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

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CHAPTER 2

Walikan as a Youth Language

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter[1] is to explore the characteristics of Walikan by referring to studies on youth language as a sociolinguistic phenomenon (Djenar 2015; Kießling and Mous 2006; Nortier and Svendsen 2015). Walikan has distinctive forms and is dynamic in its capacity to reinvent itself through time, so this chapter discusses in which respects Walikan is similar to youth languages. In order to systematically investigate the complexities of Walikan, this chapter links Walikan forms to its practice by drawing on Silverstein's (1985) Total Linguistic Fact (TLF).

To quote Silverstein (1985), "The total linguistic fact, the datum for a science of language, is irreducibly dialectic in nature. It is an unstable mutual interaction of meaningful sign forms contextualized to situations of interested human use, mediated by the fact of cultural ideology" (p. 220). By combining detailed analysis of language forms with interpretation of contextualized usage and language ideologies, TLF dissects a language phenomenon both

[1] A preliminary version of this chapter was published as Yannuar, N. (2018). Walikan: A Youth Linguistic Practice in East Java, Indonesia. In A. Ziegler (Ed.), *Jugendsprachen: Aktuelle Perspektiven Internationaler Forschung (Youth Languages: Current Perspectives of International Research)* (pp. 559-574). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

synchronically and diachronically.

First, in §2.2 I introduce the definition of youth languages and their general characteristics by considering different types of youth languages around the world. §2.3 analyses the structure of Walikan and its language manipulation strategies. Linguistic form is related to the "phonological, grammatical, and other systematically distributed categories of language form" (Wortham 2008a:84). These forms do not have meaning unless they are seen in their contexts of use. In order to provide more contexts to the discussion of Walikan, §2.4 describes how Walikan was able to progress from a secret code to a solidarity language. Afterwards, §2.5 focuses on the contextual usage of Walikan as a language variety that bears the pride and identity of the speakers.

The meanings produced from such contextualized use can express both "a denotational meaning", its general linguistic meaning, and "indexical meaning", which is "grounded in an entirely different set of social, cultural, historical, and political bodies of knowledge and experience" (Blommaert 2015b:15). The latter type of meaning reflects the ideologies of language, that is "any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use" (Silverstein 1979:193). The ideology of Walikan is explored in §2.6. The chapter concludes that Walikan has undergone a sociolinguistic metamorphosis, from a once secret language to an anti-language, and finally to a language that expresses a shared identity, thereby losing its secrecy.

2.2 On Youth Languages

In this section, Walikan is explored through the lens of youth language, a term with a broad definition that covers different linguistic practices, styles, registers, and vernaculars performed by young speakers (Djenar 2015; Mous 2009; Nortier 2018b). In Walikan, speakers use Malangan Javanese language structure while at the same time incorporating special vocabularies created through word reversal processes. Walikan has been described as a slang, emphasizing its informal context and deviation from standard language (Bowden 2015; Hoogervorst 2014; Prayogi 2013). Walikan, similar to other youth related linguistic practices in Indonesia, such as Prokem (Dreyfuss 1983) and Gaul (Smith-Hefner 2007), is saliently characterized by its lexicon, which fits the category of special register described in Fox (2005).

Choosing a suitable term for a linguistic practice, however, should consider not only linguistic structure, but also how this practice is used and per-

ceived in the community (Mous 2009), especially given that language can be a social and ideological practice (Blommaert 1999; Djenar 2015; Svendsen and Quist 2010; Svendsen 2015). Carelessly labeling a language practice can lead to the associated speech community experiencing negative impacts in public discourse (Cornips et al. 2015). For example, it may result in the portrayal of an essentially vibrant practice as one that is limited to linguistic defiance and incompetent young speakers (Cornips et al. 2015). Therefore in this study, Walikan is not referred to as a slang, but as a linguistic practice, a language variety, or a language, although its grammatical structure is Malangan Javanese. Doing so accommodates the speakers' emic view of Walikan as a distinct language.

The concept of youth language is consulted here to objectively and carefully describe a language practice, referring to Djenar's (2015:3) definition of youth languages as "the many ways in which youth draw on linguistic resources from multiple levels, from word, phrase, construction, discourse, to paralinguistic and graphic representations, in order to construct meaning in spoken and written interaction".

Within youth language discourse, as in Nortier and Svendsen (2015), a number of etic or professional labels are introduced: Contemporary Urban Vernacular (Rampton 2015) is used to refer to a linguistic practice in London, while Urban Youth Speech Style is used in Dorleijn et al. (2015) to label multilingual urban youths' practices in Kenya and The Netherlands. The word 'vernacular' underlines that this practice stands in opposition to the standard language; the word 'urban' refers to its domain, while the word 'contemporary' highlights its distinction from traditional non-standard speech (Rampton 2015:177). Dorleijn et al. (2015) use the term Urban Youth Speech Style to highlight that the linguistic practice is a style confined to a certain group of speakers, the youth. Despite the different terminologies chosen, it can be inferred that they are actually referring to a similar type of linguistic practice, one that resides among the youth.

Youth languages are common linguistic practices in many parts of the world. In Africa, a number of youth languages have been identified by their speakers as separate languages and are ascribed their own names: Nouchi in Abidjan, Camfranglais in Yaounde-Douala, Indoubil and Lingala ya Bayankee in Brazzaville and Kinshasa, Iscamto in Johannesburg, as well as Sheng and Engsh in Nairobi and Kenya (Kießling and Mous 2004). In Europe, descriptions of youth languages include Straattaal and Moroccan Flavored Dutch in The Netherlands (Nortier and Dorleijn 2008; Nortier 2018a; Nortier 2018b); Verlan in France (Lefkowitz 1989; Lefkowitz 1991), as well as Kebabnorsk in

Norway, Perkerdansk in Denmark, and Kanakensprache in Germany (Nortier and Dorleijn 2013). In Asia youth languages include *Gaul* 'social language', an informal language variety that is used by the youth in Indonesia to express social/economic mobility and cosmopolitan culture (Smith-Hefner 2007), and a Malay *bahasa remaja* 'youth language' in West Malaysia (Hoogervorst 2015).

Youth languages in different parts of the world develop their own characteristics, which are subject to local social contexts (Nortier 2018b). Manipulated language forms are important features in youth languages to conceal messages, and the norms are changed rapidly to make the language more unintelligible to outsiders (Kießling and Mous 2004). In this light, certain youth languages comprise an 'anti-language' (Halliday 1976), a form of language that is generated by and belongs to a stigmatized community, including criminals, thugs, prostitutes, and ethnic minorities (Kießling and Mous 2004). As anti-languages, they contain a large number of derogatory words related to criminal activities, drugs, and sex (Hoogervorst 2014). The speakers' motivation is to "create a separate language by manipulating the dominant language as an act of rebellion and as a manifestation of a separate youth culture" (Mous 2009:215).

Nouchi in Abidjan and Sheng in Nairobi underwent a process in which they developed from anti-language popular among criminals into an urban youth language, and further to a language used in broader contexts. A youth language, therefore, can originate from an anti-language and later can also stabilize into a common language used in wider communication (Kießling and Mous 2004).

Halliday's (1976) anti-language elements, nevertheless, may not always materialize in every youth language (Nortier 2018b). The Gaul language in Indonesia is used to show speakers' upward social mobility (Smith-Hefner 2007). There is also *bahasa gado-gado*, a mix of Indonesian and English, which is used to resist the persisting language ideology that standard Indonesian is the only true national language, but at the same time is used to project the young speakers' construction of modernity (Martin-Anatias 2018).

A youth language may be defined as a multi-ethnolect, since it typically originates from a multilingual and multi-ethnic environment (Nortier 2018b). Such languages are often used to bridge ethnic boundaries in urban situations (Hoogervorst 2015; Kießling and Mous 2004). The multi-ethnic element is also apparent when a youth language incorporates its lexicon from other languages in the speakers' repertoire (Djenar 2015; Hoogervorst 2014). These plurilingual aspects may characterize a youth language as part of language contact domain; nevertheless, a youth language is devoid of pidgin and cre-

ole properties (Kießling and Mous 2004:304).

It is worth noting that the level of multiethnicity in youth languages can vary. In the perspective of young Moroccan Dutch, Dutch straattaal is not a multi-ethnolect on the ideological level because its speakers associate the lexical items from Sranan as part of the Black community (Kossmann 2017). Mourigh (2017) reports that a multi-ethnolect in Gouda among indigenous Dutch youth cannot be considered a multi-ethnolect from the point of view of Moroccan youth. The latter group is not as ready as the former group to accept Sranan Tongo lexical items. There is also a youth language that is not constructed in a multi-ethnic setting (Nortier 2018b). Hedid (2011) describes a language mix of Arabic and French Verlan in Algeria, which is used among college students of no particular ethnic diversity.

