CLASSIFICATION OF JAVANESE

Javanese (*basa Jawa*, traditionally written) is the most spoken regional language of Indonesia, outnumbering all other ethnic groups of the country with having 69 million native speakers. It is mainly spoken in Central and East Java, including the island of Madura and the northern and easternmost parts of West Java. Javanese belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family. Historically, the homeland of the Austronesian-speaking peoples must have been Taiwan from where a large group migrated toward the Philippines, the Pacific island and the so-called Malay World, settling along the equator. Bellwood (2004:25) states that “the Austronesian dispersal was mainly a Neolithic phenomenon and since then only within-family linguistic rearrangements have occurred, for instance the expansion of Malay and Javanese.” Major parts of the island of Java were populated since at least the early ninth century, because the first inscription entirely in OJ dates back to 804 CE, which was found near Pare in Kediri Regency, East Java (Zoetmulder 1974:3). During the Majapahit kingdom, Javanese merchants had settled in many places in the Malay Archipelago and were strongly involved in the spice trade in Maluku (Kähler 1981:247), but the main residence for the Javanese remained Central and East Java. Centuries later, due to the government-driven transmigration program in 1969 (*transmigrasi*) and the globalization in recent years, Javanese is now also spoken in West Java, Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Papua, and to a smaller degree also in

the Lesser Sunda Islands. Beyond Indonesia, Javanese is mainly found in Suriname, New Caledonia, Malaysia, and Singapore. The *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek* lists more than 400,000 immigrants of Indonesian descent in the Netherlands (Beets et al. 2002:81), the majority of which are certainly Javanese.

Within the Austronesian language family, Javanese including all its dialects forms the largest language community. Many attempts have been made to classify Javanese: The language map published by Esser (1938) lists a Malayo-Polynesian group (*Maleisch-Polynesische talen*) with a Javanese subgroup (*Java-groep*) including Sundanese, Javanese, and Madurese. Dyen (1965) was the first scholar to attempt a detailed subgrouping of the Austronesian languages by using lexicostatistical methods. He called one of the subgroups the *Javo-Sumatra-Hesion*, in which Javanese and Sundanese both made up their own branches, as opposed to the other two main branches of which one was the *Malayic Hesion* including Malay, Minangkabau, Kerinci, Madurese, and Achinese, and the other being the Lampungic Subfamily including Lampung and Kroë (today considered a dialect of the Lampung language). Nothofer (1975) attempted to reconstruct Dyen's proto-language of the Javo-Sumatra Hesion but named it *Proto-Malayo-Javanic* with Javanese as a separate primary branch, the others being the Malay, Madurese, and Sundanese branches. Blust (1981) rejected the inclusion of Javanese and Madurese into the Malayic branch, and instead added other languages such as Minangkabau, Iban and Cham. Consequently, Nothofer (1985:298) provided further evidence for his Malayo-Javanic branch, but also included Lampung and reasoned that Javanese was indeed different from the other languages of this group. A thorough summary of the various attempts at a classification of the Austronesian languages has been published by Malcolm Ross (1995). In his own classification, one of his 24 Austronesian language groups is *Java-Bali-Sasak* (Ross 1995:74-78). Adelaar (2005a:19-20) excludes Javanese from his proposed *Malayo-Sumbawan* subgroup and argues that it should be a separate branch of the West-Malayo-Polynesian language group. Evidence for this is presented in another paper (Adelaar 2005b). Adelaar's Malayo-Sumbawan subgroup, however, is rejected by Blust (2010:90; 2013:736). Thus, the classification of Javanese has been a matter of debate until today.

1.1.1 Javanese dialectology

Javanese is said to have three main dialects and many subdialects (Hadi 1971:6-7; Hatley 1984:6, 24). These three main dialects are Western Javanese, henceforth abbreviated WJ, Central Javanese, abbreviated CJ, and Eastern Javanese, abbreviated EJ. CJ has been the basis of Standard Javanese, henceforth abbreviated StJ. Each dialect group is referred to by the Javanese

with various names: WJ is usually called *basa Jawa Kulonan* or colloquially *basa ngapak*⁹; CJ is named *basa Jawa Tengah* or colloquially *basa mbandhèk*¹⁰ by WJ speakers and *basa Mataraman*¹¹ by some EJ speakers; EJ is named *basa Jawa Wétan*¹² or *basa arèk'an*¹³. The map below (Hatley 1984:24) shows the geographical distribution of the Javanese dialects.

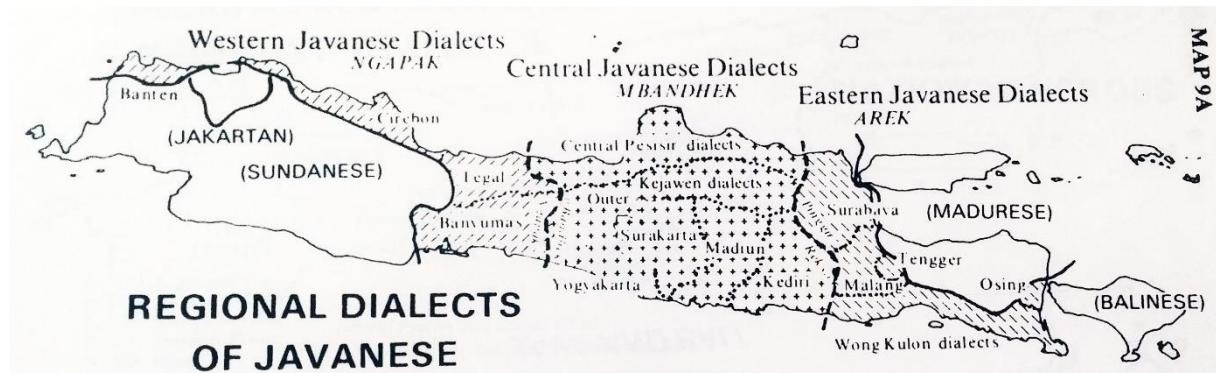


Figure 1: Map of Javanese dialects

Ogloblin (2005:591) reclassifies the main dialect groups as two main branches: the phonologically archaic western group and the central-eastern group with the change from [a] to [ɔ] for final /a/ (cf. chapter 1.1.3 for a detailed description). Connors (2008:26) names these two branches of Javanese *Central* (including WJ and CJ) and *Eastern* (only EJ).

My own research has shown that speakers of EJ do not understand WJ of Banten at all, they have difficulties in understanding the WJ Tegal dialect, while CJ is familiar and comprehensible to them. Kisayani-Laksono (2004a:11) presents similar findings. Unless the EJ speaker grew up using *krama* vocabulary (cf. chapter 4.1.5 for an explanation), he or she would not be able to follow a high-Javanese conversation from CJ, though. While both the EJ Tengger dialect

⁹ This is the colloquial, rather mocking, term used by the CJ and EJ because the interrogative particle *apa* “what (LL)” is pronounced like [?apa?] in WJ, whereas in CJ and EJ it is [?ɔpɔ]. The prefix *ng-* is the agent voice marker for verbs. Thus, the designation *basa ngapak* means something like “apak-ing language”

¹⁰ The word *bandhèk* has no correspondence in English and is difficult to translate. Various dictionaries give these explanations: “êngg[on-ênggonan], k[rama]-n[goko], ngucapake témbung Jawa kang aswara a diucapake miring” [regional, high and low level, pronouncing a Javanese word of which the vowel sound a is pronounced in a slanting way] (Poerwadarminta, Hardjasoedarma, and Poedjasaodira 1939:28); “mengutajpan A (kata Djawa) dengan A bunji miring” [pronouncing the A (in Javanese words) with a slant sound] (Prawiroatmodjo 1957:27); “gwestelijk: het Javaans uitspreken met de å-klank (tegenover de a-klank in Zuid-JW[est] Midden-Java)” [regional: the Javanese variant that is spoken with the å sound, as opposed to the a sound in Southwest Central Java] (van Albada and Pigeaud 2007:41). The prefixed *m-* is the agent voice marker here. Thus, the designation *basa mbandhèk* means “language using the /ɔ/ sound”. An explanation for this dialectal difference is given in chapter 1.1.3.

¹¹ The term *Mataram(an)* refers to the Mataram Kingdom (1587-1755), which encompassed all of Central Java and parts of East Java in its Golden Age, but in 1755 was divided into the Surakarta Sultanate under Paku Buwono III and the Yogyakarta Sultanate under Hamengku Buwono I according to the Treaty of Giyanti. People of these two cities are considered to speak the most refined Central Javanese variety today.

¹² This term could be translated as “easterly Javanese language”.

¹³ This designation has been applied to the language of East Java because of the ubiquitous use of the term *arèk* “child, kid, person” instead of the StJ term *bocah* “child (LL)”, sometimes even replacing (*u*)*wong* “person (LL)”. This word is probably derived from StJ *laré* “child (HL)”, compare *larèk* “child” in the Tuban dialect (Hoogervorst 2008:84, fn. 83). A translation of *basa arèk'an* could be “arèk-ish language”.

as well as Osing are generally understood by SuJ speakers, some isoglosses¹⁴ not found in other parts of EJ may slow down the comprehension. Even though Malang Javanese is virtually the same as SuJ and other EJ varieties around it, its reverse speech variant (called *osob Ngalam*, *boso Walék'an* or *boso Kiwalan*¹⁵) is only understood by those who grew up in Malang society. Very few of those words have also found their way into SuJ, e.g. *èbès* “father” from dialectal Jv. *sèbèh* “id.” (Yannuar, Iragiliati, and Zen 2017:115), and *wóles* “relaxed” from En. *slow* (Espree-Conaway 2013:2)

Due to the lack of an overview of the various Javanese subdialects in any previous study, I decided to outline the classification of Javanese (Figure 2), using what has been suggested by the Jakarta Field Station of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology¹⁶ (which includes mistakes), Nothofer’s classifications (1980; 1981) and personal communication with him for the dialects of Central and West Java, as well as the most recent research on the EJ subdivisions by Kisayani-Laksono (2004a), Hoogervorst (2008), and myself in preparation for this thesis. Note that the terms Western Javanese, Central Javanese, and Eastern Javanese do not refer to the political boundaries of West Java, Central Java, and East Java but to the phonological and morphological difference as discussed in chapter 1.1.3. Some of the dialects are difficult to classify. Tenggerese, for example, is spoken in the Tengger highlands surrounded by EJ; much of its vocabulary is borrowed from EJ but it is phonologically closer to CJ and EJ. Historically, the dialect originates from CJ (see chapter 4.1.5.2). The Madiun dialect chain is spoken in East Java but classified as CJ. The East

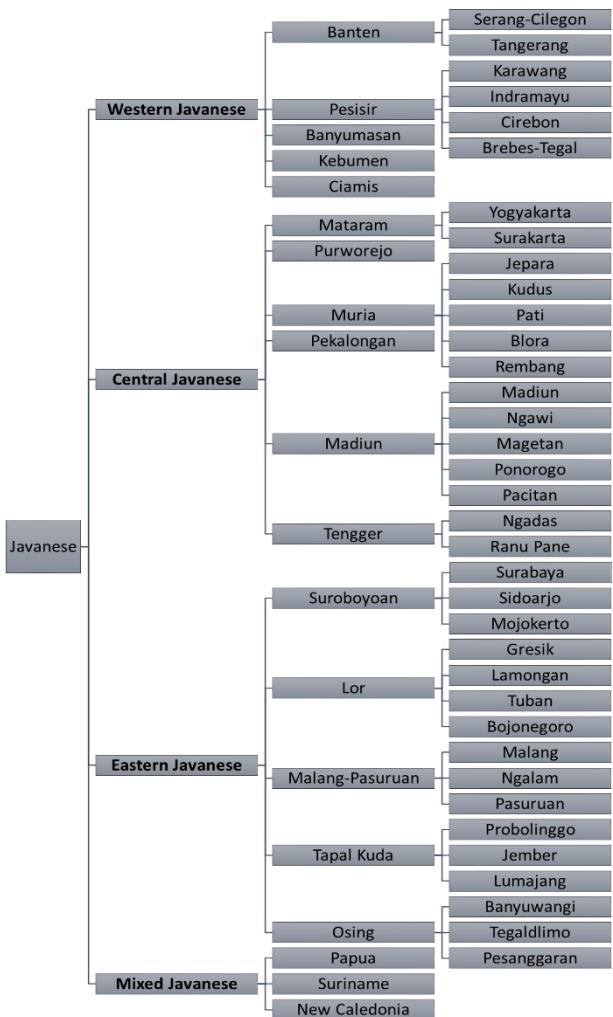


Figure 2: Javanese dialects

¹⁴ In my research, among these obscure isoglosses to the SuJ speaker were *rika* “I” for Tenggerese, and *sing* “not” for Osing.

¹⁵ *Osob Ngalam* is the reverse reading of *boso Malang* “Malang language”. *Boso Walék'an* is the Javanese term for ‘reverse language’. *Osob Kiwalan* is the pseudo-reverse word of *boso walikan* [bɔ.sɔ wa.lɛ.ʔan] “reverse language”. For more information on this language variety, cf. Hoogervorst (2009:43-44).

¹⁶ Available through http://jakarta.shh.mpg.de/javanese_dialectology.php. Some of their classifications are quite misleading, though.

Javanese regencies Situbondo and Bondowoso are predominantly Madurese with only a very small number of Javanese speakers and are not listed in the classification above.

1.1.2 Previous studies on Javanese dialects

Pigeaud (1967:11) divides Javanese literature into five layers based on idiomatic peculiarities and the origin of authors: (1) Pre-Islamic Old Javanese, (2) Java-Balinese texts written in Bali and Lombok, (3) Texts from East Java and Madura in the basins of the Brantas River and the lower course of the River Bengawan, (4) Texts from the North Coast (*Pasisir*), and (5) Modern Javanese texts from the interior of Central Java, i.e. the upper course of the River Bengawan, the basins of the rivers Opak and Praga around Surakarta and Yogyakarta. He admits that almost nothing can be said about the dialects of the pre-Islamic period. It is, however, well-known that Javanese in West Java was influenced by Sundanese (Pigeaud 1967:12; Nothofer 1980:156-158), and that Javanese in East Java to the east of the Tengger massif was superseded by Madurese (Pigeaud 1967:12). According to Pigeaud (1967:12), the Eastern Javanese variant Osing was left untouched by Madurese, however Kisayani-Laksono (2004a:39-41) finds that there has been a considerable influence of Madurese all over East Java. Balinese also had a significant impact on Osing (Kisayani-Laksono 2004a:42-43).

Linguistic study of Javanese in general does not have a very long tradition. The oldest dictionary of Javanese to be known is the *Lexicon Javanum: in quo voces sermonis Javani Belgice redduntur* [Javanese lexicon: in which the speech sounds of Javanese are rendered in Belgian] by an unknown author, dated 1706 and written in Romanized Javanese, now kept at the library of the Vatican in Rome (Vat.Ind.9) with a copy stored at the Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden (D Or. 381). It also includes some remarks on *ngoko* and *krama* words (cf. chapter 4.1.5). Thorough study of Javanese dialects does not reach much further back than to the late 19th century. According to Uhlenbeck (1964:42), the scientific knowledge of Javanese was very limited up to the beginning of the 19th century, and works of that time merely consist of word-lists, seldom containing information on morphology, syntax or linguistic etiquette of the dialects. One of the first chrestomathies of Javanese with explanatory notes on its usage, written entirely in *hanacaraka*¹⁷ was Carel Frederik Winter's *Javaansche zamenspraken* [Javanese conversations], the first volume edited by Taco Roorda (1848), the second volume edited by Salomon Keyser (1858), using the Central Javanese dialect. The large grammar book *Javaansche Grammatica* [Javanese grammar] (1855) by T. Roorda, also containing a description

¹⁷ *Hanacaraka* (හනාචාරකා), pronounced ['hə.nə.čə.rə.kə], is the name of the native Javanese script and is derived from the Kawi script used for OJ, ultimately a descendant of the Brahmi script of South Asia. Today, its use has heavily declined, and most of the younger Javanese are illiterate in *hanacaraka*.

of the speech level system, was a milestone in early Javanology. Apart from C. F. Winter and T. Roorda, the most famous scholar on Javanese and other Austronesian languages of the 19th century was Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk, who strongly opposed Roorda's linguistic views of Javanese (Uhlenbeck 1964:51-53; Grijns 1996:358-359) and noticed lexical discrepancies between StJ and the dialect of Banyuwangi including a list of Balinese loanwords in this dialect (Hoogervorst 2008:9). Uhlenbeck (1964:59) mentions questionnaires on dialects of Javanese devised by K. F. Holle in 1864, the data of which may now be kept in the library of the Central Museum of Jakarta. Some data of the Javanese dialects are mentioned in Raden Mas Arya Purwalēlana's two-volume travel book (1865-1866), written entirely in *hanacaraka*.

Kats' translations of a conversation into various Javanese dialects in his book *Serat warna sari Djawi* [Book of Javanese collections] (1929) gave rise to new dialectal studies. Mardjana (1933) compared the phonetic and morphological differences of several dialects with each other.

The CJ dialect of Pekalongan was first described by D. Vooren (1892), a wordlist of the Surakarta dialect was published by H. A. de Nooy & Mas Padmasoesastra (1893), while Walbeehm (1895; 1897b; 1903) extensively described the dialects of Jepara and Tegal in *hanacaraka*.

The WJ dialect of Indramayu was first investigated by Groneman (1893), and Banten Javanese in the westernmost tip of Java was described by Mangoen di Karia (1914). Esser (1927) wrote on the WJ dialect of Banyumas in *hanacaraka*. A description and a short glossary of Cirebon's WJ was published by Smith (1926). Deep research on Banten Javanese was carried out by Iskandarwassid et al. (1985) and Meutiawati (2000). Thorough investigation of the Javanese dialects of West Java and Western Central Java was undertaken by Nothofer (1980; 1981), supplemented by the first dialect atlas of Javanese ever published, unfortunately not covering the dialects used in East Java.

Thorough research on EJ did not start until the early 20th century except for a short essay on the Tenggerese dialect by Kreemer (1885). The Malang-Pasuruan dialect was first outlined by van Hinloopen Labberton (1900), and has only been examined again much later by Sudarwati (1987) and recently by Hoogervorst (2014). The reverse speech of Malang, usually called *Boso Walikan*, has been treated by Suharto (1983), Widodo (2006), Espree-Conaway (2013), Hoogervorst (2014:107-118), and most recently by Yannuar et al. (2017). The adjacent dialect of Surabaya has been studied by Srijono (1976), Soetoko et al. (1984), Sri Budi Astuti (1986), Oetomo (1988), Adipitoyo et al. (1999), Siwidana (2004), Khristarini Mariana (2005), Anggraini (2005), and most extensively by Hoogervorst (2006; 2008; 2009). The relatively isolated people of the Tengger massif between Surabaya and Malang and their unique EJ dialect have

been well researched by Smith-Hefner (1983; 1988), Soedjito et al. (1984; 1985), Sutoko et al. (1985), Sunoto (1990), Kisayani-Laksono (1998), and in great detail by Conners (2008). The language varieties further north of East Java around Surabaya, i.e. Gresik, Lamongan, Tuban, Bojonegoro, and Mojokerto, have been observed by Soegianto (1982), Sunaryo et al. (1984), Soedjito et al. (1986), Kisayani-Laksono (1995; 1999; 2000), and Yulianto (2010). The EJ dialect of Jember has been worked on by Lestari (2012). A short treatise on the EJ variety of Banyuwangi (*Osing*) was first published by Soediro (1932), and another one by Prijanggana (1957). In the following years, several publications on Osing appeared, e.g. Soetoko et al. (1981), Mas Moeljono et al. (1986), Sariono (2002), and Kisayani-Laksono (2001; 2004a; 2004b). Kartomihardjo (1981) thoroughly outlined the communicative codes of East Java in general, and other authors have also described several varieties spoken all over East Java, e.g. Soedjito et al. (1981; 1985), Soedjatno et al. (1984), Mujianto et al. (1990), and Kisayani-Laksono (2004a).

There are only a few dialectal dictionaries available. For WJ, the most prominent are Patmadiwiria's *Kamus Dialek Jawa Banten* [Dictionary of the Banten Javanese dialect] (1977), Kosadi's *Kamus bahasa Cirebon-Indonesia* [Dictionary Cirebonese-Indonesian] (1992), Sudjana's *Kamus Bahasa Cirebon* [Cirebonese dictionary] (2005), and Tohari's *Kamus dialek Banyumas-Indonesia* [Dictionary Banyumasan-Indonesian] (2007). For the EJ dialects, only Ali's *Kamus Bahasa Daerah Using-Indonesia* [Dictionary of the regional language Using and Indonesian] (2002), Djupri's *Kamus Suroboyoan-Indonesia* [Surabayan-Indonesian dictionary] (2008), and Soenarno's *Kamus bahasa Malangan* [Dictionary of the Malang language] (2011) are known to me. All other dictionaries for Javanese are largely based on the standard dialect spoken in Central Java around Yogyakarta and Solo, with dialectal differences as marginal notes. However, the Internet now allows private bloggers to publish wordlists of local varieties online on their website.

Apart from the Javanese dialects in Indonesia, Suriname Javanese has been described by Wolfowitz (1984; 1991) and a comprehensive dictionary of Suriname Javanese including the speech styles for each headword has been published by Vruggink & Sarmo (2001). Aspects of the Javanese variant spoken in New Caledonia has only very recently been outlined by Subiyantoro (2014) and Subiyantoro, Marsono & Udasmoro (2017).

The most valuable of the above-mentioned sources for this thesis have been Nothofer's dialect atlas, Kisayani-Laksono's phonological sketch in East Java, and Hoogervorst's MPhil thesis on Surabaya's linguistic ecology. Much of this thesis relies on Hoogervorst's outstanding analysis. Wherever I disagree with his findings, I have indicated discrepancies as such.

1.1.3 Distinctive features of Javanese dialects

The three main dialects of Javanese are easily distinguished by their pronunciation of the phoneme /a/, the inherent vowel in the *hanacaraka* writing system, in the ultima and penultima. The rules are as follows:

1. In CJ, Proto-Javanic */a/ is raised to [ɔ] in a final open syllable with regressive assimilation to the preceding syllable that also contains the phoneme /a/¹⁸ (Nothofer 1980:145; Oglöblin 2005:616), e.g. *kanca* “friend” is pronounced ['kɔŋ.co], but *ngrancak* “to cut wood” is pronounced ['ŋraŋ.ca?]. This rule does not apply when a clitic follows, e.g. *kancané* “his/her/the friend” is pronounced ['kap.ca.ne], not *['kɔŋ.co.ne]. Hoogervorst (2008:11) argues that this rising of Proto-Javanic */a/ to [ɔ] must have taken place around the 17th century, based on older loanwords that have also undergone this change.
2. In WJ, Proto-Javanic */a/ is retained as [a] in all positions with a glottal paragoge in root-final position, making it the most archaic dialect cluster (Smith-Hefner 1988:205-206), e.g. *kanca* “friend” is pronounced ['kaŋca?]. When a clitic word follows, the [a] is also kept, e.g. *kancané* “his/her/the friend” is pronounced ['kaŋca?ne]. The retention of final [a(?)] could be due to the borrowing of final glottal stop from Sundanese, blocking the development /a/ > /ɔ/ in this area (Nothofer, personal communication). However, this observation is refuted by the glottal stop in Osing (cf. table on page 14).
3. In EJ¹⁹, Proto-Javanic */a/ is raised to [ɔ] in a final open syllable with regressive assimilation to the preceding syllable that also contains the phoneme /a/¹⁸, e.g. *kanca* “friend”, henceforth written *konco*, is pronounced ['kɔŋ.co]. The [ɔ] is also kept when a clitic follows, e.g. *kancané* “his/her/the friend” is pronounced ['kɔŋ.co.ne], and therefore written *konconé* in this thesis. Subdialects may vary²⁰. Based on this observation, /ɔ/ in EJ should not be considered an allphone of /a/ as is done for CJ and WJ, but as a phoneme on its own. It is noteworthy that not only clitics allow the retention of /ɔ/, suffixes also sometimes do²¹, e.g. *konco* ['kɔŋ.co] “friend” vs. *ngonconi* ['ŋɔŋ.co.ni] “to befriend”, while it would be *ngancani* ['ŋan.ca.ni] in other dialects.

¹⁸ This rule is only applicable when the final and penultimate syllable are separated by one consonant or two homorganic consonants, i.e. *nata* /nɔtɔ/ “to arrange”, *lara* /lɔrɔ/ “sick”, *waspada* /waspɔdɔ/ “alert”, *landa* /lɔndɔ/ “Westerner”, *randha* /rɔndɔ/ “widow”, *rampa* /rɔmpɔ/ “to support”, *angka* /aŋkɔ/ “number”, etc. The regressive assimilation does not apply to words with heterorganic consonants between the final and penultimate syllable, i.e. *arta* /artɔ/ “money (HL)”, not */ɔrtɔ/ or *jalma* /jalmɔ/ “reincarnation”, not */jɔlmɔ/. The only exception to this rule is StJ *ora* “not”, which is pronounced /ora/ and not */ɔra/.

¹⁹ Excluding the Tengger dialect which has retained Proto-Javanic */a/ as [a] (Smith-Hefner 1988:205; 230), similar to modern WJ. Tenggerese should be regarded as an old CJ speech exclave surrounded by EJ.

²⁰ Some speakers of SuJ would also use *koncoé* /kɔŋcoe/ instead of *konconé* /kɔŋcɔne/.

²¹ Not all verbs allow the retention of /ɔ/. I have come across *njagani* (<*jogo*) “to guard” in my corpus, but my informant told me that *njogoni* is also used. Even more surprising is the imperative *jogoen aku* “protect me!” (cf. chapter 3.3.3). While *teko(k)* “to come, from” is often used, *nekani* “to approach” is a rare word in SuJ, and **nekoni* is not possible; *marani* “to

Furthermore, the phoneme /u/ in a closed ultima tends to be pronounced [u] in some WJ dialects, [ʊ~o] in CJ, and [ʊ~o] with regressive assimilation in some EJ dialects, e.g. *rubuh* “collapsed” is ['ru.βuh~'ru.βoh] in CJ, ['ru.βuh] in WJ, and ['ro.βʊ(h)~'ro.βo(h)] in EJ. The pronunciation of /i/ in a closed ultima behaves in a similar way: It is pronounced [i] in some WJ dialects, [ɪ~e] in CJ, and [ɪ~e~ɛ] with regressive assimilation in some EJ dialects, e.g. *mikir* “to think” is ['mi.kɪr~'mi.ker] in CJ, ['mi.kɪr] in WJ, and ['me.ker~'mɪ.ker] in EJ. It can be summarized that the three main vowels phonemes are lowered and centralized in certain positions in EJ, less so in CJ, while WJ has retained much of the Proto-Javanic vowel quality.

Generally, the consonant quality is very similar in all Javanese dialects. WJ tends to add a paragogic glottal stop to sentence-final utterances ending in a vowel, e.g. *ajak kayak kuwè* ['?aɟə 'kaya 'kuwɛ?] “don’t be like that!”, while EJ adds that paragogic glottal stop to a number of words ending in [ɔ], usually realized as a creaky-voiced vowel in SuJ, e.g. *ojok koyok ngónó* ['?ɔɟɔ 'kɔjɔ 'ŋo.no] “id.”. CJ has no paragogic glottal stop, e.g. *aja kaya ngono* [?ɔɟɔ 'kɔjɔ 'ŋo.no] “id.”. A detailed study of SuJ phonology is found in chapter 3.1.

The Javanese dialects do not differ much from each other in terms of morphology. Nouns are not inflected for case and they mostly exhibit the same affixation in all dialects. The use of pronouns and their morphosyntactic alignment (cf. chapters 3.3.1 and 3.4.2) vary greatly, though. The table below summarizes the most important distinctive features between OJ, the WJ dialects of Banten and Brebes-Tegal, the CJ dialect of Yogyakarta, and the EJ dialects of Surabaya, Tengger, and Osing²². Note that the hyphens do not indicate orthographic rules but whether the elements are enclitic or proclitic. All words are listed in IPA transliteration, but I chose to use y for the sound [j] to avoid confusion with IM/Jv. *j* pronounced [j~dʒ].

approach” is used instead. For *bèlo*, only *mbèlani* “to defend” is possible, **mbèloni* is not; *liané* “the other one” is correct in SuJ, **lioné* is not.

²² The OJ data have been taken from Zoetmulder (1974; 1982; 1983), the Banten data are from Nothofer (1980) and Meutiawati (2000), the Brebes-Tegal data are from Nothofer (1980), Nur & Fernandez (2005), Sasangka (1999), and various websites, the Osing data are from Hoogervorst (2008), Soetoko et al. (1981) and Mas Moeljono et al. (1986), the Tengger data are from Conners (2008), and the rest are from my own research.

Table 1: Linguistic comparison between some Javanese dialects

	OJ	Banten	Brebes-Tegal	Yogyakarta	Surabaya	Tengger	Osing
/-a/	[-a]	[-ጀ?]	[-a]	[-ጀ]	[-ጀ]	[-a]	[-ጀ?]
/-h/	[-h]	[-h]	[-h]	[-h]	-Ø/[-h] ²³	[-h]	[-h]
/-k/	[-k]? [-k']?	[-k']	[-k']	[-?]	creaky	[-?]	[-k]
1SG.M	aku/kami/ ingsung/isun	kity?/reaŋ	?iŋoŋ/(?ə)ŋoŋ	?aku	?aku	(r)eŋŋ	?ison/?eson
1SG.F		di-...kity?/ tak-	di- ... ?iŋoŋ	(n)da?-	ta?-	?iŋsən	
1SG.PROCL	—	—	—	—	—	(ta?-)	son-/ hon-
1SG.POSS	-(ŋ)ku	kits?	-ku	-ku	-ku	-(n)e + 1SG	-(n)ison
1SG (HL)	—	kulŋ?	kulɔ?	kulɔ	kulɔ	—	kulɔ/ihon
2SG	ko/kita/sira	sirŋ?	koən/ sira?/ko	koe	kən	—	(s)irɔ?
2SG.PROCL	—	di-	mbək	ko?-	mbɔ?	sira	irɔ?-
2SG.POSS	-mu	—	-(n)e koən/-mu	-mu	-mu	—	-(n)irɔ?
2SG (ML)	—	sirŋ?/nirŋ?	—	—	—	—	rikɔ?
2SG (HL)	—	—	—	—	—	{rika}	ndikɔ?
3SG	ya/sira	dewe?e	kae	qewə?e	de?e	sira/qewə?e	iyane
3SG.PASS	-in-	di-	d(i)-	di-	di-	di-	di-
3SG.POSS	-ŋa/-ya/ -(n)ira/-ipun	-(n)e	-ne kae/-e	-(n)e	-(n)e	-(n)e	-(n)e
3SG (HL)	—	?	piamba?ipun	piamba?ipun	tiaŋe/ piamba?e	—	əŋgihe
PROX	(pun)iki/iké	kiən/iki	kie(?)	iki	iki	iki	ikai/iki
MED	(pun)iku/iko	kuən/iku	kue	—	iku	iku	ikau/iku
DIST	(pun)ika/ikâ	kuan/ika	kae	—	—	{ika}	—
PROX (HL)	—	—	puniŋki	—	niki	—	niki
MED (HL)	—	—	puniŋku	(mə)niku	—	—	—
DIST (HL)	—	—	—	(mə)nikɔ	niku	—	niku
CAUS/BEN	-akən	—	-(?)na/-(?)akən	-(a)ke	-(?)nə	-(?)na/-ən	—
CAUS/BEN (HL)	—	-(-?)akən	-(?)akən	-(a)kən	-akən	—	-(y)akən
REL	ikaŋ/saŋ/siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	siŋ	seŋ/siŋ	siŋ	kang/hang
REL (HL)	—	?iŋkaŋ	?iŋkaŋ	(?iŋ)kaŋ	—	—	—
in/at	i(ŋ)/ri(ŋ)	niŋ	niŋ/nəŋ	niŋ	nde?/nə?/ ndu?	ndɛ?	reŋ/niŋ
in/at (HL)	—	—	təŋ	wəntəniŋ	təŋ	—	təŋ
if	yan/yadi(n)/ yadyan/lamun	?ari	?ari	yən	ne?/lə?	ne?i/ ne?e	kadoŋ
if (HL)	—	lamon	lamon	mənawi	?	—	?
still	maksih/malər	masih	?egin~?esih	?isih	se?	?isih	mageh
still (HL)	—	malər	ta?sih	ta?sih	tase?/məseh/ təseh	—	tase?
since	saka/wiwitan	?	?awit	wiwit/?awit	kət/sa?jəge	teka	sakat
no	tan/nora(na)	?ora	bəlih/?ora	?ora/ra?	ga?	ora?/ga?	(u)seŋ/heŋ
no (HL)	—	bətən	mboten	mboten	mboten	—	bətən

The causative-benefactive applicative affix SuJ *-no*, also appearing in Tengger and Brebes as *-na(?)*, requires some explanation. StJ uses low level *-aké* and high level *-aken* instead. Smith-Hefner (1988:210) derives *-no* from the OJv. applicative *-aken* plus *-a* for the subjunctive, forming a so-called “subjunctive-hortative” mood *-akēna* > *-akna*, e.g. *gumawayakēn* “to do”

²³ See chapter 3.1.1.

+ -a > *gumawayakna* “do!” (Taselkin 1963:54). Nothofer (1980:173) gives the MoJ subjunctive-imperative form *rungok(ě)na* “listen!” from the WJ dialect of Tegal and calls it a direct continuation of OJ **rēywakēna*, which is composed of *rēyō* “to listen”, the causative-benefactive *-akēn*, and the subjunctive *-a*. Forms like *banjur(ě)na* in WJ instead of the expected **banjurak(ě)na* are explained as “a result of backformation modeled on *ngrungokake*” by Nothofer. His derivation is convincing, but since *-no* instead of *-aké/-aken* is regularly found in the archaic EJ dialect of Tenggerese and in WJ, the change from *-akēn-a* to *-(k)na* must have taken place at a very early stage of MoJ, probably marking the transition from OJ to MoJ²⁴. Banten has retained the OJ *-akēn* without the subjunctive marker *-a*, and CJ *-aké* may be an innovation. It is noteworthy that a small number of SuJ speakers use *-né* instead of *-no*, however I have come across this form only twice, both with *numbasné* “to buy for (ALS)” but from different sources.

²⁴ Note that OJ (including Middle Javanese) is the predecessor of Modern Javanese. The language of the *kakawin* (Sanskrit-metered narrative poems) is called Old Javanese, that of the *kidung* (Javanese-metered poems or songs) has been named Middle Javanese, thus the designations are not chronologic and indeed temporally overlapping (Zoetmulder 1974:25-26).

2 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION OF SURABAYA

Hoogervorst (2009:45-54) has comprehensively depicted the sociolinguistic history of SuJ, to which not much can be added. I will therefore briefly summarize what should be said on the historical and the current background of the city of Surabaya along with a description of SuJ's representation in the media. During my fieldwork from 2014 to 2015, I also designed a questionnaire (see appendix III) to gather information on the current sociolinguistic situation of Surabaya. Some results are given in this chapter, the full evaluation is found in appendix IV.

2.1 CITY PROFILE

Surabaya (pronounced /surabaja/ in IM, /surəbəjə/ in EJ, traditionally written) is generally not recommended as a tourist spot in guidebooks. The capital of East Java Province used to be and still is an industrial city, Indonesia's second-biggest metropolis, and usually only known among tourists as the transport hub on their way to Bali or Mt. Bromo²⁵. Dick (2002:1) states that “[e]fforts to promote the city as a tourist attraction have been halfhearted and almost embarrassed. [...] For those who just pass through, the city seldom gives rise to fond memories.” Most people stay in Surabaya for business or education, not for vacation. In 2010, the total population of Surabaya municipality amounted to 2,765,487 people (Badan Pusat Statistik 2010). Basically, there is almost no difference between Surabaya and the adjacent regencies of Gresik and Sidoarjo in terms of culture and language, and the transition from one city to the next is seamless. Its metropolitan area (*Surabaya Raya*) including Gresik and Sidoarjo then spans an area of 2,116.7 km² with a population of 6,484,026 people (in 2010), equaling to a density of 3,063 people per km². Together with the regencies of Bangkalan, Mojokerto, and Lamongan, the large urban agglomeration is termed *Gerbangkertosusila*²⁶ (Hermanto 1996) with a total population of more than nine million.

The city of Surabaya lies on the north coast of Central East Java at the Madura Strait of the Java Sea, and thanks to the Suramadu Bridge, the longest bridge of Indonesia opened in 2009 now allows for an easy connection to Bangkalan on Madura Island. The first mention of the region may have been in Zhao Rugua's book 諸蕃志 [Zhū Fān Zhì] in 1225 CE (Wáng Shū Rèn 王叔任 1987:494) as Middle Chinese 戎牙路 *nyuwng ngæ luH* (Baxter transcription), commonly Romanized as *Jung-ya-lu* (Hirth and Rockhill 1911:71), which refers to the Kingdom of Janggala. The name “Surabaya” appeared as *surabhaya* in the Old Javanese eulogy

²⁵ Surabaya's Juana Airport is the third busiest of Indonesia with 19,483,844 passengers in 2016 (Surya TRIBUNnews.com 2017), Surabaya's Gubeng train station is the busiest all over East Java with 18,772 passengers in 2016 (BeritaSatu.com 2016), and Tanjung Perak is the biggest port in the country with 206,248 passengers in the first half of 2016 (BeritaTrans.com 2016).

