# Bòsò Walikan Malangan : structure and development of a Javanese reversed language

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# CHAPTER 1

# Introduction

## 1.1 Aims of the Study

*Bòsò Walikan Malangan* (hereafter referred to as Walikan) is a term used by the people of Malang to refer to the word-reversal practice in their speech. The word *bòsò* means 'language', *walikan* means 'reversed', while *malang-an* 'Malang style' denotes its origin. Despite the use of the word *bòsò* 'language', Walikan is not a separate language; its structure is similar to Malangan Javanese, the localized variety of Javanese spoken in the area.

This study addresses four specific objectives. First, it describes Walikan from the perspective of youth languages (Chapter 2). Second, it explores the structural aspects of reversed words in Walikan against the background of the phonology of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian (Chapter 3 and 4). Third, it explores the sociolinguistic variability in use of Walikan (Chapter 5). Lastly, it describes the increased current use of Walikan in the media and public space (Chapter 6).

As part of this introduction chapter, §1.2 presents general information on the city of Malang and its surroundings. The linguistic background of the people of Malang is explored in §1.3, while previous studies of Walikan are discussed in §1.4. Further, §1.5 discusses the methodology, fieldwork, corpus of data, theoretical background, and overview of the present study.

## 1.2 Malang

### 1.2.1 Geographical Setting

Geographically, Malang is situated in the middle of East Java, Indonesia. See Figure 1.1.

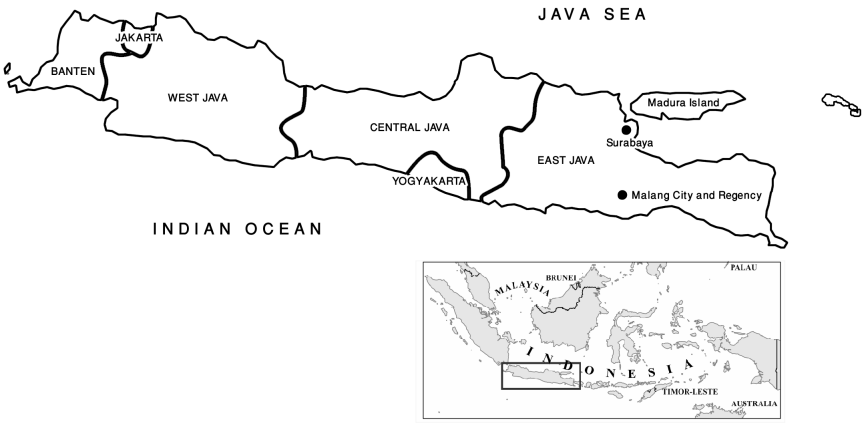


FIGURE 1.1: Provinces in Java

Malang is located approximately 90 km southwest of Surabaya, the capital city of East Java. There are two governance units in Malang: *Kota* Malang 'Malang city' and *Kabupaten* Malang 'Malang regency'. Walikan is believed to have originated from the center of the city. The city stretches over an area of 11,006 square km (Sekilas Malang 2017). See Figure 1.2.


FIGURE 1.2: Malang City within the Malang Regency

The area of Malang city is divided into five districts (*kecamatan*), governing a total of 57 administrative villages (*kelurahan*). The five districts are Klojen, Blimbing, Kedungkandang, Lowokwaru, and Sukun. The broader Malang regency is divided into 33 districts and includes more than 60 administrative villages (Sekilas Malang 2017; Selayang Pandang 2017). The districts in Malang city and regency can be seen in Figures 1.2 and 1.3. This study mostly involves speakers from the five city districts, although a few are from districts in the broader regency.


FIGURE 1.3: Malang City

### 1.2.2 History of Malang

Before the Dutch colonial era, Malang was part of the Gajayana kingdom from 760 CE then the Singosari kingdom from the 11th century (Wojowasito 1978). Under the Dutch East Indies government, Malang was developed as a garrison as well as a holiday resort for people living in big cities such as Surabaya (Stadsgemeente Malang 1939:II). The city was equipped with European-style public buildings, and a railway linking Malang and Surabaya as early as 1879 to make sure the city was well connected (Stadsgemeente Malang 1939:II).

In 1942, during the second World War, the Japanese invaded the city. Later, Dutch troops returned to reclaim the city but the pro-Indonesian resistance troops of Tentara Republik Indonesia Pelajar (TRIP/Student Army of the Republic Indonesia) alongside the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI/ Indonesian National Army) fought hard to support the independence of Indonesia

as a nation (Widodo 2006). This battle, which took place in the years 1947 to 1948, has been cited as the origin of the Walikan language by the people of Malang, as discussed further in §2.6.

### 1.2.3 Social Setting

Malang city has 820,243 inhabitants (Sekilas Malang 2017), while the Malang regency has 2,544,315 inhabitants according to the 2015 census (Selayang Pandang 2017). Malang is the second most populous area in East Java after Surabaya.

Socio-geographically, Malang lies at a cultural intersection: between the Mataraman and the Pendalungan Javanese cultures. The former is used to describe the culture and dialects of people in the cities southwest of Malang, which is influenced by the courts in Yogyakarta and Surakarta (Oetomo 1987; Supriyanto 1996). The latter, on the other hand, is a mix of East Javanese and Madurese culture. Pendalungan Javanese culture is perceived to be more egalitarian, coarse, and straightforward by the Mataraman people (Oetomo 1987).

Malang has gained a national reputation as an educational city; it is often described as a center for higher education and learning (Basundoro et al. 2012; Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). Students come to Malang to study in junior and senior high schools, as well as in universities and colleges. The city is home to four state universities, and 46 private universities and colleges. Not only does this attract students, but it also provides jobs in education and opportunities in the business sector. The domestic migrants coming to Malang originate from other cities in Java and other local islands.