The word 'youth' is essential to denote the age of the speakers who typically initiate youth languages (Djenar 2015; Mous 2009). The entire range of speakers of youth languages, however, extends beyond younger groups. The usage of London Contemporary Urban Vernacular, for example, is retained in adulthood (Rampton 2015). In Yanké, spoken in the Congolese capital Kinshasa, speakers are also observed to have used the language until they are older (Nassenstein 2014). The word 'youth', in this perspective, is used to index the young age of the speakers when acquiring the linguistic practice.

Youth languages in Africa are known to display a contrast between male and female domains (Kießling and Mous 2004:318). Young male groups are often described as more dominant speakers because they are more engaged in the anti-language discourse, while female speakers develop their own ingroup register, albeit one that adheres to social norms (Kießling and Mous 2004). Regardless of this disposition, a Zimbabwean youth language described in Hollington and Makwabarara (2015) is used by both boys and girls. Boys and girls in this language have developed their own collection of words to describe the opposite sex, lovers, prostitutes, and intimate relations.

Youth languages have in common that they represent a shared identity (Kießling and Mous 2006; Nassenstein 2014; Nassenstein and Hollington 2015; Nortier 2018b). This way, speakers use their language to express intimacy with close friends (Hoogervorst 2014). The Zimbabwean youth language, for example, is used by the speakers to distinguish themselves from others who are older and live outside the urban centers (Hollington and Makwabarara 2015).

The following discussion will examine the use of manipulated language forms in Walikan (§2.3). Its existence may have begun with an anti-language element, but has since lost its marginalized status (§2.4). Walikan incorpo-

rates multilingual words but it does not show divisions among different ethnic groups (§2.3). Walikan is for the most part a medium for its speakers to express their in-group solidarity and to lessen the gap of communication between the older and the younger generations created by the Javanese cultural framework, with its emphasis on politeness. In other words, Walikan helps articulate young people's shared identity of belonging to the same local culture (§2.5 and §2.6).

2.3 Forms of Walikan

The word *walikan* in Javanese means 'reversed', referring to the most salient feature of the language: word reversal (Espree-Conaway 2012; Hoogervorst 2014). Formerly, people from Malang referred to this practice with inconsistent labels. Older speakers mentioned that they did not use any label for this word reversal practice in the past; for them it was only a strategy to manipulate speech and conceal secret information. A variety of terms such as KIWALAN and LAWIKAN also exist, which are manipulations of the word *walikan* 'reversed'. The word "walikan", however, is the most widely used by the speakers and in the media. Eighty percent of informants referred to the practice as Walikan in the sociolinguistic questionnaire I administered (see §1.5.2.1 for descriptions of the questionnaire).

The reversed words in Walikan originate from the linguistic repertoire of the speakers (see Table 2.1). Walikan includes reversed words from Malangan Javanese (KÉRA < *arék* 'kid'), Malangan Indonesia (IGAP < *pagi* 'morning'), and locally coined words (NOLAB < *balon* 'prostitute'). Other available codes are also present in the lexicon, such as Arabic (NÉZ < *zén* 'nice') and English (WOLES < *selow* 'slow'). Dutch words such as RAMALEK < *makelar* 'middleman' entered the repertoire through Javanese or Indonesian as a result of extensive borrowing in the past. Meanwhile, a small number of Arabic words are the result of contact with people of Arab descent, especially those residing in the Kampung Arab area (see §1.2.3). English words, on the other hand, were added more recently due to globalization (Sneddon 2003).

No	MJ words	MI words	Arabic words	English words	Local coinage
1	KÉRA < *arék* 'kid'	IGAP < *pagi* 'morning'	NÉZ < *zén* 'nice'	WOLES < *selow* 'slow'	NOLAB < *balon* 'prostitute'
2	KÉTAM < *maték* 'dead'	AGIT < *tiga* 'three'	SÉBÉ < *ébés* 'father'	SIOB < *mbois* 'boyish'	IDREK < *kerdi* 'to work'

TABLE 2.1: Examples of reversed words in Walikan and their origins (MJ= Malangan Javanese, MI= Malangan Indonesian)

My corpus consist of 725 Walikan words. Their origins are categorized as Malangan Javanese (56%), Malangan Indonesian (40%), English (0.9%), and Arabic (0.6%). In addition, there are also a small number of words that combine Malangan Javanese and Indonesian (1.9%) and Arabic and Malangan Javanese or Indonesian (0.6%). Locally coined words are coded as Malangan Javanese, while borrowings from Dutch, Portuguese, English, or other languages that have been completely assimilated are coded as either Malangan Javanese or Indonesian. The words are listed in Appendix B.

In order to differentiate the function and role of each donor language in Walikan, the terms 'matrix language' and 'embedded language' are used. A matrix language is the more dominant language which contributes structural forms, while an embedded language provides lexical items that can be added to the structure of the matrix language (Bell 2014; Myers-Scotton 1993). Walikan operates by inserting reversed words into a Malangan Javanese structure. In this way, Malangan Javanese serves as the matrix language for Walikan, while the other languages previously mentioned contribute as the embedded languages. Example (1a) shows a normal utterance in Ngoko Javanese, while (1a-b) exemplifies how reversed words are inserted into the Malangan Javanese structure.

(1) a. Ngoko Malangan Javanese

Énak yò koen wis kerjò ngono iku.
nice yes 2SG already work there DEM

'Nice that you have already had a job.'

(NY_2015_Fieldnotes)

b. Walikan

KANÉ yò UMAK wis ÒJREK ngono iku.
nice yes 2SG already work there DEM

'Nice that you have already had a job.'

(NY_2015_Fieldnotes)

Examples (1a) and (1b) show a similar syntactic structure, which underlines that reversal does not affect the syntax of Javanese. Walikan takes place at the lexical level, affecting only certain words. The selection of which words and how many are reversed in an utterance seems to reflect the speaker's personal choice. As such, speakers of Walikan can either opt for the use of only one Walikan word in his utterance, or as many Walikan words as are reversible, depending on their fluency and the message's degree of secrecy. Nonetheless, it is not common to have a sentence containing full reversal for every word. Reversal is not a productive rule that can be applied to any word. In other words, the Walikan form used must be acceptable to the community of speakers.

Malangan Indonesian does not serve as the matrix language for Walikan, although it contributes a large number of lexical items. People may know a lot of Walikan words, but if they are unable to speak Javanese and can only use Indonesian, they are not regarded as full speakers of Walikan. During one of the Frog Story sessions, Riad (female, 19 years old)[2] refrained from her storytelling upon realizing that she was not proficient in Malangan Javanese. In the beginning the speaker, who is from Probolinggo, agreed to participate because she claimed to be familiar with many Walikan words but, as it transpired, she realized that she could not incorporate the Walikan words into her Probolinggo dialect.

Reversal can be applied to content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs), pronouns, and discourse particles. The 725 Walikan words in my corpus are dominated by nouns (40%), verbs (20%), adjectives (18%), proper nouns (10%), and numerals (7%). Content words convey the most substantive meaning of the utterance, which justifies the speakers' inclination to reverse as many content words as possible. In order to intensify the degree of secrecy, speakers sometimes change the meaning of words after their reversal (see §2.3.2).

Numerals are also reversed in Walikan. They combine words originating

[2] As recorded in an interview on October 20, 2016.

from both Malangan Indonesian and Malangan Javanese (Table 2.2). The majority of numerals in Walikan consists of reversals from Malangan Indonesian.

Walikan	MI	Walikan	MJ	Meaning
UTAS	*satu*	IJIS, KOTIS	*siji, sitok*	'one'
AUD, HAUD	*dua*	-	*loro*	'two'
AGIT	*tiga*	-	*telu*	'three'
TAPME	*empat*	TAPAP	*papat*	'four'
AMIL	*lima*	ÒMIL	*limò*	'five'
MANÉ	*enam*	-	*nem*	'six'
UJUT, HUJUT	*tujuh*	-	*pitu*	'seven'
NAPALED	*delapan*	OWUL	*wolu*	'eight'
-	*sembilan*	ÒNGÒS	*sòngò*	'nine'
HULUPES	*sepuluh*	HOLOPES	*sepuluh*	'ten'
SALEB	*(se)belas*	-	*(se)welas*	'eleven'
AMIL SALEB	*lima belas*	-	*limòlas*	'fifteen'
AUD HULUP, HAUD HULUP	*dua puluh*	-	*rong puluh*	'twenty'
-	*dua puluh lima*	ÉLAWES	*selawé*	'twenty five'
AGIT HULUP	*tiga puluh*	-	*telung puluh*	'thirty'
-	*lima puluh*	TEKÉS, TÉKES	*séket*	'fifty'
SUTAR	*ratus*	-	*satus*	'a hundred'
UBIR	*ribu*	UWÉS	*séwu*	'a thousand'

TABLE 2.2: Numerals in Walikan (MJ= Malangan Javanese, MI= Malangan Indonesian)

The morphology of Walikan words remains the same as that of the matrix and embedded languages. This is illustrated by the reversal process of the word *makan-an*, which means 'food' in Indonesian. The noun is derived by attaching a nominalizer suffix *-an* to the verb *makan* 'to eat'. The reversed

equivalent of the word in Walikan is NAKAM-*an*, showing that the suffix remains intact and does not undergo reversal. There are also a few exceptions where reversal extends beyond word boundaries, this chiefly affects lexicalized expressions such as ANAMID 'where' < *di-mana* 'PREP-what' and possessed nouns, such as UMAIR 'your face' < *rai-mu* 'face-2s.POSS'. This is discussed further in Chapter 4.