²⁶ This abbreviation is an acronym for **G**resik (with metathesis), **B**angkalan, **M**ojokerto, **S**urabaya, **S**idoarjo, and **L**amongan, and may be translated as “Gate to perfect moral” (In. *gerbang* = gate; OJ: *kṛta* = perfect, prosperous; OJ: *susila* = virtuous).

Nāgarakṛtāgama in 1365 CE²⁷, and as *çūrabhaya* on a Trowulan charter in 1358 CE²⁸. In folk etymology, its name is generally explained as being from *sura* “shark”²⁹ and *baya* “crocodile”, which has lead to Surabaya’s emblem of a shark and a crocodile fighting with each other to depict the struggle of life between sea and land (Rouf and Ananda 2013:60-61). This folktale has also inspired the creators of the *Culoboyo* video clips (cf. chapter 2.3). Other sources claim that the name is derived from Jv. *救人勇士 sura ing baya* “brave in danger” (Timoer 1983:14). The real origin of the name remains a mystery.

Surabaya probably became known to the west by Kurt Weill and Bertold Brecht’s musical “Happy End” in 1929 through the ballad “Surabaya Johnny” (Barber 1985:158-159), in which the singer Lilian Holiday describes a short relationship to her unfaithful lover Johnny. Neither the song nor the musical is known among the residents of Surabaya (Lenz 2011).

2.2 SOCIAL STATUS OF SURABAYAN JAVANESE

Hoogervorst (2009:47) writes that “throughout the New Order³⁰, Javanese in the media remained intertwined with a kind of traditionalism. Most performances were musically enlisted with gamelan and the actors wore traditional Javanese or Madurese clothes, whereas western clothes and music were associated with Bahasa Indonesia, the language of modernism and public discourse.” This summarizes pretty well what had been happening with minority languages in Indonesia before the 21st century. Javanese was the language at home, in the streets, but it was improper for education, politics, or broadcasting. The few Javanese songs that were composed during that time were sung in the traditional *kendhang kempul* style while Indonesian songs had a western touch. One of the most famous songs in the EJ dialect of Surabaya was *Rèk, ayo, rèk!* (cf. next chapter).

The *Kongres Bahasa Jawa* [Congress of the Javanese Language] was first held in 1991 in Semarang, since then every five years in Malang, Yogyakarta, and Surabaya. Some of their topics have also dealt with Javanese linguistics and dialectology. The *Balai Bahasa Surabaya*

²⁷ Surabaya is mentioned in canto 17, foot 5: “yan tan maṇka marej phalah mark i jōṇ hyaṇ acalapati bhakti sādara, pantēṣ/ yan panulus datēṇ ri balitar mwaṇ i jimur i cīlāhrit alīōj, mukyaj polaman ij dahe kuwu ri liṅgamarabārium ika lanenusī, yan/ rīṇ jaṅgala lot sabhā nrpati ring **surabhaya** manulus mare buwun.” (Pigeaud 1960a:14) [*Otherwise he goes to Palah to come into the presence of the divine Lord of the Mountain with devotion and reverence, and it is fitting to go further on to Balitar, to Jimur and to Śilāhrit to enjoy the scenery. The main place in Daha is Polaman, and Kuwu and Linggamarabangun he always visits, and when in Janggala the King constantly frequents Surabhaya, and then goes on to Buwun.*] Translation by Robson (1995:36).

²⁸ Along with many other rural districts along the River Brantas, Surabaya is mentioned in plate 5 recto, line 4: “... bukul, i çūrabhaya, muwah prakāraning nadīṭīra pradeça sthānaning anāmbangi i maḍantēn, i waringin wok, i bajra pura, i ...” (Pigeaud 1960a:110) [... *Bakul, Shūrabhaya. Also concerning the various rural districts on the banks of the rivers, places of ferrymen in: Maḍantēn, Waringin-Wok, Bajrapura, ...*]. Translation by Pigeaud (1960b:159)

²⁹ While “shark” (In. *ikan hiu*) is the common translation of *sura* in Surabaya’s folktales, this is merely the proper name of the shark character in the folktale. *Sura* does not mean “shark”, but rather “brave”, “deity”, “hero”, or the “first month of the Islamic calendar” (Poerwadarminta, Hardjasoedarma, and Poedjaesoedira 1939:575).

³⁰ New Order (*Orde Baru*) is a political term to refer to Suharto’s regime (1966-1998) when Indonesia experienced an economic boom and the national language Indonesian was promoted through a massive language planning program.

[House of Surabaya's Language], situated in Sidoarjo, was established in 2001 and has been trying to raise awareness among the East Javanese community for their language, with moderate success. Only in the last few years, SuJ has become a dialect used in all kinds of mass media.

According to my survey among 165 residents of Surabaya (73%), Gresik (13%), Sidoarjo (13%), and other places (1%) with more than a half of them aged between 15 and 20, a total of 86% stated that they were fluent in IM, 81% said they were fluent in low level SuJ, while only 29% could communicate in high level SuJ (multiple answers allowed). Fluency of CJ lies at around 6% in Surabaya. The survey showed that 77% of all respondents use IM at home, 52% use low level SuJ, and only 34% employ high level SuJ (multiple answers allowed). About 7% state that they speak a mix of the languages at home. For counting basic numbers, 72% stick to IM, half of my respondents would count in low level SuJ but only 9% use high level SuJ, while 14% state that it would depend on the situation which language or register they use for counting. 88% of the respondents use SuJ among friends, 57% within the core family, 34% with people in their hometown, 26% with villagers of East Java, 20% within the broad family, and only 6% with their teachers. These numbers confirm the assumption that minority languages and especially dialects are virtually never used in educational institutions and are reserved for close friends, the family, and people whose IM may not be sufficient enough to hold a fluent conversation. There is a clear tendency that the more formal the situation is, the more likely IM is preferred over SuJ. In very informal settings, IM is only sporadically employed with SuJ being the dominant language, whereas in education or politics SuJ is inappropriate with IM being considered adequate. In a few religious contexts, SuJ is preferred over IM. According to my own experience, many villagers in East Java are able to understand IM very well but they would only answer in their EJ dialect or in Madurese. However, these people are also very likely to use the high level register whereas it is on the decline in urban communities.

2.3 SURABAYAN JAVANESE IN THE MEDIA

The Javanese dialect used in Surabaya is not limited to communication between family members and friends, but is found everywhere in and around the city. One could even say that it is one of the most prominent dialects of any regional language in Indonesia. Non-residents of Surabaya are often well aware of how SuJ sounds like, and they call it a very rude language (cf. chapter 4.2.1). One of the slang words known all over Indonesia is *jancok*³¹, referring to anything negative similar to English “damn”, “hell”, or “fuck”, but may also be used as a discourse marker between very close friends.

³¹ This word is probably a contracted from of *diancuk*, the patient voice form of *ancuk* “to fuck, to copulate with”.

There are a handful local TV stations in Surabaya (TVRI Surabaya, SBO TV, JTV Surabaya, RTV Surabaya, Kompas TV Surabaya, Bios TV, M&HTV Surabaya), however only one regularly broadcasts news and entertainment in SuJ, namely private-owned JTV Surabaya³². The most popular programs broadcasted entirely in SuJ are the newscast *Pojok Kampung* [Neighborhood corner]³³ with nearly no polite vocabulary, the entertainment program *Blakra'an* [Sauntering] with very high level vocabulary, *B-Cak Show* [Rickshaw Show]³⁴ with virtually no vocabulary of the high level, the comedy show *Ndoro Bei* [The Master]³⁵, the theater-like staged show *Goro-Goro Kartolo* with much of the conversations considered very polite in Surabaya, and another theater-like staged show *Ngethoprak Kirun* [Kirun performs on stage]³⁶ with little high level conversations. Apart from those based in Surabaya, Arek TV from Sidoarjo also broadcasts shows in SuJ every now and then, and JTV Malang offers shows in Malang Javanese, which is very similar to SuJ. Much of my SuJ material has been taken from JTV news and entertainment.

YouTube, Twitter, Facebook, and weblogs have become the ideal medium to broadcast entertainment in the local dialects. Among the most famous YouTube stars speaking entirely in Malang Javanese is 23-year-old Bayu Skak, his real name being Bayu Eko Moektito. Although being a native speaker of Malang Javanese, he virtually never uses the reverse speech of Malang (cf. fn. 15) and is therefore easily understood by anyone around Malang, including Surabaya. Two of his comedy shows are part of my corpus. Another famous YouTuber using SuJ is the Australian citizen Dave Jephcott, better known as *Londo Kampung*³³ “neighborhood foreigner”, who has been living in Surabaya since the age of two (Supriyanto 2017). Mohammad Sholikin, better known as Cak Ikin, has been using YouTube as a platform to publish his animated videos under the name *Culoboyo Juniol* “Junior Surabaya” (in EJ child language) since 2007 onward (Junita 2016). Several other animated videos also appeared under similar names, but with the two main characters, *Culo* the shark and *Boyo* the crocodile (cf. chapter 2.1 for the background), now grown up and speaking a mix of East Javanese and Jakartan slang.

³² JTV stands for for *Jawa Timur Televisi* “East Java Television” and belongs to the *Jawa Pos TV* network owned by Jawa Pos Group.

³³ The translation is not accurate, but there is no English word for *kampung*. In Indonesia, the word describes smaller settlements within a big city, often with narrow and crowded alleyways, resembling the traditional life before globalization. The term may also be used to refer to people who are less likely to access education and are often taught at home or through religious institutions. *Pojok Kampung* has been chosen for the TV program to relate to the language spoken in those settlements where dialectal Javanese is often preferred over the national language Indonesian.

³⁴ The abbreviation *b-cak* is read *bècak* “rickshaw” but the spelling *b-cak* suggests a combination of Jv. *bareng* “together (with)” and the SuJ title *cak* “mister”, as the show is about two men discussion various topics using SuJ.

³⁵ *Ndoro* is the short form of StJ. *bendara* “master, mistress, sir” and *bèi* is shortened from *ngabèhi* “an official of middle rank in court hierarchy” (Robson and Wibisono 2002:506).

³⁶ The term *ngethoprak* is the active voice verb of *kethoprak* “Javanese popular drama depicting historical or pseudo-historical events” (Robson and Wibisono 2002:369) and *Kirun* is an old-fashioned name.

The only printed media making use of Surabayan Javanese are *Jaya Baya* (old spelling: *Djaja Baja*) and *Panjebar Semangat* (not changed after the spelling reform in 1972). A few authors are known to have published their works in the local dialect of Surabaya, among them Sri Setyowati alias Trinil and Budhi Santoso. Trinil's books are composed entirely in SuJ; her most famous one being *Donga kembang Waru* (2004). Santoso's most popular work is *Humor Suroboyoan* (three volumes) with many conversations in SuJ.

SuJ is also sporadically found in traffic announcements throughout Surabaya. At the intersection of Jl. Raya Darmo/Jl. Raya Diponegoro, the city has installed a traffic light making announcements in SuJ. Although the addressees are mostly elderly people, all words used belong to the low level vocabulary (cf. chapter 4.2). Public speeches in Surabaya, especially those on religious affairs before the Hajj season, are often held in SuJ. This is one of the few instances where high level SuJ can be heard as the low level is improper for actions referring to God.

There have been some songs recorded entirely in SuJ and adjacent dialects, of which the most popular one is *Rèk, ayo, rèk* “Guys, c'mon, guys” sung by the Surabayan native Mus Mulyadi but composed by the Central Javanese songwriter Alphonsius Is Haryanto. Bayu Skak sings in Malang Javanese, which is not much different from SuJ.

3 LINGUISTIC DESCRIPTION OF SURABAYAN JAVANESE

While many dialects of Javanese have already been linguistically described (cf. chapter 1.1.2), a thorough grammatical analysis of SuJ is difficult to find. There have been occasional works on its morphophonology (Adipitoyo, Yulianto, and Tirtawijaya 1999), on its morphology (Sri Budi Astuti 1986), on lexical and phonological discrepancies between SuJ and CJ (Soetoko, Z., and Soetarto 1984; Kisayani-Laksono 2004a), and on the sociolinguistic situation in Surabaya (Oetomo 1988; Hoogervorst 2009; 2014), however the syntax and linguistic etiquette have merely been a minor part of the publications mentioned above or treated in shorter articles (Srijono 1976; Dhani 2004). In all these works, SuJ has always been described with regard to its divergence from StJ, but not individually, making it difficult for scholars to fully understand its grammar without having studied IM or Javanese before. This chapter aims to outline the phonology, orthography, morphology, and syntax of SuJ from a linguistic point of view in a typological perspective.

3.1 PHONOLOGY

Javanese phonology has been studied thoroughly, especially by Hadi (1971:11-39), Dudas (1976), Fagan (1988), Poedjosoedarmo (1993), Hayward (1993; 1995; 1999), Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:63-64; 99-100), and Thurgood (2004). However, opinions as to the phonemic status of the vowels and the interpretation of the plosives vary. I have, therefore, conducted my own phonetic research on these issues with a sample text, which I had designed for the purpose of this study and can be found in appendix II³⁷.

While stress is not distinctive, prosody may affect meaning³⁸. Stress in SuJ generally corresponds to that of StJ: The penultimate syllable of the stem receives primary stress, unless its vowel is /ə/, then the ultimate syllable is stressed. In words containing schwas only, the first root syllable is stressed, e.g. *ke'kenthelen*. Affixes and clitics do not affect stress, and the stress in compounds is determined by its last element, e.g. *'jlèntrèk* vs. *'njlèntrèkno*, *'wareg* vs. *ke'waregan*, *eng'gon* vs. *eng'goné*, *Suro'boyo* vs. *Suro'boyoan* etc.

³⁷ I recorded a 22-year-old female native speaker of SuJ for this thesis to examine minimal pairs and questionable phonemes.

³⁸ SuJ allows both SVO and OVS but has no case marking (cf. chapter 3.4.1). Thus, the sentence *dhé'é gak eró aku* can mean “he doesn’t know me” or “him, I don’t know” depending on the prosody. Further research is needed here.

3.1.1 Consonants

According to my research, SuJ has 21 consonant phonemes and five non-native sounds only occurring in loanwords mostly from Arabic and English (Table 2 on page 24). Before an alveolar (or traditionally called retroflex) consonant, /n/ has two allophonic variants: [n] before dentals and [ɳ] before alveolar stops; palatal [ɲ] and velar [ŋ] have phonemic status but also occur as allophonic variants of /n/ before palatal stops and velar stops, respectively. My phonological research has revealed³⁹ that the SuJ plosives in initial and intervocalic position are either realized as voiceless stops with the subsequent vowel being modally voiced, i.e. /p(a)/, /t(a)/, /k(a)/, /c(a)/, or as voiceless stops with the subsequent vowel being slack voiced and breathy, i.e. /b̥(a)/, /d̥(a)/, /g̥(a)/, /j̥(a)/, the latter group only being voiced when preceded by a homorganic nasal sound, i.e. /m̊b(a)/, /n̊d(a)/, /n̊g(a)/, /n̊j(a)/ (see below). The naming for this difference has been a matter of debate until now: Javanese stop consonants have been called intensive vs. non-intensive (Uhlenbeck 1949:51-53) tense vs. lax (Hadi 1971:26), unaspirated vs. aspirated (Samsuri 1958:19-20; 1961:318-319), light/sharp/clear vs. heavy/murmured/breathy (Horne 1974:xii), voiceless unaspirated vs. voiced aspirated (Poedjosoedarmo 1974:17), light vs. heavy consonants (Dudas 1976:118; Fagan 1988), and clear vs. breathy stops (Adisasmitho-Smith 2004). The problem with the designation is that the distinction is not made by voicing but by tenseness (Hoogervorst 2008:21-22). Since “there appear to be two different modes underlying the contrasts between the Javanese and Indonesian sounds written with p and b [...]” (Ladefoged 1971:16-17) and because “[...] there is some difference in laryngeal function which is most noticeable during the release of the stop and the first part of the vowel” (Ladefoged 1971:17), additional terms for this phonological process had to be introduced. In newer literature (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996:63-64; Thurgood 2004:279-280), phoneticians refer to the distinction as stiff vs. slack voice⁴⁰ for Javanese. This means that both sets are pronounced the same but ‘trigger’ a stiff or slack voice upon the following vowel. The plosive

³⁹ From the recording, the following values were found:

	closure (ms)	periodicity (%)	plosion (ms)	aspiration (ms)	F0 onset of the following vowel (Hz)	F0 pitch of the following vowel (Hz)	F1 onset of the following vowel (Hz)
/b/	75.11	56.04	4.87	12.10	228.70	207.00	456.90
/p/	81.16	35.37	4.24	7.79	246.08	236.11	642.15
/d/	57.91	71.68	5.33	10.87	244.64	210.69	427.33
/t/	70.04	30.87	4.87	9.03	241.06	229.74	616.92
/g/	63.50	47.65	5.98	19.06	242.20	230.76	480.10
/k/	72.53	19.64	6.03	16.91	253.65	236.08	549.44
/j/	50.27	51.78	4.88	28.69	254.24	219.22	420.38
/c/	49.21	49.78	4.82	23.61	237.53	233.96	482.46
/d/	78.05	66.82	5.94	13.71	249.41	211.45	458.60
/t/	83.25	23.69	4.87	13.37	237.76	242.62	607.96

⁴⁰ These two terms were first coined in a paper on laryngeal features by Halle & Stevens (1971).

itself is always voiceless except when preceded by a nasal but its stiff-voiced or slack-voiced character is reflected in the following vowel. As Horne (1974:xii) had already pointed out, the vowel is breathy after a “heavy” (slack-voiced) consonant. Thurgood (2004:279) uses this as a means for determining the slack-voice character of the StJ consonants. My phonetic research seconds that slack voice can be best seen from the F1 onset of the following vowel, while the periodicity also seems to play a minor role, as it is larger in all slack-voiced stops. The values of closure time, plosion, aspiration, and F0 onset of the following follow are not significant for the differentiation between the modal voice and slack voice plosives (see fn. 39). According to my findings in the phonetic analysis of SuJ, of which I owe the exact evaluation to Philipp Büch (Goethe University Frankfurt), the stiff-voiced “light” stops in SuJ are in fact *modally voiced*, while the “heavier” ones are *slack-voiced*. This analysis may be different from StJ or due to the influence of IM in Surabaya, but Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:99) also raise doubts about the presence of real stiff-voiced stops in Javanese. As noted above, prenasalized slack-voiced stops become voiced, e.g. *bapak* ['ba.pə] “father”, but *mbambóng* ['m̥bam.bɔŋ] “squalid”.

Hoogervorst (2008:22) adds that /l/, /w/, and /j/ also have a “slightly breathy offset persisting into the following vowel” in SuJ, which I cannot deny, but this highly depends on the speaker and the position of these three phonemes. The lateral approximant /l/ has an allophonic variant [l̩] in the discourse marker *lhó* and a breathy variant [l^h] in the discourse marker *lha*. This distinction had also been observed by Hadi (1971:31) and Horne (1974:xii). In the Arabic loanword ﷺ *Allāh*, /l/ occurs as [l̩] in learned pronunciation.

The distinction between the dental stops /t/, /d/ and their so-called retroflex counterparts /ʈ/, /ɖ/ as in CJ is only known to older speakers of SuJ. Younger speakers may feel a slight difference, but constantly mix them up both in writing⁴¹ and in speech⁴², which is also reported by Kisyani-Laksono (2004a:183-184) for younger speakers from Gresik.

As for the palatal stops [c] and [ɟ], Nothofer (1980:147), Thurgood (2004:279) and Hoogervorst (2008:21) argue that they are actually affricates pronounced [tʃ] and [dʒ] in their recordings for Javanese, however my phonetic research for SuJ shows that they are rather palatal stops (Figure 3). This may be due to the influence of IM, which has [ɟ] and no [dʒ].

⁴¹ I have seen *dahar*, *nedo*, and *disik* in my questionnaires and on social media for *dhahar* “to eat (HON)”, *nèdho* “to eat (AL)”, and *dhisék* “first”, but also *ladhang* for *ladang* “knife”.

⁴² My recording has revealed that the slack-voice stop /d/ is pronounced in a rather retracted way as [d̥] in any position (except when prenasalized) and that the modal-voice stop /t/ is often pronounced as an interdental plosive [t̥], regardless of whether it should be /t̥/ or /t/ according to StJ phonology.

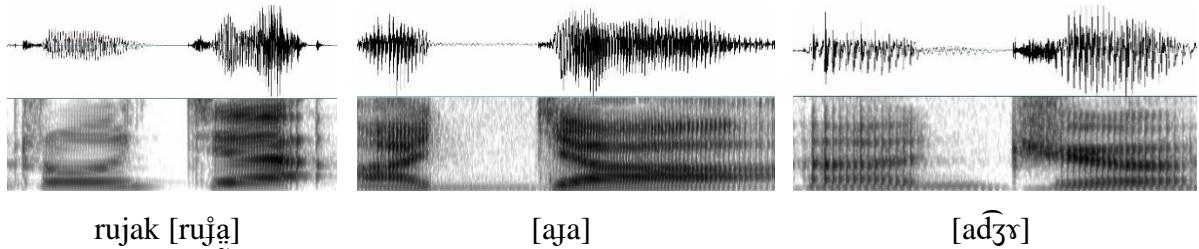


Figure 3: Phonological realization of SuJ /ʃ/ compared to /j/ and /dʒ/ from other languages

In SuJ, all vocalic onsets are preceded by a glottal stop although not indicated in writing. The post-vocalic root-final phonemic glottal stop, written -*k*, is realized as a creaky-voiced vowel in SuJ (Figure 4). A root-final glottal stop only occurs when the word ending in -*k* receives a suffix with a vowel onset, e.g. *masak* ['ma.sək] “to cook”, *masak'an* ['ma.sək.an] “dish”, but not *masakno* ['ma.sək(?)no] “(please) cook for ...!”. SuJ seems to distinguish between stem-final creaky voice, which is indicated by -*k* due to an underlying phonemic glottal stop, and stem-final unreleased /k/ spelled -*g*. However, words with final -*g* were too limited in my sample text to make a clear statement. The distinction between stem-final glottal stop and stem-final unreleased /k/ was also noticed by Hadi (1971:30) for StJ and by Hoogervorst (2008:23) for SuJ.

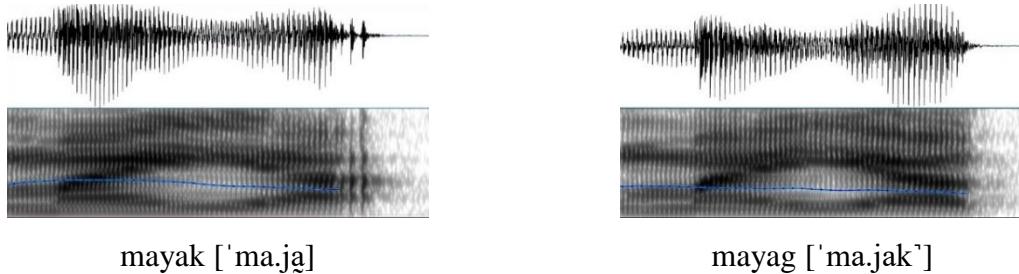


Figure 4: Phonemic distinction between final creaky voice and unreleased velar stop

The following table shows the consonant inventory of SuJ. Allophones are indicated in parentheses, while xenophonemes have curly brackets.

Table 2: Consonant inventory of Surabayan Javanese

	Bilabial	Labial Labiodental	Coronal Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Dorsal Velar	Glottal
Nasal	m		n	(ŋ)	jn	ŋ	
Plosive	p b		t d	t d	c j	k g	?
Fricative		{f}		s {z}	{ʃ}	{x}	h
Approximant	w				j		
Trill				r			
Lateral			(l)	l		{t}	

The phonemic oppositions between certain consonants are illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

Table 3: Minimal pairs of Surabayan Javanese consonants

phoneme	example	translation	phoneme	example	translation
/k/ <k>	<i>Klathak' an</i> /kla.ta.?an/	place name	/g/ <g>	<i>glathak' an</i> /gla.ta.?an/	to wolf down food
/-k/ <-k>	<i>mayak-mayak</i> /ma.ja.ma.ja/	rich, annoying	/-k' / <-g>	<i>mayag-mayag</i> /ma.jak'.ma.jak'/	“big belly”
/d/ <d>	<i>duduk</i> /du.du/	no	/d~d/ <dh> ⁴³	(n) <i>dhudhuk</i> /(n)du.du/	to dig
/t/ <t>	<i>putu</i> /pu.tu/	grandchild	/t~t/ <th> ⁴³	<i>puthu</i> /pu.tu/	kind of cake
/p/ <p>	<i>pipi</i> /pi.pi/	cheek	/b/ 	<i>bibi</i> /bi.bi/	aunt
/r/ <r>	<i>aré</i> /?arit~?aret/	sickle	/l/ <l>	<i>alé</i> /a.lit~?a.let/	small (AL)
/-h/ <-h>	<i>luéh</i> /lu ^w eh/	more	/Ø/	<i>lué</i> /lu ^w e/	hungry

According to my observations, stem-final /h/ is pronounced very lightly or dropped in SuJ. Kisyani-Laksono (1998:34) states there is no final /h/ in the dialects in and around Surabaya, which is indeed mostly the case in younger speakers for common words such as *eró* [?ə. 'ro] “to know” (StJ: *weruh*) and some affixed words, e.g. *kakéan* ['ka.ke.jan] “too much/many” (< *akèh* ['?a.ke^h] “much/many”), but not in *omahé* ['?o.ma.^he] “his/her/the house” where /h/ is retained.

Glottal paragoge appears in words ending in a nasal sound, e.g. SuJ *nakok* “to ask” is StJ *nakon*, SuJ *mbuak* “to throw” (or *ngguak*) corresponds to StJ *mbuwang*, *ndelok* “to see” is *ndeleng* in StJ. Other final consonants are also affected by this paragoge, e.g. *dhuék* “money” < *dhuwit* < Dutch *duit* “name of a Dutch coin from the 19th century”. In other cases, an open syllable receives a creaky voice (or glottal stop) on the vowel which is then centralized, e.g. SuJ *mèlok* “to follow” < StJ *mélu*, SuJ *mbalék* “to return, go home” < StJ *mbali*, SuJ *kenèk* “to be affected by, get hit” < StJ *kena*, SuJ *matèk* “to die, be dead” < StJ *mati* etc. Other words that have the glottal paragoge show no vowel alternation, e.g. SuJ *mosok* “as if” < StJ *masa*, SuJ *ngkók* “later” < StJ *engko*, SuJ *koyok* “like” < StJ *kaya*. This may also happen to loanwords from other languages, e.g. SuJ *cumak* “only” < IM *cuma*, SuJ *ulamak* “Islamic scholar” < Ar. علماء ‘ulamā⁴⁴. In yet other cases, SuJ glottal paragoge appears on words with backformation of the original vowel, e.g. SuJ *cóbak*, not **cóbok* < StJ *coba*.

Another phonological peculiarity that is rarely found in other Javanese dialects is the replacement of /b/ or /d/ by /g/, i.e. SuJ *diguak* “thrown away” is used alongside with *dibuak* (StJ:

⁴³ As said before, this distinction only applies to older speakers of SuJ.

⁴⁴ Although there is also a final glottal stop in the Ar. word, I do not consider the glottal stop in SuJ as borrowed but as an innovation, because Ar. *hamza* is usually disregarded in Javanese, e.g. Ar. اللَّاثَةُ *at-talāta'* “Tuesday” > SuJ *Seloso*, Ar. زِنَاءُ *zinā'* “adultery” > SuJ *zina(h)*.

dibuwak) SuJ *nggoncèng* “to ride on the back of a motorcycle” is preferred over StJ *mboncèng*, and SuJ *góróng* “not yet” coexists with *dóróng* (StJ: *durung*).

3.1.2 Vowels

The vowel phonemes of SuJ are represented in the figure below with their respective frequencies (F1 and F2).

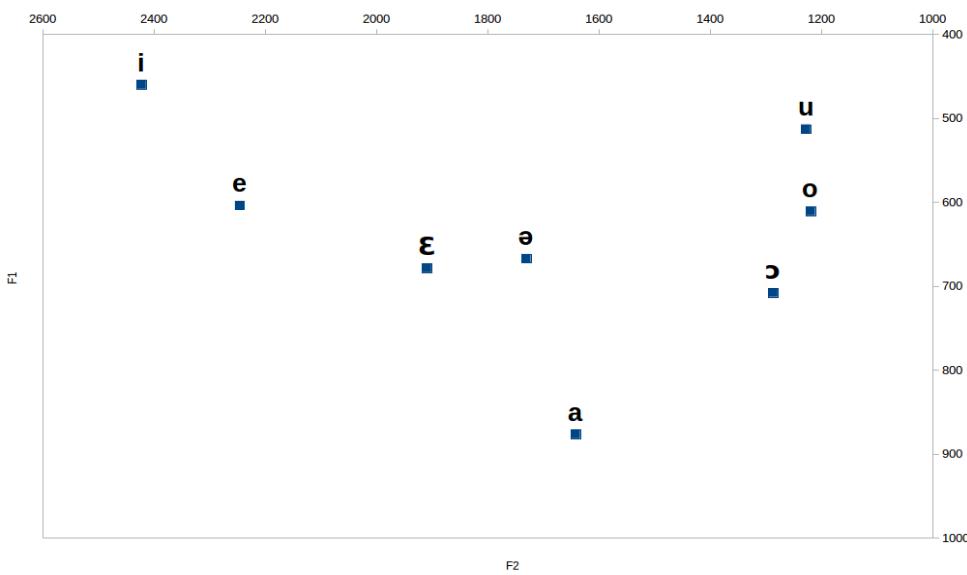


Figure 5: Vowel phonemes of Surabayan Javanese measured with Praat

Contrary to what has been described for Javanese in previous works (Uhlenbeck 1949:30-31; Dudas 1976:39-40), I argue that /ɔ/ is in the process of obtaining phonemic status in SuJ. It is not merely an allophone of /a/ word-finally or /o/ word-medially: while CJ *mata* ['mə.tɔ] “eyes” differs from *matané* ['ma.tə.ne] “his/her/the eyes” in pronunciation due to the underlying /a/, they are both pronounced with an /ɔ/ in SuJ: *moto* ['mɔ.tɔ] vs. *motoné* ['mɔ.tɔ.ne]. The only presence of an underlying /a/ in such cases is in verbs with derivative affixes, e.g. *njogo* ['ŋjɔ.ŋgɔ] “to guard” vs. *njagani* ['ŋja.ŋgə.ni] “to take care of” and *dijagani* [di'ŋja.ŋgə.ni] “to be taken care of”. However, *njogoni* ['ŋjɔ.ŋgɔ.ni] is also possible in SuJ, which shows the tendency toward a phonemic status of /ɔ/.

Allophones of /i/ are the lowered variants [ɪ] and [e] in closed⁴⁵ root-final syllables like *paklék* ['pa.ɻe] “parent’s younger brother”, cf. StJ (*ba*)*pak* (*ci*)*lik* “id.” (literally: little father) and function words such as *séng* [sɪŋ~seŋ] “REL”, coexisting with StJ *sing*, and *wés* [wɪs~wes] “already” being used alongside with StJ *wis*; however, *sakwisé* “before” (<*wés*) is always pronounced ['sa.wi.se]. Allophones of /u/ are the lowered variants [ʊ] and [o] in closed root-final

⁴⁵ Creaky-voiced final vowels also form a closed syllable due to the underlying phonemic glottal stop /ʔ/ in SuJ.

syllables like *langsóng* ['laŋ.soŋ] “directly, immediately”, cf. StJ *langsung* “id.” These morphophonemic alternations do not adhere to any specific rule, e.g. the last syllable of StJ *titik* “dot” is lowered to [t̩.t̩ɛ] in SuJ, but the pronunciation of the last syllable of StJ *thithik* “a little” is retained as [t̩.t̩] in SuJ. In fact, my informant told me that the only difference in these two words is the pronunciation of the /i/ in the final syllable, not that of the /t̩~t̩/ sounds (cf. fn. 42). While *cilik* “small” is pronounced ['ci.liŋ] and thus written *cilik* in this thesis, *paklik* “parent’s younger brother” is pronounced ['paŋ.leŋ] and thus written *paklék*. Another such case is *asin* “salty”, which is usually pronounced ['?a.sin] but *iwak asin* “salty fish” is pronounced ['?i.waŋ '?a.sen] and therefore written *iwan asén*.

I have come across one word in SuJ that has free alternation between [i~ɛ] and [i~ɪ~ə], namely *pènget* ['pe.ŋən] “to want”: Other pronunciations are *pingin/pingén* ['pi.ŋɪn~'pi.ŋɪn] and *pèngin/pèngén* ['pe.ŋɪn~'pe.ŋɪn], whereas StJ has *péngin* ['pe.ŋɪn~'pe.ŋɪn].

The following minimal pairs illustrate the phonemic oppositions between selected vowels:

Table 4: Minimal pairs of Surabayan Javanese vowels

phoneme	example	translation	phoneme	example	translation
/a/ <a>	<i>arang</i> - <i>arang</i> /?a.raŋ.? <a>raŋ/	rarely	/ə/ <e>	<i>areng</i> /?a.rəŋ/	ashes
/a/ <a>	<i>ta</i> /ta/	or, INT	/ɔ/ <o>	<i>to</i> /tɔ/	DM
/ɔ/ <o>	<i>loro</i> /lo.ro/	sick	/o/ <ó>	<i>lóró</i> /lo.ro/	two
/ɛ/ <è>	<i>ngètokno</i> /ŋɛ.tɔŋ.nɔ/	to show	/ə/ <e>	<i>ngetokno</i> /ŋə.tɔŋ.nɔ/	to cut for
/e/ <é>	<i>lék</i> /le/	Uncle	/ɛ/ <è>	<i>lèk</i> /lɛ/	if, that

Proto-Javanic /e/ is usually retained in CJ and WJ as [e]. In addition to Hoogervorst’s observation (2008:12) that it is usually lowered to [ɛ] before /a/ and /ɔ/ in SuJ, I have observed that this also happens before spoken [u], thus CJ *désa* ['dɛ.sə] “village” corresponds to SuJ *dèso* ['dɛ.sə], CJ *éyang* ['?e.jan] “grandparent (hon)” is pronounced *èyang* ['?ɛ.jan] in SuJ, CJ *wédok* ['we.də?] “girl” is *wèdok* ['we.də?] in SuJ, CJ *dhaérah* [də.'?e.ra] “region” is *dhaèrah* [də.'?e.ra^b], and CJ *Seméru* [sə.'me.ru] “name of a mountain” is *Semèru* [sə.'mɛ.ru] in SuJ. The lowering of /e/ to [ɛ] is also regular in loanwords, i.e. CJ *aréna* [?a.'re.na] and *rékoméndasi* ['re.ko.men. 'da.si] are pronounced *arèna* [?a.'re.na] and *rèkomèndasi* ['re.ko.men. 'da.si], respectively, in SuJ. However, Proto-Javanic /e/ is retained as [e] in SuJ in an open final syllable, e.g. *jaré* ['já.re] “it is said”, before spoken [o]⁴⁶, e.g. *sésók* ['se.səŋ~'se.səŋ] “tomorrow”, *éntók* ['?en.t̩ŋ~'?en.t̩ŋ], *keseléó* [kə.sə. 'le.ŋo] “twisted (ankle)”, *négo* ['ne.ŋo] “negotiation”, and when

⁴⁶ The StJ spellings for *sésók* and *éntók* are *sésuk* and *éntuk*, respectively, but are pronounced with [o] in CJ and EJ.

a suffix is directly attached, *nggawéo* [‘ŋga.we.ʃɔ] “do!”, and *gawéan* [‘gá.we.jan] “making”, but not *gawènané* [‘gá.we.na.ne] “the making of”.

As already observed by Hoogervorst (2008:24), the /ə/ of the prefix *ke-* or circumfix *ke-an* (cf. appendix I) in SuJ is assimilated to the initial root phoneme, e.g. *kakèan* “too much” (<*ke-akèh-an*), *kualék* “upside down” (*ke-walék*) etc. The prefix *ka-* and the circumfix *ka-an* cause the initial root morpheme to be assimilated, e.g. *kantèk'an* “to be run of” (<*ka-entèk-an*). Although /a/ and /ə/ are phonemes on their own, they sometimes alternate, e.g. *petang* “four” (attributive use) from *papat* “four” coexists with *patang*. Usually, whenever such a pair exists, the variant with schwa is preferred in SuJ, e.g. *muncrat* “to splash” (StJ: *muncrat*), *cedhek* “near” (StJ: *cedhak*), *ngegedhepi* “to face” (StJ: *ngadhepi*), *ngencem* “to threaten” (StJ: *ngancam*), *ngegedeg* “to stand” (StJ: *ngadeg*), *cancangen* “stake for animals” (StJ: *cancangan*), *seking* “from (ALS)” (StJ: *saking*), *tumplek* “poured out” (StJ: *tumplak*), etc. This also affects some borrowings from IM, e.g. *malem* “evening, night” (IM: *malam*, StJ: *bengi*), *temen* “friend” (IM: *teman*, StJ: *kanca*), *sebulan* “one month” (IM: *sebulan*, StJ: *sesasi*). In other cases, word-initial /su/ alternates with /sə/ when a vowel follows, e.g. *sewiwi~suiwi* “wing” (StJ: *suwiwi*), *sewelas~suelas* “eleven” (StJ: *sewelas*), *sewidak~suidak* “sixty” (StJ: *sewidak*).