The majority of native Malang are Javanese, while minority groups in the city include Madurese, Chinese, and Arabs. Immigration in the past ten years has also brought in other Indonesian ethnic groups. In the old city center, an area division based on ethnic groups can be traced back to the colonial era.[1] At present, the division remains largely intact. *Embong Arab* 'Arab street', where many descendants of the Arab Indonesians reside is vibrant with furniture, oil, and restaurant businesses.

In general, the city of Malang is known for its comparatively egalitarian culture and peaceful atmosphere. Despite the different ethnic and religious backgrounds of its inhabitants, there has not been any serious religious or political conflict in the city.

[1] Settlements in Malang and other colonial Javanese cities were divided into three general areas: 1) European, 2) *Vreemde Oosterlingen* 'foreign orientals' including Chinese and Arabs, and 3) *pribumi* 'indigenous groups' (Stadsgemeente Malang 1939).

## 1.3 Linguistic Background

In Indonesia, Standard Indonesian is regarded as the most prestigious language, normally used in very formal situations and learned through formal education, while colloquial Indonesian is used in a more informal contexts or in daily conversations (Arka 2013). One of its variants, colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, is the most popular and widely used language across the country (Englebretson 2003). Alongside colloquial Indonesian, we also find regional Malay varieties that are used as lingua francas for the corresponding regions (Paauw 2008). Finally, there are local or vernacular languages, which are considered to have lower prestige than colloquial Indonesian (Arka 2013). In Malang, Standard Indonesian and its localized colloquial variety have higher status than Javanese, which in turn has a higher status than Madurese.

Minority local languages are generally threatened by the dominance of Indonesian and regional Malay varieties (Arka 2013). A trend among young urban families is that parents introduce Indonesian as their children's first language (Sneddon 2003). Javanese, despite being a non-minority local language, also cannot escape the same fate. It undergoes language shift (Mueller 2009; Ravindranath and Cohn 2014), caused by several factors such as the dominance of Indonesian (Mueller 2009; Nurani 2015) and the global spread of English (Zentz 2015).

### 1.3.1 Malangan Javanese

Malangan Javanese refers to the local variety of Javanese spoken in Malang. Javanese (*bòsò Jòwò*, [ˈbɔ̰ʔ.sɔ ˈjɔ̰ʔ.wɔ]) belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian branch of the Austronesian language family (Horne 1961; Simons and Fennig 2018). It is the most widely spoken local language in Indonesia. In the wake of colonial and post-colonial migrations, Javanese has also become a minority language of immigrants in Malaysia, Suriname, the Netherlands, Singapore, and New Caledonia. In Indonesia, it is spoken by around 69 million native speakers, while across the globe its speakers amount to approximately 84 million people (Simons and Fennig 2018).

Javanese has three main dialects and a number of sub-dialects (Hatley 1984; Nothofer 1980; Nothofer 2006; Ras 1985). The three main dialects are Western Javanese, Central Javanese, and Eastern Javanese. Western Javanese is also popularly known as *Ngapak* by all other Javanese speakers; Central Javanese is called *Mbandhék* by Western Javanese speakers or *Mataraman* by

Eastern Javanese speakers; while Eastern Javanese is referred to as *Arék* or *Arékan* by other Javanese speakers, see Figure 1.4.

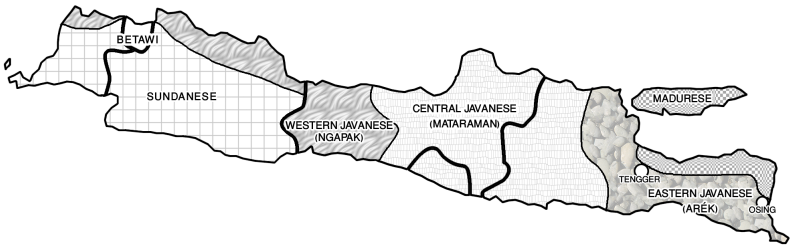


FIGURE 1.4: Javanese dialects with their dialect names in brackets

Among the three main dialects, Central Javanese is regarded as the most prestigious, as the two Javanese court cities, Yogyakarta and Surakarta are located in Central Java (Poedjosoedarmo 1968; Wolff and Poedjosoedarmo 1982). The Central Javanese dialect is used as the basis of Standard Javanese, which is taught in Javanese primary schools. Central Javanese is known to Western Javanese and Eastern Javanese speakers, but Central Javanese speakers do not necessarily know Western and Eastern Javanese.

Malangan Javanese is a sub-dialect of Eastern Javanese. In order to understand the linguistic situation in Malang, it is important to first discuss the languages and dialects spoken in East Java (Figure 1.5).

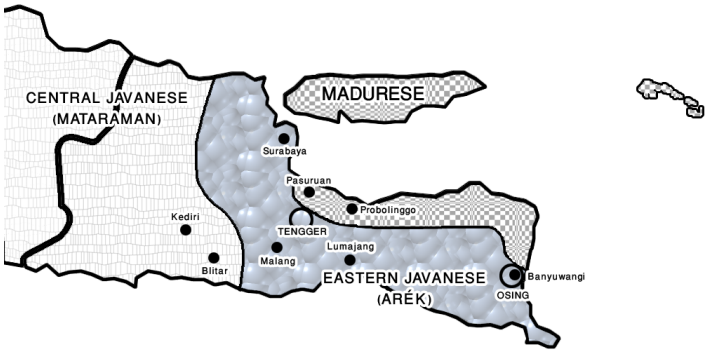


FIGURE 1.5: Dialects in East Java (adapted from Hatley (1984:24))

Some cities in East Java, such as Kediri and Blitar, are part of the Central Javanese dialect continuum. The lexical items and phonological systems of Javanese in those cities correspond to those of Central Javanese. The *Tengger* sub-dialect is not part of the East Java dialect (Krauße 2017); it contains lexical, phonological, and morphological features that are derived from Old and Middle Javanese (Conners 2008). Further, the Eastern Javanese dialect is divided into five sub-dialects: 1) *Suròbòyòan/Surabayan* (Surabaya, Sidoarjo, Mojokerto); 2) *Lòr* (Gresik, Lamongan, Tuban, Bojonegoro); 3) *Malang-Pasuruan* (Malang and Pasuruan); 4) *Tapal Kuda* (Probolinggo, Jember, Lumajang); and 5) *Osing* (Banyuwangi, Tegaldlimo, Pesanggaran) (Krauße 2017:8).