When using Walikan, speakers often also incorporate local slang words, phrases, and expressions. Although only some of these contain Walikan words, speakers use them to increase the Malangan flavor of an utterance.

Expressions	Meaning	Origin
LADHUB-*kan*	'go ahead'	*budhal* 'to go' + *kan* 'TR'
LÉDOM-*é*	'the style'	*modél* 'style' + *é* 'DEF'
malang santé sayang	'enjoyable Malang'	*malang* 'Malang' + *santé* 'relax' + *sayang* 'dear'
ÒYI *thok wis*	'definitely'	*iyò* 'yes' + *thok* 'only' + *wis* 'already'
arkamsi	'local people'	*arék* 'kid' + *kampung* 'neighborhood' + *sini* 'here'
nasgithel	'sweet and thick (for coffee)'	*panas* 'hot' + *legi* 'sweet' + *kenthel* 'thick'

TABLE 2.3: Local expressions in Malang

In many cases, Walikan speakers can immediately detect "incorrect" use of the language, including in written form. The following examples (2a-b), from a Facebook post, contain a set of attested Walikan words including UMAK (< *kamu*) 'you', HÉBAK (< *kabéh*) 'all', IPOK (< *kopi*) 'coffee', KADIT (< *tidak*) 'no', and ÒKET (< *tekò*) 'from'. However, (2b) also includes words that are conventionally left unreversed, such as ÉBMOGN (< *ngombé*) 'N-drink' and IUPAT < (*tapui*) 'slap.APPL'. This reversal process is mistaken because it reverses the nasal prefix in *ngombé* and the suffix *-i* in *tapui*. In Walikan, affixes should be left intact and are not reversed. The words *GNOMBÉ and *IRUBM also vi-

olate the basic rule that the reversal should be based on phonemes instead of graphemes. Only a number of lexicalized words are allowed to be reversed based on their orthography. More detail on this process will be given in §2.3.1. Finally, the word *jal*, a clipping from *jajal* 'have a try', is not commonly used in Malangan Javanese. Speakers associate it with the Central Javanese dialect, which changes the overall mood of the utterance. The words ÒYÒK < (*kòyò*) 'like' and ÉNAM < (*mané*) 'again' are also considered peculiar because in Malangan Javanese they are pronounced as [kɔ.jɔʔ] and [ma.nɛh], commonly written as *kòyòk* and *manéh*.

Example (2b) is considered wrong or inaccurate because it violates a number of rules. First, it reverses words that are not commonly reversed by the community, or are reversed inaccurately (indicated with asterisks). Further, it also includes a word that originates from another Javanese dialect (in bold).

(2) a. Unreversed version

Ny-(c)òba *ùmpòmò* *kamu* *kabéh* *ng-ombé* *kopi* *tidak*
N-try.AV if 2SG all N-drink.AV coffee NEG
rokok-é, *jal* *rasa-né* *kòyò* *di-tapuk-i* *tekò*
cigarette-DEF try.IMP feel-DEF like PASS-slap-APPL from
mburi.. *isuk-isuk* *mané.*
behind morning~RDP again

'If you all try to drink coffee without smoking (afterwards), perhaps the feeling is like being slapped from the back, especially in the morning.'

(NY_2016_Facebook)

b. Inaccurate Walikan

*Nyòba umpòmò UMAK HÉBAK *ÉBMOGN IPOK KADIT rokok-é,*
jal *rasa-né *ÒYÒK di *IUPAT ÒKET *IRUBM.. isuk-isuk *ÉNAM.*

A closer look at Walikan words suggests that there are two degrees of linguistic manipulations, namely: 1) phonological manipulation; and 2) semantic manipulation. They are discussed in the following subsections.

2.3.1 Phonological Manipulation

Intentional linguistic modifications can result in changes that conceal the original message (Storch 2011). There are several categories of language manipulation whereby Walikan fits the description of a 'play language', defined

as one of the "rule-governed systems that are representations of ordinary language, which simply means that they use syntactic, phonological, and morphological systems of rules that govern the matrix languages from which they are derived" (Storch 2011:20). These rules have also been termed 'ludlings' by Laycock (1972), the regular and systematic transformation of a certain language form into a completely different one. In Conklin (1956), a similar process of changing the phonological structure of words is labeled 'speech disguise', which happens "when a speaker in conversation attempts to conceal the identity and hence the interpretation of what he says" (p. 136).

Ludlings are divided into three general groups: templatic, infixing, and reversing (Bagemihl 1988:181). Templatic ludlings make use of certain patterns which act as templates in the phonological transformation. For example, using the template CayC^{n}CaəCa the Amharic word *wərk* is manipulated into *waɣrk'ərk* 'gold' (Hudson 1993). The infixing ludling works by inserting a syllable into a word. In a ludling popular in Malang during the 1990s, the syllable *–va* is inserted into every open syllable. In closed syllables, the infix appeared before the final consonant. A simple Indonesian word such as *makan* 'to eat' for instance, would be transformed into *mavakavan*.[3] Finally, reversing ludling, or reversal, is one that allows speakers to invert the position of all the phonemes in the word. 'Speaking backwards' is one of the most common ways to form play and secret languages (Bagemihl 1989; Gil 1996).

One of the best researched reversal-based language is Verlan, found in French-speaking countries, which mixes reversed words from French and languages spoken by immigrants. In Verlan, word reversal operates through different rules based on the number of syllables (Lefkowitz 1989; Lefkowitz 1991). Among others, bisyllabic words are reversed through Syllable Metathesis, thus *bonjour* becomes *jourbon* 'hello', and *branché* becomes *chébran* 'trendy' (Lefkowitz 1989). Monosyllabic words with open syllables, on the other hand, undergo Segment Metathesis such as in *vu* > *uv* 'seen' and *fou* > *ouf* 'crazy' (Lefkowitz 1989:315).

In the Bijlmer area in south-east Amsterdam, a speech style that is also characterized by word reversal has emerged. Referred to as Smibanese, it is mostly spoken among the Surinamese community of African descent. The Straattaal word for the area name Bijlmer is *bims*, which is then reversed into *smib*. A book containing a list of Smibanese words has been published (Soortkill 2017). Another reversal-based language is Golagat, spoken in the Philippines. It is created through a complete rearrangement of segments (Gil

[3] A similar practice was also common in Surabaya in the 1960s (Hoogervorst 2014).

1996). The name Golagat is derived from a complete reversal of the matrix language, Tagalog.

The universality of phonological manipulation through word reversal has been also attested in the Jakarta Youth Language of Jakarta, Indonesia (Dreyfuss 1983), the Bòsò Walikan Yogyakarta of Yogyakarta, Central Java (Jackson and Rahmat 2013), Cuna of Panama (Sherzer 1970), and Zuuja-go of Japanese (Itô et al. 1996).

Word reversal is typologically classified into ten different types: Transposition, Syllable Interchange, False Interchange, Segment Exchange, Sequence Exchange, Exchange with Nonsense Word, Total Syllable Reversal, Total Segment Reversal, False Syllable Reversal, and Permutation (Bagemihl 1989:482-483). Based on Bagemihl's classification, the most productive type of reversal in Walikan reflects the Total Segment Reversal strategy. In Total Segment Reversal, the phonemes of a word are fully reversed. This type of reversal is akin to "literally reading words in their mirror image" (Smith-Hefner 2007:191). An extensive account of the reversal rules in Walikan is given in Chapter 4.

In Walikan, Total Segment Reversal affects words exhibiting all syllable patterns in Malangan Indonesian and Malangan Javanese, both open and closed monosyllabic and polysyllabic roots. Example (3) illustrates the complete inversion of all segments in Walikan. The last segment of the original word becomes the initial segment of the reversed form, and so on.

(3) Total Segment Reversal in Walikan

banyu	[ˈb̥a̤.ɲu]	>	UNYAB	[ˈʔu.ɲapˀ]	'water'
mas	[ˈmas]	>	SAM	[ˈsamˀ]	'older brother'
maling	[ˈma.lɪŋ]	>	NGILAM	[ˈŋi.lamˀ]	'thief'

In (3), the word *banyu* 'water' is not reversed to *UYNAB, and *maling* 'thief' is not reversed to *GNILAM because Walikan is based on phonological segments rather than on orthography. Walikan in Malang is different from Bòsò Walikan Yogyakarta (The Reversed Language of Yogyakarta) that is spoken in Yogyakarta, Central Java. Word formation in Bòsò Walikan Yogyakarta takes place through the reversal of certain letters of the semi-syllabic Javanese script and is thus orthography-based (Hoogervorst 2014). At present no comprehensive description of this slang has been written.