3.2 ORTHOGRAPHIC CONVENTIONS

While most dialects and most minor languages of Indonesia have no written tradition, Javanese does have a very long history of writing, mostly in *hanacaraka* script or its ancestral system *kawi*. Yet, it has only been used for StJ, usually not for the various dialects. The first printed texts of SuJ are probably those in Kats’ *Dewî Çrî* (1916) with these spelling conventions:

- vowels: é for /e/, è for /ɛ/, e for /ə/, u for /u/, a for /a/, å for final /ɔ/, â for /aə~a:/⁴⁷, o for /o/ and medial /ɔ/, and apparently ù for /o~u/ that should be /u/ in StJ⁴⁸
- consonants: d for /d/, t for /t/, dj for /j/, tj for /c/, j for /j/, q for /ʔ/, hl for /l^h/
- a hyphen between the proclitic pronoun and the verb, e.g. *taq-tuturi* “said by me”

A sample sentence shall illustrate his very accurate spelling he had invented for writing southern SuJ. After the interlinear glossing, I will first give a rendering of the two sentences in common SuJ spelling, and then offer my own suggestion for another orthography:

⁴⁷ Kats states in a footnote: *â duidt een gerekte a-klank aan (ontstaan uit a + pepet)* [*â* indicates a lengthened *a* sound (originating from *a* + schwa)]

⁴⁸ Kats states in a footnote: *ù duidt aan de onvolkomen u-klank (evenals de è alleen aangegeven, waar de uitspraak in open lettergrepen afwijkt van de Salasche)* [*ù* indicates an imperfect *u* sound (just as *è* indicates where the pronunciation in open syllables differs from that of Solo)]

(1) Southern SuJ (Kats 1916:199)

Gawé-å kendurèn-an segå ireng iwaq loh tah iwaq asin. Ngguq
do-IMP ritual.feast-NMZ rice black fish irrigated or fish salty at
kiwå-tengen-é lawang dèkèq-ånå godong waung mbèq ng-obong-å godong
left-right-GEN door put-IMP leaf k.o.plant and AV-burn-IMP leaf
tanjung.
medlar

“Make a ritual feast with black rice and freshwater fish or salty fish. At both sides of the door lay *waung* leaves and burn a medlar leaf.”

The example above uses the spelling Kats developed for SuJ of that time. Today’s speakers of SuJ would spell the sentence above as in (a) while my suggestion is (b) below:

- (a) *Gaweo kendurenan sego ireng iwak loh ta iwak asin. Ndek kiwo-tengene lawang deke'ono godong waung mbek ngobongo godong tanjung.*
- (b) *Gawéo kendhurenán sego ireng iwak loh ta iwak asén. Ndhék kiwo-tengené lawang dèkèk'ono godhong waung mbék ngobongo godhong tanjóng.*

In his book *Serat warna sari Djawi* published more than a decade later in 1929, Kats uses a slightly different orthography for his southern SuJ sentences:

- vowels: é for /e/, è for /ɛ/, e for /ə/, ê for /ə/ after a vowel (but not consistently), oe for /u/, a for initial/medial /a/ and final /ɔ/, o for /o/ and initial/medial /ɔ/
- consonants: d for /d/, t for /t/, dj for /ɟ/, tj for /c/, j for /j/, k for /ʔ/, hl not found
- a hyphen between the proclitic pronoun and the verb, e.g. *koela-inđaki* “increased by me” (AL)

Mardjana’s *Lajang isi kawroeh bab Basa Djawa sawetara* (1933:71-73) also contains a short text in SuJ, for which he uses the following spelling conventions:

- vowels: é for /e/, è for /ɛ/, and e for /ə/, oe for /u/, a for initial/medial /a/ and final /ɔ/, o for /o~u/ and initial/medial /ɔ/
- consonants: d for /d/, t for /t/, dj for /ɟ/, tj for /c/, j for /j/, k for /ʔ/, hl for /l^h/
- a hyphen between the proclitic pronoun and the verb, e.g. *koela-inđaki* “increased by me (AL)”

(2) SuJ (Mardjana 1933:72)

Hla mbok randa n-dedès aé. Sowé~sowé Dj[aka] B[andar] kanda
DM mother widow AV-interrogate just long~RED NP.M NP.M say
nèk n-djaloek rabi.
SUBO AV-request marry

“The widow just needs to keep asking. And in the end, Djaka Bandar asks to marry her.”

Below I provide this sentence in (a) today’s written form along with (b) my suggestion below:

- (a) *Lha mbok rondo ndedes ae. Suwe-suwe Joko Bandar kondho nek njaluk rabi.*
- (b) *Lha mbok rondho ndhedhes aé. Sué-sué Joko Bandar kondho nèk njalók rabi.*

In the 21st century, SuJ may now be considered an actively written dialect, however this is only a very recent development thanks to messenger services and the social media where informal conversations are abundant. Apart from short announcements and advertisements, the dialect remains unwritten in public, though. In general, SuJ is written the way it is pronounced without regard to linguistic appropriateness, morphological rules, or phonemic differences. It is normal that the spelling *loro* is used for both /lo.ro/ “two” and /lo.rɔ/ “sick”. In StJ, /lo.ro/ is spelled *loro*, and /lo.rɔ/ is spelled *lara* (as for the pronunciation of *a*, cf. chapter 1.1.3). I use the spelling *lóró* for /lo.ro/ and *loro* for /lo.rɔ/ for SuJ. Other authors (Hoogervorst 2009; Yannuar, Iragiliati, and Zen 2017) use *lòrò* for /lo.rɔ/.

The following example from a LINE chat illustrates how SuJ is usually spelled. For interlinear glossing, I will use my own revised spelling.

S₁: Wes tak garap sampek bab 3 lo dikongkon ganti nduut!

S₂: Leeh lapo dikongkon gantii. Ediaaaaan kok ga dr awal aeeeeee ngomongeee!

- (3)a Wés tak Ø-garap sampèk bab 3, ló di-kongkon ng-ganti, ndhut.
already 1SG.PROCL PV-make until chapter three DM PASS-order AV-change tubby
“I already wrote it up to chapter 3, and was then forced to change it, Tubby.”
- (4)a Léh lapo di-kongkon ng-ganti. Èd<i>an kok gak dari awal
DM do.what PASS-order AV-change crazy<INT> DM NEG from beginning
ng-omong-é.
AV-say-DEF
“Why were you forced to change it? It’s just crazy that he didn’t say it from the beginning”

In colloquial spelling, no difference is made between *d* and *dh* (cf. chapter 3.1.1 for the phonological discussion), as shown by this example: *Budal lgsg arek e nng sof ngarep dewe meg*, which is glossed below with revised spelling.

- (5) Budhal langsóng arèk-’é nang sof ngarep dhéwé, Mèg.
depart directly child-DEF to row front SUP NP.F
“She (lit. that person) will immediately go to the front row (for praying), Meg.”

In order to be consistent, I devised an orthography for SuJ that tries to be both phonemic and easy to type without many diacritics, and at the same time abides by what is used by native speakers of SuJ in written conversations. It is therefore by no means an etymological spelling. Consonants are written according to modern IM and Javanese: The slack-voice plosives⁴⁹ /b/, /d/, /g/, /j/ are written *b*, *d*, *g*, *j*, and their voiceless counterparts /p/, /t/, /k/, /c/ *p*, *t*, *k*, and *c*, accordingly. The so-called retroflexes /ɖ/ and /ʈ/ that are in fact retracted alveolar counterparts

⁴⁹ Cf. Ladefoged and Maddieson (1996:63-64) for a phonetic explanation of this term, Fagan (1988) for a general description of stop consonants in Javanese and chapter 3.1.1 for a discussion on the pronunciation of SuJ stop consonants.

of the interdental stops /d/ and /t/ are written as *dh* and *th*⁵⁰, even though most younger SuJ speakers cannot distinguish them from /d/ and /t/. However, older speakers of SuJ are aware of the different articulation of the plosives in *sèdo* ['se.dɔ~'sèdɔ] “to pass away (AL)” and in *nèdho* ['ne.dɔ~'ne.dɔ] “to eat (AL.DFR)”. Budhi Santoso (2005) employs *dh* in many cases where *d* should be, whereas his use of *t* and *th* perfectly corresponds to the StJ orthographic rules. The only two plosives that can appear in syllable-final position are *p* and *t*, whereas *k* stands for a phonemic glottal stop realized as a creaky voice on the stem-final vowel, e.g. /ɔ.nɔ?/ “there is, to have” is pronounced [ɔ.nɔ] and spelled *onok*. A glottal stop not realized as a creaky voice on the preceding vowel is spelled with an apostrophe (’) when it appears between two different vowels and where a *k* would confuse the reader, e.g. *pengharga'an* [pəŋ.har.ga.?an] “prize”, *dhé'é* [dɛ.?e] “3SG”, etc. A -*k* with an apostrophe is written when a prefix ends in a glottal stop realized as a creaky voice on the preceding vowel or when the stem spelled with -*k* is extended by a suffix with vocalic onset, e.g. *sak'iki* [sa.?iki] “now” *anak'é* [?a.nq.?e] “his/her/the child”, *onok'é* [?ɔ.nq.?e] “existing, existence”, *cèk'é* [cɛ.?e] “so that”, *ngekèk'i* [ŋə.kɛ.?i] “to give to”, *lok'en* [lɔ.?ən] “look! (IMP)”, *lak'an* [la.?an] “after all (DM)” etc. This spelling is also common practice among Surabayan speakers.

The spelling of vowels is probably inconsistent in any way, as they differ from speaker to speaker even within the neighborhood. The orthographic rules in this thesis are as follows: *a* is used for [a] in any position; *é* is used for [e], *è* for [ɛ], *e* for [ə]; *i* is only used for a clear [i] in open and closed syllables, while *é* is used for alternating [i~e] in closed syllables derived from Proto-Javanic */i/; *o* is used for [ɔ] in any position and *ó* for [o] in any position⁵¹; *u* is only used for a clear /u/ in open and closed syllables, while *ó* is used for alternating [u~o] in a closed syllable derived from Proto-Javanic */u/. The combination *lh* is only used in two words, i.e. (1) for the discourse marker *lhó* when it is pronounced [lo], but not for the sentence-medial or sentence-final particle *ló* [lo] with another meaning; (2) for the discourse marker *lha* (traditionally often spelled *hla*), pronounced [hla~la]. This is different from the sentence-initial particle *la* [la] meaning “then”. The spellings *lhó*, *loh* vs. *ló* as well as *lha* vs. *la* are often blended in casual writing. Some people even tend to write *loh* and *lah*, respectively, both of which have other meanings, though: *loh* means “fertile” and *lah* is a discourse particle similar to English “well then”.

⁵⁰ Interestingly, exactly the opposite was chosen for the distinction of the dentals and retroflexes in the Romanization of Dhivehi, i.e. *dh* for [d], *d* for [ɖ], *t* for [t], and *th* for [ʈ].

⁵¹ This phonetic spelling prevents the reader from misreading, e.g. *kebóné* “his/her/the buffalo” (<*kebō*) but *keboné* “his garden” (<*kebon*) would be spelled identically in StJ.

Loanwords from IM and other languages follow the SuJ orthographic rules as explained above, e.g. SuJ *pengharga'an* “prize”, *sadhar* “to realize”, or *mesthi* “always” unlike IM *penghargaan*, *sadar*, *mesti* etc.

3.3 MORPHOLOGY

Being an Austronesian language, Javanese shows rich affixation and reduplication. SuJ has prefixes, infixes, suffixes, circumfixes, and reduplication⁵² (cf. chapters 3.3.2, 3.3.3, and 3.3.4). Affixed words may also be borrowed from IM, e.g. *pengharga'an* “prize” instead of StJ *gan-jaran*, *peringatan* “reminder” instead of StJ *pangéling-éling*, *pertunjukan* “performance, show” instead of *tontonan* etc.

The general word order is SVO, but verb-initial clause structure is also possible (cf. chapter 3.4.1). SuJ features a rudimentary Austronesian alignment system, less than literary Javanese but more than IM. The alignment is best seen in the 1SG and 2SG pronouns that either appear in their free form in actor voice (AV) or in their proclitic form (PROCL) in patient voice (PV):

- (6) Suatu hari aku tuku sak-jinah, terós tak Ø-p<u>angan dhéwé.
 one day 1SG buy one-unit.of.ten then 1SG.PROCL PV-<INT>eat alone
 “One day, I’ll buy ten of it, and then I’ll eat them all up myself.” (lit.: and then will all be eaten by myself).”

3.3.1 Pronouns

There are three sets of pronouns in Javanese indicating either actor voice (AV), under-goer/passive voice (PV) or possession (POSS). For the first set I use the term free pronoun following Oglöblin (2005:598) and the second set is the proclitic pronouns. Free pronouns may also be called focused and proclitic pronouns non-focused accordingly⁵³ in Austronesian terminology. Possessive pronouns are always enclitic to the possessed object. Table 5 outlines the pronouns used in SuJ. The high level equivalents (*alus*) of the low level pronouns (*ngókó*) are only given for first set because they do not change when used proclitically or in possessive constructions.

⁵² Typical examples for partial reduplication are *macèt-cèt* “very jammed”, *mèpèt-pèt* “very crowded”, *panas-nas* “very hot”. See Hoogervorst (2008:24) for a semantic explanation. An ablaut reduplication is *nyènggal-nyènggol* “to touch, to nudge” and *bólak-balék* “back and forth” (AL: *wongsal-wangsul*). Full reduplication is often used to express plurality, repetitive or intensive actions, or resemblance, e.g. *wong-wong* “people, they”, *mlayu-mlayu* “to run”, *sing kipas-kipas iku* “the fan-like thing”.

⁵³ Although being a misleading term (Himmelmann 2002:11-13), I use “focus” here to refer to what is used for the Philippine and Austronesian alignment system (Wohlgemuth 2003:20). By no means, I mean the pragmatic focus.

Table 5: Pronouns in Surabayan Javanese

	<i>ngókó (informal)</i>	<i>alus (polite)</i>	Proclitic	Possessive
1SG	aku	kulo / dalem [†] (DFR)	tak	-ku
2SG	kon / awakmu	kowé / peno [†] / sampèan / panjenengan [†] / ndiko [†]	mbok / kok [†]	-mu
3SG	dhé'é / wongé / arèké / dhé'é [†] / dhèkné [†]	piambak'é / tiangé / piambak'ipun [†]	—	-(n)é
1PL	awak dhéwé / awaké dhéwé [†]	—	—	-(n)é awak dhéwé
2PL	kon kabèh / kalian / awakmu kabèh /	—	—	-mu kabèh
3PL	wongé / dhé'é kabèh / arèk-arèk etc. (see below)	—	—	-(n)é kabèh

Pronouns marked with a cross ([†]) are considered old-fashioned and virtually never used by younger speakers of SuJ, sometimes not even understood by them. The most common pronouns used by younger SuJ speakers today are *aku* (1SG), *kon* (2SG), *dhé'é* (3SG), and *awak dhéwé* (1PL). Those who grew up in a Javanese society use *kon kabèh* (2PL), while those who grew up speaking more IM than Javanese use *kalian* (2PL) instead. There is no 3PL pronoun in SuJ, but several periphrastic options exist: *wongé* “the person(s)”, *dhé'é kabèh* “3SG-all”, *arèk-arèk* “children”, *bapak-bapak* “men”, *ibu-ibu* “women” or *mereka* “they”, borrowed from IM, which originally was borrowed from OJ *marika* “emphatic distal particle” (Tadmor 2007:316).

The pronoun *aku* (1SG) is attested throughout the Austronesian world and has been reconstructed as PAn **aku* “I, me” (Blust 2010).

Kon (2SG) used to be spelled *koen* and pronounced /køən/ or /kɔ:n/ but most younger speakers say /kɔn/ now. It is the most common 2SG address in SuJ and is derived from OJ *ko/kwa* “you” < PAn **kaSu* (Blust 2010) with the archaic suffix *-en* (Kern 1918:143) also found in demonstratives of the WJ dialects in Cirebon and Indramayu: Nothofer (1980:171) gives *kien* “this”, *kuen* “that”, *kaen* “that over there” and derives *kien* from OJ *ikihēn* “this”. OJ also had *ikahēn* “that over there”, however **ikuhēn* is not attested. The pronoun *koen* is also used in the WJ dialects of Brebes and Tegal (Nothofer 1980:186). *Awakmu* (2SG) is less frequently used than *kon*, it literally means “your body” and is probably a short form of *awakmu dhéwé* “yourself”. A slightly more polite but rare way to address someone is the use of CJ *kowé* “you”, derived from the same OJ etymon but extended by the nominalization suffix *-é*. *Peno* (2SG.AL) is outdated and only used by some older speakers of SuJ. Kisyani-Laksono (2004a:136) observed that it is only used in some parts of Mojokerto, Sidoarjo, and southern Surabaya. Hoogervorst (2008:26) states that it is polite and derived from Madurese *bâ'na* “you (LL)”, originally *abâ'na* “his/her/the body”. If that is true, then it must be a very old loanword because of the missing glottal stop and the final /a/, which is usually retained in recent loanwords in SuJ,

e.g. *arèna* /a.re.na/ “arena”, *cita-cita* /ci.ta.ci.ta/ “ambition”. The pronoun *sampèan* is the most common way to refer to someone in a polite way whose name or rank is unknown to the speaker⁵⁴. *Panjenengan* (2SG.AL.HON) is almost never used in Surabaya, only by those who have had much contact with Central Javanese speakers and feel that *sampèan* is not polite enough. The pronoun *panjengengan* was probably directly taken from OJ *pañjēnēñan* “established position”. A very old-fashioned polite word for the 2SG is *ndiko*, still appearing in dictionaries for StJ as *andika* “you”, probably related to StJ *ngendika* “to speak (HON)”. It is derived from OJ *andika* “command, order”. Whereas StJ has nine ways to express “you”⁵⁵, only three pronouns are found in everyday SuJ for the second person singular and the distinction is only binary: The low level pronouns *kon* and *awakmu* are used among friends, by parents toward their children, and in chats, whereas the high level pronoun *sampèan* is reserved for very formal occasions and between strangers. This roughly corresponds to a T-V distinction found in many European languages (cf. chapter 4.1.2). A slight difference between the European model and SuJ is that in families where SuJ is used, children use the kinship terms *bapak* “father”, *(e)mak* “mother”, *(i)bu(k)* “id.”, and old-fasioned *(e)mbok* “id.” toward their parents. There is no high-level equivalent for the mother, and the high-level term *romo* “father” is very rare in SuJ. However, I have observed that some children in Surabaya may address their parents with *sampèan* or even *kon*, which is common in many languages of Europe.

For the 3SG, I disagree with Hoogervorst (2008:27) who states that *dhè'é* /dɛ.?e/ is the standard form in SuJ. This form might be used by older people, but generally speakers of SuJ pronounce it *dhé'é* /dɛ.?e/ nowadays. I have encountered one occurrence of *dhèkné* /dɛ.ne/ in my corpus, but that form seems to be outdated. Nonetheless, they are all contractions of StJ *dhèwèké* “he/she (LL)”, which was innovated during the later stages of Javanese, as OJ had *sida* for the 3SG. StJ *dhèwèké* is probably a combination of *dhéwé* “self” (also found in OJ *dewek/dawak* “self, own”) and the possessive enclitic for the third person -(n)é, meaning “he/she himself/herself”. Alternative forms are *wongé* “the person” and *arèk'é* “the child” with -é denoting definiteness here. A polite form of the third singular is rarely heard of in SuJ, as people tend to substitute the pronoun with a title (cf. fn. 54), but *tiangé* “the person (ALS)” and

⁵⁴ As with many languages in all over Asia, it is generally possible to replace the pronoun for the second person with a title (*dokter, profesor*), rank (*senior*), kinship term (*bapak* “father”, *emak* “mother”, *mas* “older brother”), or a personal name.

⁵⁵ The most common pronouns for the addressee in StJ are: *kowé* (LL), *(a)ndika* (literary, village-like ML), *samang* (ML) *sampéyan* (HL), *sliramu/slirané/keng slira* (HON, rather familiar), *(pa)jenengan/pjenenengan* (HON), *nandalem* (HON, even politer), *sinuwun/sampéyan ndalem* (HHL), *pakenira/pekenira/pakanira* (HHIL, among royal servants).

piambak'ē “himself/herself (ALS)” are possible, while the StJ *piyambakipun* “himself/herself (HL)” is outdated. The StJ honorific pronoun *panjenenganipun* is not found in SuJ.

The 1PL pronoun is *awak dhéwé* “own body”, while StJ *awaké dhéwé* is not frequently used in SuJ. The IM pronoun *kita* “we (INCL)”, although occurring in CJ as ['ki.tɔ], is only used by those who grew speaking more IM than SuJ, but then pronounced ['ki.ta].

For the 2PL and 3PL, it is optional to add *kabèh* “all” to the singular pronouns, e.g. *kon kabèh* “you all”, *awakmu kabèh* “id.”, *dhé'ē kabèh* “they all”. The singular *wongé* “the person” is also frequently used to refer to a group of people. Elder speakers refer to young people as *arèk-arèk* “children” (without the definite marker -*ē*), and younger speakers tend to use a title or kinship term to refer to the elderly. While the IM pronouns *kita* “we (INCL)” and *mereka* “they” are very infrequently used in SuJ conversations, IM *kalian* “you (PL)” is found more often. It is derived from *sekalian* “all together” (Adelaar 1992:125).

Apart from the pronouns mentioned in the chart above, the Chinese of Surabaya make use of other pronouns, which are basically the same in other parts of Indonesia, i.e. *gue/gua* (1SG) from Hokkien 我 *goá* (2SG) and *lu* “you” from Hokkien 汝 *lí/lú*. Hoogervorst (2008:53-54) mentions that also Hokkien 我 *owé* (1SG) alongside with Mandarin 我 *wǒ* (1SG), 你 *nǐ* (2SG), and 他/她 *tā* (3SG) are used. Though I have never come across SuJ *è(i)ke* (1SG) and *yé(y)* (2SG) from Dutch *ikke* and *jij*, respectively, my SuJ informant told me that they do exist. Some scholars had also noticed them (Tadmor 2007:317; Hoogervorst 2009:125). Arab speakers in Surabaya sometimes use *ane* (1SG) and *ente* (2SG) from Arabic أنت *ana* and أنت *anta*, respectively.

The first person singular pronoun *tak* is phonologically proclitic to the verb in the passive voice (or object-focus form) but never connected to it in orthography. Its usage is explained in chapter 3.3.1). Written StJ has *ndak* or *dak* for the proclitic, but many other Javanese dialects also use *tak* (Nothofer 1980: Map 122). As for the difference between *tak* as a proclitic and *tak* as a propositive particle, see Widhyasmaramurti (2008). The origin of both *tak* as a proclitic and *tak* (CJ sometimes *ndak*) as a propositive particle has not yet been convincingly hypothesized so far. Poedjosoedarmo (2002:329) derives StJ (*n)dak-* from IM *hendak* “wish, will”, which, according to her, later came to be used as a desiderative or propositive particle before the verb and then broadened its function as a passive pronoun for the first person. While I agree with her hypothesis of deriving the propositive (*n)dak- from IM *hendak*, I suggest deriving the*

1SG proclitic *tak* from OJ *kita*,⁵⁶ which was the free form of both the 1PL.INCL and the 2PL⁵⁷ with the enclitic forms *-ta* and *-nta* (Zoetmulder 1983:17). As Poedjosoedarmo (2002:328) correctly points out for her theory on the origin of *kok-* (see below), the “epenthised glottal stop in the proclitic is a frequent sporadic innovation in Javanese phonology”. This may also explain the final glottal paragoge in the proclitic *tak* < OJ (*ki*)*ta*. Eventually, the propositive (*he*)*ndak* and the 1SG proclitic *(*ki*)*tak* may have been blended.

The proclitic for the 2SG is *mbok*, albeit rarely used, whereas the StJ *kok* is considered outdated and stilted in SuJ. Unlike Hoogervorst (2008:27), I have never come across *kon* as proclitic and I consider his example *kon-ombé* “drunk by you” ungrammatical. My informant also told me that only *mbok ombé* or *kok ombé* “drunk by you” are correct in SuJ. However, according to Kisayani-Laksono (2004a:188), the proclitic *kon-* does appear in Gresik where neither *kok-* nor *mbok-* are present. Both *kok* and *mbok* may also occur as discourse markers in SuJ, but this is merely a coincidence. For further details on this matter, see Widhyasmaramurti (2008). The origin of *kok-* is most probably the OJ unbound pronoun *ko* “you (SG)” with the same glottal paragoge as *tak* from OJ (*ki*)*ta*.

High level pronouns have only one form and would be simply used before the verb in object pivot position and after the possessed object in possessive position. The same holds true for the other pronouns for which no proclitic form exists in Javanese. SuJ allows pro-drop in a limited way. The agent pronoun is rarely dropped, while the patient of a passive clause is often omitted (cf. chapter 3.4.2). The indirect object is often left out when the beneficiary is obvious:

- (7) Ngkók tak Ø-golèk-no pacar.
 later 1SG.PROCL PV-look.for-BEN girlfriend/boyfriend.
 “I’ll find a girlfriend/boyfriend [for you].” (lit.: “by me a girlfriend/boyfriend is found for”)

3.3.2 Nouns

Nouns are not inflected for case, but they may optionally be reduplicated for plural or diversity: *oma-omah* “houses”, *arèk-arèk* “children, people”. Unlike other Austronesian languages, especially those of the Philippine type (cf. chapter 3.4.2), morphosyntactic alignment is not expressed in Jv. nouns. However, various affixes are used to nominalize other parts of speech, and many of them are borrowed from IM with the same meaning: *-an* suffixed to nouns denotes location or a result, when suffixed to verbs it nominalizes the undergoer of an action;

⁵⁶ Conners (2008:176) expresses the same idea for the proclitic *tak* with no further discussion.

⁵⁷ Cf. Tagalog *kita* “1SG.NFOC>2SG.FOC”, IM/Cebuano *kita* “1PL.INCL”, dialectal Malay *kita~kitə* “1SG” (Paauw 2008:169), all of them derived from PAn **kita* “we (INCL)” (Blust 2010)

ke-an derives nouns from adjectives, *pe-an* and *peN-an* usually derive nouns from verbs, and *peN-* forms agent nouns or tools. Examples and more detailed descriptions of the affixes are in appendix I.

Nominalization of adjectives in SuJ is strongly intertwined with definiteness and is generally possible by adding the 3SG possessive enclitic -(n)é (AL: -(n)ipun, very rarely used), in my thesis treated as genitive suffix (GEN), i.e. *gedhéné* “the size (of), its size” (from *gedhé* “big”), *dowoné* “the length (of), its length” (from *dowo* “long”), *lioné* “the other (one)” (from *lio* “another”). It is also common to add the same enclitic to auxiliary verbs, e.g. *onok’é* “the state (of)” (from *onok* “to be”), and to inflected verbs to derive definite nouns from it (8), e.g. *ditetepnoné* “the capture (of)” (from *netepno* “to make firm”, the root being *tetep* “fixed, firm”).

- (8) Wong Dèso Guyung [...] iki di-gègèr-no mbarèk di-temok-no-**né**
 person village NP.GEO PROX PASS-tumult-CAUS by PASS-find-APPL-GEN
 mahluk séng wujut-é menungso.
 creature REL shape-GEN human.being
 “These people of the Guyung Village were convulsed by the discovery of a creature that had the shape of a human being.” (lit. “by the having-been-found of a creature”)

Interestingly, semantic denominalization is also possible with the same affix -(n)é, i.e. *rasané* “it feels like” (from *roso* “feeling”), literally meaning “its feeling”.

3.3.3 Verbs

Javanese verbal affixes mainly denote transitivity (transitive, ditransitive, intransitive). Most verbs can be traced back to a root. For example, *tutup* “closed” is the root and also functions as an intransitive verb “to be closed”. The nasal prefix *N-*⁵⁸ forms a transitive verb in actor voice: *nutup* “to close (sth.)”; the addition of the suffix *-no* makes it a ditransitive verb with benefactive character: *nutupno* “to close (sth. for sb.)”; the suffix *-i* has a locative or collective meaning: *nutupi* “to cover up”. Transitive-like verbs in SuJ can appear in the indicative, imperative, and propositive mood. There is no irrealis mood as in StJ, but the benefactive and causative affix *-no* seems to have been taken from the irrealis (cf. chapter 1.1.3 for the etymology).

⁵⁸ *N-* assimilates to the first consonant of the root. The initial consonant is retained when it has slack voice (cf. chapter 3.1.1), but disappears when it has modal voice, leaving a trace of itself in the assimilated nasal (cherishization): *m-* for an initial labial consonant, e.g. *mbantu* “to help” < *bantu*, but *mukul* “to beat” < *pukul*. A root-initial *w-* sometimes gets assimilated and sometimes not, e.g. *moco* “to read” < *woco*, but *warahi* “to tell/beg sb.” < *warah*. For a root-initial dental or alveolar consonant, *n-* is used, e.g. *ndelok* “to see” < *delok*, but *nulis* “to write” < *tulis*. For an initial palatal consonant, *ny-* is used, e.g. *nyolong* “to steal” < *cologn*, but *njalók* “to ask for” < *jalók*; For a root-initial velar consonant and for roots with an initial vowel or a liquid consonant, *ng-* is used, e.g. *nggawé* “to make” < *gawé*, but *ngrungu* “to hear” < *krungu*; *ngisi* “to fill” < *isi*, *ngrangkul* “to embrace by throwing one’s arms around” < *rangkul*; For monosyllabic words and words with initial consonant cluster, *nge-* or *nga-* are used, e.g. *ngekèki* “to give” < *kèk*, *ngetril* “to do a wheelie”, but *ngalor* “to head north” < *lor*, which is a truncation of *kalor*, cf. Nothofer (1980:80-81). Sometimes, *nge-* is an allomorph of *ng-* when attached to stems with an initial liquid, e.g. *ngelamar* “to apply”. This is not StJ, but may be regarded as an influence from colloquial Indonesian.

Below is a comparative chart of low level StJ (Ogloblin 2005:600) and SuJ exemplified for the 1SG with *aku* “I”, for the 2SG with *kowé* (StJ), *kon* (SuJ) “you” and for the 3SG with *dhèwèké* (StJ), *dhé’é* (SuJ) “he/she”. As the passive is formed differently for the third person, it is also treated separately in the chart below. Although it looks obvious that the passive prefix *di-* is derived from Jv. *dhèwèké* “he” or IM *dia* “id.”, this speculation has been dismissed because IM *dia* is the old oblique form of *ia* “he”⁵⁹. The prefix *di-* must be an innovation of MoJ, as OJ had the infix *-in-* for the passive. For a more detailed discussion on the origin of *di-*, see Adelaar (1992:162-163). The sample root word is StJ *jupuk*, SuJ *jupók* “to take”, suffixed by *-i* meaning “to take repeatedly, to collect, to take many”, and suffixed by *-aké* (SuJ: *-no*) meaning “to take for (sb.)”. The imperative is considered passive-like because of its unprefixed nature in Javanese, but it does not exist for the third person, which is regularly prefixed by *di-* (LL) or *dipun-* (HL). Note that the propositive mood is only possible for the 1SG. The particle *tak* coincides with the proclitic pronoun for the 1SG *tak*. The propositive in SuJ is limited to active sentences, however one may argue that the particle (*k)até* functions as a propositive where StJ has synthetic forms. It is derived from *angkaté* “the departing (of)”, which used to be the propositive in former times, but is now obsolete (Hoogervorst 2008:86, fn. 88).

*Table 6: Standard Javanese mood forms of the transitive verb *jupuk* “to take”*

		Indicative	Irrealis	Imperative	Propositive
Active	transitive	<i>aku n-jupuk</i> <i>kowé n-jupuk</i>	<i>aku n-jupuk-a</i> <i>kowé n-jupuk-a</i>		<i>aku tak n-jupuk</i>
	collective	<i>aku n-jupuk-i</i>	<i>aku n-jupuk-ana</i>		<i>aku tak n-jupuki</i>
		<i>kowé n-jupuk-i</i>	<i>kowé n-jupuk-ana</i>		
	benefactive	<i>aku n-jupuk-aké</i>	<i>aku n-jupuk-na</i>		<i>aku tak n-jupuk-aké</i>
		<i>kowé n-jupuk-aké</i>	<i>kowé n-jupuk-na</i>		
Passive	transitive	<i>tak Ø-jupuk</i> <i>kok Ø-jupuk</i>	<i>tak Ø-jupuk-a</i> <i>kok Ø-jupuk-a</i>	<i>Ø-jupuk-en</i>	<i>tak Ø-jupuk-é</i>
	1/2			<i>Ø-jupuk-ana</i>	<i>tak Ø-jupuk-ané</i>
	collective	<i>tak Ø-jupuk-i</i>	<i>tak Ø-jupuk-ana</i>		
		<i>kok Ø-jupuk-i</i>	<i>kok Ø-jupuk-ana</i>		
	benefactive	<i>tak Ø-jupuk-aké</i>	<i>tak Ø-jupuk-na</i>	<i>Ø-jupuk-na</i>	<i>tak Ø-jupuk-né</i>
		<i>kok Ø-jupuk-aké</i>	<i>kok Ø-jupuk-na</i>		
Passive	transitive	<i>dhèwèké di-jupuk</i>	<i>dhèwèké di-jupuk-a</i>		
	3	<i>dhèwèké di-jupuk-i</i>	<i>dhèwèké di-jupuk-ana</i>		
	benefactive	<i>dhèwèké di-jupuk-aké</i>	<i>dhèwèké di-jupuk-na</i>		

⁵⁹ Cf. the Classical Malay oblique and emphatic forms *d-aku* “me”, *di-kau* “you” besides *aku* “I” and *engkau* “you” (Adelaar 1992:123-124).

Table 7: Surabayan Javanese mood forms of the verb *jupók* “to take”

		Indicative	Imperative	Propositive
Active	transitive	<i>aku n-jupók</i>		<i>aku tak/(k)até n-jupók</i>
		<i>kon n-jupók</i>		
	collective	<i>aku n-jupók-i</i>		<i>aku tak/(k)até n-jupók-i</i>
		<i>kon n-jupók-i</i>		
	benefactive	<i>aku n-jupók-no</i>		<i>aku tak/(k)até n-jupók-no</i>
		<i>kon n-jupók-no</i>		
Passive	transitive	<i>tak Ø-jupók</i>	<i>Ø-jupók-en</i>	<i>(k)até tak Ø-jupók</i>
		<i>kok/mbok Ø-jupók</i>		
	collective	<i>tak Ø-jupók-i</i>	<i>Ø-jupók-ono</i>	<i>(k)até tak Ø-jupók-i</i>
		<i>kok/mbok Ø-jupók-i</i>		
	benefactive	<i>tak Ø-jupók-no</i>	<i>Ø-jupók-no</i>	<i>(k)até tak Ø-jupók-no</i>
		<i>kok/mbok Ø-jupók-no</i>		
Passive	3	<i>dhé' é di-jupók</i>		<i>dhé' é (k)até di-jupók</i>
		<i>dhé' é di-jupók-i</i>		<i>dhé' é (k)até di-jupók-i</i>
		<i>dhé' é di-jupók-no</i>		<i>dhé' é (k)até di-jupók-no</i>

SuJ is not always consistent in the use of the nasal prefix. Constructions like *tak n-jupókno* instead of *tak Ø-jupókno* “is/was brought by me” are also used, and I have come across *aku tak Ø-jupók* instead of *aku tak n-jupók* “I’ll bring it/let me bring it”. The omission of the nasal prefix leads to ambiguity, e.g. *tak (ng)golèkno* “I’ll look for it” also means “let me find it”.

The imperative may cause truncation of the stem: While *delok* “to see” is regularly affixed as *aku ndelok* “I see”, the imperative undergoes truncation and becomes *lok'en!* “see (here)!”. Apart from the three imperatives given above (Table 7), SuJ also uses the StJ active irrealis *N-a* (see Table 6) to denote another kind of imperative pronounced *-o* [ɔ], which is also suffixed to other parts of speech. It has a hortative function (Ogloblin 2005:605) but speakers of SuJ call it an imperative. The difference between the hortative and the real imperative is often marginal but the following example illustrates it the best: *warao* “say it [to me]!” vs. *waraono* “say it [to someone else]!” The *-o* imperative is highly productive in SuJ and is also very often found in words of IM origin:

- (9) Wés datang-o aja sayang-sayang-ku!
already come-HORT just dear~PL-1SG.POSS
“Alright, just come here (to me), my dears!”

In other cases, an imperative affix is missing, especially with prefixed intransitive or ambitransitive verbs. In such cases, the sentence-final discourse markers *aé*, *po'o* and *yo* are used to emphasize the imperative.

- (10) Halah, ng-omong aé lèk gak isok, Yo!
EXCL N-say just if NEG can NP.M
“Well then, just say if you can’t do it, Yo!”

Another possibility to form an imperative clause is by using *cóbak* (*lèk*) “to try to”, which softens the command, similar to the particle *mal* in German⁶⁰, or is used to give an advice :

- (11) Cóbak, lèk di-tambah-i ngéné, isok ng-garap gak kon?
IMP if PASS-add-APPL like.this can AV-make NEG 2SG
“Try to add something like this, can you figure it out now or not?”

3.3.4 Adjectives

Adjectives generally follow the noun they modify and are not inflected for agreement. The comparative is generally formed with the adverb *luéh* “more” followed by the adjective, e.g. *luéh gedhé* “bigger”. The compared noun is preceded by *timbang-an-é* “weigh-NMZ-DEF” (12), literally meaning “the balance of”, or *teko(k)* “from”, originally meaning “to come”.