In addition, Madurese is an Austronesian language related to, but not mutually intelligible with Javanese, spoken mainly on Madura island and Kangean island. The *Tapal Kuda* sub-dialect is Eastern Javanese that is heavily influenced by "Madurisms" (Hoogervorst 2008; Oetomo 1987).

Eastern Javanese has the same syntax as Central Javanese. The basic word order of Javanese is SVO, or Subject-Verb-Complement(s). In transitive clauses, the subject appears before the verb, which is followed by the object, and then by other complements (1a). Example (1b) shows an intransitive clause, which often takes a locative complement following the verb.

(1) a. Transitive clause in Malangan Javanese

*Mòrò arék lanang iki mau m-bukak jendhélò.*
come kid male DEM DEF N-open.AV window

'Then the boy opened the window.'
(NY_06102016_ANDW2_jav_Frogstory)

b. Intransitive clause in Malangan Javanese

*Lha awak-é arék iki mau malah ny-(c)anthol ndhik*
DP body-DEF kid DEM DEF instead N-dangle.AV PREP
*sirah-é kéwan iku.*
head-DEF animal DEM

'Look, the body of the boy dangled instead on the head of that animal.'
(NY_06102016_ANDW2_jav_Frogstory)

Malangan Javanese has a nasal prefix N- (discussed further in §3.2.10), which acts as an active verb marker for actor voice, making the actor the subject or topic, see (2a), (3a), and (4a). The proclitic *tak* marks undergoer voice

with first person actors (2b) and *mbòk* marks undergoer voice with second person actors (3b). In sentences with undergoer voice, the theme becomes the subject or topic.

(2) a. First person actor voice

*Aku n-(t)uku buku.*
1SG N-buy.AV book

'I buy a book.'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

b. First person undergoer voice

*Buku-né wis tak tuku.*
book-DEF already 1SG.PROCL buy

'The book was bought by me.'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

(3) a. Second person actor voice

*Koen m-buak barang-é.*
2SG N-throw.away.AV stuff-DEF

'You throw away the stuff.'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

b. Second person undergoer voice

*Barang-é wis mbok buak.*
stuff-DEF already 2SG.PROCL throw.away

'The stuff has been thrown away by you.'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

The prefix *di-* is used to express undergoer voice in third person passive constructions (4b). In (4c), the agent or actor can appear as an adjunct, with an optional preposition.

(4) a. Third person actor voice

*Udhin n-delok nang walik-é kayu iku maeng.*
NP N-look.AV PREP opposite-DEF wood DEM just.now

'Udhin looked behind that piece of wood.'
(NY_22072016_INFA1_jav_Frogstory)

b. Third person undergoer voice

*Akhir-é kodhok-é di-gòwò mulih maném.*
final-DEF frog-DEF PASS-bring go.home again

'Finally the frog is brought back home again.'
(NY_06102016_ANDW2_jav_Frogstory)

c. Third person undergoer voice

*Akhir-é kodhok-é di-gòwò mulih (karo) Tònò.*
final-DEF frog-DEF PASS-bring go.home PREP NP

'Finally the frog is brought back home (by) Tònò.'
(NY_31102016_ENLU2_Frogstory)

In Javanese, speakers are expected to show respect and politeness towards the addressee through the use of different speech levels (Poedjosoedarmo 1968). Javanese has three different speech levels: *Kròmò* (high), *Madyò* (intermediate), and *Ngoko* (low). The lower end of the continuum is the coarse/crude speech of *Ngoko*, spoken in informal situations among peers and towards someone younger or of lesser social status. The intermediate level is *Madyò*, which can be used to show more deference, but is still less courteous than *Kròmò* (Errington 1998:37). The speech levels can be seen as different 'registers' or 'styles' within the language, and they are signified by the use of different lexicon and morphemes (Poedjosoedarmo 1968). Adapted from Robson (2002), Table 1.1 illustrates some Malangan Javanese words from different speech levels.

| ***Ngoko*** | ***Madyò*** | ***Kròmò*** | **Gloss** |
|---|---|---|---|
| *adus* | *adus/siram* | *siram* | 'to take a bath' |
| *aku, awakku* | *kulò* | *dalem* | 'I, me' |
| *di-* | *dipun-* | *dipun-* | 'PASS' |
| *kowé, koen, awakmu* | *sampéyan* | *panjenengan* | 'you' |
| *takon* | *takén, tanglet* | *ndangu* | 'to ask, enquire' |
| *te(turon)* | *te(tileman)* | *se(sarén)* | 'to be lying down' |
| *mati* | *pejah* | *sédò* | 'to die' |
| *wis* | *sampun* | *sampun* | 'already' |

TABLE 1.1: Speech levels in Javanese lexicon

Eastern Javanese speakers do not maintain the use of the speech levels in everyday speech (Hoogervorst 2008; Kraußе 2017). In Surabaya, younger speakers have limited knowledge of speech levels while the older speakers know the higher registers but use the lexicon inconsistently and inaccurately (Kraußе 2017). The same situation is also observed in Malang. Examples (5a-5b) illustrate the use of mixed *Ngoko* and *Madyò* (glossed as Intermediate Level/IL) in a father and son interaction. Examples (5a) to (6b) are based on my observations.