Nonetheless, example (4) shows that the reversal may sometimes be based on the orthography of the words: the velar nasal is orthographically a digraph <ng>, which is reversed as such.

(4) Digraph <ng> reversed to <gn>

orang	[ˈʔɔ.raŋ]	>	GENARO	[g̊ə̤.ˈna.ro]	‘person’
tukang	[ˈt̪u.kaŋ]	>	GENAKUT	[g̊ə̤.ˈna.kut̪̚]	‘handyman’
utang	[ˈʔu.t̪aŋ]	>	GENATU	[g̊ə̤.ˈna.t̪u]	‘debt’

Word reversal in Walikan shows conformity to Javanese phonology and phonotactics (see Chapter 4). The homorganic consonant cluster /mb/, which belongs to the same syllable in Javanese, for instance, typically remains intact after reversal in order to maintain Javanese phonology and phonotactics (5).

(5) Homorganic consonant clusters remain intact

klambi	[ˈkla.mbi]	> IMBLAK	[ˈʔi.mblaʔ]	‘shirt’

The attested reversed form of *klambi* ‘shirt’ is therefore IMBLAK, avoiding the resulted form of total segment reversal *IBMALK. There are several problems posed by the form IBMALK [ib.malk̚]. Firstly, /b/ does not occur in coda position in Javanese. Second, the form also shows the consonant cluster /lk/ in the coda position of the second syllable, while no consonant cluster can occur in coda position in Javanese. In order to produce a form that does not violate Javanese phonology and phonotactics, the homorganic consonant cluster /mb/ is retained and the consonant cluster /lk/ is split. As a result, IMBLAK [i.mblaʔ] ‘shirt’ is formed, a word that adheres to Javanese phonology and phonotactics and for this reason is easier to pronounce (see §4.3.2.4).

Additionally, a few exceptions in Walikan are manipulated through different techniques. Their total number is very small (36 out of 725 tokens). These non-Total Segment Reversal forms are unsystematic, but they may fall into one of the following three categories: 1) Transposition; 2) Sequence Exchange; and 3) Permutation.

Transposition involves the movement of the last or initial syllable or segment of a word to the beginning or the end of the word respectively (6).

(6) Transposition in Walikan

gaji	[ˈg̊ə̤.j̊i̤]	>	JIGA	[ˈj̊i̤.g̊ə̤]	‘salary’
grogi	[ˈg̊rɔ̤.g̊i̤]	>	IGROG	[ˈʔi.g̊rɔ̤k̚]	‘groggy’

In addition to Transposition, a set of words is formed through Sequence Exchange, which refers to the swapping of sequences in a word (Bagemihl 1989). The first type of Sequence Exchange allows a reversal of only the first CVC sequence of the word (7).

(7) Exchange of CVC sequence

maksud	[ˈmaʔ.sʊ̟t̪̚]	>	KAMSUD	[ˈkamˀ.sʊ̟t̪̚]	‘intention’
walik	[ˈwa.lɪʔ]	>	KIWAL	[ˈki.wal]	‘to reverse’

The second type of sequence-based reversal inverts the final VC sequence of a word and transposes it to the initial position (8).

(8) Inversion of VC sequence

hotél	[ˈhɔ.t̪ɛl]	>	LÉHOT	[ˈlɛ.hɔt̪̚]	‘hotel’
lanang	[ˈla.naŋ]	>	NGALAN	[ˈŋa.lanˀ]	‘man’

The examples for Permutation are discussed in §4.5.

Note that the Transposition, Sequence Exchange, and Permutation strategies are rather rare. They are not applied to a lot of Walikan words, speakers rarely use them to form a new word, and sometimes a transposed word may also have another counterpart that is formed through the main reversal rule, Total Segment Reversal. The word *lanang* ‘man’ for example, has two reversed forms: NGALAN, that is formed through Sequence Exchange, shown in (8), and NGANAL, formed through Total Segment Reversal.

Albeit not prominently, the manipulation of forms in Walikan also affects acronyms. Acronyms are created by combining abbreviations of some parts of two different words (Nassenstein 2014), as shown in example (9).

(9) Acronyms in Walikan

IDREK	‘to work hard’	< *kerja* ‘to work’ + *rodi* ‘corvée labour’
KIMCIL	‘small vagina’	< *kimpet* < *tempik* ‘vagina’ + *cilik* ‘small’
NARKODÉW	‘drugs and women’	< *narkoba* ‘drugs’ + *kodéw* < *wédòk* ‘woman’

The first word in (9) is created by combining the initial syllable of the source words *kerja* ‘to work’ and the last syllable of the word *rodi* ‘corvée labour’, yielding a new form *kerdi*, which is then reversed to IDREK ‘to work hard’. In the word KIMCIL, first the original word *tempik* ‘vagina’ is reversed into KIMPET. Then, its initial syllable is combined with the initial syllable of another word, *cilik* ‘small’. A similar process takes place in the word KODÉW, which is a reversed form of *wédok* ‘woman’. The reversed word is attached after the two first syllables of the word *narkoba* ‘drugs’ to create the word NARKODÉW ‘drugs and women’.

2.3.1.1 Local Variations

In addition to the aforementioned forms, there are different sub-types of Walikan that are used by speakers from certain *kampungs* within the city.[4] Aside from the basic rules described previously, they also have a number of additional rules. Walikan is a tool to conceal messages, and these locally developed varieties of Walikan were created in the same spirit. Speakers residing in certain *kampungs* further modify the general type of Walikan in order to disguise their conversation. Although these varieties are not widely spread, they reveal the creativity and ingenuity of the speakers, as well as the extent of their attempts to respect Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian phonotactics. These varieties are only used among people who belong to the same *kampung*. When people from different *kampungs* meet each other, they will use the general Walikan Malangan forms. Of all the three varieties observed, the variety in Kampung Celaket is the best known.

2.3.1.1.1 Kampung Gandhékan Gandhékan is an area located only a few meters away from the *Alun-alun* 'city Square' of Malang. The people living in the area have developed a different kind of Walikan by combining the Total Segment Reversal strategy that is already present in Walikan Malangan with the Transposition strategy.[5] Speakers believe that this code had been changed five times before they settled for this most ingenious form of secret code because the general type of Walikan (Walikan Malangan) was already popular and extensively used.

Walikan Gandhékan works by transposing the final consonant of the word into a position preceding the final syllable, while also inserting the vowel /e/ after the aforementioned consonant. The rule can be applied to words from either Malangan Javanese, Malangan Indonesian, or generic Walikan Malangan. Examples (10) and (11) show the Walikan Gandhékan rule applied to Malangan Javanese and Walikan Malangan respectively.

(10) Walikan Gandhékan from Malangan Javanese

BULÉDHA	[bʊ̥.ˈle.ɖa]	<	*budhal*	[ˈbʊ̥.ɖal]	'to leave'
LANGÉNA	[la.ˈŋe.na]	<	*lanang*	[ˈla.naŋ]	'male'

[4] A *kampung* is a densely populated neighborhood where small houses are built close to each other.

[5] During an interview session on August 15, 2015, Mumu (male, 70 years old) and Susu (male, 70 years old) shared their knowledge of the previously secret code.

(11) Walikan Gandhékan from Walikan Malangan

KATÉDI	[ka.ˈt̪e.ɗi̪]	<	KADIT	[ˈka.ɗi̪t̪̚]	‘no’
NAMÉKA	[na.ˈme.ka]	<	NAKAM	[ˈna.kam̚]	‘to eat’

The word KADIT and NAKAM in (11) are reversed from *tidak* and *makan* in Malangan Indonesian. This means that speakers must be proficient in Walikan Malangan first before they are able to produce Walikan Gandhékan words. They can, however, pick any word from the embedded languages depending on the addressee and the situation. As a result, a word can have more than one Walikan Gandhékan form (12).

(12) Alternate forms in Walikan Gandhékan

BÉKÉCA	[ɓe̞.ˈke.ca]	<	*bécak*	[ˈɓɛ.caʔ]	‘pedicab’
KABÉCA	[ka.ˈɓe̞.ca]	<	KACÉB	[ˈka.cɛp̚]	‘pedicab’

In (12), *bécak* is a Malangan Javanese word, while KACÉB is the reversed form of the former. Note that the Walikan Gandhéan form of [ˈbɛ.caʔ] is [be.ˈke.ca], in which the vowel /ɛ/ in the original word is realized as /e/ in the reversed form. This shows how Javanese phonology and phonotactics are also reflected in Walikan Gandhékan.