- (12) Khusus-é, nok Kutho Suroboyo per-ingat-an Hari Pahlawan kétok
special.ADVZ in city NP.GEO NMZ-remember-NMZ day hero be.visible
luéh ramé timbang-an-é kutho-kutho lia-né ndhék Indonésia.
more crowded weigh-NMZ-DEF city~PL other-DEF in NP.GEO
“Especially in Surabaya, the commemoration of the Heroes Day is celebrated a lot **more actively than** in other cities of Indonesia.”

Another possibility to express comparison in SuJ is the suffix *-an*, representing something like an intermediate stage between comparative and superlative where emphasis is put on the subject of comparison, while the compared noun either precedes the comparison or is dropped if the context is clear (13).

- (13) Pas iku arèk’-é ayu menik~menik koyok kancing wkwk, tapi sak’iki
when DIST 3SG beautiful cute~INT like deer EXCL but now
yo podho. Haha umur-é sé **tuwèk’-an** dhé’-é tapi rai-né **tuwèk’-an** aku.
DM same EXCL age-DEF DM old-COMP 3SG but face-DEF old-COMP 1SG
“At that time, she was cute as a deer hehe, but now we’re the same. Haha, while she’s **older** in age, my face looks **older**.” (lit. while the age is older in her, the face is older in me)

The superlative in SuJ is formed in two different ways: *paling* “most” precedes the adjective (14), *dhéwé* “self” follows the adjective. A combination of both as a circumposition of the

⁶⁰ Semantically, there is no difference in *mach!* and *mach mal!*, both meaning “do!” in German. However, the former expression is a very strong command, while the latter softens the command and is understood as an advice rather than an order.

adjective forms an absolute superlative, e.g. *paling ènak dhéwé* “the very most delicious, the most delicious of all”.

- (14) Jalan Pahlawan persis nok ngarep-é Gedóng Gubernur-an ke-pétung dadi street hero exactly in front-GEN building governor- NMZ STAT-count become panggóng per-tunjuk-’an séng **paling** **ombo** séng tau onok sak-sué-né iki. stage NMZ-show-NMZ REL **most** **wide** REL ever EXIST EQ-long-EQ PROX
“Heroes Street, just in front of the Governor’s Office, is estimated to have been the **widest** stage ever existed to date.”

An excessive gradation is formed by the circumfix *k(e)-an*: *kakèan* “too much” from *akèh* “much, many”, *kesuèn* “too long” from *sué* “long”, *kegedhéan* “too big” from *gedhé* “big” etc.

SuJ features the highly productive infix *-u-* (alternatively spelled *-w-*) for emphasis. To my knowledge, this is not found in other dialects of Javanese or at least not as frequently as in SuJ. Hoogervorst (2008:30) calls this infix a *verbal derivation* but nouns, adjectives, and particles are also prone to this infix. From my data of SuJ, I conclude that *-u-* can be inserted into any root before the first syllabic nucleus, e.g. *buanget* “so much, really a lot” (< *banget* “much”), *Cuino* “so Chinese” (< *Cino* “Chinese”), *luapo* “what the heck are you doing?” (< *lapo* “what are you doing?”), *tak puangan* “I ate so much” (< *pangan* “to eat”), *nguawur* “to guess chaotically” (< *ngawur* “to do haphazardly”), *kuecut* “extremely sour” (< *kecut* “sour”). Some words require the allomorph *-i-* with the same meaning, e.g. *èdian* “so crazy” (< *èdan* “crazy”), alternatively *uwèdan* and *uwèdian*, or *bejiat* “absolutely broken” (< *bejat* “broken”), alternatively *buejat*. Another set of words have the allomorph *-w-*, especially word-initially, e.g. *wakèh* “so much, so many” (< *akèh* “much, many”), *wadoh* “so far” (< *adoh* “far”), or a combination of *-u-* and *-w-*, e.g. *uwènóak* “so damn tasty” (< *ènak* “delicious”), alternatively *huwènak*, and *ngguwuyu* “to burst into laughter” (< *ngguyu* “to laugh”). The intensifying infix *-u-* in adjectives is often combined with *pol* “very much”, e.g. *wènak pol* “absolutely delicious”. A list of all affixes appearing in SuJ is found in appendix I.

As said before, adjectives usually follow the modified noun. However, quantifiers and numerals either precede or follow it, e.g. *akèh wong* = *wong akèh* “many people”. Note that numerals always take the linker *-(a)ng* if they are used before the noun, e.g. *petang taun* “four years” (< *papat* “four”). In temporal expressions, the quantifier must precede the noun to form an NP, e.g. *limang jam* “five hours”, but *jam limo* “five o’clock”. Classifiers, which have become very rare in modern SuJ, are also always preceded by the quantifier, e.g. *mèk sakgelintér wong wèdok* “only a handful of women” or *sakklebatan moto* “(in) the wink of an eye”. A numeral may precede the NP to mark it as a unity (15).

- (15) Polrès Sidóarjo netep-no **telu-n_g** anggota Polsèk Sukodono
 police.department NP.GEO fix-CAUS **three-LINK** member police.precinct NP.GEO
 dadi ter-sangka nang perkoro matèk' é Imron Zainudin.
 become STAT-suspect in case dead-GEN NP.M NP.M
 “The Police Department Sidoarjo has captured (**all**) **three** members of the Police Precinct Sukodono who were suspects in the death case of Imron Zainudin.”

3.4 SYNTAX

SuJ syntax is very similar to that of StJ and IM. This chapter outlines the most important syntactic aspects, i.e. word order, the alignment and voice system, tense/aspect and relative clauses. A treatise of the various discourse markers found in SuJ is beyond this thesis, some of which have been described by Hoogervorst (2008:27-28) for SuJ, by Arps et al. (2000:134-141) for CJ, and by Errington (1998:100-107) for colloquial CJ Javanese in IM context; discourse markers that I have come across are *aé*, *anu*, *cak*, *cók*, *é*, *i*, *iki* (ALS: *niki*), *iku* (ALS: *niku*), *iyo*, *jéh*, *kan*, *kok*, *lah*, *ló*, *mbok*, *mosok*, *no*, *pèk*, *po'o*, *rèk*, *sé*, *ta61, *talah*, *thok*, *to*, *wés*, *ya*, *yo* (ALS: *nggéh*), and *yuk*; interjections and exclamations are (*w*)*aduh*, *ah*, *ayó(k)*, *cihuy*, *ha*, *hahaha*, *halah*, *hé*, *héhéhé*, *lha*, *lhó*, *nah*, *ó*, *óalah*, *wah*, *wih*, *wkwk* (the latter only in written SuJ).*

3.4.1 Word order

Although the basic word order for SuJ is SUBJ-V-DO (SVO), or more adequately AGT-V-PAT (AVP), it rarely occurs in conversation. Intransitive clauses, zero-copula sentences, and passives are a lot more common. There is no case or voice marking in nouns, but pronouns and verbal affixes reveal the agent and patient of transitive clauses. The following examples show the different clause-structures of SuJ:

- (16) Transitive AVP clause:

Aku mangan **jajan** séng konok~konok-'an iku.
 1SG eat.AV sweets REL there~PL-NMZ DIST
 “I ate that kind of snacks.”

Transitive-active clauses (16) have the free pronoun for both the agent and the patient, while nouns are unmarked in both positions. The syntactic function of nouns is merely determined by their position in the sentence. The pronominal agent of a transitive-active clauses requires the verb to be in active voice.

- (17) Intransitive AV clause:

Mosok **aku** séng ndué sepèdha malah mlayu~mlayu?
 EXCL 1SG REL have bicycle instead run.AV~INT
 “How come me as the owner of the bicycle have to run?”

⁶¹ In Malang, this particle is pronounced *a*.

Intransitive clauses (17) in SuJ usually consist of an unmarked noun, a nominalized verb or adjective, or a free pronoun as a subject, and the intransitive verb, which appears either in its root form or prefixed for intransitivity. Zero-copula clauses (18) may also count as intransitive:

- (18) Zero-copula clause:

Maling lóró iku rai-né bunyek sakwisé di-gibeng-i wong akèh.
 thief two DIST face-3SG.POSS⁶² bruised after PASS-beat.up-APPL person many
 “The two thieves had their face bruised after getting beaten up by many people.”

The majority of SuJ sentences exhibits an object-focus or passive construction. Depending on whether the agent of passive construction is the first/second or the third person (cf. chapter 3.4.2), its syntax varies. The word order for the first/second person passive construction is (PAT)-AGT-V and for the third person AGT-V-PAT. Note that the verb also has different affixes for each passive construction.

- (19) Passive clause with first person (postpositive patient):

Wés, **tak** Ø-sumbang aé dhuék.
 DM 1SG.PROCL PV-donate just money
 “Alright, I’ll just donate money.”

- (20) Passive clause with first person (zero-patient):

Mosok apé **tak** kirém nang masjid!?
 EXCL FUT 1SG.PROCL send.PV to mosque
 “As if I had to send it (= the letter) to a mosque!”

- (21) Passive clause with third person:

Tapi èman-é pe-laku gak isok **di-jiret** ambèk ukum-an.
 but unfortunate-ADVZ AGTV-do NEG can PASS-snare by law-NMZ
 “However, unfortunately the delinquents could not be snared by law.”

Apart from the possibilities above, SuJ also allows verb-initial constructions, especially for the existential *onok* “there is”, for nominalized verbs, and for emphasis on the action.

- (22) Existential clause:

Gak **onok** séng ngerti anak-’é sopo bayèk iku.
 NEG EXIST REL know child-GEN who baby DIST
 “No one knows whose baby it is.”

⁶² The possessive enclitic for the third person singular is also used to refer to a plural noun.

- (23) Existential verbal clause:

Onok ro-likur balon **ilang** gak di-weró-i paran-é
 EXIST two-twenties prostitute **be.lost** NEG PASS-know-APPL destination-3SG.POSS
 “Twenty-two prostitutes have disappeared, their destination being unknown.”

- (24) Nominalized verb:

Lé, **budhal** sekolah numpak hèlikopter.
 child **depart** school ride.AV helicopter
 “Child, to go to school, take the helicopter.”

As noted by Ogloblin (2005:601) for StJ, the V-DO-AGT word order implies some emphasis on the action. It is generally possible in SuJ to transform any transitive AVP or intransitive SV sentence into VPA or VS, only constrained by the fact that further arguments require a prosodic pause after the agent/subject indicated by a comma in writing.

- (25) Wés sué gak numpak sepèdha **aku.**

already long NEG ride.AV bicycle 1SG
 “It’s been long since I didn’t ride a bicycle.”

- (26) Wés tuku iwak-’é **aku**, nang pasar soré mau.

already buy fish-DEF 1SG in market afternoon earlier
 “I already bought the fish earlier this day (in the afternoon) on the market.”

SuJ allows topicalization with help of the word order DO-AGT-V where the agent must be a proclitic pronoun. Sometimes, the patient of the resulting passive construction may be dropped, as shown in the second part of the following example:

- (27) Klambi iku ojok mbok colong utowo mbok Ø-gowo balék,
 clothes DIST NEG.IMP 2SG.PROCL steal.PV or 2SG.PROCL PV-take go.home
 nèk k-onang-an isok tak tempèlèng-i.
 if ADVS-see-ADVS can 1SG.PROCL slap.in.face.PV-APPL
 “as for those clothes, don’t steal or take them home. If I see it (lit. if it is seen), then I’ll slap you in the face.”

The passive construction with the pronouns *mbok* and *tak* in (27) will be dealt with in the next chapter.

3.4.2 Morphosyntactic alignment and voice

The morphosyntactic alignment of Austronesian languages is a very striking feature of the language family because it is typologically very different from those found in the rest of the world, which has led to the coinage of the relatively new term “Austronesian alignment”, opposing the established nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive, and active-stative alignment systems.

3.4.2.1 Austronesian alignment

The PAn voice system has been convincingly reconstructed by Ross (2002:33). The chart below exemplifies his reconstruction with the paroxytone verb *káRaw “to scratch” and the oxytone verb *kaRáC “to bite”:

Table 8: Proto-Austronesian voice, mood and aspect morphemes

		Actor	Patient	Location	Circumstantial
INDICATIVE	Neutral	<um>√	√-ən	√-an	Si-√
		*kumáRaw	*kaRáwən	*kaRáwan	*SikáRaw
		*kumaRáC	*kaRaCón	*kaRaCán	*SikaRáC
	Perfective	<um-in>√	<in>√	<in>√-an	Si-<in>√
		*kumináRaw	*kináRaw	*kinaRáwan	*SikináRaw
		*kuminaRáC	*kináRáC	*kinaRaCán	*SikinaRáC
NON-INDICATIVE	Durative	<um>-RED~√	RED~√-ən	RED~√-an	Si-RED~√
		*kumakáRaw	*kakaRáwən	*kakaRáwan	*SikakáRaw
		*kumakaRáC	*kakaRaCón	*kakaRaCán	*SikakaRáC
	Atemporal	√	√-u, √-a	√-i	án-i + √, √-áni ⁶³
		*káRaw	*kaRáwu, *kaRáwa	*kaRáwi	*áni káRaw, *kaRawáni
		*kaRáC	*kaRaCú, *kaRaCá	*kaRaCí	*áni kaRáC, *kaRaCáni
	Projective	<um>√-a	√-aw	√-ay	án-ay + √, √-áay ⁶³
		*kumaRáwa	*kaRáwaw	*kaRáway	*áay káRaw, *kaRawánay
		*kumaRaCá	*kaRaCáw	*kaRaCáy	*áay kaRáC, *kaRaCáñay

The PAn alignment has been almost completely retained in the Formosan and Philippine branches including Malagasy and the languages of north and central Borneo, but also to a lesser degree in IM, Javanese, Madurese, Balinese, and Sundanese.

The question whether the alignment system of Javanese (and similar western Austronesian languages such as IM) should be called nominative-accusative, ergative-absolutive, neutral (non-marking), or simply *Austronesian* has been an ongoing debate up to the present. Verhaar (1988) and Hopper (1988) argue for ergativity in IM and MM, respectively, which are both similar to Javanese in their voice systems, Davies (1990:79) provides “evidence against this position” with examples from East Javanese. Aldridge (2008:1454-1455) explains that IM must have changed from an ergative to an accusative language, while Chung (Chung 2008:1569) states that “morphosyntactic ergativity is probably not the explanation for the high frequency of passives in this language” and opposes an ergative analysis primarily due to the SVO syntax of IM. Austronesianists have often been using the terms *focus* and *voice* to avoid the discussion

⁶³ Ross says that the second form “is possibly reconstructable only for a post-PAn interstage”.

concerning ergativity. Blust (2002:73-74) gives a very informative overview of how the Austronesian ‘focus’ system has been called since 1893 up to the present. For Javanese (and IM), the binary voice system has usually been referred to *actor focus* and *object focus* (Nothofer 1980:169; Naylor 1983:412-415; Davies 1995:20)⁶⁴, *active* and *passive* (Wils 1952:212; Teselkin 1963:49)⁶⁵, or more recently *pivot* and *non-pivot* (Ross 1995:65-66; Arka 2002:2; Crouch 2009:19-24).

Again, new terms needed to be introduced to solve the inner-Austronesian problem: The TAM-marking voice system that is very similar to the reconstruction for PAn has been referred to as *Philippine-type* (Wolff 1996:16; Ross 2002:20-32; Adelaar 2005a:7-8), the reduced atem-temporal, non-aspectual system has been called *Indonesian-type* (Wolff 1996:17-18; Ross 2002:52-56; Adelaar 2005a:6-7), while the third voice system, which has no overt voice alternation, has been named *Oceanic-type* (Clark 1974; Foley 1976:147-200) or eastern Austronesian type (Arka and Ross 2005:7) and is not further discussed here. A fourth system, limited to a few languages in Flores, has voice alternation although not marked in the verb, cf. Arka & Kosmas (2005) for Manggarai and Donohue (2005) for Palu’e.

The western Austronesian languages are typologically classified in a threefold way: *symmetrical voice*, *preposed possessor*, and *transitional* languages (Himmelmann 2005:112-114). About 60% of the 800 western Austronesian languages exhibit symmetrical voice, e.g. the Austronesian languages of Taiwan, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Madagascar, while only 25% are preposed possessor languages. The remaining 15% are considered transitional. Both the *Philippine-type* and the *Indonesian-type* languages belong to *symmetrical voice* languages. A more elaborate discussion on this classification is offered by Himmelmann (2005:164).

3.4.2.2 Indonesian-type voice system

The only relevant to this thesis is the Indonesian-type voice system. It has been neatly depicted in a summarizing chart by Wolff (1996:18) for Standard IM, which I use here in a slightly modified version, exemplified with the root *tutup* “closed” and its equivalent translations into English (Table 9). What Wolff calls *direct object* can be translated as ‘transitive’ and corresponds to Ross’ *patient object* (Table 8), by *local object* Wolff means ‘transitive implying

⁶⁴ Naylor analyzes four foci in Indonesian: *actor focus* (meN-), *goal focus* (-Ø), *location focus* (-i), *instrumental focus* (-kan).

⁶⁵ Teselkin (1963:49) uses the Russian terms *действительный залог dejstvitel'nyj zalog* and *страдательный залог stradatel'nyj zalog* for Old Javanese, and Echols (Teschkin 1972:42) translates them as “active voice” and “passive voice”, respectively.

a certain proximity to the direct object' or 'transitive iterative'⁶⁶, and his *instrumental object*⁶⁷ refers is the 'direct object of a causative or the indirect object' corresponding to Ross' *circumstantial object*, for which I use *instrumental-causative object* in my overview. Pragmatically, it has a benefactive, causative, or controlled perceptive function depending on the root⁶⁸. In the table below, pronoun placeholders are indicated in italics: *aku* "I", *ku-* "by me", *kau-* "by you", and *-nya* "by him/her".

Table 9: Standard Indonesian Malay voice and applicative morphemes

	ACTIVE	PASSIVE			
	1SG agent	1SG agent	2SG agent	3SG agent	no agent
Direct object	<i>aku meN-√</i> <i>aku menutup</i> <i>I close</i>	<i>ku=√</i> <i>kututup</i> <i>closed by me</i>	<i>kau=√</i> <i>kaututup</i> <i>closed by you</i>	<i>di-√=nya</i> <i>ditutupnya</i> <i>closed by him</i>	<i>di-√</i> <i>ditutup</i> <i>being closed</i>
Local object	<i>aku meN-√-i</i> <i>aku menutupi</i> <i>I cover</i>	<i>ku=√-i</i> <i>kututupi</i> <i>covered by me</i>	<i>kau=√-i</i> <i>kaututupi</i> <i>covered by you</i>	<i>di-√-i=nya</i> <i>ditutupinya</i> <i>covered by him</i>	<i>di-√-i</i> <i>ditutupi</i> <i>being covered</i>
Instrumental-causative object	<i>aku meN-√-kan</i> <i>aku menutupkan</i> <i>I close for</i>	<i>ku=√-kan</i> <i>kututupkan</i> <i>closed for by me</i>	<i>kau=√-kan</i> <i>kaututupkan</i> <i>closed for by you</i>	<i>di-√-kan=nya</i> <i>ditutupkannya</i> <i>closed for by him</i>	<i>di-√-kan</i> <i>ditutupkan</i> <i>being closed for</i>

IM behaves like a nominative-accusative language because the actor and patient are differently marked in transitive clauses with the actor having the same form as a subject of an intransitive clause, and the patient appearing as a pronominal enclitic at the verb, coinciding with the possessive enclitic attached to nouns and adjectives. Table 10 exemplifies the alignment marking in IM with the adjectival root *dekat* "close, near" and the nominal root *nama* "name, designation".

⁶⁶ For example, *menembaki* "to shoot at" (from *tembak* "to shoot") is transitive and implies proximity to the direct object and *memukuli* "to beat up" (from *pukul* "to beat") implies an iterative action toward the direct object.

⁶⁷ Wolff uses the term *instrumental* for both the Philippine type and the Indonesian type continuing Bloomfield's designation *active*, *direct passive*, *instrumental passive*, and *local passive* for Tagalog *actor focus*, *object focus*, *instrumental focus*, and *local focus* (Bloomfield 1917:154).

⁶⁸ For example, *membuka* "to open for sb." (from *buka* "open") is benefactive, *menerangkan* "to explain, to make clear" (from *terang* "clear, bright") is causative, and *mendengarkan* "to listen" (from *dengar* "to hear") is controlled-perceptive.

Table 10: Alignment marking through applicative morphemes in Standard Indonesian Malay

INTRANSITIVE	1SG subject	2SG subject	3SG subject
Zero object	<i>aku meN-</i> √ <i>aku mendekat</i> <i>I come up</i> <i>aku ber-</i> √ <i>aku bernama</i> <i>I have the name ...</i>	<i>engkau meN-</i> √ <i>engkau mendekat</i> <i>you come up</i> <i>engkau ber-</i> √ <i>engkau bernama</i> <i>you have the name ...</i>	<i>dia meN-</i> √ <i>dia mendekat</i> <i>he comes up</i> <i>dia ber-</i> √ <i>dia bernama</i> <i>he/she/it has the name ...</i>
TRANSITIVE	1SG object	2SG object	3SG object
Local object	<i>dia meN-</i> √-i=ku <i>dia mendekatiku</i> <i>he/she approaches me</i> <i>dia meN-</i> √-i=ku <i>dia menamaiku</i> <i>he/she labels me as ...</i>	<i>dia meN-</i> √-i=mu <i>dia mendekatimu</i> <i>he/she approaches you</i> <i>dia meN-</i> √-i=mu <i>dia menamaimu</i> <i>he/she labels you as ...</i>	<i>dia meN-</i> √-i=nya <i>dia mendekatinya</i> <i>he/she approaches him/her/it</i> <i>dia meN-</i> √-i=nya <i>dia menamainya</i> <i>he/she labels him/her/it as ...</i>
Instrumental-causative object	<i>dia meN-</i> √-kan=ku <i>dia mendekatkanku</i> <i>he/she brings me close</i> <i>dia menN-</i> √-kan=ku <i>dia menamakanku</i> <i>he/she calls me a ...</i>	<i>dia meN-</i> √-kan=mu <i>dia mendekatkanmu</i> <i>he/she brings you close</i> <i>dia menN-</i> √-kan=mu <i>dia menamakanmu</i> <i>he/she calls you a ...</i>	<i>dia meN-</i> √-kan=nya <i>dia mendekatkannya</i> <i>he/she brings him/her close</i> <i>dia menN-</i> √-kan=nya <i>dia menamakannya</i> <i>he/she calls him/her a ...</i>

It is noteworthy that adjectival roots in IM can be turned into intransitive verbs by adding the prefix *meN-*, while nominal roots are generally prefixed by *ber-* to turn them into intransitive verbs; *meN-i* usually turns both roots into active transitive verbs with proximity to the object and *meN-kan* can turn adjectival roots into causatives, nominal roots into ditransitive verbs. Other affixes are also used in IM: for the resultative, involuntary or stative passive *ter-* or *ke-* are applied, the adversative passive is marked by *ke-an*. Although all these affixes in IM are productive, they do not exist for every verb due to pragmatic sense. Most roots can only produce two of the three applicatives mentioned in the table above. For colloquial IM, the two tables above do not apply, though (Ewing 2005:251-254).

3.4.2.3 Surabayan Javanese Voice System

This chapter shows how StJ and SuJ fit into this scheme. In OJ, the passive voice used to be similar to the patient focus of the Philippine type⁶⁹, whereas MoJ makes use of proclitics to form a passive, just like the Indonesian type. The transition from one system to the other is probably to be found during the time of early *kidung* poetry, also called Middle Javanese. SuJ

⁶⁹ A typical passive structure in OJ is *in-alap-ku* “picked by me” (lit. PASS-pick-1SG.ENCL), but Middle Javanese has *sira sun Ø-kon luña* “he has been ordered by me to go away” (lit. 3SG 1SG.PROCL PV-order leave), found in *Kidung Harsa-Wijaya I.83a* (Berg 1931:64). Zoetmulder (1974:442) states that the OJ passivation does not appear in any *kidung* (Javanese-metered poems or songs) probably marking the beginning of the proclitic passive in Javanese.

has an active voice in agreement using the free pronouns (cf. chapter 3.3.1) and a passive voice with a proclitic pronoun for the first and second person as agents. When the agent is not overt or is a third person, another type of passive is used. The free pronouns are also used in oblique position, which is different from IM (Table 10). For the time being, the voice system of SuJ shall be called Indonesian-type (Arka 2002:3). To prove this, I have converted the two tables from above into spoken SuJ exemplified by the same roots *tutup* “closed” and *cedhek* “near, close”. Note that the proclitic constructions in EJ, CJ and IM are considered a new development (Wils 1952:201) as opposed to the more archaic system found in some WJ dialects. See Nothof (1980:168-170) for the four object focus systems found throughout the Javanese dialects.

Table 11: Surabayan Javanese voice and applicative morphemes

ROOT	ACTIVE	PASSIVE		
<i>tutup</i>		1SG agent	2SG agent	no overt agent
Direct object	<i>aku N-√</i>	<i>tak √</i>	<i>mbok √</i>	<i>di-√</i>
	<i>aku nutup</i>	<i>tak tutup</i>	<i>mbok tutup</i>	<i>ditutup</i>
	<i>I close</i>	<i>closed by me</i>	<i>closed by you</i>	<i>being closed</i>
Local object	<i>aku N-√-i</i>	<i>tak √-i</i>	<i>mbok √-i</i>	<i>di-√-i</i>
	<i>aku nutupi</i>	<i>tak tutupi</i>	<i>mbok tutupi</i>	<i>ditutupi</i>
	<i>I cover</i>	<i>covered by me</i>	<i>covered by you</i>	<i>being covered</i>
Instrumental-causative object	<i>aku N-√-no</i>	<i>tak √-no</i>	<i>mbok √-no</i>	<i>di-√-no</i>
	<i>aku nutupno</i>	<i>tak tutupno</i>	<i>mbok tutupno</i>	<i>ditutupno</i>
	<i>I close for</i>	<i>closed for by me</i>	<i>closed for by you</i>	<i>being closed for</i>

The voice and applicative morphemes (Table 11) are functionally identical in IM and SuJ with the exception that the 3SG pronoun does not have a clitic and always appears as a free pronoun, e.g. SuJ *ditutup ambèk dhé’ē* “being closed by him” vs. IM *ditutupnya* “id.”. However, the alignment marking in SuJ transitive clauses differs from IM in that no pronominal enclitic is used for the patient of an active construction (Table 12). This provides evidence against nominative-accusative alignment for SuJ. Ergative-absolutive alignment is also ruled out here. It is also different from the Indonesian-type as explained above, because the agent is marked the same as the patient in a transitive clause and the subject in an intransitive clause⁷⁰, but different in a passive or object-focus clause. For the time being, I can only offer an adjectival root for SuJ that exhibits all three applicatives; I have not come across a nominal root that is productive for all three applicatives in the chart below⁷¹.

⁷⁰ If all three arguments are marked the same or unmarked, respectively, then we would have neutral alignment as in many isolating languages of Southeast and East Asia, such as Thai, Vietnamese, or Mandarin.

⁷¹ My suggestions would have been *mandheg* “to halt”, *mandhegno* “to bring to a halt”, and *mandhegi* “to stop in at” but the last form was rejected by my informant, and I have also never come across that form, but cf. StJ *mandheg*, *ngandhegaké*, *ngandhegi* (Horne 1974:24).

Table 12: Alignment marking in Surabayan Javanese

INTRANSITIVE	1SG subject	2SG subject	3SG subject
Zero object	<i>aku N-√</i>	<i>kon N-√</i>	<i>dhé'é N-√</i>
	<i>aku nyedhek</i>	<i>kon nyedhek</i>	<i>dhé'é nyedhek</i>
	<i>I come up</i>	<i>you come up</i>	<i>he comes up</i>
TRANSITIVE	1SG object	2SG object	3SG object
Local object	<i>dhé'é N-√-i aku</i>	<i>dhé'é N-√-i kon</i>	<i>dhé'é N-√-i dhé'é</i>
	<i>dhé'é nyedhe'i aku</i>	<i>dhé'é nyedhe'i kon</i>	<i>dhé'é nyedhe'i</i>
	<i>he approaches me</i>	<i>he approaches you</i>	<i>he approaches him</i>
Instrumental-causative object	<i>dhé'é N-√-no aku</i>	<i>dhé'é N-√-no kon</i>	<i>dhé'é N-√-no dhé'é</i>
	<i>dhé'é nyedhekno aku</i>	<i>dhé'é nyedhekno kon</i>	<i>dhé'é nyedhekno dhé'é</i>
	<i>he brings me close</i>	<i>he brings you close</i>	<i>he brings him close</i>

It should be noted that the nasal prefix *N-* in SuJ is no sound indication of whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. It has been argued that prefixed intransitive verbs are unergatives and non-prefixed intransitive verbs fall into the category of unaccusatives (Davies 1995:22)⁷².

The following examples from SuJ illustrate a basic intransitive clause (28) with a pronoun that may be called the ‘subject’, and two basic transitive active clauses with the first person as the ‘agent’ (29) and the second person as the ‘agent’ (30). For all arguments, the free forms are used:

- (28) Aku wés budhal.
1SG already depart
“I already left.”

- (29) Aku wés n-delok kon.
1SG already AV-see 2SG
“I have seen you already.”

- (30) Kon wés n-delok aku.
1SG already AV-see 2SG
“You have seen me already.”

The sentences (29) and (30) above can be rephrased into what would be called a passive in traditional grammar to put emphasis on the *patient* (or *object*). The proclitic pronouns *tak* “by me” (31) and *mbok* “by you” (32) are the agent markers for the passivized transitive clause. Note that the proclitic pronouns cannot be used in intransitive clauses (33):

⁷² Prefixed intransitive in SuJ are *nangis* (< tangis) “to cry”, *mlaku* (< laku) “to walk”, *ngompol* “to wet one’s pants”, and *mlayu* (< layu) “to run”; non-prefixed intransitives are numerous, e.g. *tiba* “to fall”, *teko(k)* “to come”, and *ilang* “to be/get lost, to disappear”. Some intransitive verbs listed by Davies (1995:21-22) for Javanese are in fact ambitransitive in SuJ, e.g. *mlebu* “to enter” and *ngomong* “to speak/say”.

- (31) Kon wés tak Ø-delok.
 2SG already 2SG.PROCL PV-see
 “You’ve been seen by me.”
- (32) Aku wés mbok Ø-delok.
 1SG already 2SG.PROCL PV-see
 “I’ve been seen by you.”
- (33) *Tak/*Mbok wés budhal.
 1SG.PROCL/2SG.PROCL already depart
 *“By me already left.”

For the third person, the passivization works differently as explained in the charts above. There is no proclitic pronoun for the third person and the prefix *di-* (HL: *dipun-*, hardly ever used in SuJ) replaces the active-transitive nasal prefix *N-* (cf. chapter 3.3.3). Nominal elements acting in lieu of the third singular pronoun behave similarly.

- (34) Aku wés di-delok ambèk dhé’é.
 1SG already PASS-see by 3SG
 “I’ve been seen by him.”
- (35) *Aku wés dhé’é Ø-delok.
 1SG already 3SG PV-see
 “I’ve been seen by him.”

3.4.2.4 Truncated patientless passive

What makes the voice of Javanese and some other Indonesian-type languages typologically unique is that the patient can be entirely omitted in a passive construction whereas the agent is present. This type of grammaticalized ellipsis has been called *truncated patientless passive* by Mel'čuk (1993:15) for the Russian sentence *мне мечтается mne mečtaetsya* “I am dreaming” (lit. to me is being dreamt). German also allows such a construction but is limited to ambitransitive verbs and, as in Russian, is not productive: *Von Politikern wird hier gegessen* “Politicians eat here” (lit. by politicians is eaten here) (Mel'čuk 2006:188).

A patientless passive construction in SuJ is only possible with the proclitic pronouns of 1SG and 2SG and only when the context is clear. This is similar to subject and object pro-drop in languages without person marking in verbs such as Japanese, Thai or !Kung. To explain the typologically unique feature of dropping the patient in a passive clause, I offer an example from SuJ in actor voice (36)a and in patientless passive voice (37)b, and then show that the same is possible in colloquial IM (38), only partly in Tagalog (39), and not in French (40). The dropped patient is indicated in brackets.

- (36) a. Wés lah, aku ng-entè-ni kon nang kéné pokok’é ló, yo.
already DM 1SG AV-wait-APPL 2SG in here at.any.rate DM DM
“Alright then, I’ll wait for you here anyway.”
- (37) b. Wés lah, tak Ø-entè-ni [kon] nang kéné pokok’é ló, yo.
already DM 1SG.PROCL PV-wait-APPL [2SG] in here at.any.rate DM DM
“Alright then, I’ll wait [for you] here anyways.” (lit. *by me waited for here)
- (38) a. Colloquial IM (*active transitive*)
Udah lah, aku nunggu kamu di sini aja ya.
already DM 1SG wait.AV 2SG in here just DM
“Alright then, I’ll wait for you here anyways.”
- (38) b. Colloquial IM (*truncated patientless passive*)
Udah lah, ku=tunggu [kamu] di sini aja ya.
already DM 1SG.PROCL=wait.PV 2SG in here just DM
“Alright then, I’ll wait [for you] here anyways.” (lit. *by me waited here)
- (39) a. Tagalog⁷³ (*agent-verb agreement*)
Sige, mag-hi~hintay lang ako sa nanay mo rito.
alright IRREAL.AGTFOC-IMPV~wait just 1SG.FOC LOC mother 2SG.GEN here
“Alright, I’ll wait for your mother here.”
- (39) b. Tagalog (*truncated patient-verb agreement*)
(?) Sige, hi~hintay-in ko lang [ang nanay mo] rito.
alright IRREAL.IMPV-wait-PATFOC 1SG.NFOC just FOC mother 2SG.GEN here
“Alright, I’ll wait [for your mom] here.” (lit. *by me waited here)
- (40) a. French (*active transitive*)
Bien, je vais t’-y attendre.
alright 1SG.SUBJ AUX.FUT.1SG 2SG.OBJ-there.ANAPH wait.INF
“Alright then, I’ll wait for you there.”
- (40) b. French (*truncated patientless passive*)
*Bien, [tu] y es attend-u-e par moi.
alright 2SG.SUBJ there.ANAPH AUX.2SG.PRES.IND wait-PP-F by 1SG.DISJ
“Alright then, [you (fem.)] are waited here for by me.”

While both the Javanese and the IM phrases are grammatically correct and do not require much context, the Tagalog sentence very much depends on the context and is otherwise considered ungrammatical by native speakers. The French sentence is ungrammatical in any way.

⁷³ I thank Natalie Dietrich (University of Frankfurt) for providing me with the Tagalog examples.

3.4.3 Tense and Aspect

Neither tense nor aspect is overtly expressed in SuJ. However, several particles are employed to denote temporal or aspectual reference. Actions of the past may be expressed by the particle *wés* “already”. Temporal adverbs are the only way to specify when or how in the past the event took place, i.e. *wingi* “yesterday” refers to an action that happened yesterday or at any time before yesterday, *ma(e)ng* “earlier” and *mau* “id.” with their polite equivalent being *wau* are used anaphorically to refer to something just mentioned or to something that happened earlier that day. It is noteworthy that SuJ *ma(e)ng* is placed before and StJ *mau* is placed after a daytime: *ma(e)ng bengi* > *mambengi* “this morning” but *bengi mau* (AL: *injing wau*), *ma(e)ng awan* “this noon (said in the afternoon or evening)” but *awan mau* (AL: *siang wau*), *ma(e)ng soré* “this afternoon (said in the evening)”, but *soré mau* (AL: *sonten wau*).

The continuous aspect is expressed by the particles *lagèk* (AL: *nembé*) or *sék* (ALS: *tasék/mesih/teséh*). Its negative equivalent is *góróng* or *dóróng* “not yet” (AL: *déréng*), of which the former is dialectal and the latter taken from StJ.

Reference to the future is often made with help of the modal verb *gelem* “to want”. However, adverbs for planned activities in the future are numerous in SuJ: *apé* (AL: *badhé*) is very often used, which is short for *kapé* and *kapéné* with the same meaning; a synonym is *até*, which is short for *katé* and *angkaté* (cf. chapter 3.3.3); for the first person singular, *tak* is used in a propositive sense. A rather archaic future particle is *jangé*, also appearing as *ajangé*, only used by older speakers of SuJ. Its origin is obscure, but it may be derived from a truncated noun like *até* as explained above. Temporal adverbs for the future are *sésók* “tomorrow” or *mené* “tomorrow, in the future” for anything that takes place tomorrow or later, and *ngkók* “later” (ALS: *ngken*) to refer to events happening later that day. Evidentiality is expressed by *tau* “ever”.

3.4.4 Relative clauses

In Javanese, the antecedent of the relative clause can be its subject, oblique argument, or genitive, but not its direct object, indirect object, or object of comparison. This is contradictory to the universal accessibility hierarchy defined by Keenan & Comrie (1977). In a marginal note (1977:67), though, Javanese was declared an exception to the hierarchy. If the antecedent of the relative clause is supposed to be its semantic object, the relative clause must be passivized 0. For the 1SG and 2SG being the agent of the relative clause, the proclitic forms (cf. chapter 3.3.1) are used (42). The relativizer is *sing-séng* (AL: *ingkang*), it is always uninflected and does not denote animacy.

- (41) Akèh coro [RC **séng** **di**-lakok-no wisata-wan] gaé ng-isi prèi-an [...]
many kind REL PASS-do-APPL travel-AGTV for AV-fill free-NMZ
“There are many things that tourists do to spend the long vacation.” (lit. “that are done by tourists”)
- (42) Ø-Tunjuk-no nang waiter aplikasi [RC **séng** wés **mbok** Ø-instal, ...]
IMP-show-APPL to waiter application REL already 2SG.PROCL PV-install
“Show the application you installed to the waiter.” (lit. “that was installed by you”)

SuJ also allows free relative clauses with no head noun by starting the sentence with the relative pronoun (43).