(5) a. Malangan Javanese (Son)

*Pak, sampéyan wis mangan a?*
father 2SG.IL already eat DP

'Father, have you already eaten?'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

b. Malangan Javanese (Father)

*Iyò, iki terus aku katé siram.*
yes DEM continue 1SG will bathe.IL

'Yes, and now I will take a bath.'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

Examples (6a-6b) show how a son would have used *Kròmò* (glossed as High Level/HL) lexicon when speaking to his father in Central Javanese.

(6) a. Central Javanese (Son)

*Pak, panjenengan sampun dhahar?*
father 2SG.HL already.HL eat.HL

'Father, have you already eaten?'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

b. Central Javanese (Father)

*Iyò, iki terus aku arep siram.*
yes DEM continue 1SG will bathe.IL

'Yes, and now I will take a bath.'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

Phonologically, Malangan Javanese shows certain distinctive features, which will be discussed further in Chapter 3. One of the most notable differences with the Central Javanese dialect is the vowel lowering of the close vowels /i/ and /u/ in root-final closed syllable and the preceding open syllable into [ɪ] and [ʊ]. In Central Javanese, the vowel lowering only affects the final syllable (Table 1.2).

| Words | Malangan Javanese | Central Javanese | Gloss |
|---|---|---|---|
| /puṯih/ | [ˈpʊ.ṯɪh] | [ˈpu.ṯɪh] | 'white' |
| /piṯik/ | [ˈpɪ.ṯɪʔ] | [ˈpi.ṯɪʔ] | 'chicken' |
| /kuciŋ/ | [ˈkʊ.cɪŋ] | [ˈku.cɪŋ] | 'cat' |
| /suruŋ/ | [ˈsʊ.rʊŋ] | [ˈsu.rʊŋ] | 'to push' |

TABLE 1.2: Vowel lowering in Malangan Javanese and Central Javanese

Malangan Javanese also differs lexically from Central Javanese. Some of the words shown in Table 1.3 were considered quite coarse to an informant who originates from Tulungagung, East Java. Similar to other Eastern Javanese dialects, Malangan Javanese also contains more profanities than Central Javanese.

| Malangan Javanese | Central Javanese | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *gendheng* | *sinting* | 'crazy' |
| *iku* | *kaé* | 'that' |
| *katé* | *arep* | 'will' |
| *kirik* | *asu* | 'dog' |
| *koen* | *kowé* | '2SG' |
| *maték* | *modyar* | 'to die' (coarse) |
| *mené* | *sésuk* | 'tomorrow' |
| *nang endi* | *ning endi* | 'where' |
| *resek* | *regetan* | 'trash' |
| *riyòyò* | *bòdò* | 'Eid Al-Fitr/Eid Mubarok' |
| *waras* | *mari* | 'recover (from sickness)' |
| *yòkòpò* | *piyé* | 'how' |

TABLE 1.3: Some lexical differences between Malangan Javanese and Central Javanese

In order to compare Malangan Javanese to the more closely related Surabayan Javanese, I asked one of my informants to read a list of Surabayan Javanese words mainly compiled from Hoogervorst (2008). I then asked him to provide the Malangan Javanese equivalents for the words if they are different (Table 1.4).

| Malangan Javanese | Surabayan Javanese | Gloss |
|---|---|---|
| *cablak* | *blakkotang* | 'straightforward' |
| *jarnò* | *cikné* | 'so that' |
| *kluyur* | *kloyong* | 'to wander' |
| *lécék* | *gocik* | 'coward' |
| *mbadhog* | *njeglak* | 'to eat' |
| *mbrebes* | *ndhorak* | 'to cry' |
| *metuwék* | *nggapléki* | 'annoying (person)' |
| *nggragas* | *nyangap* | 'voracious' |
| *njaé* | *mbecong* | 'angry' |
| *rutuh* | *lugur* | 'to fall (objects)' |

TABLE 1.4: Some lexical differences between Malangan Javanese and Surabayan Javanese

A different linguistic code that can be observed in Malang is Walikan, the topic of this thesis. Walikan refers to the use of reversed Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian words, with Malangan Javanese as the matrix language. Walikan may also include unreversed foreign and coined words (cf. Chapter 2). The line between Malangan Javanese and Walikan seems subtle; however, Walikan should not be confused with Malangan Javanese since the latter does not necessarily contain reversed words. The following examples illustrates the differences between a Malangan Javanese in *Ngoko/low* level utterance (7a) and its Walikan counterpart (7b).

(7) a. Ngoko Malangan Javanese

*Pirò* *mas* *regò-né* *sepatu* *iki?*
how.much older.brother price-DEF shoes DEM

'How much do these shoes cost, bro?'

(NY_2015_Fieldnotes)

b. Walikan

*Òrip* *sam* *regò-né* *utapes* *iki?*
how.much older.brother price-DEF shoes DEM

'How much do these shoes cost, bro?'

(NY_2015_Fieldnotes)

As previously mentioned, the vitality of Javanese is currently being challenged. The functions of *Kròmò* Javanese are replaced by Indonesian (Poedjosoedarmo 2006), and the *Ngoko* level is perceived as an outdated variety that is under erasure (Zentz 2015). An assessment of language vitality on another variety of East Javanese, Paciran Javanese, shows that the position of its *Ngoko* level is stable, unlike its *Kròmò* level which is more vulnerable to endangerment (Vander Klok 2019). The same situation can be seen in Malang, where the *Ngoko* Malangan Javanese is used as the matrix language of Walikan. Speakers of Walikan are not embarassed of displaying their mastery of *Ngoko* Javanese when they speak and use Walikan in public spaces as the language of pride, identity, and solidarity (see Chapter 2 and 6). This indicates that people in Malang in general have positive perspectives towards *Ngoko* level of Javanese.