Since the reversal rule in Walikan Gandhékan involves the transposition of word-final consonants, speakers naturally prefer to take words from the embedded languages that have a word-final consonant. Whenever confronted with a word that ends in a vowel, speakers will try to reverse it first. The word *mati* ‘dead, die’, is firstly reversed to ITAM before being further modified to IMÉTA.

Nowadays only people who are above fifty years old seem to be conversant in Walikan Gandhékan. The younger generation is more familiar to Walikan Malangan, but a number of Walikan Gandhékan words are still frequently used in the area (13).

(13) Popular forms in Walikan Gandhékan

IMÉTA	[ʔi.ˈme.t̪a]	<	ITAM	[ˈʔi.t̪am̚]	‘dead, to die’
KATÉDI	[ka.ˈt̪e.ɗi̪]	<	KADIT	[ˈka.ɗi̪t̪̚]	‘no’
NAMÉKA	[na.ˈme.ka]	<	NAKAM	[ˈna.kam̚]	‘to eat’
NGAPÉLO	[ŋa.ˈpe.lo]	<	NGALUP	[ˈŋa.lup̚]	‘to go home’
NGÉWO	[ˈŋe.wo]	<	*wòng*	[ˈwɔŋ]	‘person’
RUTÉDI	[ru.ˈt̪e.ɗi̪]	<	RUDIT	[ˈru.ɗi̪t̪̚]	‘to sleep’

2.3.1.1.2 Kampung Arjosari A little further from the center of the city, the people of Kampung Arjosari have also developed a distinct code. Walikan Arjosarian combines Total Segment Reversal in Walikan Malangan with the infixation type of ludlings (Bagemihl 1988). It requires the insertion of the segment *-ars-* into the middle of the final syllable (14).

(14) Walikan Arjosarian

LOTARSOB	[lɔ.ˈt̪ar.sɔp̚]	<	LOTOB	[ˈlɔ.t̪ɔp̚]	'bottle'
NAKARSAM	[na.ˈkar.sam̚]	<	NAKAM	[ˈna.kam̚]	'to eat'

In (14), the Walikan Arjosarian rule is applied to a Malangan Indonesian word that has undergone Total Segment Reversal. The word LOTOB is derived from *botol* while NAKAM is from *makan*. Similar to Walikan Gandhékan, Walikan Arjosarian also allows speakers to use words from Malangan Indonesian or Malangan Javanese (15).

(15) Walikan Arjosarian

MAKARSAN	[ma.ˈkar.san̚]	<	*makan*	[ˈma.kan̚]	'to eat'
ROKARSOK	[rɔ.ˈkar.sɔʔ]	<	*rokok*	[ˈrɔ.kɔʔ]	'cigarette'

Walikan Arjosarian was used extensively in the past, but nowadays only a few people from the older generation can be heard using it. Disu (male, 50 years old)[6] and his male friends use the in-group code when they hang out together in the neighborhood, mainly to engage in humorous conversations.

2.3.1.1.3 Kampung Celaket Celaket is located close to the General Hospital of Malang. This *kampung* is hidden behind big houses and office buildings in Jalan Jaksa Agung Suprapto, one of the city's main roads. Every year the kampung holds a cultural and art festival, which includes dance performances, traditional games, etc. The people living there are proud of their local code, which they refer to as Celaketan.[7] Speakers believe that Celaketan is the most distinct code in Malang. It works mostly by adding unrelated syllable(s) after the first syllable of the original word (16).

[6] Recorded in an interview on January 16, 2018.

[7] On July 29, 2015, I had a chance to interview Bepr (male, 44 years old) and Esbr (male, 38 years old) to understand Celaketan better.

(16) Celaketan

MADRAS	[ˈma.ɗrˌas]	<	*maték*	[ˈma.t̪ɛʔ]	‘to die, dead’
MURÉT	[ˈmu.ret̪̚]	<	*muda*	[ˈmu.ɗˌa]	‘young’
PERCÒDÉT	[pər.ˈcɔ.ɗɛt̪̚]	<	*percòyò*	[pər.ˈcɔ.jɔ]	‘to believe’

This manipulation strategy is able to create new words that are almost completely different from the original. The similarity lies only in the initial part of both words. In some cases, the new word may resemble another word in one of the source languages, which creates confusion for others but entertainment for speakers. In (17) the word *gurem* in Indonesian means ‘small, minor’, while *kalong* means ‘bat’.

(17) Witty Celaketan words

GUREM	[ˈg̊u̪.rəm̚]	<	*guru*	[ˈg̊u̪.ru]	‘teacher’
KALONG	[ˈka.lɔŋ]	<	*kalah*	[ˈka.lah]	‘to lose, fail’

Outsiders will rarely guess the intended meaning of Celaketan speakers. As for the speakers, they find it funny and as such it can help to forge their friendship.

Celaketan rules mostly apply to Malangan Javanese and Indonesian words (16-17), although speakers can also make use of Walikan Malangan words (18).

(18) Celaketan derived from Walikan Malangan

KADAL	[ˈka.ɗˌal]	<	KADIT	[ˈka.ɗi̪t̪̚]	‘no’
KIMPOL	[ˈki.mpɔl]	<	KIMPET	[ˈki.mpət̪̚]	‘vagina’
SILVER	[ˈsil.fər]	<	SILUP	[ˈsi.lʊp̚]	‘policeman’

Nowadays Celaketan is still very popular among younger speakers and musicians in Malang. Its lack of systematicity, however, seems to prevent Celaketan from spreading to a wider community. Celaketan thus remains confined to people who are from Celaket or those who spend a lot of time with them.

2.3.2 Semantic Manipulation

In Walikan, speakers also change the meaning of the words. Semantic change is common in youth languages as it projects one of their functions as a tool to

conceal messages from outsiders (Nassenstein 2014). Such strategies are analytically significant because they can be used to distinguish youth languages from other types of automatic play language or ludling (Kießling and Mous 2006).

Similar to other youth languages, Walikan contains a large number of profanities. The East Javanese dialect in general is famous for its profanities compared to other Javanese dialects (Hoogervorst 2014). The Surabayan Javanese dialect featured in a local TV show, *Pojok Kampung*, contains coarse and rude words that do not conform to the Central Javanese standard. One of the words being used in the show is *maték* 'dead', which might not be suitable to refer to humans in the view of a Central Javanese speakers (Arps and Van Heeren 2006). In Walikan, these bad words are reversed to conceal the meanings, lessen their impact, or save the face of the interlocutor. For some speakers, however, they are used to stress their intention to mock or ridicule the addressee.

Profanities	**Meaning**	**Origin**
KÉAT	'shit'	*taék* 'shit'
KIMPET	'vagina'	*tempik* 'vagina'
MATÉK	'dead'	*kétam* 'dead'
NGONCÉB	'transvestite'	*béncong* 'transvestite'
ÒDUM	'naked'	*mudò* 'naked'
TÉNCRÉM	'diarrhea'	*méncrét* 'diarrhea'
TILIS	'anus'	*silit* 'ass'
USUS	'breast'	*susu* 'breast'

Table 2.4: Profanities in Walikan

Table 2.5 shows that some profanities in Walikan are metaphors, they show "figurative usage based on resemblance" (Cruse 2000:112).

Metaphors	Origin	Figurative connection
HÉWOD 'stupid person'	*n-dowéh* 'N-agape.AV'	a wide opened mouth shows confusion
IBAB 'moron'	*babi* 'pig'	a pig lives in dirt
KUNAM 'penis'	*manuk* 'bird'	a bird's head physically resembles a penis
NOLAB 'prostitute'	*balon* 'baloon'	a baloon physically resembles a condomn
SUDHÉ 'lame-brained'	*wedhus* 'sheep'	a sheep is easy to herd
TÉNYOM 'buffoon'	*monyét* 'monkey'	a monkey is less intelligent than human

TABLE 2.5: Metaphors in Walikan profanities

The word *ndowéh* literally means 'agape', or a state where one's mouth is open in confusion. Malangan Javanese speakers use the word to refer to someone who appears ignorant or lacks knowledge about something. In Walikan, it is reversed to HÉWOD, which speakers use to conceal the metaphoric meaning of *ndowéh* when referring to a non-Walikan speaker. On the contrary, they use it to amplify their intention when the object of ridicule also understands Walikan.

Walikan speakers also make use of euphemisms, that is disguising taboo words and loaded concepts through more neutral concepts (Allan and Burridge 2006; Nassenstein 2014; Nassenstein and Hollington 2015).

Euphemisms	Meaning	Origin
ASAIB	'prostitute'	*biasa* 'common'
KAWAB	'prostitute'	*bawak* 'to bring along'
KINTUS	'to have sex'	*suntik* 'to inject'
NASKIM	'to kill, rape'	NAKAM (< *makan*) 'to eat'
NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT	'to get high, have sex'	*séndhén* 'to lean' + *témbok* 'wall'
RAULEK	'to ejaculate'	*keluar* 'to go out'
TAHÉS KOMÉS	'sexually attractive'	*séhat* 'healthy' + *komés* 'callipygian'

Table 2.6: Euphemisms in Walikan

In Table 2.6, the word *keluar* [kə.ˈlu.war] in Indonesian means 'to go out'; however, speakers of Walikan use the reversed form of word, RAULEK [ra.ˈʔu.ləkˀ], to also refer to a more taboo connotation, 'to ejaculate'. The connection between 'exiting' and 'discharging bodily fluids' is obvious.