- (43) [RC **Séng** paling banter mlayu-né,] yo iku pe-menang-é.
REL most fast run.AV-NMZ also DIST AGT-win-DEF
“He who is the fastest in the run is the winner.”

4 DISCUSSION ON THE LINGUISTIC ETIQUETTE

According to Kasper (1998:374), linguistic etiquette is “the practice in any speech community of organizing linguistic action so that it is seen as appropriate to the current communicative event.” A lot has been written on Javanese linguistic etiquette by Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1979), Kartomihardjo (1981), and Errington (1988). In this chapter, I will first explain how linguistic etiquette is lexically expressed in various languages around the world and then how this relates to Surabayan Javanese.

4.1 TYPOLOGY OF POLITENESS STRATEGIES

Basically, all human languages have the possibility to express politeness. It may therefore be called a language universal (Brown and Levinson 1978). Each conversation requires some form of etiquette, the customary code of polite behavior in dialogs, telephone calls, TV shows, talk shows, instructions, reports, introductions, letters, dramas, announcements, the social media, etc. In scientific papers or neutral newspaper articles, this etiquette is generally not required if no one is directly addressed. This dialogicity is based on the binary speaker-listener constellation in a current speech situation (Lee 1996:109), usually expanded by the third (personal or impersonal) party that is being talked about, as has been explained by Bühler in his organon model (1934), later expanded by Jakobson (1960) with his model on the six functions of language, and subsequently—combining existing theories—newly structured and organized by Schulz von Thun (1981) in his four-sides model. The three above-mentioned communication models all include the sender, i.e. who speaks, the receiver, i.e. who hears or listens, and the message, i.e. what or whom the information is about.

Languages approach the concept of these three sides differently, also depending on the fields of theoretical linguistics: kinesically by gestures and facial expressions; phonologically by intonation or prosody; morphologically by passivation, impersonalization, or the change of grammatical mood; syntactically by paraphrasing, negation or interrogation; lexico-pragmatically by polite affixes, or suppletive lexemes marked for politeness or social class; and orthographically by capitalization.

Below is a typological classification of how politeness is marked in the world’s languages, similar to what has been observed by Helmbrecht (2013). There are five types of politeness strategies explained hereinafter. This classification does not include avoidance speech as found in some Australian, African, North American, and Caucasian languages. The typological classification is necessary to determine which system is used in SuJ. It is noteworthy that SuJ never

developed a speech level system as thoroughly as CJ (cf. chapter 4.1.5) due to Surabaya's location in the outer periphery from the political centers of Yogyakarta and Surakarta at the time when the Javanese speech levels emerged. Additionally, SuJ used by younger speakers has been losing most of this rudimentary speech level system, recently giving way to a near-binary T-V distinction⁷⁴ (cf. chapter 4.1.2), which is rather unusual for the languages of Southeast Asia (cf. chapter 4.1.4). The lack of a speech level system in SuJ yields fear among its speakers to use their mother tongue in areas where the classical speech level system is still prominent. Absence or near-absence of speech levels in dialects of languages that are known for their speech level system are rare, but also occur in the Banten dialect of Sundanese and the Kansai dialect of Japanese.

4.1.1 Grammatically Unmarked Politeness

In most languages, politeness is grammatically covert, i.e. the language does not have an obvious system of marking the linguistic etiquette within the context in which the utterance is made. Although there may be ways to choose a word of a different register to speak more politely, it is not a paramount part of its grammar. Politeness and deference is therefore rather expressed by conversational and conventional implicature (Grice 1975) or by terms of address such as *Mister/Mistress/Sir* or kinship terms. Languages that belong to this type are Modern English, the Kx'a languages, all indigenous languages of North America and Australia⁷⁵, and some languages of the Caucasus such as Ossetic. There are languages that originally would have been part of this category but have shifted to a binary distinction in pronouns (see below) under the influence of other languages, e.g. Lezgian (Haspelmath 1993:184). Languages like Wolof also belong to this category, because it does not mark politeness overtly but prosodically (Irvine 1975:7-12).

Helmbrecht (2013) venturesomely claims that “[a]reas where politeness is not a category in personal pronouns are North and South America, New Guinea, Australia, and most of Africa.” However, Irvine (1998:54) asserts that many Bantu languages do exhibit respect forms locating them in the morphology of the noun classification system.

⁷⁴ This designation is derived from Latin *tū* for the 2SG pronoun and informal ‘you’, similar to ‘thou’ in older English, and *vōs* for the 2PL pronoun, which has been used for politeness since the 5th century (Châtelain 1880:138), similar to older English ‘ye’.

⁷⁵ Avoidance speech is not regarded as a politeness system here. One might even say that languages that employ an avoidance style system contrast with those that have an elaborate politeness system. Thus, there are basically two different kinds of sociolinguistic address systems, and most languages only possess one, if at all.

4.1.2 Binary Distinction in Pronouns for Politeness

Many languages of Europe employ a so-called T-V distinction in pronominal system for the addressee, usually with the 2SG vs. 2PL pronoun (Brown and Gilman 1960). Friends, family members, children, and deities are usually addressed with the T-pronoun, while older people, highly esteemed persons, and strangers are spoken to using the V-pronoun. Languages with this feature are European French (*tu* vs. *vous*), European Spanish (*tú* vs. *usted*), German (*du* vs. *Sie*)⁷⁶, Dutch (*jij* vs. *U*)⁷⁷, Russian (*ты* *ty* vs. *Вы* *Vy*)⁷⁸, Serbo-Croatian (*ti* vs. *vi*)⁷⁹, Modern Greek (*εσύ* *esí* vs. *εσείς* *eseís*), Welsh (*ti* vs. *chi*), Estonian (*sina* vs. *teie*), Turkish (*sen* vs. *siz*), Basque (*hi* vs. *zu*)⁸⁰, etc. There are also languages outside of Europe with this binary distinction, such as modern Mandarin (你 *nǐ* vs. 您 *nín*), Armenian (*դու* *du* vs. *դուք* *duk'*), Modern Standard Arabic (أنتَ *anta* (M)/*anti* (F) vs. أنتُمْ *antum* (M)/*antunna* (F)), and Yoruba (*iwø* vs. *èyin*). One may say that these languages mark politeness or respect overtly by employing a clear and well-defined set of pronouns either referring to the non-polite, informal or to the polite, formal register, respectively. In the social media, the use of this distinction is in decline in some languages, such as French, Italian, Mandarin, and Persian (Lawn 2012). It has been reported that Swiss German tends to use the non-polite *du* more often than Standard German (Amon 2011), showing a shift in the politeness system to grammatically unmarked politeness.

4.1.3 Multi-Level Grammaticalized Politeness

Especially the languages of South Asia make use of an overt, grammaticalized system of politeness, usually determined by social hierarchy based on age, profession, rank, prestige, or title (Fritz 2005). There are usually at least three levels of linguistic etiquette in the pronouns: the first being neutral or intimate and is used among close friends and family members; the second is respectful used with people of higher social status; and the third is highly honorific for teachers or clerics. This may be marked in different 2SG and/or 2PL pronouns or with a term of address, while the verb is usually used in its plural form if the language has verbal inflection for grammatical number. Languages that possess such politeness systems are Hindi, Marathi, Malayalam, Nahuatl, Persian, and to some extent Hungarian, Tagalog, and formal Malay.

⁷⁶ The German polite address *Sie* is the capitalized version of the 3PL pronoun, and does not correspond to French *vous* although it has the same pragmatic function. The formal pronoun is used for both singular and plural. The highly respectful pronoun *Ihr* is obsolete.

⁷⁷ This distinction only refers to the standard language. *U* is not used in every dialect of Dutch.

⁷⁸ The capitalization of *Bы* is not consequently enforced in Russian.

⁷⁹ The formal pronoun *vi* may also be capitalized as *Vi*.

⁸⁰ One may say that the neutral form is *zu* while *hi* is limited to very close friends, mostly male, and when addressing children or animals. This is different from the 2PL *zuek*, which may be used in a neutral context and for respect. The highly respectful pronoun *berori* is considered obsolete.

(44) Hindi

शर्साजी स्कूल के अध्यापक हैं ।		
śarmā- jī	skūl	ke adhyāpak haī
NP.M-HON	school	POSS.M.PL teacher be.3PL.PRES
“Mr. Śarmā is a school teacher.”		

(Shapiro 2003:50)

(45) Tetelcingo Nahuatl

a. <i>non-honorific</i>	b. <i>honorific</i>	c. <i>reverential</i>
ki-neki	ki-neki:- wa	ki- mo -neki-ti-a
3SG.OBJ-want.PRES	3SG.OBJ-want.PRES- 3HON	3SG.OBJ-HON-want.PRES-CAUS-PRES
“He wants it.”	“He wants it.”	“He wants it.”

(Pittman 1948:238)

Languages that express politeness by just using plural affixes (or plural conjugation) with the subject being in the singular also fit in this category. An example is Bemba of Zambia (Irvine 1998:54-55).

4.1.4 Multi-Pronominal Register System

The politeness systems used in many languages of Southeast Asia and East Asia, such as Burmese, Vietnamese, Thai, Lao, Khmer, Sinhala, and Classical Chinese are a little more refined than that of South Asia in that speakers of these languages choose their words and especially pronouns carefully to express appropriate politeness. The high number of pronouns in these languages allows for a very specific speaker-listener classification in the social hierarchy. For Thai, Kummer (1992:331-332) gives eight possibilities for the 1SG and nine for the 2SG pronouns with eight other pronouns depending on the conversation. Royal and clerical pronouns, though, are missing in his overview. In languages of this type, any pronoun may be dropped to avoid offense that may result from the choice of the wrong register. Aside from the richness in pronouns, also affixes, verbs and nouns inherently pertaining to a certain register are used to classify the speaker, the listener and the person whom the conversation is about according to social hierarchy. The registers determine intimate, neutral, formal, clerical, and royal speech, depending on the language. Sinhala and Thai seem to have the most refined systems of all these:

(46) Sinhala

a. <i>normal</i>	b. <i>clerical</i>
මම බත් කනවා.	භාමුදුරුවේ දානේ වලදනවා.
mama bat ka-navā	hāmuduruvō dāne vaļaňda-navā
1SG.NOM rice.ACC eat-IND	monk.NOM.CLER rice.CLER.ACC eat.CLER-IND

“I am eating (rice).” “The monk is eating (rice).”

(Chandralal 2010:271)

- (47) a. Thai (*neutral*)⁸¹

เข้ากำลังกินข้าวที่บ้าน
kʰāu kamlaj kin kʰâ:w tʰî: bâ:n
3SG.M PROG eat rice in house
“He is eating (rice) at home.”

- b. Thai (*clerical*)

หลวงพ่อกำลังลั่นกัตตาหารที่วัด
lǔ:aŋpʰō: kamlaj cʰän pʰáttâ:hă:n tʰî: wát
monk PROG eat.CLER food in monastery
“He (the monk) is eating (rice) at the monastery.”

- c. Thai (*royal*)

พระเจ้าอยู่หัวกำลังเสวยพระกระยาหารที่พระราชวัง
pʰrácâuyù:hǔ:a kamlaj sàw̥:i pʰrá-kráyahă:n tʰî: pʰrá-râ:tcʰáwaŋ
king PROG eat.ROY ROY-food.HON in ROY-palace
“He (His Majesty) is dining in the palace.”

Note that the sentences (46)b as well as (47)b and (47)c above are restricted to a very specific type of social class. An average conversation consists of sentences like (46)a and (47)a.

4.1.5 Speech Levels System

The fifth system is only found in a very limited number of languages. The politeness system of these languages is the most complex of all as it highly depends on the social status of all interlocutors. In most cases, the polite or honorifics forms are lexically different from their non-polite counterparts. It is possible to speak very politely in an informal context, and it is not uncommon to apply different lexemes for the same action with the same meaning when the interlocutors are of different statuses. Instead of speaking of politeness, this system is generally referred to as speech levels. I suggest that in languages allowing lexeme variation according to the speech level, words that are identical in syntax and meaning but different in their pragmatic function shall be called *register allolexes*⁸², based on similar concepts, such as *allophones* (a variation of a phoneme) and *allomorphs* (a variation of a morpheme). Speech levels in these languages constitute a system that shows the degree of formality and the degree of respect felt by the speaker toward the addressee. To explain the speech level system, I propose the following scheme:

⁸¹ I thank Orapim Tantrakul for her help in providing me with the Thai examples.

⁸² The term *allolex* is sometimes used for the various word forms pertaining to one lexeme in natural semantic metalanguage (NSM), i.e. *I* and *me* of the concept 1SG, -one and -body of SOMEONE etc. (Wierzbicka 1996:26). However, I adapt this terminology and expand it to *register allolex* to avoid confusion with the NSM terminology but at the same time emphasize the conceptual proximity to it.

Table 13: Speech levels in a typological view

Number	Description	Usage	Glossing
Level -1	Impolite	Very low level (slang); among close friends; frowned upon by old speakers	SL
Level 0	Non-polite	Neutral level between friends, peers, and an older person to a younger one	LL
Level 1	Middle	Slightly polite level in order not to lose face ⁸³	ML
Level 2	High	Polite level used with older, superior, exalted, and respected persons	HL
Level 3	Court	Extremely polite level only used for the royalty, the emperor, or the sultan	HHL
Level A	Honorific	Emphasis is put on the high, esteemed position of the addressee	HON
Level B	Deferential	Emphasis is put on the low, humble position of the speaker	DFR

Note that not all languages or dialects of this category exhibit all these levels, and some languages or dialects may have additional sublevels. Yet, it is typical for these languages to have native names for all possible speech levels. Languages using this system are Dhivehi, especially the dialect of Male⁸⁴ (Fritz 1993:28-29; Fritz 2005:119-122), Lhasa Tibetan⁸⁵ (Agha 1993), Japanese⁸⁶ (Martin 1964; Coulmas 1992), Korean⁸⁷, Madurese, Sundanese, Balinese, Sasak and Javanese⁸⁸, the latter five being adjacent languages of the Indonesian islands Java, Madura, Bali, and Lombok. The languages to the west (Betawi, Lampung, Abung, Bengkulu) and to the east (Sumbawa, Bima) do not possess speech levels. Madurese, Sundanese, Balinese, and Sasak borrowed the speech level system and the majority of high level vocabulary from Javanese.

A general subdivision of the speech levels is threefold: low, middle, and high. In some languages of this category, an additional system denoting deferential (DFR) or honorific (HON) attitude exists. This latter system is then combined with the speech levels.

The five languages of Indonesia differ from the other four languages of this category in that they not only have register allolexes for all pronouns and verbal affixes, but also for many nouns, adjectives, color terms, verbs, numerals, adverbs, and particles. To exemplify the chart

⁸³ This term has been extensively discussed by Brown & Levinson (1978:66-69).

⁸⁴ The three speech levels in Dhivehi are the following: مُتَّقٌ بِالْجَوْزِيِّ *ädaiqe bas* “common language” is the low level; مُتَّقٌ بِالْمَاتِيِّ *mäi-bas* “noble language” or مُتَّقٌ بِاللَّبَابِ-دُرُّوْفِيِّ *labba-duruvüm* “yes-come/go (ML)” is the mid level; and مُتَّقٌ بِالْإِمْمَةِ-مَاتِيِّ *emme-mäi-bas* “most noble language” or مُتَّقٌ بِالْأَدَى-وَادِيِّ *äde-vadaigatum* “yes-come/go (HL)” is the high level (Gnanadesikan 2017:55).

⁸⁶ The Japanese speech levels correspond very well to the table I have offered above although Martin (1964) offers another possibility to understand them by comparing them to the English system of grammatical number and definiteness. He contrasts the plain/direct level (普通体 *futsūtai* or 常体 *jōtai*) with the polite/distal level (丁寧語 *teineigo* or 敬体 *keitai*) on one axis and the humble level (謙譲語 *kenjōgo*) with the honorific/exalted level (尊敬語 *sonkeigo*) on the other axis with the neutral level (一般 *ippan*) in the middle. By multiplying this, the speaker can choose out of six different levels.

⁸⁷ Normally, only three levels are employed in everyday Korean roughly corresponding to the table I have given above, but traditionally there were seven distinctive speech levels: 해체 *haech'e* (non-polite, non-formal, among close friends); 해라체 *haerach'e* (formal, non-polite, often used in reported speech), 하게체 *hagech'e* (formal, neutrally polite, older people talking to younger people); 하오체 *haoch'e* (very formal, neutrally polite, used between older people); 해요체 *haeyoch'e* (non-formal, very polite, used between strangers); 합쇼체 *hapsyoch'e* (very formal, very polite, younger/common people talking to older/respected people); 하소서체 *hasosöch'e* (extremely formal, very polite, formerly used to address the king, queen, or God).

⁸⁸ See below for a detailed description of the speech levels in these five languages.

above, I will present an example in Korean first (48), slightly modified from Chang (1996:193), and supplemented by another sentence⁸⁹ showing that numbers, adjectives, and nouns⁹⁰ generally are not changed for politeness, whereas in Javanese (cf. chapter 4.1.5.1) all words would be changed.

(48)a. Korean (*haech'e*: level 0)

내가 너에게 큰 책을 두 권 주겠어.

nae-ga nō-ege k'ū-n ch'aeg-ūl tu kwōn chu-gess-ō.
1SG.LL-NOM 2SG.LL-DAT big-ADJZ book-ACC two CL give.LL-VOL-DCL.LL.NFOR
“I'll give you the two big books” (*said to a friend*)

b. Korean (*haeyoch'e*: elevated level 1 with A)

진난아, 제가 선생님께 큰 책을 두 권 드릴 거예요.

jinnan-a, che-ga sōnsaeng-nim-kke k'ū-n ch'aeg-ūl tu kwōn
NP.F-VOC 1SG.DFR.NOM teacher.HON-DAT.HON big-ADJZ book-ACC two CL
tūri-l geo-ye-yo.
give.DFR-FUT FUT-COP-HL.NFOR

“Jin-Nan, I'll give the two big books to my teacher.” (*politely said to a friend*)

c. Korean (*hapsyoche*: level 2 with A)

저가 선생님께 큰 책을 두 권 드리겠습니다.

che-ga sōnsaeng-nim-kke k'ū-n ch'aeg-ūl tu kwōn tūri-gess-sūmnida.
1SG.DFR-NOM teacher.HON-DAT.HON big-ADJZ book-ACC two CL give.DFR-VOL-DCL.HL.FOR
“I'll give you the two big books.” (*said to the teacher*)

Korean verbs are not only marked for politeness, but also for formality. The languages of Indonesia often use the high level for formality (Fox 2005:101), but that seems to be a newer development, as the speech levels used to indicate the interlocutors' statuses only (Errington 1988:46-53).

Madurese once had five distinctive speech levels, but only three are left in everyday conversation (Pawitra 2008:xi-xiii): *lomra* (also called *kasar* or *iyâ-enjâ*) is the low or general level, used among friends, children, and adults who have known each other since childhood, as well as by parents toward their children; *tenggaan* (also called *èngghi-enten*) is the mid level, generally used in the countryside by children toward their parents and other people of their parents' generation, by the wife toward her husband, and by the employer toward his or her housemaid; *alos* (also called *èngghi-bhunten*) is the high level used in formal situations and in meetings. Apart from this, the high level is always employed between adults who meet the first

⁸⁹ I would like to thank Jin-Nan Schwed and her mother for providing me with the Korean examples.

⁹⁰ Some nouns and particles do change indeed, e.g. 밥 *pap* vs. 진지 *chinchi* (HON) “meal, food”; 나이 *nai* vs. 연세 *yōnse* (HON) “age”; 을 *o*를 *irūm* vs. 성함 *sōngham* (HON) “name”; 말 *mal* vs. 말씀 *malssūm* (HON) “speech”; -이 / -가 *-i* / *-ka* vs. -께서 *-kkesō* (HON) “subject marker” (Chang 1996).

time regardless of their age, and by pupils toward their teachers. The following example is taken from Pawitra (2008):

- (49) a. Madurese (*lomra*: level 0)

Apa bâ'na ella tao?
Q.LL 2SG.LL already.LL know
“Have you already known?” (among friends)

- b. Madurese (*tenggaan*: level 1)

Napè dhika pon tao?
Q.ML 2SG.ML already.ML know
“Have you already known?” (neutral)

- c. Madurese (*alos*: level 2)

Ponapa panjhennenggan ampon mèyarsa?
Q.HL 2SG.HL already.HL know.HL
“Have you already known?” (toward a respected person)

In the example above, the register allolexes of *apa* “what” are *napè* “id.” and *ponapa* “id.”, as their syntactic features and meanings are all identical, but they convey a different connotation with regard to formality, deference, and style.

The speech levels in Sundanese (*undak usuk*) may be described very similarly to those of Madurese. The low level is called *kasar* “rude” or *loma* “ordinary”, the mid level is *sedeng* “medium” or *panengah* “middle”, and the high level is called *lemes* “high” or *alus* “refined”, of which usually the mid level is very infrequently used (Anderson 1993). The low level may appear in an insulting manner as *kasar pisan*, and high level may be further elevated to an even higher style as *lemes pisan*. The following examples are taken from Wessing (1974:8), but with revised spelling, my own interlinear glossing, a change of word order as suggested by a native Sundanese speaker, and a slightly different translation:

- (50) a. Sundanese (*kasar pisan*: level -1)

Sia geus di-béja-an ku aing kudu cicing.
2SG.SL already.LL PASS-tell.LL-APPL by 1SG.SL must.LL quiet.LL
“I’ve told you to shut up.”

- b. Sundanese (*kasar*: level 0)

Maneh geus di-béja-an (ku urang) kudu cicing.
2SG.LL already.LL PASS-tell.LL-APPL by 1SG.LL must.LL quiet.LL
“You’ve been told to be quiet.”

- c. Sundanese (*lemes*: level 2)

Anjeun parantos di-wartos-an (ku abdi) kedah ayem.
2SG.HL already.HL PASS-tell.HL-APPL by 1SG.HL must.HL quiet.HL
“You have been requested to remain silent.”

Balinese borrowed most of its high register vocabulary from Javanese, making the two languages almost mutually intelligible in high level speech, whereas the two languages are by no means mutually intelligible in their low register. Although formal Balinese has a very refined speech level system, in daily life only two registers (*anggah ungguhing basa*) are employed, i.e. the low level called *lumrah* “usual” or *kasar* “rude” and the high level called *alus* “refined”, but there is disagreement as to how many registers there really are; various sources give the numbers three, four, or six (Arka 2005:173). It is also possible to use honorific terms called *alus singgih* “refined and noble” to elevate the addressee’s position, or deferential terms called *alus sor* “refined and low” to humble oneself. A good summary of the various speech levels used in Balinese is given by Zurbuchen (1987:65-76). She estimates the number of register-sensitive words (which I call register allolexes) between 600 and 1,000 in Balinese. The following example is taken from Arka (2005:171):

(51)a. Balinese (*lumrah: level 0*)

Cang	meli	celeng-e	ento	di	peken.
1SG.LL	buy.AV.LL	pig.LL-DEF	DIST.LL	at.LL	market.LL
“I bought the pig at the market.” (speaking to a friend)					

b. Balinese (*alus: level 2*)

Tiang	numbas	bawi-ne	punika	ring	pasar.
1SG.HL	buy.AV.HL	pig.HL-DEF	DIST.HL	at.HL	market.HL
“I bought the pig at the market.” (speaking to a respected person)					

Similar to the other languages with speech levels mentioned above, the system in Sasak consists of two sub-systems, the style system with low (called *biase* “normal”, *jamaq* “ordinary”, or *aoq-ape* “yes-what” (LL)), mid (called *madie* “middle”), and high vocabulary (called *alus* “refined” or *tiang-enggih* “I-yes” (HL)), and the reference system marking the deference to a person who may be the second or the third person of the discourse (Nothofer 2000:57). There is also a level that is only used by the *menak* (noblemen) called *kaji-meran* “you-yes” (HON) (Wilian 2006:35). The Sasak system differs from that of the other speech level languages of Indonesia in that the speaker is only allowed to use low register words when referring to his actions or belongings. The following example is taken from Nothofer (2000):

(52)a. Sasak (*jamaq: level 0*)

Aku	wah	mangan,	kamu	ndèq	man	mangan.
1SG.LL	already.LL	eat.LL	2SG.LL	not.yet.LL	eat.LL	
“I have already eaten, you have not eaten yet.”						

b. Sasak (*madie: level 1*)

Aku	wah	mangan,	side	ndèq	man	bekelór.
1SG.LL	already.LL	eat.LL	2SG.ML	not.yet.LL	eat.ML	
“I have already eaten, you have not eaten yet.”						

c. Sasak (*alus*: level 2)

Sampun tiang mangan, pelinggih nènten man madaran.
already.HL 1SG.HL eat.LL 2SG.HL not.yet.HL eat.HL
“I have already eaten, you have not eaten yet.”

d. Sasak (*kaji-meran*: level 2 with A)

Sampun kaji mangan, dekaji nènten man majengan.
already.HL 1SG.DFR eat.LL 2SG.HON not.yet.HL eat.HON
“I have already eaten, you have not eaten yet.”

4.1.5.1 Javanese Speech Levels

The most complex and most refined speech level system is found in CJ called *unggah-ungguhing basa* “etiquette of language”. The Javanese politeness system has been thoroughly described by Uhlenbeck (1950), Horne (1974), Djajengwasito (1975), Soepoma & Koendjono (1976/1977), Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1979), Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo (1982), Smith-Hefner (1983), and Errington (1985; 1988; 1998).

Some scholars or teachers talk about two speech levels (*ngoko* being the low one and *basa* the high level⁹¹) with several subgroups for each level (Errington 1988; 1998), others divide them into the three speech levels low (*ngoko*, glossed LL in this thesis), middle (*madya*, glossed ML), and high (*krama*, glossed HL), with at least three subgroups per level as explained in the chart below (Poedjosoedarmo et al. 1979:13). The usage notes in the chart below are mainly taken from Horne (1974:xxxii-xxxiii). Apart from this level system, there is another system with two categories, either exalting the status of the addressee (*krama inggil*, glossed HON), or lowering the status of the speaker (*krama andhap*, glossed DFR). These two categories occur together with *ngoko*, *madya*, or *krama* sentences and are thus independent from the other speech levels listed in the chart above. A discussion on the *basa kedhaton* or *basa bagongan* “court language” (Errington 1982) and on the elaborate literary *basa rinengga* “decorated language” is beyond this thesis, as they are not present in today’s East Javanese dialects.

⁹¹ In Suriname Javanese, there are three speech levels called *ngoko*, *bâsâ* (roughly including *madya* and *krama*), and *bâsâ napis* (comprising *krama* and *krama inggil* vocabulary) (Vrugink and Sarmo 2001:xxxi)

Table 14: Speech levels of Standard Javanese

Speech level	Sublevel	Usage
Krama (level 2)	Mudha krama	The most refined style with <i>krama</i> vocabulary only, <i>krama inggil</i> is used when the interlocutor is addressed
	Kramantara / Krama lumrah	The most refined style with <i>krama</i> vocabulary only, but no <i>krama inggil</i>
	Wredha krama	Less formal variety of <i>kramantara</i> with occasional <i>ngoko</i> affixation; used with someone whose status is socially lower but with whom <i>ngoko</i> would not be appropriate
Madya (level 1)	Madya krama	<i>Madya</i> vocabulary is used where available, otherwise <i>krama</i> words with <i>ngoko</i> affixation and <i>krama inggil</i> terms where appropriate; often used in the first encounter of a stranger whose status is not obvious
	Madyantara	<i>Madya</i> vocabulary is used where available, otherwise <i>krama</i> words with <i>ngoko</i> affixation
	Madya ngoko	<i>Madya</i> vocabulary is used where available, otherwise <i>ngoko</i> words are preferred over <i>krama</i> words
Ngoko (level 0)	Basa antya	Conversation is held in low level vocabulary, but <i>krama</i> words are used every here and then; used with respected persons in an informal setting
	Ngoko andhap: Antyabasa	Conversation held in low level vocabulary, but <i>krama inggil</i> terms are used when the respected interlocutor is addressed
	Ngoko andhap: Ngoko lugu	Basic level with no vocabulary of other levels except for <i>krama inggil</i> ; usually used with close friends, younger siblings

To illustrate the chart and the usage of these nine levels, Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1979) give several sample sentences, which I will adopt and provide with interlinear glossing, but slightly modify their spelling. The sentence (53)a may be used between friends or between same-aged family members, while in sentence (53)b the speaker addresses the father using a *krama inggil* (level A) verb to honor the father's status. Sentence (53)c uses the low level for anything that has to do with the younger sibling, the honorific verb for the father's action, and the high level for "goat" to express formality.

(53) a. CJ (*ngoko lugu*: level 0)

Adhi-ku arep di-tukok-ké wedhus.
younger.sibling.LL-1SG.POSS.LL FUT.LL PASS.LL-buy.LL-ben.LL goat.LL
“My younger sibling will be bought a goat.”

b. CJ (*antyabasa*: level 0 with A)

Adhi arep di-pundhut-ké wedhus, ta, Pak?
younger.sibling.LL FUT.LL PASS.LL-buy.HON-BEN.LL goat.LL Q father.LL
“He/She (referring to a younger sibling) will be bought a goat, right, Dad?”

c. CJ (*basa antya*: level 0 with A)

Adhi arep di-pundhut-ké ménda, ta, Pak?
younger.sibling.LL FUT.LL PASS.LL-buy.HON-BEN.LL goat.HL Q father.LL
“He/She (referring to a younger sibling) will be bought a goat, right, Dad?”

The mid level can be expressed in various ways. Poedjosoedarmo et al. (1979:12) provide six different sentences, of which I will only choose three with the most prominent features:

(54) a. CJ (*madya ngoko*: level 1)

Samang napa pun nukok-ké klambi adhi-né Warti
 2SG.ML Q.ML already.ML buy.AV.LL-BEN.LL shirt.LL younger.sibling.LL-GEN NP.F
 dhèk wingi soré?
 when yesterday afternoon.LL
 “Did you buy the shirt for Warti’s younger sibling yesterday afternoon?”

b. CJ (*madyantara*: elevated level 1)

Samang napa pun numbas-ké rasukan adhi-né Warti
 2SG.ML Q.ML already.ML buy.AV.HL-BEN shirt.HL younger.sibling.LL-GEN NP.F
 dhèk wingi sonten?
 when yesterday afternoon.HL
 “Did you buy the shirt for Warti’s younger sibling yesterday afternoon?”

c. CJ (*madya krama*: elevated level 1 with A)

Panjenangan napa pun mundhut-ké rasukan adhi-né
 2SG.HON Q.ML already.ML buy.AV.HON-BEN shirt.HL younger.sibling.LL-GEN
 Warti dhèk wingi sonten?
 NP.F when yesterday afternoon.HL
 “Did you buy the shirt for Warti’s younger sibling yesterday afternoon?”

The mid level examples above shows a combination of low level vocabulary with high level elements in the same environment. Since the *madya* vocabulary is very limited, the speaker needs to choose either *ngoko* or *krama* words in more elaborate conversation. The choice of either *ngoko* or *krama* is determined by politeness, speech level, intimacy, and deference. The last set to be presented here is the high level and its three sublevels, which is considered to be a very refined utterance.

(55) a. CJ (*wredha krama*: level 2)

Nak Trisno, sampéyan mangké dipun-purih numbas-aké buku
 child NP.M 2SG.HL later.HL PASS.HL-order.HL buy.AV.HL-BEN.LL book
 kanggé Mas Kris.
 for.HL older.brother NP.M
 “Trisno, later you should go and buy a book for Mr. Kris.”

b. CJ (*madyantara*: elevated level 2)

Pak, sampéyan mangké dipun-purih numbas-aken buku
 father 2SG.HL later.HL PASS.HL-order.HL buy.HL-BEN.HL book
 kanggé Mas Kris.
 for.HL older.brother NP.M
 “Dad/Sir, later you should (go and) buy a book for Mr. Kris.”

c. CJ (*madya krama*: level 2 with A)

Bapak, panjenangan mangké dipun-atur-i mundhut-aken buku
 father 2SG.HON later.HL PASS.HL-order.HON-APPL buy.HON-BEN.HL book
 kanggé Mas Kris.
 for.HL older.brother NP.M
 “Father, you are asked to (go and) buy a book for Mr. Kris later.”

To summarize these observations, it is important to note that CJ has three distinctive speech levels with at least three sublevels to determine the formality of the conversation (Ogloblin 2005:591; Fox 2005:101) and another system with two distinctive categories, determining the degree of respect paid toward the addressee or the degree of self-degradation of the speaker. While anyone can use *ngoko*, *madya*, and *krama* to anyone depending on their age, social status and environment, it is not possible to use the honorific *krama inggil* for actions of the speaker or the deferential *krama andhap* for the addressee. Thus, the following two sentences are considered inappropriate by Javanese speakers⁹²:

- (56) CJ (*level 0 with A referring to oneself*)

*Nalika ibu adus, aku dhahar.⁹³
 when mother take.a.shower.LL 1SG.LL eat.HON
 “When Mother took a shower, I was eating.”

- (57) CJ (*level 2 with B referring to someone else*)

*Punapa panjenengan badhé sowan kula mbénjing-énjing?⁹⁴
 Q.HL 2SG.HON FUT.HL visit.DFR 1SG tomorrow.HL
 “Are you coming over for a visit tomorrow?”

Horne (1974:xxxii) estimates that the *krama* vocabulary has around 850 lexical items, *krama inggil* around 260, and the *madya* vocabulary may be around 35. However, the Javanese corpus available from the SEAlang Library⁹⁵ based on Robson’s and Wibisono’s Javanese-English dictionary (2002) lists 1612 words for *krama*, 446 for *krama inggil*, 61 for *madya*, and 15 for *krama andhap*.

All CJ examples above may seem artificial to the reader, and they are indeed neither recorded nor taken from a live conversation, but illustrate the different speech levels that a Javanese speaker can choose from. To give a more vivid example, I will present a job search (with revised spelling) from the internet⁹⁶ by a person from Bantul, Central Java. For his own actions, the speaker uses the low level (*ngoko*), and for the general message he employs the mid level (*madya*) whenever available, otherwise the high level (*krama*). He does so to comply with the linguistic etiquette for CJ in terms of politeness, formality, and deference:

⁹² An exception is when the king or sultan may want to exalt himself over the ordinary people or his servants (Horne 1974:xxxii, fn. 3). Kisyani-Laksono (1998:39) also reports cases found in the EJ Tengger dialect of Keduwung that would be considered taboo in StJ: *kulo saweg siram* instead of *kulo nembé adus* both meaning “I’m taking a shower”.

⁹³ The correct sentence would be *Nalika ibu siram, kula mangan/nedha*.

⁹⁴ The correct sentence would be *Punapa panjenengan badhé nuwi kula mbénjing-énjing?*

⁹⁵ Available online at: <http://sealang.net/java/dictionary.htm>.

⁹⁶ Quoted from here: <https://jogja.kerjamulia.com/fb-post/nyuwun-sewu-sedulur-sedulkulo-badhe-ajeng-pados-ndamelan-umur-kulo-pun-tuo/>

(58) CJ (*madya*: level 1 with B)

Nyuwun s-èwu, sedulur~sedulur, kula badhé ajeng pados ndamel-an.
ask.AV.DFR one-thousand comrade.LL~PL 1SG.HL FUT.HL want.ML seek.HL work.HL-NMZ
Umur kula pun tuwa 31 taun, [...] pengalaman kerja kula riyin
age.LL 1SG.HL already.ML old.LL 31 year experience work 1SG.HL former.ML
naté dados satpam bank ten kidul Tugu, kula nggih saged nyopir,
ever.HL be.HL security.guard bank in.HL south NP 1SG.HL also.HL can.HL drive.AV
gadhadah SIM A kalih C.
have.HL driving.license A and.ML C

“Excuse me, colleagues, I want to look for a job. I am 31 years old, my work experience is that I used to work as a bank security guard in South Tugu, I can also drive a car, and am in possession of a driving license for car and motorcycle.”

This style would not be typical for a speaker from East Java, especially from the city of Surabaya. A text with a similar topic but taken from the EJ shadow puppet comedy show called *Garèng ngrombèng rosokan* “Gareng resells trash” illustrates the low level used by the speaker even though he refers to actions of the superior interlocutor (59). For examples in EJ or SuJ, the speech styles are indicated differently in this thesis: Ordinary words, usually belonging to the low style called *ngókó*, are not marked, while the high level called *alus* is glossed AL (cf. chapter 4.2.1). Sometimes, SuJ has its own high level vocabulary (glossed ALS for *alus Suroboyo*). Impolite speech is glossed as slang (SL).

(59) East Javanese (level 0)

Yèn... koyok ngónó menèh, isók aku tak mèlok
if like like.that again tomorrow 1SG PROP.1SG follow.AV
sampeān, Kang Garèng! Aku ajar-ono cara-né nyambut gawé
2SG.AL brother.AL NP.M 1SG learn-CAUS.IMP way-GEN take.AV job
ng-rombèng, yo, Kang!
AV-resell DM brother

“If ... [you do it] like that again, I'll come with you tomorrow, dear Gareng. Please teach me how to resell stuff professionally.”