### 1.3.2 Malangan Indonesian

The term Malangan Indonesian is used to refer to the localized dialect of Indonesian spoken in Malang. Indonesian is also referred to as *Bahasa Indonesia* [ba.ˈha.sa ʔi.ⁿdo.ˈne.si.ʲa], where the word *bahasa* means 'language'. Indonesian is one of the standardized dialects of Malay, the other one being the Malay language spoken in Malaysia, Singapore, and Brunei. Indonesian was proclaimed as the language of a united Indonesia in 1928 (Montolalu and Suryadinata 2007).

Indonesian was chosen as the unifying language as opposed to Javanese, the mother tongue of the biggest ethnic group in the area, mainly because it was already used as a *lingua franca* across the archipelago. Moreover, it does not possess intricate speech levels and references to the speakers' social status, and there was an urgent need to unite the linguistically diverse nation (Badudu 1996; Sneddon 2003).

When Indonesia declared its independence on August 17, 1945, the position of Indonesian as the national language was officially acknowledged in the constitution of the Republic of Indonesia. In 1928, only around five per cent of Indonesians were considered speakers of the language, but a 1990 census confirmed that 83% of the population were able to speak Indonesian (Sneddon 2003). In short, Indonesian is a well-accepted language given that its speakers are growing in number each year.

Indonesian orthography has gone through different stages of reform. The first spelling is known as the Van Ophuijsen Spelling System, implemented before the establishment of the Republican Spelling System. Both of them were more or less influenced by Dutch orthography. For instance, the palatal stop sound /c/ is represented with a digraph <tj>. The Van Ophuijsen Spelling System was used from 1901 to 1947, while the Republican Spelling System was used from 17 March 1947 until the establishment of *Ejaan Yang Disempurnakan* (The Perfected Spelling System) in 1972 (Arifin and Tasai 1995; Montolalu and Suryadinata 2007). In 2015, the government released the newest spelling system, called *Pedoman Umum Ejaan Bahasa Indonesia* (The General Spelling of Indonesian Language). Knowledge of the Indonesian orthography is pertinent to the discussion in Chapter 5.

Standard Indonesian is the primary language of education, culture, science, technology, administration, religion, and economics (Montolalu and Suryadinata 2007). The people of Malang use Standard Indonesian only in formal situations, for example in education and business contexts. The youth in Malang also speak colloquial Jakartan Indonesian, although not all of them

are very comfortable with it. Manns (2014:57) notes that radio broadcasters in Malang like to include a few Jakartan lexemes or suffixes, but restrain themselves from using its characteristic pronouns *gue* 'I' or *lo* 'you'.

Malangan Indonesian can be described as Indonesian spoken with a Malangan flavor. It is influenced by Malangan Javanese in terms of its phonology and choice of lexicon. While a detailed account of the phonology and phonotactics of Malangan Indonesian can be found in Chapter 3, the following are some of the most noticeable phonological characteristics of Malangan Indonesian. The stop consonants are acoustically voiceless in Malangan Indonesian and the preceding vowels are breathy except when the consonants are prenasalized. In addition, the glottal stop [ʔ] appears in Malangan Indonesian as the realization of /k/ in root-final position.

Malangan Indonesian also shows the presence of Javanese lexical material, a situation termed as *bahasa gadho-gadho* 'language salad' (Errington 1998:187). Malangan Indonesian is often preferred over Javanese by younger speakers when they address an older person. Although the use of *Ngoko* Malangan Javanese to an older addressee is generally acceptable among the people of Malang, sometimes they still find it impolite. In such a situation, instead of using Javanese, those who are not confident of their high level Javanese will resort to Malangan Indonesian. Being devoid of speech levels, Malangan Indonesian is a safe choice. In order to still show their deference, speakers might retain some *Madyò* or *Kròmò* Javanese pronouns in their Malangan Indonesian speech (8).

(8) *Sampéyan sudah makan?*
2SG.HL already eat

'Have you already eaten?'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

In addition to Javanese pronouns, Malangan Indonesian also features Javanese nouns, verbs, tense adverbs, and adjectives (9a-9c).

(9) a. Javanese Nouns in Malangan Indonesian

*Gedhang-nya baru di-beli kemarin.*
banana-DEF just PASS-buy yesterday

'The banana has just been bought yesterday.'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

b. Javanese Verbs in Malangan Indonesian

*Adik-ku* *ménék* *pohon* *kelapa* *itu.*
younger.brother-1SG.POSS climb tree coconut DEM

'My younger brother climbs that coconut tree.'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

c. Javanese Tense Adverbs in Malangan Indonesian

*Bayi-nya* *wis* *makan.*
baby-DEF already eat

'The baby has already eaten.'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

The discourse particle *a* also often appears in Malangan Indonesian (10). It is positioned at the end of a sentence to create a question from a declarative sentence.

(10) *Orang-nya* *ada* *di* *rumah* *a?*
person-DEF EXIST PREP house DP

'Is the person home?'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

Further, the Javanese suffix *-é* is also often used as a definite marker in Malangan Javanese, instead of the Standard Indonesian suffix *-nya* (11).

(11) *Kelas-é* *mulai* *sebentar* *lagi.*
class-DEF start awhile again

'The class will start soon.'

(NY_2018_Fieldnotes)

Examples (8)-(11) represent how Javanese and Indonesian codes are mixed by the people in Malang. The combination of both Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian in the speech of the same person is commonly heard.

## 1.4 Previous Studies

Here I will briefly describe how Walikan has attracted the attention of scholars from linguistics, anthropology, history, and communication science.

One of the earliest accounts of Walikan is Suharto (1983), a newspaper article which describes Walikan as a street language commonly used among thugs or criminals. Providing 49 Walikan words in the article, Suharto (1983) asserts that the reversal rule of Walikan is mainly based on the orthography of the reversed word.