The semantics of some of these words, however, have changed through time. Younger speakers do not appear to have the same negative or taboo connotations with these words as the older speakers do. The terms have undergone enregisterment, described by Agha (2007) as the process when a certain linguistic practice becomes known to people, in which only the literal meanings are spread and used in the wider community. The word ASAIB which originally means 'common', for instance, was used by older speakers of Walikan to refer to prostitutes, or girls providing sexual services. Another word, KAWAB, literally means 'to bring', also carries the same connotation. Girls providing such services will typically be willing to be brought around. However, most younger speakers nowadays are only familiar to the literal meaning. A T-Shirt with the word GENARO ASAIB < (*orang* 'person' + *biasa* 'common') 'common people' written in big bold fonts was spotted in 2016, much to the dismay of the older speakers.

The phrase NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT [ˈnɛ.nɖɛs ˈkɔ.mbɛt̪ˀ] < *séndhén témbok* [ˈsɛ.nɖɛnˀ ˈtɛ.mbɔʔ] in Table 2.6 is one of the most popular phrases among younger speakers of Walikan (see Figure 2.1). The literal meaning of the phrase is 'to lean against the wall', but not to older speakers. In the past, the phrase was popular among addicts and drug users, denoting a situation when they are very intoxicated or high on drugs to the point that they need

to lean against a wall. It could also be used to refer to a situation where people are having intercourse with sex workers and they need to hide behind a wall. However, nowadays the phrase generally means 'to relax', or 'to chill out' to younger speakers.

FIGURE 2.1: *Néndhés Kombét* as Internet meme

In the 1950s to 1960s, the word OKAK could be found in Walikan, and was quite popular.[8] OKAK is a reversed form of *kko* [ka.ˈka.ʔo], an abbreviation from *Korps Komando Operasi*, the former name of the Indonesian Marine Corps. At that time the corps recruited a number of young locals who appeared gallant and strong. They were often spotted in the city walking around with a marine's haircut looking fine and dandy. The other youngsters looked up to them, so that they invented a term to describe those who looked the part, namely OKAK 'marine, marine-like'.

Looking more closely at words that have been around for several generations, there are some that were shaped due to the social realities of the past (Table 2.7). Nowadays society has changed but the Walikan words remain and are still used by younger speakers who are oblivious to the story behind the formation of the words.

[8] As shared in an interview with Erer (male, 67 years old) on December 20, 2017.

Walikan words	Meaning	Origin
IDREK	'to work'	*kerdi* < *kerja* + *rodi* 'corvée labor'
OJIR	'money'	*rijo* < *rai ijo* 'green face'
OKAK	'marine, marine like'	Korps Komando Operasi 'Indonesian Marine Corps'

TABLE 2.7: Walikan words related to past events

The word IDREK is a reversal of *kerdi*, an abbreviation of *kerja* 'to work' and *rodi*, see (9). During the Dutch and Japanese occupation era, *kerja rodi* designated a situation in which natives were forced to work for the colonial governments. Indonesia is now an independent country, and *kerja rodi* 'corvée labor' no longer exists, but the term IDREK remains present in Walikan.

The form OJIR 'money', can be traced back to thirty years ago. It derives from the word *rijo*, a shortened form of *rai ijo* 'green face'. Some believe that the word refers to the color of Indonesian paper money in the 1970s (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007), while some say that it refers to the face of a materialistic person who turns green when presented with money. The form and the meaning is still in use today, but younger speakers no longer have the notion of a green banknote or for that matter a green materialistic face in their mind.

The semantic shift in a number of Walikan words, especially from negative connotations to more literal meanings, suggests that Walikan is gradually losing its function as a secret language. More importantly, it also substantiates the idea that Walikan is not a newly emerged practice and has been around for generations. During its lifespan, popular words have appeared, have been assigned certain meanings, and may be assigned different meanings or even lose popularity and fall out of use.

2.4 The Changing Face of Walikan

Walikan has reinvented itself over time, from a secret code to a youth language, and then to a linguistic practice that expresses the shared identity of its speakers. In this section I describe the development of Walikan, largely on the basis of the stories shared by my consultants.

Most people in Malang are familiar with the story that Walikan was initially created as a secret code to pass messages between guerilla fighters during Indonesia's war for independence in 1947-1949 (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). The Malang soldiers were part of either the Tentara Republik Indonesia Pelajar (TRIP/ 'Student Army of the Republic Indonesia'), the Tentara Nasional Indonesia (TNI/ 'Indonesian National Army'), or Gerilya Rakyat Kota ('Citizen Guerrilla'). They needed a code to conceal their messages from the Dutch colonizers. A more specific story mentions that in March 1949 the Dutch armies needed information on the whereabouts of the remaining troops, led by Major Hamid Roesdi, so they placed a number of spies among the fighters. In order to keep important messages from Dutch spies, the guerrilla fighters invented a new code, in which words from known languages were inverted (Widodo 2006:166-167). The precise identity of the inventor is not very clear in the narrative, but a name is sometimes mentioned: Suyudi Raharno (Widodo 2006). As soon as the simple rules were applied, the fighters quickly became conversant in the code because they often spent time together. The spies did not mingle with the real guerrilla fighters, so they had a hard time understanding the secret messages (Widodo 2006).

The story of Major Hamid Roesdi is deeply rooted in the heart of the people and he is generally praised as an important figure behind the creation of Walikan. On Saturday May 5 2018, a theater group performed a musical drama that centered around the life of Major Hamid Roesdi and how Walikan was invented during the war (see Figure 2.2). The performance was sponsored by a number of institutions, including the Indonesian Ministry of Education and Culture and the Malang Tourism and Culture Office.

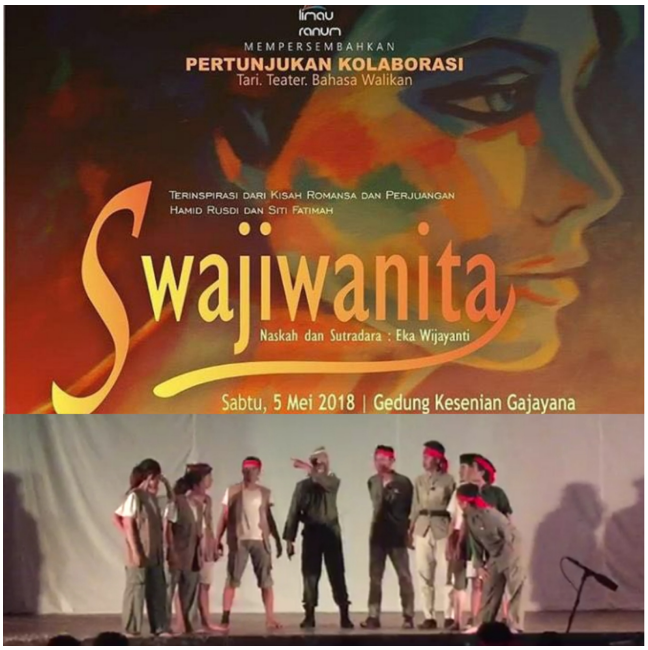

Figure 2.2: Musical drama on Walikan history

While investigating this urban legend, I collected a story from Nanas (male, 88 years old).[9] According to him, word reversal had already been in use in the 1940s, during the Japanese occupation. It was popular among *makelar* (borrowed from Dutch *makelaar* 'middleman') in Kidul Pasar, a *kampung* around Pasar Besar, the biggest traditional market in the center of Malang. When Nanas served as a soldier in the late 1940s, he witnessed the same word manipulation strategy being used by the fighters.

A similar narrative is also found among younger speakers. Maru (male, 44 years old)[10] mentioned an old man whom he knew personally; the man claimed to have witnessed Walikan being used to organize secret meetings during the war. Maru cited example (19) that this man once shared with him to illustrate the situation.

[9] I was not able to meet him in person, but I sent my interview questions to his great niece, who later relayed the answers to me through WhatsApp conversation on June 6, 2017.

[10] As recorded in an interview session on August 4, 2016

(19) *Pertemuan nang HAMUR-é iki, INGEB-INGEB aé jam ÒRIP?*
meeting PREP house.DEF DEM RDP~night just hour how.many

'We are meeting tonight, what time?'
(NY_04082016_MARU1_Interview)

Words such as NÒLÒ < *lòndò* 'white person; Dutch' and ATAM KÉAT < *taék mata* 'spy' are listed as having originated from this time because their meanings reflect a war-like situation (see Widodo 2006). The first word, *taék*, in Javanese means 'excrement'. The subsequent word, *mata* is an Indonesian word that means 'eye';[11] the combined phrase means 'spy' because spies are likened to the dirt that clouds human vision (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007; Widodo 2006).