As can be seen from the example, the speaker uses low level words throughout his speech, except for the 2SG. Additionally, impolite speech and slang is omnipresent in EJ. The following example is an extreme:

(60) Malang Javanese (level -1)

Opo'o arèk megel-no iku kok yo órép? Opo'o kok gak matèk aé?
why child annoy.AV.SL-CAUS that DM also live why DM NEG die.SL just
Opo'o kok gak ilang aé? Opo'o kok gak mampós aé? Opo'o kok
why DM NEG disappear just why DM NEG croak.SL just why DM
gak bongko aé?
NEG croak.SL just

“Why does such an irritating kid live at all? Why doesn’t he just die? Why doesn’t he just vanish? Why doesn’t he just croak? Why doesn’t he just snuff it?”

Nevertheless, EJ also has ways to express politeness and deference. Its linguistic etiquette is further discussed in chapter 4.2.

4.1.5.2 History of Speech Levels

Even though many terms of the high level in Javanese can be etymologically traced back to OJ, speech levels as found in MoJ were not present in OJ (Ogloblin 2005:591). In fact, common honorific titles were used in OJ, e.g. *san* “person of a certain rank”, *ki/kya* “male (usually elderly or revered) person”, *kyayi* “person of some distinction or respectability”, and *kaka* “elder brother or sister, addressing an older persons or the husband” (Zoetmulder 1982), but speech levels as in modern Javanese did not exist. Wolff & Poedjosoedarmo (1982:9) speculate that the origin of speech levels may be found in Southern India, which would also correspond to Emeneau’s (1980:12-13) idea of a Southeast Asian-South Indian linguistic area, but this view is generally rejected today (Clynes 1994:158).

For Old Balinese, it is attested that special Sanskrit vocabulary was used to refer to the king and was later extended by OJ vocabulary (Zurbuchen 1987:11; 17). Since the OJ vocabulary introduced into Old Balinese was mainly what we would call *ngoko* (i.e. low level) today, Clynes (1994:154) infers that speech levels had not yet evolved in OJ, otherwise the Balinese honorifics would have been taken from high level Javanese lexicon, not from the low level. After discussing a wide range of theories, he comes to the conclusion that fifteenth century spoken Javanese already possessed a profound speech level system, which was then borrowed into the other languages of Indonesia that have a similar system (Clynes 1994:174-175). Absence of speech levels in OJ also becomes obvious from the fact that the Tenggerese, who after the fall of the Majapahit Empire in the 15th century fled from Islamization into the highlands west of Malang called Tengger massif⁹⁷ (Conners 2008:28), speak an isolated archaic variant of CJ without *krama* vocabulary (Adelaar 1989:318). It is quite likely that the Tengger region was inhabited even long before the 15th century, which is attested by the Charter of Walandit (Pigeaud 1962:443).

The distinction between the normal language, later called *ngoko*, and the language of courtesy, later referred to as *krama*⁹⁸, had probably not been established until the 16th century with the Sultanate of Mataram (Fox 2005:102), which had its political center in Kotagede, today’s

⁹⁷ Today, the region encompasses the volcanic Bromo Tengger Semeru National Park visited by hundreds of thousands of tourists every year lately (Kompas.com 2015).

⁹⁸ The designation *krama* is attested in OJ as *krama* “conduct, behavior”, borrowed from Sanskrit क्रम् *krama* “course, progress”.

Yogyakarta. Surabaya was captured by the Sultanate of Mataram in 1625, after which Mataram controlled almost the whole of Java and Madura except for the Sultanate of Banten and Batavia (Drakeley 2005:31). It was only then when the speech level system found its way into East Java, however only to a very limited extent compared to the amount of high level vocabulary in Central Java.

4.2 THE CASE OF SURABAYAN JAVANESE LINGUISTIC ETIQUETTE

The language of Surabaya has a reputation of bluntness and rudeness known all over Java and beyond, often called *blak-blak'an* “frankly speaking”. This is the reason why many speakers of SuJ avoid their language outside of East Java. They fear that they may offend speakers of other Javanese dialects and thus switch to IM, which does not possess a speech level system. In a blog, I came across the phrase *Bahasa jawa itu halus, bahasa Suroboyo itu kasar* [Javanese is refined, but the language of Surabaya is rude]. However, residents of Surabaya are by no means impolite or rude per se. Examples in this chapter will show how politeness works in SuJ.

Among the residents of Surabaya, the high level is often called *alus* “refined”, *kromo* “high level language” (cf. fn. 98 for the original meaning), sometimes even *kromo inggil* “elevated high level language” or *kawi* “classical Javanese”, whereas the low level is referred to as *kasar* “rude” or *ngókó* “low level language”. In my thesis, I have been using the terms *ngókó* “normal” for the plain vocabulary of SuJ, *alus* for the polite one, *kromo inggil* only for terms that elevate the addressee’s status, and *kromo andhap* for terms that lower the speaker’s status. Throughout my research, I have come across only a very few *alus* terms in my corpus compared to the number of *krama* and *krama inggil* in StJ. It is noteworthy that SuJ does exhibit linguistic etiquette albeit not always expressed in refined speech levels as StJ.

4.2.1 Comparison with Standard Javanese

The following passage (61) from the TV program *Pojok Kampung* illustrates why SuJ speakers are often regarded as speaking improperly. A translation into CJ (62) reveals the non-polite vocabulary used in SuJ even though the text is about a highly-esteemed member of the military.

(61) Surabayan Javanese

Tapi	matèk'-é	korban	séng	gak	lumrah	ng-garak-no	bójó-né	korban
but	dead-NMZ	victim	REL	NEG	natural	AV-make-APPL	spouse-GEN	victim
curiga	nèk	korban	di-anioyo	ambèk	anggota	Kodim		
sceptical	SUBO	victim	PASS-torture	by	member	Military.District.Command		
Lamongan	sampèk	matèk.						
NP.GEO	until	dead						

(62) Central Javanese

Nanging	pejah-ipun	korban	ingkang	mboten	lumrah	marah-i
but	dead.HL-NMZ.HL	victim	REL.HL	NEG.HL	natural	cause.AV-APPL
garwa-nipun	korban	curiga	menawi	korban	dipun-aniaya	dénинг
spouse.HON-GEN.HL	victim	skeptical	SUBO.HL	victim	PASS.HL-torture	by
anggota	Kodim		Lamongan	ngantos	séda.	
member	Military.District.Command		NP.GEO	until.HL	dead.HON	

“However, the victim’s unnatural death made his wife skeptical that the victim might have been tortured to death by a member of Military District Command of Lamongan.”

As can be seen from the example above, no word in SuJ shows politeness, although older people would probably prefer to use *sèdo* “dead (HON)” instead of the dialectal *matèk* “dead”. In CJ, instead, eight morphemes show politeness and two words are taken from the honorific level. The words *pejah* “dead (HL)”, *menawi* “if, that (HL)”, and *ngantos* “until (HL)” as well as the affixes *-ipun* and *dipun-* are virtually unheard of in Surabaya. However, the relativizer *ingkang*, the negation particle *mboten*, and the honorific *sèdo* are still used in very polite conversations among older people in Surabaya. It is very common to combine low level affixes with high level roots in SuJ, e.g. *dibeto* “carried” (StJ: *dipunbekta*), *diparingaken* “given” (StJ: *dipunparingaken*), *naminé* “his/her/the name” (StJ: *naminipun*⁹⁹), *sanjangé* “he/she says” (StJ: *sanjangipun*). The combination of low level affixes and high level roots reminds of *madya* (cf. Table 14). In fact, the high level of SuJ mainly corresponds to CJ *madya* with *krama inggil* terms (cf. chapter 4.2.1.3).

4.2.1.1 Non-Polite Vocabulary Corresponding to Standard Javanese *krama*

Very few words that are used in low level SuJ actually correspond to StJ high level vocabulary. In my corpus, I have come across *wulan* “month” 18 times, always in a low level conversation, whereas the StJ low level lexeme *sasi* “month (LL)” is not used in Surabaya. Yet, according to my survey, 73% consider *wulan* to be high level, 13% regard it as low level, and 14% could not decide.

SuJ speakers use *klopo* “coconut” as plain vocabulary while it is high level in StJ, the low level form being *krambil* in StJ. Interestingly, SuJ has *krambil* for the high level. The high level dialectal form *kecambil* given by Hoogervorst (2008:33) was rejected by my SuJ informants.

Another word of this kind is *numpak* “to ride”, which has no high level connotation among SuJ speakers. According to various dictionaries (Poerwadarminta, Hardjasoedarma, and Poedjasoedira 1939:348; Horne 1974:670; Harjawiyana and Supriya 2001:289), the StJ low

⁹⁹ The form *naminipun* is rarely used in StJ or CJ because *nami* (or alternatively *nama*) refers to oneself, e.g. *nami kula* “my name”, and is therefore usually not affixed with *-(n)ipun* for the third person. The common expression in StJ would be *asmanipun* “his/her/the name” with *asma* being the honorific allolex of *nami* (HL) and *jeneng* (LL). In Surabaya, *naminé* “is prevalent, though.

level form is *nunggang* “to ride” (LL) with *numpak* being the high level and *nitih* the honorific allolex, but my CJ informant from Yogyakarta told me that *numpak* is also used in low level conversation with *nunggang* being a synonym of it. Robson & Wibisono (2002:765) classify *numpak* both as a low level variant of *nunggang* and as high level of it.

4.2.1.2 Polite Vocabulary Corresponding to Standard Javanese *krama*

As already explained in chapter 4.1.5.1, the number of StJ *krama* amounts to about 1600 lexemes. However, I have only come across 84 high level words in SuJ that correspond to StJ high level. Those that I have encountered are listed below, and words marked with a cross (†) are very rare in SuJ and are usually not understood by most younger speakers, leaving a rest 63 *alus* terms understood by them.

Table 15: Surabayan Javanese high level corresponding to Standard Javanese high level vocabulary

SuJ low level (ngókó)	SuJ high level (alus)	StJ high level (<i>krama</i>)	translation (English)
akéh	kathah	kathah	much, many, a lot
aku	kulo	kula	I, me
aran	nami	nami	name, designation
arèk	laré†	laré	child, person
arep	badhé	badhé	FUT
ati-ati!	atos-atos!	atos-atos!	take care!
ayók	monggo	(su)mangga	as you wish, please
cilik	alét	slit	small
dadi	dados	dados	to become, to be
balék	wangsul	wangsul	to go back, to return
dhuék	arto	arta	money
dhukór	(ng)inggil†	inggil	high, tall, upper
dino	dinten	dinten	day
(n)dué	(ng)gadkah	gadkah	to have
dóróng	déréng	déréng	not yet
dulór	dhérèk	dhérèk	relatives, folks
enggon	nggén	enggén	place
gak	mboten	mboten	not
eró	sumerap	sumerep	to know, to recognize
gelem	purun	purun	to want
góróng	déréng	déréng	not yet
isok	saget	saged	can, to be able
isók	injing~ngènjing	énjing	morning
jeneng	nami	nami	name
kabèh	sedoyo	sedaya	all
kéné	ngriki	ngriki	here
kerjo	damel	damel	work
kondho	sanjang	sanjang, criyos	to say, to tell
(k)apé(né), (k)até	badhé	badhé	FUT
keno	kénging†	kénging	to be affected by
kon	sampéan	sampéyan	you
kongkon	kèngkèn†	kèngkèn	to order sb. to do
kónó	ngriku	ngriku	there
kudu	kedah†	kedah	must
limo	gangsal	gangsal	five

loro	sakit	sakit	sick, ill
lóró	kaléh	kalih	two
ma(e)ng	wau	wau	earlier this day
manèh	maléh	malih	again
mangan	nedho	nedha	to eat
matèk	pejah [†]	pejah	dead, to die
mau	wau	wau	earlier this day
mèk	namung	namung	only
metu	medal	medal	to come out
mlaku	mlampah [†]	mlampah	to walk
móléh	mantók	mantuk	to return home
mréné	mriki	mriki	to come here
mrono [†]	mriko [†]	mrika	to go yonder
mrónó	mriku	mriku	to go there
mulo	pramilo [†]	(pra)milo	therefore
munggah [†]	menggah [†]	menggah	as for, in connection with
ndelok	ningali	ningal(i)	to see, to look at
ndi	pundi	pundi	which
ngekèk'i	sukani [†]	nyukani	to give
ngarep	ngajeng [†]	ngajeng	next
nggawé	ndamel	ndamel	to make, to wear
nggowo	mbeto	mbekta	to bring, to carry
ngisor	ngandhap [†]	ngandhap	below, under, lower
ngkók	mangké [†]	mangké	later
olèh	angsal	angsal	to get, to obtain
onok	wonten	wonten	there is
papat	sekawan	sekawan	four
perkoro	perkawis [†]	perkawis	case
piro	pinten	pinten	how much, how many
rego	regi [†]	regi	price
rolas	kaléh welas	kalih welas	twelve
rolikór	kaléh likór	kalih likur	twenty-two
rong puló	kaléh doso	kalih dasa	twenty
sedulór	sedhèrèk	sadhèrèk	sibling
sék	rumiyén	rumiyin	first
sék	tasék	taksih	still
séng	ingkang	ingkang	REL
separó	sepaléh [†]	sepalih	a half
sepuló	sedoso	sedasa	ten
sésók	mbènjing [†]	bénjing	tomorrow, in the future
suelas	setunggal welas	setunggal welas	eleven
siji/sithok	setunggal	setunggal	one
soko	sa(ng)king, seking [†]	saking	from
sopo	sinten	sinten	who
tau	naté [†]	naté	ever
telu	tigo	tiga	three
temenan	sa'èstu [†]	(sa)èstu	really
turu	tilem	tilem	to sleep
teko(k)	sa(ng)king, seking [†] , dhateng [†]	saking, dhateng	from
wedi	ajréh [†] , wedos [†]	ajrih	to be afraid
wedhus	mèndo [†]	ménda	goat
wong	tiang	tiyang	person
yo'opo	kados pundi [†]	kados pundi	how

As there are only about 400 *krama inggil* (honorific) words and not more than 15 *krama andhap* (deferential) expressions in StJ, it is expected that their number is very little in SuJ. I have come across 16 *kromo inggil* (four of them not intelligible to younger speakers) and only 11 *kromo andhap* terms (five of them not understood by younger speakers).

Table 16: Honorific words used in Surabayan Javanese

SuJ low level (ngókó)	SuJ honorific (<i>kromo inggil</i>)	StJ honorific (<i>krama inggil</i>)	translation (English)
anak	yugo~yógo [†]	putra	child, offspring
eró	prèso~pérso [†]	pirsa	to know, to recognize
kondho	ngendiko	ngendika	to say
loro	gerah	gerah	sick, ill
lunggó	lenggah	lenggah	to sit
mangan	dhahar	dhahar	to eat
matèk	kapundhut [†] , sèdo	kapundhut, séda	dead, to die
mlaku	tindak	tindak	to walk
mólèh	kondór	kondur	to return home
ndelok	mirsani	pirsa, mirsani	to see
ngekèk’i	maringaken	maringaken	to give
slamet	sugeng [†]	sugeng	safe
teko(k)	rawóh	rawuh	to come
tuku	mundhut	mundhut	to buy
turu	saré	saré	to sleep

Some of the SuJ *krama inggil* terms above are only used in very special occasions, e.g. *poro rawóh* “people who have come (i.e. audience)”. My SuJ informant told me that *sugeng* “safe” would probably be understood as a personal name by younger residents of Surabaya.

Table 17: Deferential vocabulary in Surabayan Javanese

SuJ low level (ngókó)	SuJ deferential (<i>kromo andhap</i>)	StJ deferential (<i>krama andhap</i>)	translation (English)
aku	dalem [†]	dalem	I, me
dikandhani	didhawóhi [†]	di(pun)dhawuhi	to be told by sb.
kondho	matór	matur	to say
mbóh~mbuh	duko	duka	to not know
ngekèk’i	ngaturi [†]	ngaturi	to give
ngongkon	ngaturi	ngaturi	to ask sb. to
njalók	nyuwun [†]	nyuwun	to ask for
pèngen eró	nyuwun priksò [†]	nyuwun priksa	to want to know
sapurané	nyuwun sèwu	nyuwun sèwu	to apologize
mampir	sowan	sowan	to visit, to pass by
suwun	matór nuwun	matur nuwun	to thank

Out of the 11 *kromo andhap* expressions above, only *matór nuwun* “thank you” and *nyuwun sèwu* “excuse me” are regularly used. Younger speakers of SuJ usually only know the words in their passive form from their parents, e.g. *diaturi* “to be told (by sb. superior)”.

From the little amount of the correspondences between SuJ and StJ high level words with a ration of 1612 to 84 (5%) for *krama* and 446 to 16 (4%) for *krama inggil*, it becomes obvious that speakers of SuJ fear to use their dialect in areas where speech levels are an essential part of the language. The avoidance of SuJ outside of East Java is encouraged by IM, which serves as a perfect substitute for Javanese due to the absence of a speech level system.

4.2.1.3 Polite Vocabulary Corresponding to Standard Javanese *madya*

Of the few high level words that are regularly used in SuJ most of them correspond to *madya* in StJ, the mid level with not more than 61 lemmata. There is no mid level in SuJ. For example, *jaréné* “he/she says” can be made more polite, especially when referring to God or highly esteemed persons, by using *terosé*, which is the mid level in StJ. The high level lexeme of StJ is *criyosipun*, which is never heard of in SuJ although it is understood by the older generation. The following table lists all SuJ high level words I have come across so far with their correspondences to the StJ mid level. Many of them had already been observed by Hoogervorst (2008:33). Words indicated by a cross (†) are very seldom used by or unintelligible to younger speakers. This list may not be complete yet, but as the StJ mid level vocabulary is very limited, not many more terms are expected to be added here. The ration of 61 StJ *madya* words to 29 of them (48%) used in SuJ shows that the mid level vocabulary is generally better accessible to SuJ speakers. The words marked with a cross (†) are not understood by the younger generation.

Table 18: Correlation between SuJ high level and StJ mid level vocabulary

SuJ low level (<i>ngókó</i>)	SuJ high level (<i>alus</i>)	StJ mid level (<i>madya</i>)	StJ high level (<i>kromo</i>)	translation (English)
aé	mawon	mawon	kémawon	just
ambèk, mbarèk	kaléh	kalih	kaliyan	and, with
bójó	setri†	setri	sémah	wife
iki	niki, meniki†	niki	menika, punika†	this
iko†	niko†, meniko†	nika	menika, punika†	yonder
iku	niku, meniku†	niku	menika, punika†	that
jaréné	terosé	trosé, trosipun	criyosipun	he/she said
nang	teng	teng	dhateng	to
nang, nok, ndhék	teng	teng	wonten (ing)	in, at
ngéné	ngèten, ngéten†	ngèten	ngaten	like this
ngkók	mengké	mengké	mangké	later
ngónó	ngóten	ngoten	ngaten	like that there
ngono†	ngaten†	ngaten	ngaten	like that
oléh	kantók	kantuk	pikantuk, angsal	to get
onok	ènten	ènten	wonten	there is/are
opo	nopo	napa	menapa, punapa†	what?
sak’iki	sakniki	saniki	sakmenika, sapunika†	now
sakméné	sakmènten†	semènten	samanter	this much
sakmono	sakmanten†	semanten	samanter	that much
sakmónó	sakmonten†	semonten	samanter	that much there
sék	kriyén†	kriyin	rumiyin	first
sék	meséh, teséh	mesih, tesih	taksih	still
takok	tanglet†	tangled	takèn	to ask
tutug, teko(k)	dugi	dugi	dumugi	to arrive
wés	(m)pun	(m)pun	sampun	already
wésan	mpunan	mpunan	sampunan	DM
yo	nggéh	nggih	inggih	yes, also, DM
yo’opo	(ke)pripun	(ke)pripun	kados pundi	how?

4.2.1.4 Polite Vocabulary Corresponding to Standard Javanese *ngoko*

In very rare cases, SuJ polite vocabulary has been taken from StJ *ngoko*. In none of these cases, they should be called *alus* because there is usually another high level equivalent in SuJ, e.g. *matèk* “dead”, more polite *mati* (from the StJ low level or from IM), honorific *sèdo*. It is generally accepted to say *kulo mboten ajeng mati* “I don’t want to die”, but rather improper to say *emak kulo mpun mati* “my mother has died”, also the latter is sometimes used in JTV (cf. chapter 4.2.1). For the latter, most SuJ speakers would use *sèdo*, while for the former even *matèk* would be fine. Polite words of this category are mainly used when younger speakers talk to or about an older, respected person and either do not know the correct high level counterpart or feel that it would sound too stilted. An example I got from 4.2% of the respondents in my survey was the sentence *bapakku ora iso nukokno aku sepeda motor* (sic!) “my father cannot buy me a motorcycle”, in which *ora* “not” and *iso* “can” are both taken from StJ low level, while *nukokno* “to buy for” is dialectal SuJ low level. The entire sentence shows no high level morpheme but sounds more polite than *bapakku gak isok nukokno aku sepeda motor* (answered by 9.1%) because it has the StJ forms *ora* and *isa* (pronounced [’?i.sɔ] and therefore colloquially written *iso*) instead of dialectal *gak* and *isok*, respectively. The following list shows some of those occurrences compared to StJ low level.

Table 19: Correspondence of SuJ polite words to StJ low level vocabulary

SuJ low level (<i>ngókó</i>)	SuJ polite (<i>luéh alus</i>)	SuJ high level (<i>alus</i>)	StJ low level (<i>ngoko</i>)	StJ high level (<i>kromo</i>)	translation (English)
aé	waé	mawon	waé, baé	kémawon	just
ambèk, mbarèk	karó	kaléh	karo	kaliyan	and, with
gak	ora	mboten	ora	mboten	not
isok	iso	saget	(b)isa	saged	can
matèk	mati	sèdo	mati	pejah	dead, to die
móléh	mulih	wangsul, kondór, mantók	mulih	mantuk	to return home
moto	mrípat	—	mata, mrípat	paningal	eye
ndelok	ndeleng	sumerap, mirsani	ndeleng	ningal	to see
ngkók	mengkó	(e)ngken, ken	mengko	mangké	later
-no	-aké	-aken	-aké	aken	applicative suffix
takok	takon	tanglet [†]	takon	takèn	to ask
yo’opo	piyé	yoknopo, yaknopo, pripun, kepriyé	piyé, pripun	kados pundi	how?

In a similar way, expressions can be made more polite in SuJ by adding polite affixes to low level roots, e.g. *ngirimaken* “to send” (instead of StJ *ngintunaken*), *kulo crita’aken* “to be told about by me” (instead of StJ *kula cariyosaken*), *jarénipun* “he/she says” (instead of StJ *criyosipun*) or by using high level roots with low level affixes, e.g. *numbasno* “to buy for” or *numbas(a)ké* “id.” (instead of StJ *numbasaken*), *ngendikané* “he/she says” (instead of StJ *ngendikanipun*).

A special case is the low level SuJ word *lué* “hungry” corresponding to low level CJ *ngelih* “hungry” and WJ *kencot* (Nothofer 1981: Maps 274, 275 & 276), whereas in CJ *lué* is regarded slightly more polite than *ngelih*.

4.2.1.5 Using Another Lemma as Polite Vocabulary

In SuJ, a discourse is often made more polite or even very refined by employing a high level equivalent of another lemma, a literary word with no indication of politeness, or a loan from IM. A few of the respondents in my survey, especially younger ones, simply gave the IM translation when asked for the polite correspondence of a word, e.g. *menanyakan* (2,4%) for *takok* “to ask”, *memandang* (2,4%) for *ndelok* “to see”, *wafat*¹⁰⁰ (1,8%) for *matèk* “dead, to die”, *mendapatkan* (2,4%) for *olèh* “to get”, and *katanya* for *jaréné* “he/she says” (1,2 %). Some of my observances for this category are listed in the table below.

Table 20: Alternative/Non-standard SuJ high level equivalents

SuJ low level (<i>ngókó</i>)	SuJ high level (<i>alus</i>)	Alternative SuJ high level (<i>alus</i>)	StJ high level (<i>krama</i>)	translation (English)
jaréné	terosé	ngendikané ^{††} , sanjangé, kandhané	criyosipun	he/she says
loro	gerah ^{††}	sakit, sa(h)é, anglah	sakit, gerah ^{††}	sick, ill
matèk	sèdo ^{††}	wafat, tilar	pejah, séda ^{††}	dead, to die
móléh	wangsul	mantók, kondór ^{††}	mantuk, kondur ^{††}	to return home
ndelok	sumerap	mirsani ^{††} , nyawang, mriksani ^{††}	ningal, mirsani [†]	to see
olèh	angsal	éntök, keparingen ^{††}	angsal	to get, obtain

The chart above needs some explanation. Words marked with a double cross (^{††}) are in fact honorifics but are given here for comparison. Generally, the high level of *jaréné* “he/she says” in SuJ is *terosé*, but in my survey 7.3% claimed *ngendikané/ngendikanipun*, 2.4% claimed *sanjangé/sanjangipun*, and another 1.2% claimed *kandhané* to be the high level equivalent. However, it is noteworthy that in StJ *ngendika* is the honorific form of *kandha* “to say, to talk, to speak” (SuJ: *kondho*) and *sanjang* is the high level of *tutur* “to advice, to say”.

The case of *loro* “sick” is a little mysterious. In my survey, 47.3% (the absolute majority) gave *gerah* as the high level form while it is in fact the honorific. The StJ high level correspondence *sakit* was only given by 3.6%. Even more respondents, i.e. 4.8%, gave *sa(h)é* and one person answered *saré* for the high level of *loro*. At the moment, I cannot explain these forms, but they seem to be either a corruption of *sakit* > **sakét* > **sa'ét* > *sa(h)é* (though highly doubtful as these sound changes are not regular) or taken from *saré*, the honorific of *turu* “to sleep” with the meaning “to lie down (because of illness)”. Hoogervorst (2008:32) has found

¹⁰⁰ The word *wafat* is originally from Ar. وفاة *wafā(tun)* and is considered literary in Javanese. In Indonesian, it is usually used for very respected persons, kings, the sultan, and religious leaders or prophets.

yet another high level form, i.e. *anglah*, but none of my SuJ informants could confirm this, although it is in fact listed in Poerwadarminta et al. (1939:16) as high level of some dialect.

When my respondents were asked to give the high level equivalent of *ndelok* “to see”, about 24.8% answered *ningali/tingal/tingali/ketingal*, 19.1% answered *sumerap/sumerep*, another 11.8% answered *mirsani/mrésani/mersani*, 3% gave *nywang*, and 1.8% gave *mriksani*. These discrepancies are due to the fact that the three lemmata *ndelok* “to see, to look at” (StJ: *ndeleng*), *eró* “to know, to recognize” (StJ: *weruh*), *ngerti* “to know, to understand” (StJ: *ngerti*) are very similar in their semantics and are sometimes used interchangeably in Surabaya. Their StJ high level equivalents are *ningal*, *sumerep*, and *ngertos*, but the common honorific of *weruh* and *ngerti* is *pirsa/mirsani* with the alternative *priksa/mriksani*, whereas *ndeleng* has no honorific. This has led to confusion among SuJ speakers, and the common high level form is *sumerap* with *mirsani* being the honorific for all of the three lemmata. The SuJ alternative *nyawang* (root form *sawang*) “to gaze at” is a lemma on its own.

A similar case is *olèh* “to obtain”: In my survey, 23.9% answered *angsal* when asked about the high level form of *olèh* “to give”; 3.6% answered *éntók*. However, *éntók* is another lemma in StJ meaning “to obtain (permission or a spouse)” with *pikantuk* being its high level correspondence.

Hoogervorst (2008:32) classifies *boyo* “crocodile”, *glathi* “knife”, *ngarepan* “in front of”, *pelem* “manggo”, and *pasér* “sand” as high level for *bajul*, *lading*, *ngadhepan*, *poh*, and *wedhi*, respectively, however I could not come to an agreement on these with my informants and would consider all of them synonyms of their so-called low level forms. According to my own study on these words, *boyo*, *lading*, *ngadhepan*, *poh*, and *pasir* are the most commonly used terms with no indication of politeness. Some of my SuJ informants told me that only *boyo* is used in SuJ and that *bajul*¹⁰¹ sounds “too Central Javanese”, an informant from Malang admitted that *boyo* is indeed slightly more polite than *bajul*, and another informant from Surabaya said that *bajul* would be more polite than *boyo*. All my informants rejected the word *ngadhepan* and preferred *ngarepan*. The difference between *poh* “ripe mango” and *pelem* “mango fruit” lies in their usage. It is possible to say *wit pelem* “mango tree”, but not **wit poh* “tree of ripe mangos”. *Lading* “knife” is the common word for any kind of knife as a utensil, especially a kitchen knife, whereas *glathi* “combat knife” is rarely used and refers to a weapon.

¹⁰¹ The local football team Persebaya is nicknamed *Bajul Ijo* “green crocodile”, but my SuJ informants told me that *bajul* here may refer to the Central Javanese way of calling the Surabaya team.

4.2.1.6 Innovations of Polite Vocabulary

A salient feature of SuJ linguistic etiquette is that some words have a high level allolex not or rarely found in other dialects of Javanese. Some of them have already been identified others by Kisayani-Laksono (2004a:196-203), others by Hoogervorst (2008:32-34), and I have come across some more summarized in the table below. These innovations are often called *boso dèso* or *kromo dèso* “village language of courtesy”. However, further research is needed to compile a complete list of all idiosyncratic high level lexemes found in SuJ. The cross (†) indicates words that are not understood by most younger speakers in Surabaya.

Table 21: Surabayan Javanese innovations of high level vocabulary

SuJ low level (ngókó)	SuJ high level (alus Suroboyo)	StJ high level (krama)	translation (English)
ali-ali	lèpèn ^{†102}	sesupé	finger ring
ayók	ndaweg [†]	sumangga	as you wish
duduk	dédék [†]	sanès	nominal negation
eró	prèsò [†] (< pérso)	sumerep	know
gudhang	gidhang [†]	—	storeroom
iki	meniki	menika	this
jancók	hancik, jangkrik ¹⁰³	—	fuck, damn
jaréné	picawisipun [†]	criyosipun	he/she says
kabèh	sedanten [†]	sedaya	all
kon	peno	sampéyan	you
kulino	kulinten [†]	—	to be acquainted with
kunéng	jeni [†]	jené	yellow
lali	lipco [†]	kesupèn	to forget
legi	manis	— ¹⁰⁴	sweet
liwat	lintang [†]	langkung	to go past
loro	sa(h)é [†]	sakit	ill, sick
mólai	mélai [†]	milai	to begin
njalano	njalanaken	nglampahaken	to put in motion
ndèlh	tilah [†]	—	to put, to place
ndelok	meningo [†]	ningali	to see
ngguyon	ndhage [†]	—	to joke
nginang	mucang [†]	nggantèn	to chew betel
nginep	ndalu [†]	nyipeng	to stay overnight
ngkók	(e)ngken, ken, ngkin, (ma)ngkin	mangké	later
njlèntrèkno	njelasaken	njlèntrèhaken	to explain
olèh	nyagedaken [†]	angsal	to obtain
opo’o	nopo’o [†]	—	why
pisan	pindhah [†]	—	first, at the same time
sak’iki	sakmeniki [†]	samenika	now
suloyo	sulanten [†]	—	to quarrel
tentang	bap	—	about
trimo	trami [†]	trimah	to accept
tukang	tikang [†]	—	workman
yo’opo	yoknopo, yaknopo	kados pundi	how

¹⁰² None of my informants recognized this word, but apparently Hoogervorst came across it and it is also listed in Nothofer (1981: Map 47) for the WJ of Tegal and Pemaling.

¹⁰³ Some people say that *hancik* and *jangkrik* are less impolite while others say that they are more polite than *jancók*.

¹⁰⁴ StJ has no high level word for *legi* “sweet”, but Nothofer (1981: Map 259) has reported the *legi/manis* (from IM) difference for other dialects in Central Java, too.

Some more high level words in this category are listed by Hoogervorst (2008:32), which rather seem like occasionalisms, idiosyncratic to certain families, or humorous, e.g. place names like *Sidajeng* (Sidayu)¹⁰⁵, *Mambeng* (Malang)¹⁰⁶, *Tandhes* (Gresik)¹⁰⁷, *Suropringgo* (Suroboyo)¹⁰⁸, *Tiban* (Tuban)¹⁰⁹, and *Pasedhahan* (Pasuruan)¹¹⁰. Of these, only *Tiban* has been accepted by one of my informants, the rest have been derided. None of the so-called polite city names are considered true high level forms among younger SuJ speakers.

4.2.2 Awareness of Politeness in Surabayan Javanese

Generally, most speakers of Javanese consider SuJ to be extremely rude and in no case refined with regard to speech levels and politeness. When I asked about words of higher speech levels for my research in Surabaya, the people often gazed at me with vacant eyes asking in IM *Emang di Surabaya ada kromo ta?* [So, there's really a high level in Surabaya?], while offering me some explanation that only Yogyakarta and Solo use those speech levels, that they are derived from *kawi* (Old Javanese), and that Surabayans never use them. Indeed, in my SuJ corpus, only 417 out of 13,298 tokens (3.1%) can be considered high level, honorific, or deferential vocabulary.

Furthermore, people in Surabaya who want to speak the refined way, sometimes confuse the high level (*kromo*) with honorifics (*kromo inggil*), so that *kulo dhahar* “I eat_{HON}” might be heard instead of *kulo nèdho* “I eat”, *dhé’é mantók* “he/she goes home” instead of *dhé’é kondór* “he goes home_{HON}” etc. These sentences are regarded as odd by some SuJ speakers, while others would not be bothered to hear them. In Central Java, it is considered very uneducated to use honorifics for oneself and non-honorifics for other persons whenever a honorific word exists.

¹⁰⁵ The formation *Sidajeng* from *Sidayu/Sedayu* is probably analogical to *rahayu* “secure” (madya: *rahajeng*), *payu* “to be in demand” (krama: *pajeng*), and *kayu* “wood” (krama: *kajeng*). It is a rare historical term, used only twice in the 17th century Babad Kraton, Cantos LXXXII.14 and CLVIII.8 (Sunjata, Supriyanto, and Ras 1992), as well as in the pegan inscription (Javanese with Arabic letters) in the tomb complex of Kanjeng Sepuh (his real name being Raden Adipati Arya Suryodin-ingrat), who was the bupati of Sidayu from 1817 to 1856 (Amin 2016:29).

¹⁰⁶ *Mambeng* is a historical term derived from the high level form *mambeng* “to lie crosswise” (LL: *malang*). It also appears once in the Babad Kraton, Canto CXLVII.24 (Sunjata, Supriyanto, and Ras 1992).

¹⁰⁷ *Tandès* is the historical designation for the Gresik Regency and may only be used by elder people to refer to Gresik in high level. The origin of the word is unknown, but interestingly the Chinese term for Gresik was 廁村 *cècūn* “toilet village” and suggests a connection with Malay *tandes* “toilet” (Franke, Salmon, and Siu 1997:763). The term *Tandhes* appears once in the Babad Kraton, Canto LXXXII.14 (Sunjata, Supriyanto, and Ras 1992).

¹⁰⁸ The name *Surapringga* was used in the past to refer to Surabaya, next to *Surabanggi* and *Surawèsthi* (Timoer 1983:16), all of them meaning something like “Hero of Danger” or “Brave Hero”. *Surapringga* appears more than 50 times in the 17th century Babad Kraton, *Surabanggi* more than 30 times, *Surawèsthi* more than 70 times, and *Surabaya* about 200 times. It is difficult to pinpoint the politeness of each designation.

¹⁰⁹ The high level lexeme is formed in analogy to *susah* “sad” (krama: *sisah*) and *bubar* “finished” (krama: *bibar*).

¹¹⁰ *Pasedhahan* is mentioned several times *Babad Kraton*, e.g. in Cantos XXI.58, XXXIV.65, XLII.4-5, and LXIII 86 (Sunjata, Supriyanto, and Ras 1992). The Javanese court chronicle is mostly written in *krama*. Oetomo (1987:13) cites the *Encyclopædie van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Stibbe 1919:358) that *Pasedhahan* is the high level equivalent of the designation for the city of *Pasuruan*, which had apparently already gone out of use at the time of Oetomo’s research. The formation is analogical to high level *sedhah* “betel leaves” from low level *suruh*.

However, phrases such as *sinten naminé?* “what’s your name?” (StJ: *sinten asmanipun?*) and *asto kulo* “my hand” (StJ: *tangan kula*) are common in SuJ.

My survey of 165 respondents shows how difficult it is for SuJ speakers to find the corresponding high level equivalent. When I asked for the high level of *mangan* “to eat”, 83% answered *dhahar*, which is the honorific; only 10.6% answered *nèdho*, the high level in StJ. The same distribution could be observed with *loro* “sick” (honorific: *gerah* 48.5%; high level: *sakit* 3.6%; Surabayan high level: *sa(h)é* 5.4%) and *matèk* “dead, to die” (honorific: *sèdo* 65.8%; high level: *pejah* 3.3%), but not with *turu* “to sleep” (honorific: *saré* 40%; high level: *tilem* 53.9%). This is a strong indicator for the unawareness of a refined politeness system among Surabayans and the complete evaluation of the questionnaire found in appendix IV proves that many so-called high level lexemes in SuJ are often nonce words.

The only SuJ high level expression used in slang is *ngèten pun* “just like this”, always said in combination with a thumbs-up gesture. Yet, people who make use of this expression do not communicate politeness. The only Jv. high level word that has made its way into colloquial IM is *saking* “from”, the low level equivalent being *soko/teko(k)*. However, the meaning has shifted to “due to” and the construction is always *saking* + adjective + *-nya*, which is a very rare occurrence in Javanese, though.