Widodo (2006) contains a chapter of a popular history book about Malang. It contains a collection of anecdotes about the history of Walikan. The chapter also includes 133 words of Walikan, compiled by the writer based on his own knowledge of the language.

Another list of Walikan words is provided by Pujileksono and Kartono (2007). They include more than 296 words of Walikan which are presented next to the original words, the language origin, as well as the semantic description, origin, and context of usage. The work describes the phenomenon of word reversal in Malang and its relation to cultural identity and social integration in the city.

Soenarno (2011) is a dictionary of Walikan, Malangan Javanese, and Malangan Indonesian. It includes approximately 700 Walikan words, however, I did not include them as data for this study (see §6.4.1). The Malangan Javanese words in this source were, however, helpful in the initial stage of compiling Malangan Javanese words.

Espree-Conaway (2012) is a short anthropological report on Walikan. Using data collected mainly through interviews and surveys, it concludes that Walikan is not a slang, but a "place language" or *bahasa daerah* 'local language', one that is able to construct intimacy and solidarity. Learned either from parents or from school friends, Walikan is described as spoken by both younger and older generations, although the latter tend to limit their usage of Walikan. In addition, Espree-Conaway (2013) discusses Walikan as a performance used by the speakers in an urban space to help them create a communal identity.

Rachmawaty (2012) refers to Walikan as Lawikan Malang. The word *lawikan* is another manipulation of *walikan* 'reversed' (see §2.3). The study focuses on the use of Walikan as a local tradition amidst globalization. Another study, Prayogi (2013), describes Walikan as one of the slangs in Malang and focuses on the formation process of the slang words. Its analysis presents different types of word reversal and a short list of 82 Walikan words.

More recently, Hoogervorst (2014) is a 25-page sociolinguistic analysis of youth languages in East Java. It compares Walikan to another East Javanese youth language spoken in the neighboring city, Surabaya. Providing 170 Walikan words mostly from elicitation, it discusses some characteristics of Walikan and connects word formation processes in Walikan to the phonology and phonotactics of Javanese.

A detailed description of Walikan has not been conducted before. This study provides a comprehensive linguistic analysis of Walikan words and their internal structure. It also presents the development and contemporary use of Walikan. As materials for this study, I collected spoken and written data of Walikan, while also making use of the extant word lists. The Walikan words from Suharto (1983), Widodo (2006), Pujileksono and Kartono (2007), Rachmawaty (2012), Prayogi (2013), and Hoogervorst (2014) were combined in a list of 423 words, which was later checked by my informants. Words that were not found in my own database but were confirmed by my informants were added to the final list of 725 Walikan words (see Appendix B).

## 1.5 The Present Study

### 1.5.1 Methodology and Data Collection

To collect data for this study, I conducted a total of ten months of fieldwork. My first fieldwork trip was in 2015, where I stayed in Malang from May to August 2015. The second fieldwork trip also took four months, from July to October 2016. From November 2017 to January 2018 I went back to Malang and met several informants, in order to check some data as well as to collect new additional material.

During my stay in Malang, I moved back to my parents' place in the Dinoyo district, not far from the city center area. It is located around 2 km from the campus quarter[2] and is well-connected to other parts of the city. In this way, I could easily meet most of my informants who were college students. Our meetings were usually in cafés or in campus facilities. Sometimes I also needed to travel further to meet with informants, but anywhere was easy to reach from the Dinoyo area.

[2]The State University of Malang, Brawijaya University, and Maulana Malik Ibrahim State Islamic University Malang are located relatively close to each other. The surroundings are full of students' boarding houses, cafés, and restaurants targeting young college students.

Malang is my hometown, the place where I was born and raised. It was also where I received my education up to the undergraduate level. I speak Malangan Javanese as a mother tongue, and am proficient in Standard Indonesian as well as colloquial Malangan Indonesian. I also understand Walikan and use it in daily conversation with close friends and family, though I am not very fluent.

In conducting this study, I have benefited from my background as a native speaker of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian. Although all words and texts in Walikan were collected through recording sessions, field notes, previous studies, and public media, I added Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian words from my own repertoire to the limited corpus of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian.

Walikan is mostly spoken in the central area of Malang city, so my fieldwork was conducted in the Malang city area. Most informants were born in Malang and were living in the city at the time of the study, although a number of them originate from the regency of Malang, or currently live there. A few of them come from outside of Malang because Walikan has been spread to other neighboring cities.

The ten months fieldwork involved several stages. The first fieldwork trip was aimed at getting to know the community and collecting as many data of Walikan, Malangan Javanese, and Malangan Indonesian as possible. In May 2015 I recruited people in my inner circle (family and friends) to participate as my informants, and asked them to connect me to their other circles. Starting in late June 2015, I created an online survey using Google Forms to find more participants outside of my inner circle. I then posted the forms into different WhatsApp groups, Facebook groups, and Twitter accounts. The link was circulated for a couple of days and I received feedback from hundreds of people. Those who indicated that they were willing to contribute to my study were then invited to recording sessions. From the first fieldwork trip, I gathered spoken data from 40 speakers, which consisted of around 18 hours of interviews, Frog stories, conversations, and monologues.

The main aim of the second fieldwork trip was to reach more participants from different genders and age groups. In doing so, I conducted a similar method as in the first year, finding informants from the inner circle and outer circle through the friend-of-a-friend technique and an improved Google Forms survey. I also met some informants from the first fieldwork trip and, when necessary, I conducted more recording sessions with them. In addition to the recording sessions, I watched a football game in the main stadium of Malang and spent some time in the street and cafés around the city, in order

to meet more people and to observe the use of Walikan more closely. By the end of the second fieldwork trip, I had gathered 28 hours of spoken data, including interviews, Frog stories, conversations, and monologues. The number of participants in total was 132, comprising 80 male speakers and 52 female speakers.