On the other hand, Tuge (female, 64 years old)[12] asserted that her older brothers went to the war as soldiers, but she had never heard them speaking in Walikan at all. Aside from these conflicting accounts, unfortunately, I did not find strong evidence to show that Walikan was innovated as a secret code in the war of independence. Nonetheless, it is a nice story in the eyes of the community, as it relates the linguistic creativity of the people to the spirit of nationality and independence.

That Walikan was used in 1950s among the socially stigmatized, however, is confirmed by a story told by Isis (male, 68 years old).[13] In the 1950s, Isis lived in a house located in Kampung Gandhékan. The kampung was located in the heart of Malang city, just a few blocks away from the Alun Alun Pusat 'central city square'. This area is believed to have been the cradle of Walikan; the language is always mentioned to have originated from the center of the city. Isis confirmed that he was speaking Walikan with his childhood friends when he still lived in the neighborhood. He used Walikan in order to fit in with his friends, but he would never use that same style of speaking with his parents because people at that time considered it as slang. To him, Walikan was associated with people with a poor educational background, and that most of the words used were profanities, such as NOLAB (< *balon*) 'prostitute'.

On another occasion, I recorded Toka (male, 62 years old),[14] who recounted how he first learned Walikan in the 1970s, when he came to Malang and joined a then-famous youth gang. They spent their days hanging out in

[11] The Javanese word for 'eye' is [ˈmɔ.t̪ɔ], usually written as *moto*.
[12] Shared during an interview session on October 28, 2016.
[13] As shared in an interview session on July 7, 2015 in Malang.
[14] As recorded in an interview session on July 13, 2015 in Malang

the streets, and were involved in many fights with other youth gangs. Toka mentioned that Walikan was very popular among these gangs, and that it was the street slang used at the time.

Toka and Isis's reports are consistent with descriptions of Walikan as a register that was restricted to a particular stigmatized community in the past (thugs, prostitutes, thieves) (Hoogervorst 2009; Hoogervorst 2014; Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). However, over the years, Walikan's sociolinguistic status has changed, and therefore it no longer fits Halliday's (1976) category of an anti-language. Suharto (1983) records the process of how Walikan became more widely known and slowly lost its secrecy in the 1980s. This seems to have been caused mainly by students and football supporters (Hoogervorst 2014; Pujileksono and Kartono 2007).

My own field observations confirm that students are indeed very central agents in the process of changing the role of Walikan from a street language into a youth language. I spent a Sunday with a group of elderly Walikan speakers[15] who were having a high school reunion. The meeting was also to prepare a bigger reunion involving more people. They used to study together in a well-known public senior high school located opposite Malang's city hall. During the meeting they used Walikan words to make jokes, or to refer to past actions. Later in the interview they shared that Walikan was very popular when they were high school students between 1969-1972, and that everyone in school was using Walikan if they wanted to be considered *gaul*, *kerén* 'cool' or 'hip'. The use of Walikan distinguished them from other groups in the school because Walikan was perceived as the cool way of speaking.

Other elderly speakers who are now in their 60s verified this. Armu (female, 65 years old)[16] recalled how when she was a student during the 1960s, boys would use Walikan, while girls tried to imitate their style. In order to compete with the boys' secret code, the girls developed another form of manipulated language. Instead of reversing the lexical items that they wanted to conceal, they inserted an extra syllable *–gV-* after every syllable, where the vowel was copied from the previous syllable's nucleus. *Kamu* 'you' for instance, would become *ka-ga-mu-gu* (see §2.3.1). This kind of word manipulation has been described as a common ludling in Malayic languages (Gil 2002). In fact, it was still popular in the 1990s, but its use was mainly confined to school students, unlike Walikan, which by then had a wider domain.

In the 1970s, a group of musicians from Malang moved to Bulungan,

[15] It was on August 20, 2016.

[16] As recorded in an interview conducted on October 18, 2016.

South Jakarta. They maintained the use of Walikan in their speech among themselves and eventually were able to inspire the students of a nearby high school, namely SMAN 70. I met two graduates of this school on two separate occasions: Depa (male, 25 years old) and Igaz (female, 37 years old).[17] Despite coming from different generations—the former graduated in 2008 while the latter graduated in 1998—they both confirmed the use of reversed words in what is labeled as ASAB KILAB (reversed from colloquial Indonesian words *Basa Balik*) 'reversed language'.

Asab Kilab words	**Meaning**	**Origin**
AGIT	'three'	*tiga* 'three'
AUD	'two'	*dua* 'two'
KÉMÉM	'vagina'	*mémék* 'vagina'
KÉWÉS	'girl'	*céwék* 'girl'
KOWOS	'boy'	*cowok* 'boy'
LÉPOK	'sharp edged chain'	*kopél* 'sharp-edged chain'
LIBOM	'car'	*mobil* 'car'
LOTNOK	'penis'	*kontol* 'penis'
NARACAP	'to date'	*pacaran* 'to date'
NGADEP	'sword'	*pedang* 'sword'
NGOKOR	'to smoke'	*ng-rokok* 'to smoke.AV'
OLAB	'ball'	*bola* 'ball'
ROTOM	'motorcycle'	*motor* 'motorcycle'
TUBIR	'noisy'	*ribut* 'fight'

TABLE 2.8: Asab Kilab among SMAN 70 students

As shown in Table 2.8, Asab Kilab contains words that are related to youth culture and some profanities. A number of words, such as LÉPOK 'sharp-edged chain', NGADEP 'sword', and TUBIR 'fight' are considered very useful during *tawuran* 'school fights' with students from other schools. Asab Kilab is seen as the language of solidarity among these groups. In this light, it deserves pointing out that a Malangan Javanese diaspora community was able to introduce a Malangan linguistic practice among students in the capital city.

Recently, an increasing number of reversed words has entered colloquial Jakartan Indonesian.

[17] On June 26, 2016 and on May 24, 2017 respectively.

Walikan words	Meaning	Origin
ÉUG	'I'	*gué* 'I'
HACEP	'broken'	*pecah* 'broken'
KUY	'come, go ahead'	*yuk* 'come, go ahead'
SABI	'finished'	*abis* 'finished'
SAIK	'fun'	*asik* 'fun'
UCUL	'funny'	*lucu* 'funny'

Table 2.9: Walikan words in colloquial Jakartan Indonesian

It is not certain who first started using these words, nor whether they were students in Jakarta or in Malang. Nevertheless, the presence of these words is very apparent in the speech of the youth and in different social media platforms, especially Twitter. Similar to Asab Kilab, most words originate from Indonesian or colloquial Jakartan Indonesian. The word ÉUG 'I' for instance, is a reversed form of the colloquial Jakartan Indonesian pronoun for first person *gué*. This pronoun will never be used by Malangan Javanese speakers, unlike the word KUY 'come', a reversed form of *yuk*. In fact, *yuk* has been widely dispersed and is currently present in the speech of younger Walikan speakers in Malang. One can thus argue that this constitutes evidence for the dispersal of Walikan's reversal strategy into colloquial Jakartan Indonesian. No longer a secret strategy fully confined to locals, word reversal has made its way into the national spotlight. The use of Walikan words by those who do not speak Walikan or Javanese is evidence that Walikan has spread beyond the domain of Walikan speakers, similar to the situation in France, where some Verlan words became well-known and nowadays are used by broader speakers of French (Nortier and Dorleijn 2013).

Aside from students, a second important distributor of Walikan is Aremania, that is the football supporters of Arema Football Club (FC). Arema FC is the biggest and most popular professional club in Malang. It was formed in order to accommodate the community spirit of the youth in Malang, hence the name, which is the abbreviation of the popular term *Arék Malang* 'the kids of Malang' (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). One of my informants, Tuge (female, 64 years old)[18] reported that she lived very close to the headquarter of Aremania in the 1980s. From time to time she would overhear the players and the football supporters speaking in Malangan Javanese with an extensive usage of Walikan words. The use of Walikan is still pertinent within the

[18] As shared in an interview recorded on October 28, 2016.

group of supporters at present. I was in town when Aremania celebrated the 29th anniversary of their beloved football club on August 11 2016, and observed how the whole city was vibrant with posters and signs made by Aremania. The signs include a number of Walikan words related to football such as RÉTROPUS, a reversed form of *suporter* 'supporter' (see §6.2).

In addition to students and football supporters as important driving forces in the promotion of Walikan, there is another group of agents that contribute to the spread of Walikan as the language of solidarity. They are the Malang people more broadly, those who hope that Walikan will remain in use, mainly because it is a distinctive practice that can differentiate their speech from neighboring East Javanese dialects. Many of these people go beyond using Walikan as an oral practice: as the Internet becomes more accessible and more communication is conducted through this medium, they have started using Walikan on Facebook, Twitter, and Whatsapp, which as a result ensures the viability of the language. Others who want to promote Walikan also turn to alternative platforms, for instance newspaper columns and song lyrics. This topic will be discussed further in Chapter 6.