I would like to come back to the question that I have often been asked during my research, i.e. *Emang di Surabaya ada kromo ta?* [So, there’s really a high level in Surabaya?]. The answer is ‘yes’, but recently it has lost too much of the once rudimentary speech level system to be classified as such, especially among younger speakers. To refute the statement from a blog *Bahasa Jawa itu halus, bahasa Suroboyo itu kasar* [Javanese is refined, but the language of Surabaya is rude], I offer the following explanation: The most common high level words are in fact *sampèan* “you”, *kulo* “I”, *niki* “this”, *niku* “that”, and *mboten* “not”. A sentence can be easily made polite in SuJ by changing *iki* and *iku* to *niki* and *niku*, which even have the same amount of syllables, as opposed to most other words of the high level register (Kisyani-Laksono 2004a:200-204). The other common high level words are the negative particle *mboten* and the pronouns of the 1SG and the 2SG, suggesting a classification of SuJ as a multi-pronominal register system (cf. chapter 4.1.4) but since *kulo* and *mboten* are rarer than *sampèan*, I suggest to classify SuJ as a dialect with a binary distinction in pronouns, similar to the T-V distinction in many languages of Europe (cf. chapter 4.1.2). As already discussed above, speakers of languages with a T-V distinction are by no means impolite but the system is simply different. In the same way, speakers of SuJ are not impolite but their politeness system is different from that of CJ. This is especially true for SuJ among younger speakers.

CONCLUSION

Javanese has been well studied throughout the past century, in the beginning only by Dutch scholars, but more recently also by various Indonesian researchers. However, still very little is known about the highly diverse dialects and isolects of the Javanese language. This thesis has been an attempt to summarize the most salient linguistic features of Surabayan Javanese, a dialect that has gotten comparatively little attention despite its popularity all over Indonesia.

In this thesis, I have discussed the classification of Surabayan Javanese in comparison with other dialects, given a brief overview of the sociolinguistic situation of Surabaya including the results of my survey among 165 residents of the city, and outlined the most important and striking linguistic features of Surabayan Javanese. I hope I was able to give new insights into the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the dialect. While many of my observations overlap with those made by Hoogervorst (2008; 2009; 2014) and previous scholars, they also differ every now and then, which I have indicated as such.

Special attention has been drawn to the linguistic etiquette of Surabayan Javanese with typological comparison. The fact that it differs much from Standard Javanese is not new, but I have attempted to predict what the future of Surabayan Javanese would look like: Whereas Central Javanese is very prominent and conservative in the extensive use of its speech level system, being even more refined than Japanese and Korean, Surabayan Javanese on the contrary is very limited in the use of speech levels. Although one must admit that Surabayan Javanese had never developed a speech level system as is found in Central Javanese due to Surabaya's distance to Yogyakarta and Surakarta, it is noteworthy that the rare findings of high level vocabulary in Surabaya indicate that Surabayan Javanese is gradually giving way to a binary T-V distinction, which is similar to colloquial IM and many languages of Europe. This development is best seen in younger speakers. Older speakers still use many words of higher registers, however inconsistently mixing StJ *madya*, *krama*, or *krama inggil* vocabulary for the polite language. The case of Surabayan Javanese is different from Tenggerese which had never developed any speech level system and only recently absorbed some *krama* loanwords from Standard Javanese through education. My survey analysis has shown that most speakers of Surabayan Javanese are not always certain what the high level equivalent of a given lemma actually is. This is a clear indicator for the decline of the speech levels. Most younger speakers of Surabayan Javanese only distinguish between the plain and polite 2SG, some dynamic verbs such as “to eat”, “to sleep” or “to die”, and only sporadically throwing in some mid level adverbs to make their conversation more polite. This roughly corresponds to what we find in German, a typical T-V language: the plain 2SG is *du*, the polite 2SG is *Sie*, the verbs “to eat” and “to die”

are generally translated as *essen* and *sterben*, respectively, but they also have polite equivalents such as *speisen* “to dine” and *versterben* “to pass away”. German also has traces of royal language, e.g. *Ihr* for the 2SG, *dinieren* “to sup”, and *verscheiden* “to decease”, comparable to the few Surabayan Javanese traces of honorifics that are hardly ever employed in everyday conversation. As the parallels in linguistic etiquette between German and Surabayan Javanese indicate, I venture to say that SuJ also fits in the same category as German, i.e. politeness through T-V distinction with *kon* for T and *sampèan* for V. Nearly all occurrences with high level expressions in my corpus are in context with older speakers, especially in adult comedy shows or interviews with persons older than 50. One main difference between European T-V languages like German and SuJ among younger speakers is that children address their parents with *du* (T) in German nowadays but with kinship terms in SuJ. The use of kinship terms in European T-V languages was common practice in the past, though (Clyne, Norrby, and Warren 2009:86).

This observation brings us to the main problem among SuJ speakers. Despite the pride for their dialect and its constant use in Surabaya and around, they fear speaking their mother tongue in areas where the classical speech level system is still prominent and switch to IM, which has no speech levels. On the other hand, SuJ is not an endangered dialect, at most vulnerable (UNESCO definition) as it is rarely spoken by children outside their home. The only media representation of Surabayan Javanese is one local TV channel, the social media, and a few songs or (often flippant) announcements.

I venture to say that Surabayan Javanese has now been relatively well described: Kisyanilaksono examined much of its phonology and morphology, Hoogervorst published in-depth sociolinguistic and historical analyses, and I have attempted a morphosyntactic and pragmatic contribution through this thesis. It remains to be hoped that speakers of Surabayan Javanese themselves become more and more aware of their unique dialect and develop language programs, set up more TV programs in their native tongue, and bequeath this cultural heritage to their progeny.

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APPENDIX I: SURABAYAN JAVANESE AFFIXES

Affix	Fuction and usage	Examples	Translation
Ø-	prefix for object focus (object pivot) with 1SG and 2SG	tak cathet (< cathet) mbok gowo (< gowo)	noted by me taken by you
-(')aken	rarely used; AL of <i>-no</i>	crita'aken (< crito)	being told about
-(')an	active voice	dulinan (< dulin) bal-balan (< bal) sepéda'an (< sepéda) dodolan (< dodol)	to play to play football to ride a bicycle to sell
	no meaning; euphonic suffix for adverbs	lagian (< lagi)	moreover/anyway
	nominalizer; some words in this category are borrowed from IM	silihan (< silih) prèian (< prèi) kuburan (< kubur)	borrowing/sth. borrowed holiday graveyard/cemetery
	forms agent nouns	kenalan (< kenal)	acquaintance
	plural	atusan (< atus)	hundreds
	no meaning; allows discourse markers to be put at the end (Hoogervorst 2008:29)	lak'an (< lak) wés'an (< wés) malahan (< malah)	after all already at all/instead
	comparative or elative	èna'an (< ènak) tuwè'an (< tuwèk)	more delicious older
	adjectivizer	kaétan (< kaét)	former
ber-	prefix for intransitivity, borrowed from IM	berarti (< arti) berkualitas (< kualitas)	it means to have good quality
di-	passive of N- for 3SG as agent or without mentioning the agent	ditulis (tulis) didelok (< delok) dibukak (< bukak) dipékér (< pékér)	being written being seen being opened being thought
di-noné	combination of <i>di-</i> , <i>-no</i> , and <i>-(n)é</i> ; nominalization of passive	ditemoknoné (< temu) ditetepnoné (< tetep)	the finding the capture
di-(')aken	rarely used; ALS of <i>di-no</i>	diparingaken (< paring) dititipaken (< titip)	being given to entrust to sb.
di-(')i	passive of <i>N-i</i> for 3SG as agent or without mentioning the agent	disenèni (< senèn) ditambahi (< tambah) dikèk'i (< kèk) diteliti (< telit) dibebeti (< bebet)	being scolded being added to being given being investigated being wrapped in
di-no	passive of <i>N-no</i> for 3SG as agent or without mentioning the agent	disampèkno (< sampèk) dikarepno (< karep) ditemokno (< temu) dijarno (< jar)	being delivered being desired being found let it be
dipun-	very rarely used in SuJ; AL of <i>di-</i>	dipundhahar (< dhahar)	being eaten
-(')é	3SG possessive	awak'é (< awak) montoré (< montor)	him-/herself/ his/her body his/her car
	definiteness marker	kabaré (< kabar) contóé (< contó)	the news/message for example
	linker for genitive construction	montoré Budi (< montor)	Budi's car
	euphonic suffix	ancèné (< ancèn)	indeed
	nominalizer	dowoné (< dowo)	length
-en	imperative	lok'en (< delok)	see (here)!

		simak'en (< simak)	listen carefully!
-(')i	object focus (object pivot) with 1SG and 2SG for direct verbs with object proximity	tak tempèlèngi (< tempèlèng) kulo parani (< paran) mbok kè'i (< kèk)	slapped by me approached by me given by you
	imperative for some verbs ending in <i>-i</i>	entèni! (< enti)	wait!
k-(')an	allomorph of <i>ke-an</i>	kakèan (< akèh) kaduhan (< adoh)	too much/many distance
ka-(')an	very rarely used; denotes locations	kabupatèn (< bupati)	regency
	very rarely used; allomorph of <i>ke-an</i>	kantè'an (< entèk)	to be run out of
-kan	rarely used; allomorph of <i>-no</i> ; borrowed from IM	camkan (< cam)	notice!
ke-	no meaning	kepingin (< pingin) keményék (?< ménýék)	to want to overact
	nonvoluntative	ketabruk (< tabrak) ketemu (< temu) kedudut (< dudut)	being hit by a vehicle being encountered by being pulled away
ke-(')an	adversative	ketinggalan (< tinggal) kebru'an (< bruk, ambruk) kebregan (< breg, ambreg)	left behind being hit by sth. falling being hit by sth. falling
	nominalizer, often borrowed from IM	keslametan (< slamet) kedadéan (< dadi) keadilan (< adil)	safety happening/incident justice
	denotes locations, borrowed from IM	kecamatan (< camat)	district
kok(-)	rarely used; allomorph of <i>mbok(-)</i>	kok(-)entèni (< enti)	being waited by you
-ku	1SG possessive	èbèsku (< èbès)	my father
-lah	emphatic particle	wés talah! (wés ta) iyolah (< iyo)	come on now! COP
-las	non-productive allomorph of <i>we-las/belas</i> like English <i>-teen</i> to form cardinals between 11 and 19	rolas telulas limolas pitulas wolulas songolas	twelve thirteen fifteen seventeen eighteen nineteen
m-	rarely used; forms intransitive verbs	mandheg (< andheg)	to come to a halt
mbok(-)	2SG proclitic for passive voice constructions, usually unconnected	mbok(-)colong	stolen by you
-mu	2SG possessive	ndasmu (< ndas) kabarmu (< kabar) awakmu (< awak)	your head your news/condition yourself/your body
N-	usually forms active transitive verbs; attaches to the root by homorganic assimilation: <i>m-</i> before <i>b</i> , <i>w</i> , and <i>p</i> (<i>w</i> and <i>p</i> are assimilated) <i>n-</i> before <i>d</i> , <i>dh</i> and <i>t</i> , <i>th</i> (<i>t</i> and <i>th</i> are assimilated); <i>ny-</i> before <i>j</i> and <i>c</i> (<i>j</i> is assimilated); <i>ng-</i> before <i>g</i> , <i>k</i> , a vowel, and a liquid consonant (<i>k</i> is assimilated); <i>nge-</i> or <i>nga-</i> before monosyllabic stems	mbantu (< bantu) moco (< woco) ndelok (< delok) ndhidhik (< dhidhik) nulis (< tulis) njalók (< jalók) nyolong (< colong) nggawé (< gawé) ngrungu (< krungu) ngisi (< isi) ngrangkul (< rangkul) ngetril (< tril) ngalor	to help to read to see to educate to write to ask for to steal to make/wear to hear to fill to embrace to do a wheelie to head north

	prothesis with no meaning attached to the root by homorganic assimilation	ndang (< dang) ndhék (< dhék) mburi (< buri) ngganteng (< ganteng)	quick in rear handsome
N-ni	allophone of <i>N-i</i> when the root ends in a vowel	ngentèni (< enti)	to wait for
N-(')aké	very rarely used; slightly more formal allomorph of <i>N-no</i> , borrowed from CJ	numbasaké (< numbas)	to buy for
N-(')aken	rarely used; AL of <i>N-no</i>	numbasaken (< tumbas) ngirimaken (< kirim)	to buy for
-né	allomorph of -é for roots ending in a vowel or for euphonic reasons	konconé (< konco) orasiné (< orasi) numbasné (< tumbas)	his/her/the friend his/her/the speech buys/bought it
-ng	number and quantifier connector	limang jam (< lima) rong wong (< [ló]ró) pirang taun? (< piro)	five hours two people how many years?
N-i	a combination of <i>N-</i> and <i>-i</i> to create active transitive verbs with local proximity or iterative action toward the direct object	nulisi (< tulis) ngajari (< ajar)	to write on to teach sb. to
N-no	a combination of <i>N-</i> and <i>-no</i> to create active transitive verbs with a benefactive or causative character toward the indirect object or with controlled perceptive meaning	ndadèkno (< dadi) ngurupno (< órép) ngrungokno (< krungu)	to make/cause to to enliven/turn on to listen
-no	no meaning	cèkno (< cèk)	so that
-nya	allomorph of -é; borrowed from IM	namanya (< nama) rasanya (< rasa)	his/her/the name its/the taste
-o	imperative of unsuffixed verbs or other parts of speech	mrénéo (< mréné) budhalo (< budhal) nggawéo (< gawé)	come here! leave! do!/make!
-no	object focus (object pivot) with 1SG and 2SG for causative or benefactive verbs	mbok golèkno (< golèk) tak tukokno (< tuku)	being searched for by you being bought by me
	imperative	bayangno (< bayang)	imagine!
-ono	imperative with collective or iterative meaning	jupók'ono (< jupók) tulungono (< tulóng)	collect! help!
pe-	nomen agentis; borrowed from IM	petugas (< tugas) pelopor (?< lopor)	officer pioneer
peN-	nomen agentis; borrowed from IM	pengirim (< kirim) pemerèntah (< perèntah)	sender government
peN-an	nominalizer; borrowed from IM	pengharga'an (< harga) pengamanan (< aman)	prize safekeeping
per-an	nominalizer; borrowed from IM	per(h)atian (< ati) peraturan (< atur) perèkonómian (< èkonómí)	attention rules/regulations economic matters
Cə-an	non-productive; the first consonant is reduplicated and an epenthetic schwa is inserted	bebarengan (< bareng)	together
RED-an	nominalizer of iterative verbs	delok-delokan (< delok) balap-balapan (< balap)	attraction race
	pretending; kind of	sibók-sibókan (< sibók) itung-itungan (< itung) konok-konok'an (< kono)	to pretend to be busy something like counting things like that

ro-	non-productive prefix meaning “two”, from OJ <i>rwa</i> “two”; may be combined with the numeral linker <i>-ng</i> to form the attributive prepositioned cardinal “two”	rolikur rolas rong atus rong taun	twenty-two twelve two hundred two years
s-	allomorph of <i>se-</i> and <i>sak-</i> “one”	satus (< atus)	one hundred
sak-	one	sakwulan (< wulan) sakkal (< kal)	one month immediately (“one moment”)
	all over	sakdunyo (< dunyo) sak-Suroboyo (< Suroboyo) sak-RT (< rukun tetangga)	all over the world all over Surabaya the entire neighborhood
sak-é	forms prepositions from adverbs	sakdóróngé (< dóróng) sakgóróngé (< góróng) sakwisé (< wis/wés) sakmari(n)é (< mari) sakliané (lio)	before before after after besides
sak-RED-é	forms a superlative of certain adverbs and modal verbs	saknggak/nggak'é (< gak) saktenga-tengaé (< tengah) sak'isa-isané (< isok)	at least amidst as much as you can
se-	one	separó (< paró) selawé (< lawé) sewelas (< belas) setaun (< taun)	a half (a unit of) twenty-five eleven one year
sem-	allomorph of <i>se-</i> “one”	sembarang (< barang)	any
se-né	forms special expressions	sepurané (< puro) sekirané (< kiro)	excuse me in case
tak(-)	1SG proclitic for passive voice constructions, usually unconnected	tak(-)kirim tak(-)kèkno	sent by me given by me to
-u-	intensifies an adjective; often followed by pol “a lot”	buanget (< banget) Cuino (< Cino) tak puangan (< pangan)	really a lot so Chinese I ate so much
w-	allomorph of <i>-u-</i> word-initially	wakèh (< akèh)	really a lot
-wan	nomen agentis, borrowed from IM, ultimately from Sanskrit	wisatawan (< wisata)	tourist

APPENDIX II: SAMPLE TEXT FOR PHONETIC STUDY

To conduct phonetic studies on SuJ, I designed the following text with various minimal pairs and questionable phonemes. Words in bold print have been used for the phonetic study:

Original Surabayan text	IPA according to the recording	English translation
Crito teko Jowo	'cri.tɔ̄.tə.'kɔ̄.jɔ̄.wɔ̄	Story from Java
Ndhék sakwijinéng dèso gedhé , adoh teko Suroboyo , séng jenengé Jatirenggo , órép wong papat séng ndué klambi teko Sóló, biasané dia- rani dódot.	ⁿdɛ 'sə.wi.ji.niŋ 'dɛ.sɔ̄.gə.'dɛ ɻa.'dɔ̄h tə.'kɔ̄ 'su.rɔ̄.bə.jo siŋ 'jɔ̄.nə.ɻe ja.ti.rəŋ.'gɔ̄ 'o.rep' wəŋ 'pa.pat' siŋ 'n̄du.w̄e 'klam.bi tə.'kɔ̄ 'so.lo b̄i.ja.'sa.ne d̄i.'?a.ra.ni 'd̄o.d̄ɔ̄t'	In a big village, far from Sura- baya, named Jatirenggo, there lived four people who wore dresses from Solo, usually called dodot.
Wong papat iku wés órép nang kono két petang puló taun , onok Bapak Panji séng wés tuék, due kumis , kerjo nang pabrék ambèk mesthi sibók , tapi bondhoné malah cupet , bójóné Ana séng kakèan dandan cék pipiné dadi cukup abang , ambèk anak'é lóró séng jenengé Amadea karó Cahaya .	wəŋ 'pa.pat' '?i.ku wes 'o.rep' naŋ 'kɔ̄.nɔ̄ keʈ' pə.'təŋ 'pu.loʰ t̄aŋ 'ʔə.nə.ʔb̄.pə 'pap̄.ji siŋ wes 'tu.w̄e 'd̄u.w̄e 'ku.mis 'kər.jo naŋ 'pa.b̄e 'ʔam.b̄e 'məs.t̄i 'si.bo? t̄a.pi 'b̄ən.də.ne 'ma.laʰ 'cu.pət' 'b̄o.jo.ne '?a.na siŋ 'ka.ke.an 'd̄ən.dan ce 'pi.pi.ne 'd̄a.d̄i cu.'kop' '?a.b̄əŋ 'ʔam.b̄e '?a.nə.ʔe 'lo.ro siŋ 'jɔ̄.nə.ɻe ?a.ma.'d̄e.ja 'ka.ro ca.'ha.ja	The four people had lived there for forty years; there was old Mr. Panji, who had a moustache and worked in a factory and was always busy, while his income was too little, his wife Ana who wore too much make-up making her cheeks red, and two children whose names were Amadea and Cahaya.
Keluarga iku katolik.	k̄.lu.'ʷar.ga '?i.ku ka.'t̄ol̄i	The family was Catholic.
Bu Ana iku rondho séng bójó per- tamané wés sèdo .	bu '?a.na '?i.ku 'rən.də siŋ 'b̄o.jo. pər.'t̄a.ma.ne wes se. 'd̄ə	Mrs. Ana was a widow, whose first husband had died.
Dhé'é lagèk sinau boso Bengali , ambèk seneng masak, tapi masio masak'ané biasané cukup ènak , akèh wong ngomong Bu Ana sering nggaé kakèan pathi ndhék masak'ané.	'd̄e.?e 'la.ḡ.si.'nau 'b̄ə.sə.bə.'nə.li '?am.b̄e sə.'nəj 'ma.sə.'t̄a.pi 'ma.si.ʃɔ̄ 'ma.sa.?a.ne b̄i.ja.sa.'ne cu.'kup' '?e.nə '?a.kəʰ wəŋ 'jə.məŋ bu '?a.na se.'riŋ 'n̄ga.e 'ka.ke.an 'pa.t̄i 'n̄d̄e 'ma.sa.?a.nə	She was studying Bengali and liked to cook, but even though what she cooked was delicious, many people said that Mrs. Ana often used too much starch when she cooked.
Sakliané iku, wongé yo keseringen medhesi masa'ané.	'sə.li.ja.ne '?i.ku 'wə.nə.jo kə.sə.'ri.nən mə.'d̄ə.si 'ma.sa.?a.nə	Apart from this, she also used too many spices in her food.
Kadhang-kadhang rosoné yo rodok kekenthelen .	'ka.ɖəŋ 'ka.ɖəŋ 'rə.sə.ne jo 'rə.ɖə kə.'kən.tə.lən	Sometimes the taste was also rather strong.
Amadea iku arèk'é séng cilik séng due tai latal akèh ndhék rainé.	?a.ma.'d̄e.ja '?i.ku '?a.rə.?e siŋ 'ci.li siŋ 'n̄du.w̄e t̄ai 'la.lat' '?a.kəʰ 'n̄d̄e 'rai.ne	Amadea was a small child who had birthmarks all over her face.
Dhé'é seneng mimik susu, tapi du duk jus apel .	'd̄e.?e sə.'nəj 'mi.mj̄ 'su.su 't̄a.pi 'd̄u.d̄u.jos '?a.pəl	She loved to drink milk, but no apple juice.
Cahaya luéh gedhé awak'é teko adhék'é masio sék luéh nom, tapi sikapé yo narsis thithik ambèk mayak .	ca.'ha.ja 'lu.w̄eʰ ḡ.e.'d̄e '?a.wa.?e t̄o.'kɔ̄ ?a.d̄i.?e 'ma.si.ʃo se.'lu.w̄eʰ '?'nom 't̄a.pi 'si ka.pe jo 'nar.sis 'tit̄i '?am.b̄e 'ma.ja	Cahaya was a little bigger than her younger sister although being younger, but her attitude was a little narcissist and unwieldy.
Jeneng baptisé Maria.	'j̄ə.nə.ɻəŋ b̄əp'.ti.se 'ma.r̄i.ja	Her Christian name was Maria.
Dhé'é lagèk sinau boso Jowo , tapi sering lali kata-kata anyar séng sék tas disinaui ndhék sekolah, contóé :	'd̄e.?e 'la.ḡ.si.'nau 'b̄ə.sə 'j̄ə.w̄o 't̄a.pi se.'riŋ 'la.li 'ka.t̄a 'ka.t̄a '?aj.jar siŋ se.t̄as di.'si.nau.'w̄i 'n̄d̄e 'sk̄.laʰ 'cən.t̄o.e 'pa.sir	She was learning Javanese, but often forgot the new vocabulary that she had just learned at

pasir nang boso Jowo diarani wedhi, naŋ ḷo.so 'jɔ.wɔ d̄i.?.a.ra.ni wə. 'd̄i
ziarah dadi nyekar, weteng gedhé
yo **isok** diarani **mayag-mayag**,
kanggó mengintai wong **Jowo** ngo-
mong **dhódhot**, ambèk menyandari
tembok dadi nyèndhèni tèmbok.

zi.ja.'raḥ 'd̄a.d̄i.nə.'kar 'wə.tən̄ ḡə. 'd̄e.jo
'?.i.sq d̄i.?.a.ra.ni 'ma.jak' 'ma.jak' 'kaŋ.go
mə.'ŋin.ta.i wəŋ 'jɔ.wɔ 'ŋə.məŋ 'd̄o.d̄ət'
'?am.bəg mə.'jan.da.ri 'təm.bəg 'd̄a.d̄i
'jen.de.ni 'təm.bəg

Njekèthèk kabèh kata-kata iku ben-
eran boso **Jowo**, tapi **gak sakben**
wong **eró** artiné opo.

Dino iki tanggal **lóró Nòvèmber**, iki
abat keselikur.

Wong **papat** iku wés lué pol,
mangkané **pèngén dhahar rujak**
cingór utowo bakmi, tapi lèk
gerimis gak isok mangan **cedhek**
omahé.

La terós lapo lèk **gerimis**?

Anginé yo **rodok isis dino** iki, **jaré**
Cahaya.

Lèk **udan gak isok** numpak
sepèdha, pancèn susah ma'em lèk
udan terós.

Bapak, awak **dhéwé nedho** nang
ndi?

Gak eró, dhék.

Gak onok séng dodol rujak utowo
bakmi cedhek kéné.

Cumak **onok siji toko thok, jawab**
bapak'é.

Mendhing aku **tèlfón Paklék** njalok
kué **puthu séng wènak** ambèk iwak
kutók aé.

Kué **puthu** iku kan gawènané **bibi**'é
Paklék.

Rosoné kué **puthu** iku **mirép karó**
soklat.

Kalian **pèngén** mangan opo?

Tak **cathet sék**.

Dhé'é sék tas aé **nyathet** tapi **gak**
sido nerusno, mèk **rong titék** aé,
gara-gara **Amadea** mbales: **Asyik!**

Opo'o sé **Paklék arang-arang**
kètok?"

ŋjə.ke. 't̄e 'ka.bəg 'ka.t̄a 'ka.t̄a '?.i.ku
bə.nə.'ran 'bə.so 'jɔ.wɔ 'ta.pi ḡə 'səbən
wəŋ ?ə.'ro '?.ar.t̄i.ne '?.o.po

'd̄i.no '?.i.ki 't̄an.gal 'lo.ro.no.'fem.bər
'?.i.ki '?.a.bat' kə.sə.'li.kor
wəŋ 'pa.paṭ' '?.i.ku wes 'lu.ʷe pol
maj.'ka.ne 'pə.ŋən 'd̄a.har 'ru.jə 'ci.njor
?u.'t̄owə bəm̄i 'ta.pi l̄e 'ḡəri.mis ḡə '?.i.sq
'ma.jan 'cə.đə.ə.'maʰ.e

la t̄. 'ros 'la.po l̄e 'ḡəri.mis

'?.a.nj.i.ne jo 'rəđə '?.i.sis 'd̄i.no '?.i.ki 'ja.re
ca.'ha.ja

l̄e '?.u.đən ḡə '?.i.sq 'nom.pə.sə.'pə.đə
'pən.cen 'su.saʰ ma.?əm l̄e '?.u.đən t̄. 'ros

'ba.pə '?.a.wə 'd̄e.we.nə.'d̄ə naŋ: 'n̄di

ḡə ?ə.'ro d̄ə

ə '?.o.nq siŋ 'd̄ə.đəl 'ru.jə ?u.'t̄owə bəm̄i
'cə.đə 'ke.ne

cu.mə '?.o.nq 'si.ji 't̄o.ko t̄o 'ja.wap'
'bə.pə?e

mən.'dɪŋ '?.a.ku 't̄el.fon 'pə.lə 'ja.lq
'ku.we 'pu.tu siŋ 'w:ənə '?am.bəg '?.i.wə
'ku.t̄o '?.a.je

'ku.we 'pu.tu '?.i.ku 'ḡa.ʷe.na.ne
'b̄i.b̄i.?e 'pə.lə

'rə.sə.ne 'ku.ʷe '?.i.ku 'mi.rip' 'ka.ro
'so.klat'

ka.'li.jan 'pə.ŋən 'ma.jan '?.o.po

t̄. 'ca.t̄.t̄ se

'd̄e.?e se t̄as '?.a.je 'na.t̄ət' 'ta.pi ḡə 'si.đə
ne.'rus.no m̄e rəŋ 't̄i.t̄e '?.a.je 'ḡa.ra 'ḡa.ra
?'a.ma.'d̄e.ja 'm̄ba.ləs ?a.sj.?

??.o.po.?o se 'pə.lə '?.a.raŋ '?.a.raŋ 'ke.t̄

school, for example: *sand* is called *wedhi* in Javanese, *to put flowers on a grave* is *nyekar*, a *big belly* may be called *mayag-mayag*, for *spying* the Javanese say *dhodhot*, and *to lean on a wall* is *nyèndhèni tèmbok*.

All those words were indeed Javanese, but no everyone knew what their meaning was.

This day was November 2nd, in the 21st century.

The four people were already pretty hungry, that's why they'd want to eat *rujak cingur* or *bakmi*, but since it was drizzling, they couldn't eat near their house.

So, what can we do if it's drizzling?

The wind is also quite fresh today, Cahaya said.

When it's raining, we cannot go by bicylce, it's just difficult to eat when it's raining.

Dad, where shall we eat?

I don't know, my child.

There's no one who sells *rujak* or *bakmi* nearby.

There's only one shop nearby, her dad said.

Would be better if I called your uncle asking for the delicious *putu* cake and *kutuk* fish.

The *putu* cake is made by your uncle's aunt.

The taste of the *putu* cake is similar to chocolate.

What do you all want to eat?

I'll write it down.

He was just about to write it down, but couldn't go on, except for only two dots, because Amadea answered: Awesome!

Why do we rarely meet Uncle?

Bapak Panji pancèn arang-arang télén Paklék , mangkané Paklék seneng sampèk luéh-luéh pas ditélén dino iku.	'ba.pa 'pan.ji 'pan.cen '?a.raj 'a.raj 'tel.fon 'pa.le man.'ka.ne 'pa.le so.'nor 'sam.pø 'lu.wéh 'lu.wéh pas di.'tel.fon 'di.no '?i.ku	Indeed, Mr. Panji rarely called her uncle, that's why he was so delighted when he received the phone call that day.
Sakwisé ditélén, Paklék langsóng gelem budhal nyetir mobil, tapi ujug-ujug dhé'é sadhar kap mobilé rusak kabèh .	'sa.wi.se di.'tel.fon 'pa.le 'lañ.suñ gø.'løm 'bu.dal.nø.tir 'mo.bil 'ta.pi ?u.jøk' ?u.jøk' 'de.?e 'sa.dar kap' 'mo.bi.le 'ru.sa 'ka.bøh	Having been called, her uncle immediately wanted to leave and go by car, but he suddenly realized that his car's hood had been destroyed.
Dhé'é kagèt kapé pènyok koyok rai séng catu ambèk bunyek-bunyek .	'de.?e 'ka.gøt' 'ka.pe 'pe.nø 'ko.jø rai siñ 'ca.tu '?am.be 'bu.nø 'bu.nø	He was taken aback that the hood was dented just like a swollen and crushed face.
Buntut knalpot mobilé yo rusak ka-bèh .	'bøn.tut' knal.pøt' 'mo.bi.le jo 'ru.sa 'ka.bøh	The car's exhaust pipe had also been destroyed.
Masio Paklék manggon ndhék dèso cedhek Jatirenggo , yoiku Klathak'an, dhé'é mesthi numpak mobil séng wernoné póté sóalé dhé'é wong cacat séng gak isok mlaku séng apik.	'ma.si.jø 'pa.le 'mañ.gøn 'de 'dø.sø 'ce.dø ja.ti.røn.'gø jo.'?i.ku kla.ta.kan 'de.?e 'møs.ti 'num.pø 'mo.bil siñ wør.'no.nø 'po.teh 'so.?a.le 'de.?e wøj 'ca.cat' siñ gø '?i.sø 'mla.ku siñ ?a.pi	Although her uncle lived in a village close to Jatirenggo, namely Klathakan, he always went by his white car because he was disabled and couldn't walk properly.
Medèni banget lèk kap mobilé rusak kabèh, dhé'é gak dué dhuék blas gaé dandan-dandan kapé .	'mo.'dø.ni 'ba.nøt' lø kap' 'mo.bi.le 'ru.sa 'ka.bøh 'de.?e gø 'du.wé 'du.wé blas 'ga.jø 'dø.dan.'dan.dan 'ka.pe	It scared him that his car's hood had been destroyed, as he had no money at all to repair the hood.
Dhé'é mbengok: Motomu!	'de.?e 'møbø.'njø mo.'tp.mu	He screamed: Damn it!
Arèk koyok opo sé séng ngrusak kap mobilku, dhasar wong Jatim!?	?a.rø 'ko.jø '?o.po se siñ 'ru.sa kap' 'mo.bil.ku 'dø.sar wøj 'ja.tim	What kind of kid has destroyed my car's hood, typically East Javanese!?
Gak dué utek ta arèk-arèk iku!	gø 'du.wé '?u.tø ta '?a.rø '?a.rø '?i.ku	Such a no-brainer, that kid!
Paklék ndhodhok nang ngarepé mobilé, nlisék-nlisék karusakané, terós ngomong: Ya Allah , mené isók aku kudu nglapor nang pulisi .	'pa.le 'ndø.'dø naø ña.rø.pe 'mo.bi.le 'nli.se? 'nli.se? kø.'ru.sa.ka.ne tros 'ñø.møn ja ?a.l.'kø mø.'ne '?i.sø '?a.ku 'ku.dø 'ñ.la.pør naø po.'li.si	The uncle squatted in front of his car, scrutinized the damage, and then said: Oh my God, tomorrow morning I gotta report it to the police.
Pulisiné kudu nggolèk pelakuné nganggó fasilitas modèren.	pu.'li.si.ne 'ku.dø 'ñgo.lø 'pla.ku.ne 'ñøñ.go fa.'si.li.tas mo.'dø.røn	The police must use modern equipment to find the one who did that.
Mugo-mugo onok wong séng eró sopo pelakuné.	'mu.gø 'mu.gø ?ø.nø wøj siñ ?ø.'ro.'sø.pø 'pla.ku.ne	Hopefully there'll be someone who knows who did that.
Aku wedi .	?a.ku wø.'di	I'm frightened.
Ojok-ojok aku kudu tuku mobil an- yar engkók."	?øjø ?øjø '?a.ku 'ku.dø 'mo.bil '?a.nar ?øn.kø	I just hope I don't need to buy a new car later.
Nganggó HPné dhé'é móto karusa- kané sék cék yo onok bukti visual .	'ñøñ.go 'ha.pe.ne 'de.?e 'mo.tø ka.'ru.sa.ka.ne se ce jo '?ø.nø 'bøk.ti 'fi.su.wal	With his cellphone, he took photos oft he damage to have visual evidence,
Terós, Paklék njupók siji paku teko omahé, mikul palu gedhé nang	tø.'ros 'pa.le 'nu.pø 'si.ji 'pa.ku tø.'ko '?ø.ma.he 'mi.køl 'pa.lu gø.'de naø	Then the uncle fetched a nail from his house, shouldered a big

pundhak, mbalék nang mobilé gaé mbenerno kapé .	'pun.dəq 'm̩ba.le naŋ 'mo.bj̩.le 'g̩a.je 'm̩bə.nər.no 'ka.pe	hammer, and went back to his car to repair the hood.
Dadak Patéh soko Dèso Jatirenggo séng lagèk mangan jajan nekani Paklék ambèk ngethok kap mobilé.	'd̩a.d̩a 'pa.teh 's̩o.ko 'd̩e.so ja.ti.rəŋ.'go siŋ 'la.g̩e 'ma.nyān ja.jān nə.ka.ni 'pa.le '?am.b̩e ñə. t̩o kap 'mo.bj̩.le	Suddenly, the governor of Jatirenggo, who was eating a snack, came to the uncle and knocked on the car's hood.
Mumpóng ngètokno karusakané, Paklék mbengok manèh koyok wong mendem : Tulungono aku, Pak , mobilku rusak kabèh!	'mum.puŋ 'ñe.t̩o? no ka.'ru.sa.ka.ne 'pa.le 'm̩bə.'ñ̩o 'ma.neh 'ko.j̩ə wəŋ mən.dəm 't̩u.lu.j̩o.no '?a.ku p̩ 'mo.bj̩.ku 'ru.s̩a 'ka.b̩e̩h	While showing the damage, the uncle shouting again like a drunken man: Please help me, Mister, my car's been destroyed!
Titip sék paluné, aku cóbak nguró-pno mesiné sék ."	t̩i.t̩ip̩ se 'pa.lu.ne '?a.ku 'co.b̩a 'ñu.rop̩.no mə.'si.ne se	Please hold the hammer for a moment, I'll start the engine.
Kanjeng Patéh iku éntók paluné.	'kaŋ.jəŋ 'pa.teh '?i.ku '?en.t̩o 'pa.lu.ne	The noble governor got the hammer.
Dhé'é njawap karó sworo mayak-mayak : Lapo sé njalók bantuanku?"	'd̩e.?e 'nja.wap 'ka.ro 'swə.rə 'ma.ja 'ma.ja 'la.p̩ se 'nja.ly 'b̩an.tu.wan.ku	He answered with a heavy voice: Why are you asking me for help?
Paklék kagèt sampèk kunci mobilé ngebruk'i tanah.	'p̩.le 'ka.g̩et̩ 'sam.p̩ 'koŋ.ci 'mo.bj̩.le 'ñ̩o. 'b̩ru? ?i 't̩a.na̩h	The uncle was taken aback so that the car keys fell on the ground.
Lhó , kunciné nang ndi? , takok'é.	lo̩ 'koŋ.ci.ne naŋ 'ndi t̩a.ko??.?e	Oh, where's the keys?, he asked.
Tibak'é, kunci iku ketimbun nang ngisoré tanah.	t̩i.b̩a??.?e 'koŋ.ci ?i.ku kə.'tm.bun naŋ 'ñ̩is̩o.re 't̩a.na̩h	It turned out that the keys had been buried in the ground.
Paklék kudu ndhudhuk tanah dhi-sék nggólèk'i kunciné, untungé ndang ditemokno.	'p̩.le 'ku.d̩u 'ndu.d̩u 't̩a.na̩h di.'se 'ñ̩go.le??.?i 'koŋ.ci.ne ?on.tu.n̩e 'ndaj di.t̩o.mo??.no	The uncle had to dig over the ground to search for the keys, and luckily found them quickly.
Nah, ujug-ujug mobilé isok mlaku!	na:h ?u.j̩uk 'u.j̩uk 'mo.bj̩.le 'ñi.s̩o 'mla.ku	Well then, suddenly the car started!
Pedalé dipancal ambèk dhé'é .	p̩. 'da.le di.p̩.pan.cal '?am.b̩e 'd̩e.?e	He pushed the pedal.
Akiré dhé'é nggowo panganan koyok sego ambèk sayór nang Bapak Panji ambèk keluargané.	?a.ki.re 'd̩e.?e 'ng̩o.wo 'pa.na.nan 'ko.j̩o sə.'g̩o '?am.b̩e 'sa.jor naŋ 'b̩a.p̩ 'pan.ci '?am.b̩e kə.'l̩war.g̩a.ne	Finally, he could bring the food like rice and vegetables to Mr. Panji and his family.
Mugo-mugo Bu Ana isok masak soalé Paklék cumak nggowo bahan bakuné thok .	mu.g̩o mu.g̩o b̩u 'Pa.na '?i.s̩o 'ma.s̩o 'so.wa.le 'p̩.le 'cu.ma 'ng̩o.wo 'b̩a.han 'b̩a.ku.ne t̩o	He hoped that Mrs. Ana could cook as the uncle only brought the raw ingredients.
Pas mólai mlaku, dhé'é langsóng nglowiati Dèso Glagah, onok wadawadah sampah, arèk-arèk séng bal-balán, kancil, banci , kali séng arusé deres, patóng pahlawan lokálé dèso iku, tumpuk'an areng, blokade goro-goro dèmonstrasi, yo onok kuthók-kuthók , yoiku anak ayam, sakwong bakól sego gorèng ambèk taman konsèrvasi kèwan.	pas 'mo.laj 'mla.ku 'd̩e.?e 'laŋ.suŋ 'ŋli.wa.ti 'd̩e.so 'g̩la.g̩a:h '?o.n̩o 'wa.d̩a 'wa.d̩a:h 'sam.p̩ 'a.r̩e '?a.r̩e siŋ b̩al.'b̩a.lan 'kaŋ.cil 'b̩aŋ.ci 'ka.li siŋ 'a.ru.se 'd̩ə.r̩əs pa.t̩oŋ 'pah.la.wan 'lo.ka.le 'd̩e.so '?i.ku 'tom.p̩.?an '?a.r̩ə 'b̩l̩o.ka.d̩e 'g̩o.r̩o 'g̩o.r̩o 'de.məns.tra.si.jo '?o.n̩o 'ku.t̩o 'ku.t̩o 'j̩o.?i.ku '?a.n̩a '?a.jam s̩.wəŋ b̩a.kol sə.'g̩o 'g̩o.reŋ '?am.b̩e 't̩a.man 'kɔn.ser.fa.si 'ke.wan	When he began to move, he immediately passed Glagah Village, where there were trash containers, children playing football, a mouse deer, a transvestite, a torrent, a statue of the village's local hero, piled-up charcoals, a blockade due to a demonstration, young chicks, a vendor for fried rice, and a conservation park for animals.