The third visit aimed to look for additional information that might have been overlooked. I only scheduled meetings with informants whom I missed in the previous fieldwork trips. I also had the chance to spend more time checking some previously collected data with speakers from the first and second fieldwork trips. In the third fieldwork I only added one new male participant. The final distribution of all my informants can be seen in Table 1.5.

During all three trips, I took pictures of any Walikan texts I spotted around the city. I also compiled a small corpus of written Walikan that includes printed and online newspaper columns, as well as conversations on the Internet/social media such as blogs, Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Besides, I compiled a collection of Walikan audios/videos, including Youtube videos, music videos, local TV videos, and local radio shows.

During the first fieldwork trip, I was part of a different project, funded by a research grant from DIKTI (Directorate General of Higher Education), Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education, Indonesia, under the *Hibah Bersaing* scheme managed by Universitas Negeri Malang's LP2M (Institute for Research and Community Services). The title of the project was *Kajian Linguistik Bahasa Walikan Malangan* 'The Linguistic Study of Bahasa Walikan Malangan'. With two other colleagues from my home university, Evynurul Laily Zen and Emalia Iragiliati, I built a corpus of spoken Walikan intended for future use by any member of the research team as well as other researchers interested in working with the language.

The funding received from the aforementioned project was mainly used to cover part of the informants' transportation fee and the transcription of a selection of texts. Those texts were then compiled and copied onto compact discs made available for public access in the library of Faculty of Letters and the main library of Universitas Negeri Malang. The number of texts I collected and included in that corpus are one fifth of the total data used for this dissertation. That project finished in December 2015, thus, my second and third fieldwork trips and the collection of four fifths of my data was fully funded by the DIKTI-Leiden scholarship.

## 1.5.2 The Corpus

Various types of data were collected during the fieldwork (§1.5.1), resulting in a corpus of spoken and written Walikan. The corpus consists of a total of 725 Walikan words.

### 1.5.2.1 Spoken Data of Walikan

The corpus of spoken data contains face-to-face collected data which amounts to 50 hours and 35 minutes of recording sessions. The sessions consist of interviews, conversations, elicitations, and Frog Story narratives. They were recorded using a Zoom H4n SP audio recorder and a Samsung NX Mini camera. In addition to this, the corpus also includes spoken forms of Walikan that are available in public media, consisting of approximately 3 hours of songs, video clips, YouTube videos, recordings of a local TV news and a radio show. The spoken data were first transcribed using ELAN (ELAN 2015) and then imported into FLEx (FLEx 2015) for glossing. All together, the spoken corpus yields 350 Walikan words.

The transcription of the texts was done with the help of several research assistants: Jimy Chandra Gunawan, Dian Novita, and Cita Nuary Ishak during the first fieldwork trip; Lely Tri Wijayanti, Nadia, Natalia Wijayanti, and Syahrul Rahman during the second fieldwork trip. The assistants helped me with the initial transcription in ELAN, but I went through all the transcriptions, made the final corrections, and glossed them in FLEx.

Due to time constraints, not all spoken data were transcribed and glossed. Elicited words and Frog Story narratives were transcribed and glossed and then compiled in a FLEx filed coded as *Malang Javanese*. A large number of conversations were also transcribed, glossed, and compiled in the same FLEx file. Those longer than seven minutes or involve more than three participants were not transcribed and glossed in detail, thus they are excluded from the FLEx file. The interviews were transcribed using Inqscribe, a software program which allows for a quick transcription process with a time code feature. The information from all the interviews was also available in an Excel file.

Now I will explain the nature of all the spoken data and how they were obtained. In each initial session, I asked the informant to fill out a consent form. The session then typically started with an interview (see Appendix C). The interview was based on a set of written sociolinguistic questions in a form, including a number of semi-open-ended questions such as a self-assessment of the speaker's fluency in Walikan, a question with whom the speaker usu-

ally uses Walikan, and an instruction to list as many popular Walikan words as possible that the speaker uses regularly. The informant was asked to write down their answers on the form before orally elaborating each question in a follow-up interview. The interview focused on unclear answers, and empty or blank responses. If the speakers did not answer the questions during the follow-up interview, the items were left blank. The duration of each interview differed for each informant. A few times when it was not possible to conduct an oral interview, for instance when meeting a group of Walikan speakers on the street, the informant only filled in the printed interview form quickly and incompletely. The interviews were conducted in different languages; mostly in Malangan Indonesian, sometimes in *Ngoko* Malangan Javanese, and rarely in Walikan. This was dependent on the sociolinguistic hierarchy and my closeness with the person.

After finishing the interview, I asked the person which follow-up task they felt more comfortable starting with: performing a Frog Story narrative or eliciting Walikan words. The Frog Story narrative is based on a children's story entitled "Frog Where are You", a sequel to "A Boy, a Dog, and a Frog" series written by Mayer (1969). The 30-page book contains only pictures, and no text. Informants were asked to look at a printed copy of the book and to narrate the whole story. It was chosen in the attempt of creating a corpus of narratives with unvaried topics, so that comparison of the use of Walikan across age groups and genders would be possible. This approach worked, as only on very few occasions would an informant not provide a Frog Story narrative and rather perform a narrative on another topic of their choice. Most narratives were delivered in Walikan, while ten of them were given completely in Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian, namely with no reversed words.

The next type of spoken data in the corpus is conversation. If there were two or more speakers of Walikan present during a session, I would ask them to start a conversation in either natural or forced situations. In forced situations, I provided a topic and briefly joined the conversation, but I made sure that I did not control the conversation and that my role there was only as a participant observer. In order to make the situation during the recording sessions more natural, I was accompanied by a research assistant who is fluent in Walikan or a friend who had introduced me to the participant. The number of tasks completed by an informant was based and dependent on the available time during the session, or the fluency of the speaker.