Pas krungu sworo gemuróh , dhé'é kagèt ambèk nyingkréh .	pas 'kru.nju 'swɔ.ro ḡø.mu.ro ^h 'dø.?e 'ka.ḡet 'ʔam.bø niŋ.kre ^h	When he heard the sound of thunder, he got scared and pulled over.
Ndhék pinggér dalan, dhé'é ndelok kuburan .	ndø 'piŋ.gir 'dø.lan 'dø.?e ndø.'lø 'ku.ḥu.ran	By the roadside, he saw a cemetery.
Jeneng enggené iku Gubeng , persis koyok jeneng stasión ndhék Suroboyo .	'jø.nøj ?øj. 'gø.ne 'ʔi.ku 'ḡu.ḥøj pø.'sis 'kø.jø 'jø.nøj 'sta.sjon ndø 'su.ro.ḥø.jø	The name of the place was Gubeng, exactly like the name of Surabaya's railway station.
Paklék iling putuné séng wés matèk pas umuré setaun .	'pa.le 'ʔi.liŋ 'pu.tu.ne siŋ wes 'ma.tø pas 'ʔu.mu.re sø. 'taun	The uncle remembered his grandson who had died at the age of one.
Matiné pancèn dadi syok wektu iku.	'ma.ti.ne 'paj.cen 'da.dø.ṣø? 'wøk'.tu 'ʔi.ku	His death had shocked him back then.
Keluargané Bapak Panji wés ngentèni Paklék teko.	kø. 'lwar.ga.ne ḡa.pa 'pan.ci wes ñøn. 'teni 'pa.le tø.ko	Mr. Panji's family was already waiting for the uncle's arrival.
Wés jam lóró , dhé'é kok góróng teko? , takok Bu Ana .	wes ñám 'lo.ro 'dø.?e kø 'ḡø.roñ tø. 'ko 'tø.kø ḡu 'ʔa.na	It's already two o'clock, and he hasn't shown up?, Mrs. Ana asked.
Akiré, Paklék ndhodhog pintu omahé Bapak Panji .	'ʔa.ki.re 'pa.le ndø.đø? 'pin.tu ?ø.ma.he ḡa.pa 'pan.ci	Finally, the uncle knocked on the doof of Mr. Panji's house.
Amadea ngiro onok dhayoh , njekèthèk iku Paklék .	?a.ma. 'dø.ja 'ñi.ro 'ʔø.nø 'dø.jø.ñø. 'ke.tø 'ʔi.ku 'pa.le	Amadea thought it was a guest, but indeed it was her uncle.
Óalah , Paklék wés nyampèk!, jaré Bapak .	?o.wa.lah 'pa.le wes 'nam.pe 'jø.re 'ḡa.pa	Oh great, he's already here!, her father said.
Dhé'é langsóng takok: Opo'o kok nyetir sué teko omahmu?	'dø.?e 'lañ.søj 'tø.kø 'ʔø.po.ʔø kø ñø. 'tø 'su.we tø. 'ko 'ʔø.ma.mu	He immadidately asked: What took you so long to drive here from your house?
Dino iki lalu lintasé gak tertip ta?	'dø.no 'ʔi.ki 'la.lu 'lm.ta.se ḡø.tø. 'tip' tø	Is the traffic chaotic today?
Ayók , awak dhéwé mangan sék , ucapan Ana .	?a. 'jo 'ʔa.wø 'dø.we 'ma.ñjan se 'ʔu.cap 'ʔa.na	Let's eat first, Ana uttered.
Suwun panganané, Paklék.	'su.wun 'panja.na.ne 'pa.le	Thank you fort he food, uncle.
Dhé'é njawab : Nggéh , mboten menopo-menopo, ambèk cepet-cepet mangkat manèh .	'dø.?e 'nja.wap' ñgeh 'mbo.tøn 'mø.no.po 'nø.po 'pam.be cø. 'pøt' cø. 'pøt' 'møn.kat 'ma.ne	He answered: You are most welcome, and then he quickly left again.
Kanggó ucapan matór suwun, keluarga iku ngekèk'i hadiah cilik , yoiku simbol lambang Garuda Pancasila karó semboyan Bhinneka Tunggal Ika soalé Paklék kesengsem sejarah Indónésia ambèk sering gólèk kabèh simbol negoro Indonésia .	'kaŋ.go 'ʔu.ca.pan 'ma.tør 'su.wun kø. 'lwar.ga 'ʔi.ku ñø. 'ke. ?i ha. 'dø.ja. 'ci.li 'jø. 'i.ku 'sim.bol 'lam.baj 'ḡø.ru. 'dø 'pan.ca.si.la 'ka.ro ñøm. 'bø.jan 'bø.ne.ka 'tø. 'gal 'ʔi.ka 'so. 'wa.le 'pa.le kø. 'sø. ñøm sø. 'ja.ra 'pø. 'in.do. 'ne. 'eja 'pø. 'am.be se. 'riŋ 'ḡø. 'lø 'ka. 'bø. 'sim.bøl nø. 'ḡø. 'ro 'pø. 'in.do. 'ne. 'eja	As a thank you, the family gave him a small present, namely an emblem of the Pancasila Garuda with the slogan Unity in Diversity, because the uncle fancie Indonesian history and often collected all symbols of Indonesia.
Kolèksiné wés akèh.	'kø.løk.si.ne wes 'ʔa.ke ^h	He had already collected a lot.

Paklék seneng éntók **hadiah** iku, **jaréné**: Nyuwun ngapuro kulo telat wau, mboten **saget dhateng** jam **kaléh**, mobilé **rusak**, ambèk **matór** nuwun **hadiahé**.

'pa.le sə.'nəŋ 'ʔen.tə ha.'dʒi.jah 'ʔi.ku
'ja.re.ne 'ju.won 'ŋa.pu.rə 'ku.lo tə.'lat'
wau 'mbo.tən 'sa.ğət' 'da.təŋ jəm 'ka.le
'mo.bi.le 'ru.sə 'ʔam.bə 'ma.tor 'nu.won
ha.'dʒi.ja.he

The uncle was happy to receive that present, he said: Please excuse that I came late today, I couldn't come at two, my car was broken, and then he thanked them for the present.

Wong-wong liané ngomong **podho-podho**, terós **Paklék móléh manèh**.

wəŋ wəŋ 'li.ja.ne 'ŋɔ.məŋ 'pɔ.də 'pɔ.də
tə.'ros 'pa.le 'mo.leh 'ma.ne

The others just said you're welcome, then the uncle went home again.

Sésók dhé' é apé nglapor masalah mobilé nang **pulisi nagih** ganti rugi karusakané, padahal **sésók dhé'** é wés katé **budhal** haji.

'se.sə 'də.ʔe 'a.pe 'ŋla.pər 'ma.sa.la
'mo.bi.le naŋ 'pɔ.li.si na.geh ğan.ti ru.ği
ka.'ru.sa ka.ne 'pa.da.hal 'se.sə 'də.ʔe
wes 'ka.tə 'bu.dəl 'ha.ği

The next day, he would report the problem with his car to the police and bill for compensation, although he wanted to leave for the hajj the next day.

Paklék kan wong Islam, mangkané **dhé'** é wés sué ngentèni mèlok **tawaf** wes 'su.'wə ղən.'təni 'me.lə 'ta.waf 'n'də
ndhék kutho Mekkah.

'pa.le kan wəŋ 'ʔis.lam 'maj.ka.ne 'də.ʔe
'ku.tə mə.'kah

It's because the uncle was Muslim, that's why he had been waiting for so long to do the tawaf in Mecca.

Pas **nrimo** panganan iku, **Bu Ana njupók lading gaé ngethok** daging teko **Paklék**.

pas 'nri.mə 'paŋa.nan 'ʔi.ku ƅү 'ʔa.na
'ŋju.pq 'la.dinq 'ğa.je ղə.'tə 'də.ğin tə.'kə
'pa.le

When she got the food, Mrs. Ana took a knife to cut the meat (they had received) from the uncle.

Gajihé ojok mbok **kethok**, tak pangane aé, bengok **Amadea**.

'ğa.়i.he 'ʔo.়q m'bə kə.'tə tə 'pa.়a.ne 'a.je
bə.়q ʔa.ma.'də.ja

Don't cut the fat, I'll eat that, Amadea shouted.

Wong **papat** iku langsóng glathak'an kabèh.

wəŋ 'pa.paŋ' ʔi.ku 'laŋ.suŋ 'ğla.tə.ʔan
'ka.়bəh

The four people then just wolfed down all the food.

Wongé **lué** pol, mangan **terós-te-rósan, kususé si bocah Cahaya**.

'wə.়qe 'lu.wə pəl 'ma.়jan tə.'ros tə.'ru.san
'ku.su.se si 'bə.ca hə.ca.'ha.ja

They were extremely hungry, they couldn't stop eating, especially young Cahaya.

APPENDIX III: QUESTIONNAIRE

Kuesioner Bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (Suroboyoan)

Saya Daniel Krausse, mahasiswa di Universitas Goethe di Frankfurt, Jerman, ingin meneliti bahasa yang digunakan oleh masyarakat Surabaya sebagai bahasa sehari-hari, yaitu Suroboyoan. Kuesioner yang telah saya lampirkan bertujuan untuk mendapatkan gambaran umum tentang bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (Suroboyoan). Hasil survei ini akan menjadi topik tesis pascasarjana saya yang dilaksanakan dalam rangka studi "Ilmu Perbandingan Bahasa" di Universitas Goethe di Frankfurt, Jerman. Oleh karena itu, saya membutuhkan bantuan Anda untuk menjadi informan dalam penelitian saya.

Terima kasih banyak atas partisipasi Anda.

Daniel Krausse

Daerah:
(diisi oleh peneliti)

Tanggal:
(diisi oleh peneliti)

Kuesioner

- Bacalah pertanyaan-pertanyaan berikut ini dengan baik dan jawablah dengan jujur.
 - Jawablah pertanyaan-pertanyaan berikut ini dengan cara mencentang (✓) dengan menggunakan bolpoin yang telah saya sediakan, dan jawaban bisa lebih dari satu.
 - Kuesioner ini bertujuan untuk meneliti bahasa yang digunakan di daerah Surabaya dan sekitarnya sebagai topik tesis pascasarjana (S2).
 - Informasi yang Anda berikan akan dijamin kerahasiaannya.
 - Terima kasih banyak atas partisipasi Anda.
-

1) Dari mana Anda berasal? Silakan menentukan nama daerah asal Anda. (1 jawaban)

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Surabaya | Nama daerah: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gresik/Lamongan | Nama daerah: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sidoarjo | Nama daerah: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Malang | Nama daerah: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lain | Nama daerah: |

2) Di mana Anda tinggal pada saat ini? Silakan menentukan nama daerah tinggal Anda. (1 jawaban)

- | | |
|--|--------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Surabaya | Nama daerah: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gresik/Lamongan | Nama daerah: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Sidoarjo | Nama daerah: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Malang | Nama daerah: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Lain | Nama daerah: |

3) Berapa umur Anda? (1 jawaban)

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | < 15 tahun |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | 15-20 tahun |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | 21-30 tahun |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | 31-60 tahun |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | > 60 tahun |

4) Bahasa manakah yang bisa Anda gunakan dengan lancar? (boleh lebih dari 1 jawaban)

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bahasa Indonesia |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (kasar/ngoko) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (halus/krama) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bahasa Jawa Tengah |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bahasa Sunda |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bahasa Madura |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Lain-lain, sebutkan: |

5) Biasanya, Anda memakai bahasa apa di rumah dengan keluarga Anda? (boleh lebih dari 1 jawaban)

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bahasa Indonesia |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (kasar/ngoko) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (halus/krama) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bahasa Jawa Tengah |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Bahasa Madura |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Gabungan bahasa, sebutkan: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | Lain-lain, sebutkan: |

6) Biasanya, Anda memakai bahasa apa untuk menghitung sesuatu seperti uang, jam berapa atau 1-10 (tu, wa, ga, pat ... / ji, ro, lu, pat ...)? (boleh lebih dari 1 jawaban)

- Bahasa Indonesia
- Bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (kasar/ngoko)
- Bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (halus/krama)
- Bahasa Jawa Tengah
- Bahasa Madura
- Tergantung pada situasinya
- Lain-lain, sebutkan:

7) Menurut Anda, kata-kata berikut ini dalam bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (Suroboyoan) termasuk kata yang kasar atau halus?

	<i>kasar/ngoko</i>	<i>halus/krama</i>	<i>kurang tahu</i>
rai (muka)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
numbas (membeli)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
wulan (bulan)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sampun (sudah)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
kon (kamu)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
dé' é (dia)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
sumerap (melihat)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8) Jika Anda ketahui, silakan tambah istilah halus untuk kata-kata berikut ini dalam bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (Suroboyoan):

Contoh:

gak (tidak) – mboten

onok (ada) – ènten

	<i>kasar/ngoko</i>	<i>halus/krama</i>
aku (saya)		
mangan (makan)		
turu (tidur)		
takok (bertanya)		
móléh (pulang)		
nukokno (membelikan)		
ndelok (melihat)		
matèk (meninggal)		
olèh (mendapat)		
loro (sakit)		
jaréné (katanya)		
ngkok aé (nanti saja)		
yo'opo? (bagaimana?)		

9) Dengan siapakah Anda memakai bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (Suroboyoan)? (boleh lebih dari 1 jawaban)

- Keluarga inti (orang tua, kakak, adik, suami, istri, anak)
- Keluarga besar (kakek, nenek, kerabat)
- Teman (sekolah, tempat kerja, kampus)
- Guru
- Orang-orang di kampung halaman
- Para penduduk di desa-desa Jawa Timur

10) Silakan terjemahkan kalimat di bawah ini ke dalam bahasa Jawa-Surabaya (Suroboyoan) seperti yang Anda gunakan sehari-hari.

Bapak saya tidak bisa membelikan saya sepeda motor.

11) Apakah Anda pernah mendengar kata-kata berikut ini, terutama di desa-desa di Jawa Timur?

	pernah mendengar	tidak pernah mendengar	kurang tahu
ndaweg (silakan)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
purun (ingin)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
préso (ketahui)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
tikang (tukang)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
meniki (ini)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

12) Apakah Anda sering, jarang atau tidak pernah menggunakan kata-kata berikut ini?

	sering	jarang	tidak pernah
nyekèk (makan)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
ngglètak (tidur)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
nyocot (berbicara)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
modar (mati)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
naèk (berak)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
èntos (bisa)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

13) Menurut pendapat Anda, kalimat-kalimat di bawah ini digunakan oleh siapa?

	Surabaya asli	Cina Surabaya	Malang	lainnya
Jék tas tangi aku. (Baru saja saya bangun.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Masak ndak tau blas!? (Masa kamu tidak tahu sama sekali!?)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Yo, orang gak dipakèk. (Ya, kan tidak dipakai.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Lu bo gitu! (Kamu jangan begitu!)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Anakku tak pegikno nang dokter sik. (Aku antar anakku ke dokter dulu.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Aku katé nerusno usahané èbèsku. (Aku ingin meneruskan usaha ayahku.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

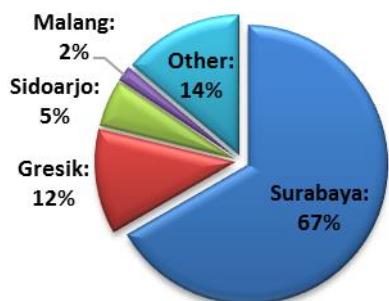
14) Tulislah beberapa kata yang termasuk bahasa gaul yang sering digunakan anak muda saat ini di Surabaya (contoh: nyepik = merayu, mbois = keren)

☺ Suwun, rèk! ☺

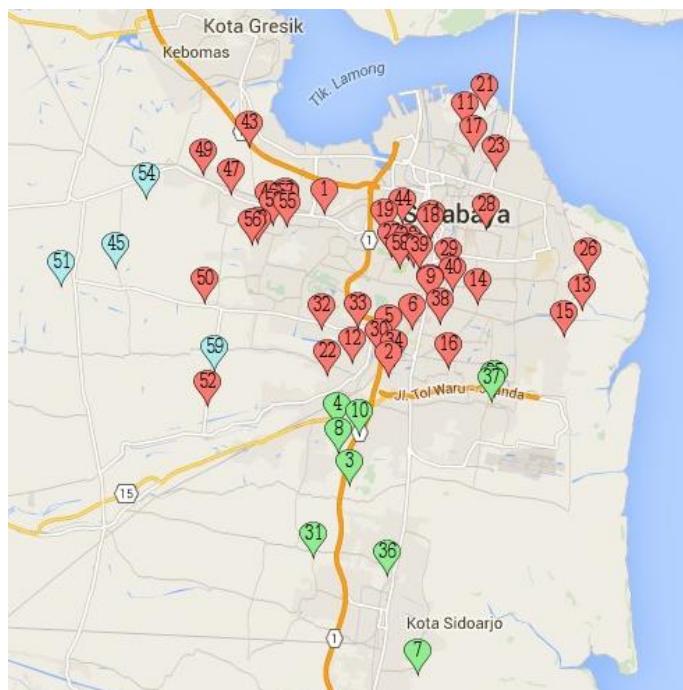
APPENDIX IV: EVALUATION OF QUESTIONNAIRE

The following answers have been given from 165 respondents of the questionnaire in appendix III:

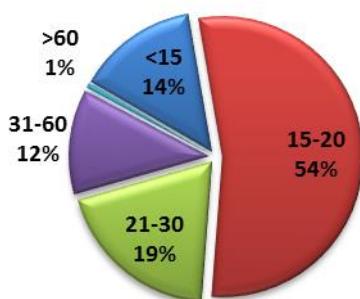
Origin of respondents



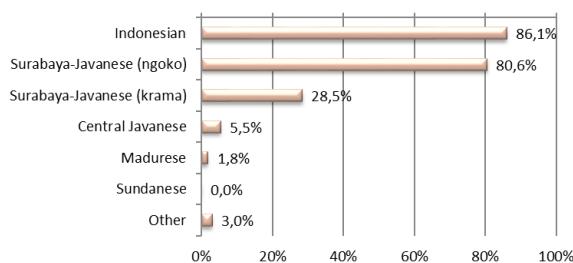
Residence of respondents



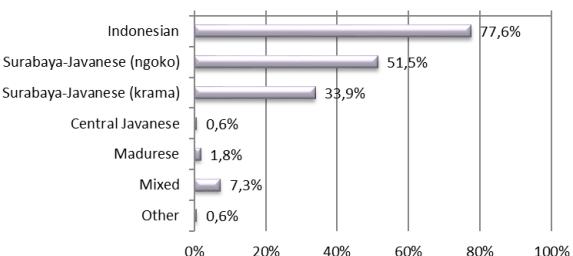
Age of respondents



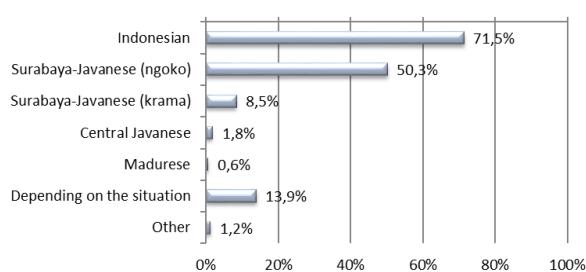
Fluent language proficiency



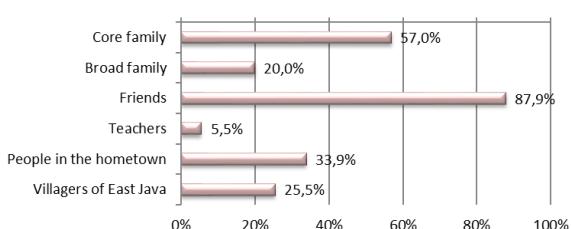
Language usage at home



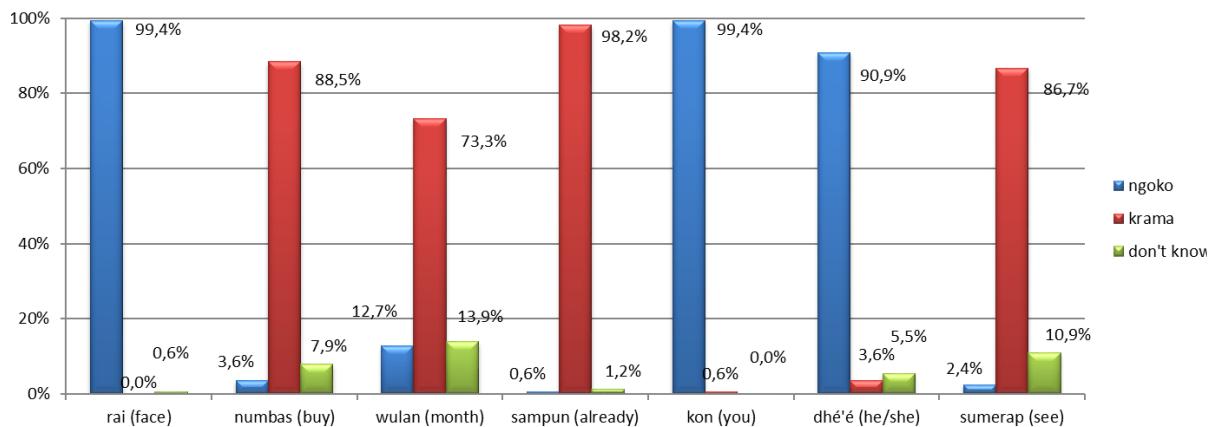
Language used when counting



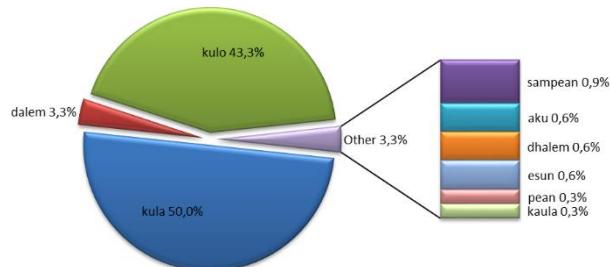
Use of Surabaya Javanese depending on the environment



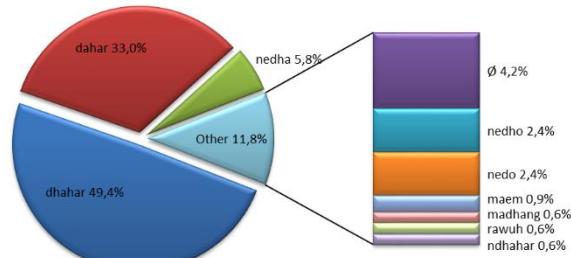
Deciding the level of the following words



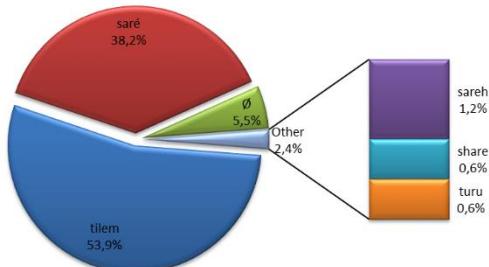
High level for *aku* "I, me"



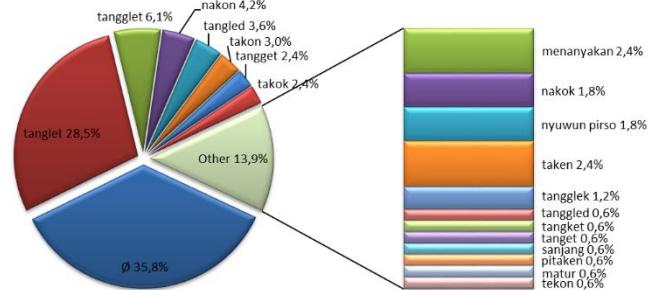
High level for *mangan* "to eat"



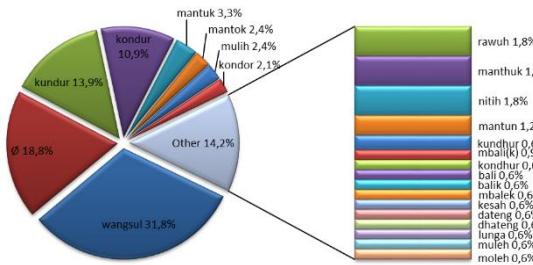
High level for *turu* "to sleep"



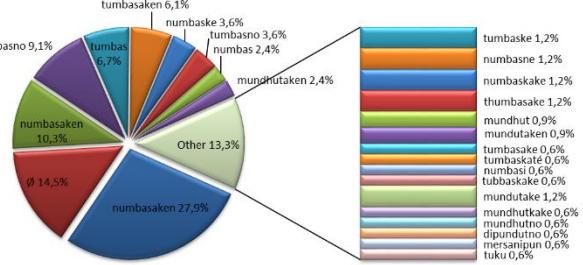
High level for *takok* "to ask"



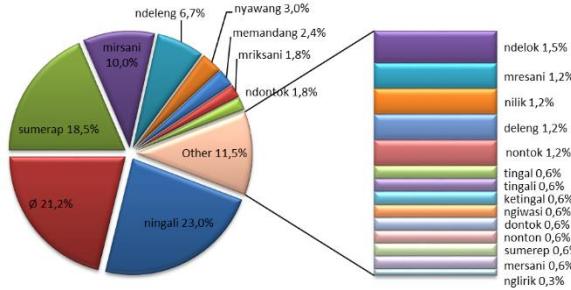
High level for *móléh* "to return home"



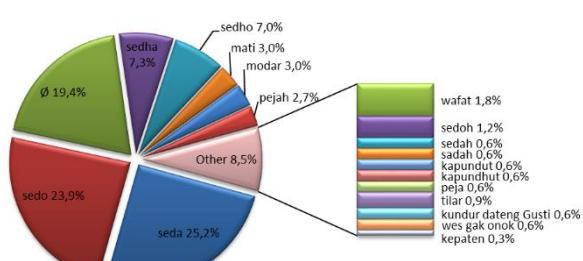
High level for *nukokno* "to buy for"



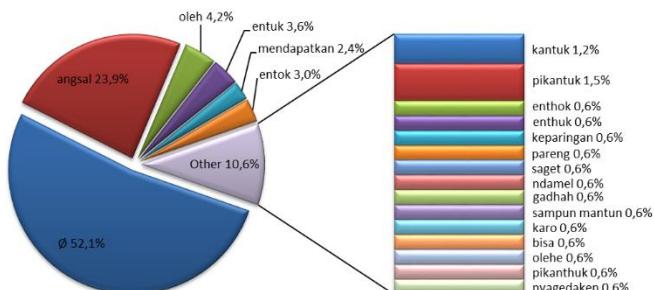
High level for *ndelok* "to see, to look at"



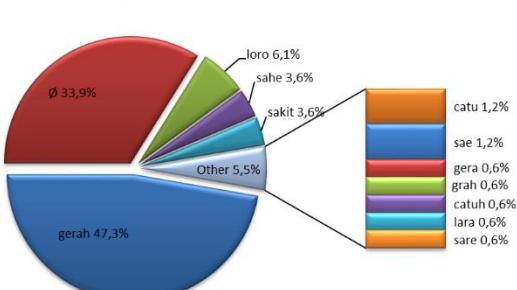
High level for *matèk* "dead, to die"



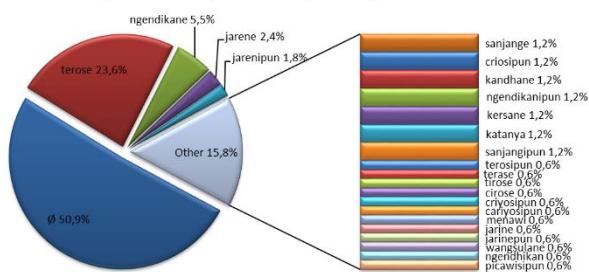
High level for *olèh* "get"



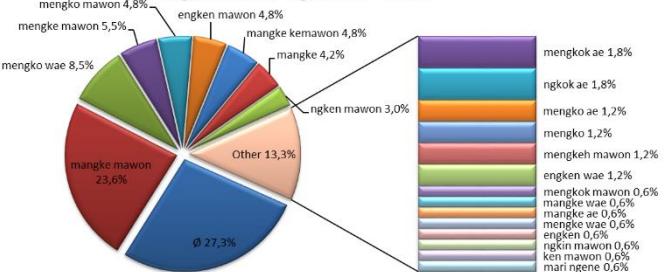
High level for *loro* "sick"



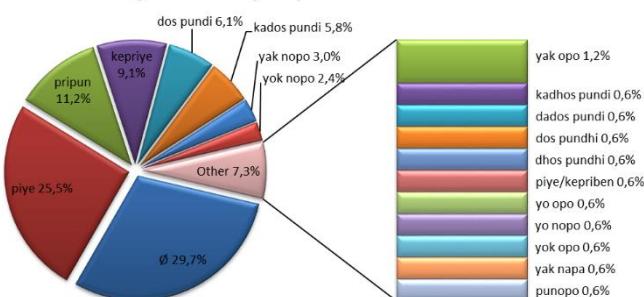
High level for *jaréné* "he/she says"



High level for *ngkók ae* "later"



High level for *yo'opo?* "how?"



Translation of "My father cannot buy me a motorcycle"

91 different translations

- Bapaku gak iso nukokno aku sepeda motor.
 Bapaku gak isok nukokno aku sepeda motor.
 Bapaku ora iso nukokno aku sepeda motor.
 Ø / invalid
 Bapak kulo mboten saget numbasaken kulo sepeda motor.
 Bapaku gak isok nukokno aku sepeda montor.
 Bapaku ora isa nukokno aku sepeda motor.
 Bapak kula ora iso nukokno kula sepeda montor.

Answers Percentage

17	10,3%
15	9,1%
7	4,2%
7	4,2%
6	3,6%
4	2,4%
4	2,4%
3	1,8%

<i>Bapakku ga isok nukokno aku peda motor.</i>	3	1,8%
<i>Bapakku ra iso nukokno aku sepeda motor.</i>	3	1,8%
<i>Ayahku gak isok nukokno aku sepeda motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapak kula mboten iso tumbasno kula sepedha motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapak kula mboten saget numbasake sepeda motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapak kula mboten saget numbasaken kula sepeda motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapak kulo mboten saged numbasaken sepeda motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapak kulo mboten saget numbasake kulo sepeda motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapak kulo mboten saget numbasake kulo sepeda motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapakku ga iso nukokno aku motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapakku ga iso nukokno aku peda motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapakku gak iso nukokno aku peda motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapakku gak iso nukokno aku sepeda montor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapakku gak iso nukokno sepeda motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapakku gak isok nukokno aku motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Bapakku ora bisa nukokno aku sepeda motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Ebèsku gak isok nukokno aku sepeda motor.</i>	2	1,2%
<i>Ayah gak bisa belikno aku sepeda montor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak aku enggak bisa membelikan aku sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak gak iso nukokno aku peda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak gak iso nukokno aku sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak gak isok nukokno aku sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula boten saged numbasake kula sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula gak isa nukokno aku sepeda montor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula mboten ditumbasaken sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula mboten saged mundhutaken kula sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula mboten saged numbasaken kula sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula mboten saged numbasaken kula sepedha motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula mboten saget mundhutaken kula sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula mboten saget numbasaken pit montor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula mboten saget tumbasaken sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula ora isa nukokno kula sepeda montor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula ora isa nukokno kula sepeda.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula ora isa numbasake kula sepedha motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula ora isa numbasno kula sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula ora isa tumbasno kula sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula ora iso nukoake kula pedha motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kula ora iso numbasake kula sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kulo boten saget numbasaken kulo sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kulo boten saget numbasno sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kulo mboten bisa nukokake kula sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kulo mboten saged numbasaken sepedah motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kulo mboten saget numbasaken kula sepeda.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kulo mboten saget numbasaken sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kulo mboten saget numbaske kulo pit motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak kulo mboten saget tumbasaken sepeda motor kulo.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak mboten saged numbasaken kulo sepeda montor kangge kulo.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak mboten saged numbasaken kulo sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak mboten saget numbaske kulo motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapak saiki(?) iso nukokno aku sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapake kulo mboten saget nukoake kulo sepedah motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapakku ga isa nukokno aku sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapakku ga iso nukokno aku sepeda motor anyar.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapakku ga iso nukono aku sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapakku ga isok nukokno aku sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapakku gak isa beliin aku sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapakku gak isa nukokno sepeda montor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapakku gak isa nukokno sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapakku gak iso nokokno aku sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapakku gak iso nukokke awakku sepeda motor.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapakku gak iso nukokno aku brompit.</i>	1	0,6%
<i>Bapakku gak iso nukokno peda motor gawe aku.</i>	1	0,6%

Bapakku gak iso tukokno aku peda motor.	1	0,6%
Bapakku gak isok nukokno aku peda motor.	1	0,6%
Bapakku gak isok nukokno aku sepeda motor cök.	1	0,6%
Bapakku gak isok nukokno peda motor.	1	0,6%
Bapakku gak isok nukukno sepeda motor bronfit.	1	0,6%
Bapakku gisok nukokno aku sepeda montor.	1	0,6%
Bapakku mboten saged numbasno aku sepeda motor.	1	0,6%
Bapakku ora bisa nukokake aku sepeda montor.	1	0,6%
Bapakku ora isa nukokake aku sepeda motor.	1	0,6%
Bapakku ora iso nukokno aku pedha montor.	1	0,6%
Bapakku ora iso nukokno sepeda motor.	1	0,6%
Bapakku ora nukokno aku sepeda motor.	1	0,6%
Bapakku ra iso tukokno aku sepedha.	1	0,6%
Èbèsku ga iso nukokno awakku peda montor.	1	0,6%
Èbèsku gak isok nukokno aku sepeda motor cuk.	1	0,6%
Èbèsku gak isok nukokno sepeda motor.	1	0,6%
Èbèsku ora iso nukoke aku sepeda montor.	1	0,6%
Èbèsku ora iso nukoke sepeda montor.	1	0,6%
Pake kulo mboten saget numbasaken kulo bronvit.	1	0,6%
Pakku ora isok nukokno peda motor gawe aku.	1	0,6%
Rama mboten saget numbasne kulo sepeda motor.	1	0,6%

Ever heard the following words?