Walikan has existed since the 1960s or perhaps even the 1940s (see §2.4), which suggests that it is now used across different generations and by a large

group of people. My methodology of collecting face-to-face spoken forms of Walikan allowed me to put together data with a fair representation of participants, based on gender and age groups, within ten months. As shown in Table 1.5, there are 133 people (80 males and 53 females) across all age groups. A large corpus of spoken data is able to capture the development of the language.

| Age/Gender | 10-15 | 16-24 | 25-39 | 40-59 | $\geq$ 60 | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 3 | 11 | 27 | 21 | 18 | 80 |
| Female | 0 | 8 | 20 | 14 | 10 | 52 |
| Total | 3 | 19 | 47 | 35 | 28 | 132 |

Table 1.5: Total informants distribution

In order to complete the whole spectrum of how Walikan is spoken at present, the corpus also incorporates spoken data of Walikan that were retrieved from public media. The first type of such data is taken from a television news program and a radio show. The television program selected was titled *Kowal-Kawil* 'topsy-turvy'. The video was obtained during my visit to the Malang station of Jawa Timur Television (JTV) to interview the host of the program, Sam Ohim, in 2017. After the interview, he gave me a copy of two *Kowal-Kawil* episodes; one was aired on July 4, 2015, and the other one on June 13, 2015. Their duration is around 30 minutes each. The radio show being recorded was on Senaputra 104.1 FM. I also interviewed one of its broadcasters in 2017 but he did not give me access to an original recording of his show. Therefore, I listened to the radio only occasionally and was able to record a short part of the show *Bos Bal-Balan Bos* 'football, boss'. The duration of this recording is around 20 minutes.

Additionally, I have collected YouTube videos where people are using Walikan. In total there are 11 videos in the form of song clips, trailers, and other general YouTube videos. Each video is around five minutes in duration. Finally, I also looked at a documentary video by Fitriah (2015), which focuses on the history and present use of Walikan. The documentary is produced by a student of Institut Seni Indonesia Yogyakarta (Indonesian Art Institute in Yogyakarta) for her Master's thesis. The issue is explored through interviews with a number of local public figures.

#### 1.5.2.2 Written Data of Walikan

The written Walikan data set consists of local newspaper columns, printed texts on t-shirts, and pictures taken around the city's public spaces. The local newspaper columns are: 1) *Osiiiii Ae Jes!*, published in the *Malang Ekspres*, a printed newspaper (I used the issues from June to August 2015), and 2) *Paitun Gundul*, published in the *Malang Voice*, an online newspaper (I used the issues from August 2015 to February 2016).

I also collected printed texts on t-shirts during encounters in the street or in shops, as well as from pictures on the Internet and also from illustrations in a folder issued by the owner of *Oyisam*, a Malang t-shirt shop. Digital stickers of Walikan were collected directly from an informant who happened to be the creator of the stickers. Other types of digital stickers for the same communication purposes were gathered through Internet search engines. In addition, I took pictures of Walikan words used in Malang's public spaces as I was riding around the city as a motorcycle passenger. Further, I also observed different online platforms using Walikan, particularly on Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp. From these Internet observations of Walikan, I collected screenshots from August 2014 to October 2017.

All in all, my written corpus of Walikan contains approximately 172 Walikan words. The combination of spoken and written corpus amount to 522 number of Walikan words. After the addition of Walikan words from previous studies that were not found in my own corpus but were confirmed to exist by my informants, a final list of 728 Walikan words is used in the present study. The pronunciation of the Walikan words found only in written forms are mainly provided by two main informants, Ersi (male, 31 years old), and Infa (female, 33 years old).

#### 1.5.2.3 Data of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian

My description of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian is based on a total of ten Frog Story narratives. I also rely on the interview recordings described in §1.5.2.1. Additionally, there were elicitation sessions of the 100-word Swadesh list for Javanese that I conducted with six participants. Finally, I make use of fieldwork notes and my knowledge as a native speaker of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian.

#### 1.5.2.4 Data Archiving

The data used in this research are accessible through https://hdl.handle.net/10411/TIGXZT, DataverseNL, V1. They include the sociolinguistic information of the participants, the recordings and transcriptions of spoken Walikan, as well as the collection of written Walikan.

### 1.5.3 Organization of the Study

In order to systematically describe different aspects of Walikan, a number of approaches are used in each chapter.

Chapter 2 uses Silverstein's (1985) concept of Total Linguistic Fact (TLF) to analyze Walikan from different angles, incorporating a description of its forms, current use, and language ideology. Here Walikan is discussed by referring to previous works on youth languages (Hoogervorst 2014; Kießling and Mous 2004; Nortier and Svendsen 2015).

Chapters 3 and 4 focus on the phonological structure of Walikan. In chapter 3 I investigate the phonology and phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian. The methodology and structure of discussions in Chapter 3 draws on descriptive work in language grammars (Dixon 2009; Klamer 2010). In Chapter 4 I describe the word formation process in Walikan. The chapter focuses on how the reversal in Walikan reflects Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonology and phonotactics, as well as how it deviates from them.

Chapter 5 discusses the sociolinguistic aspects of Walikan. It analyzes how different genders and age groups use Walikan. It also reveals the phonological and/or lexical varieties of Walikan that can be found among speakers of different genders and age groups.

Finally, Chapter 6 explores the contemporary use of written and spoken forms of Walikan in the media and the public space by referring to studies on linguistic landscapes (Goebel et al. 2017; McLaughlin 2001). I demonstrate that at present Walikan has found its way into public spaces and legitimized its position as an urban language that is able to project the identity of the people of Malang.