2.5 Today's Use of Walikan: Projecting a Shared Identity

The intrinsic function of Walikan as a secret language still manifests itself on occasion in the interviews conducted as part of my research in 2015-2017 (§1.5.2). Most speakers mentioned how they would sometimes resort to Walikan when being in a situation where they need to communicate something confidential in the presence of others. With the exception of reversed words that have made their way to the Jakartan students' Asab Kilab or CJI, a large number of reversed or manipulated words in Walikan still hinders non-speakers' understanding of the language.

However, as Walikan words have become more widely used, the contemporary function of Walikan for most speakers is to exhibit a common identity, a characteristic that is shared across youth languages (Kießling and Mous 2006; Nassenstein 2014; Nassenstein and Hollington 2015; Nortier 2018b) by excluding those considered as non-speakers or outsiders. Identity, which can be defined as the "people's source of meaning and experience" (Castells 1997:6), is dynamic, and can be constantly constructed through language use (Bucholtz and Hall 2004; Nortier 2018a). Through its distinctive reversed lexi-

con, speakers continuously emphasize the 'sameness' both in their individual and group identity.

Walikan is used mostly when speakers know each other, as it is seen as a tool to stress similarity among each other. Ersi (male, 32 years old),[19] my main informant, was not able to start a conversation in Walikan with Agga (male, 56 years old), Basu (male, 66 years old), and Lupr (male, 56 years old). Not only did they believe that it was because Walikan was a spontaneous and informal practice, but also mainly because Ersi barely knew the three older speakers and did not have a common ground, which hampered their effort to initiate an intimate and friendly dialogue in Walikan.

When speakers are outside of Malang, however, Walikan appears as a tool to indicate their shared identity. By way of illustration, Baso (male, 62 years old)[20] shared an anecdotal story of how he managed to receive some discounts from sellers during his trip outside Malang. Upon bargaining for a certain item in Tanah Abang, Jakarta, he overheard the sellers whispering to each other in Walikan. He then instinctively replied to them in Walikan. Surprised, the sellers greeted him in excitement and offered him a big discount. On my own observation during an Arema FC football match in Gajayana Stadium,[21] I overheard how Walikan was used by people who did not know each other during the game or outside the stadium among those who were wearing Arema FC jerseys, scarves, or other supporter attributes.

In order to show their identity, speakers not only focus on the similarities between each other, but also on their differences from those who are considered as outsiders (Bucholtz and Hall 2004). Along these lines, the speakers of Walikan distance themselves from outsiders by using Walikan words and the East Javanese dialect of Malang. A combination of Malangan Javanese words and reversed vocabularies is able to distinguish a Malangan Javanese speaker from other speakers of Javanese (Kraußе 2017; Smith-Hefner 2007).

As described in §2.3, the matrix language of Walikan is Malangan Javanese, but it contains reversed words from a number of embedded languages such as Indonesian, Arabic, and English. Despite its mixed nature, Walikan does not allow the inclusion of words originating from other Javanese dialects. Table 2.10 shows Central Javanese words that should not be used in Walikan, as well as the Malangan Javanese counterparts preferred by Walikan speakers.

[19] As shared in an interview session on September 23, 2016.

[20] As shared in an interview session on May 30, 2015

[21] I went to the stadium on October 14, 2016.

CJ	MJ	Walikan
bocah 'kid'	*arék*	KÉRA 'kid'
cah (from *bocah)*	*rék*	KÉR 'mate' (from *kéra*)
dab (Walikan Yògyakarta for *sam* 'older brother')	*mas*	SAM 'older brother'
jal (from *jajal* 'have a try')	*coba*	*còba* 'try' (unreversed)
jal (from *jajal* 'DP')	*béh*	HÉB 'DP'
piyé 'how'	*yòkòpò*	*yòkòpò* 'how' (unreversed)

TABLE 2.10: Words from other Javanese dialects (MJ= Malangan Javanese, MI= Malangan Indonesian)

Apart from the word NADÉ, no Central Javanese word is found in Walikan. The form NADÉ 'mad, crazy' is a reversal from *édan*; it is often used as a collocation next to the word *singò* 'lion'. First, Aremania prefers the use of NADÉ instead of the Malangan Javanese counterpart *gendheng* 'idiotic, crazy' possibly for phonological reasons, as reversing the latter will not yield a new form. Second, NADÉ 'mad, crazy' was probably chosen because *gendheng* conveys a harsher meaning, namely 'idiotic'. Nonetheless, Maru (male, 44 years old) and PrPr (male, 59 years old)[22] expressed their opinion that the word NADÉ in ÒNGIS NADÉ does not seem like a natural choice in Malangan Javanese dialect.

FIGURE 2.3: ÒNGIS NADÉ as the slogan of Arema FC

The word *jal*, used to mark imperatives or as a discourse particle in Cen-

[22] As shared in an interview session on August 4, 2018.

tral Javanese dialect, is a clipping from the word *jajal* 'have a try'. Malangan dialect, on the other hand, does not use the clipping *jal*. In imperative constructions, speakers prefer the use of the verb *cobak* 'try'. As a discourse particle, instead of *jal*, Malangan Javanese speakers use *béh* or its reversed form HÉB. If someone is caught using *jal*, he would instantly be labeled as an outsider, therefore his Walikan is inaccurate, as shown in example (2a) in §2.3.

Manns (2015) observes how Javanese speakers in Malang select the address terms *rék* in an attempt to underscore "a shared sense of Javanese identity outside the hierarchical Javanese frames" (p. 85). From this perspective, speakers of Walikan also express solidarity and identity when using the reversed form, KÉR < (*rék*) 'kid, mate'. The way speakers make sure that the discourse particle and address term are not those used in Central Javanese dialect shows how they perceive Walikan as a tool to establish common ground (Clyne et al. 2009; Svennevig 1999). The discourse particle and address term are used to address anyone who also belongs to the same group, and using terms from other Javanese dialects will hinder this intention.

The construction of identity is also achieved through the reversal of personal names of speakers. In Nassenstein and Hollington (2015), this is mentioned as a sign of "strong emblematic association" (p. 38). When these speakers adopt a reversed name as their personal names, they are establishing their status and social identity as part of the group. The following personal names in Table 2.11 illustrate the case.

Original names	Walikan names
Agus	> Suga
Mohamad	> Damahom
Muklis	> Siklum
Rohim	> Mihor
Rio	> Oir
Tio	> Oit

Table 2.11: Personal Names in Walikan

For the speakers, Walikan is an emblem of their identity that merits broader attention. In a recent documentary movie entitled Néndhés Kombét (< *séndhén témbok* 'to relax'), a young vocalist of the ska band Youngster City Rockers revealed the writing process of his band's hit single, whose lyrics are written in Walikan (Fitriah 2015). He described that the idea for writing the song started when they were challenged by the Komunitas Pengamen

Jalanan 'Street Singers Community' in Bulungan, Jakarta, to write a song for the people of Malang community. It appeared to them that the reversed speech is the most salient identity marker of the people of Malang, thus they decided to write the song in Walikan. The song is entitled Ugal-Ugalan 'wild', possibly a reversal of *lagu-laguan* 'fake song'. It soon became one of the band's hit songs in Malang and beyond (Fitriah 2015). The lyrics of the songs refrain can be seen in (20).

(20) Lyrics of UGAL-UGALAN song

Urip wis angél òjòk di-gawé TÉWUR. Katé UKLAM
life already difficult NEG.IMP PASS-use complicated will walk
nang SOTAM macak-é dukur. LÉDOM-é KÉRA enom saiki.
to Matos dress.up high style-DEF kid young now
Ng-gòwò-né LIBOM, KODÉW-né SULUM. AYAS n-duwé-né
N-bring.AV-DEF car woman-DEF smooth 1SG N-have.AV-DEF
ADAPES KÉWUT. Lungsur-an ébés NARACAP ambik
motorcycle old move.down-NMLZ father dating with
émés. AMALATOK Kelenténg Talun ÒYÒNID UTAB. NGALUP
mother Kotalama Kelenténg Talun Dinòyò Batu go.home
léwat NUKUS di-kejar SILUP. KÉAT KÉAT KÉAT KÉAT LOP.
via Sukun PASS-chase police shit shit shit shit very
AYAS singit-an jebul-é Comboran. UKUT ÒGES IPOK gawé
1SG hide-AV instead-DEF Comboran buy rice coffee for
jagong-an. Lha kok sing cangkruk yò lontong-lontong-an.
speak-AV DP DP REL hang.out DP RDP~rice.cake-MOD
NAYAMUL n-delok KODÉW buyar-an HALOKES. KIPA KIPA
pretty.good N-see.AV woman disperse-AV school good good
KIPA LOP.
good very

'Life is already hard so don't complicate it. (Why) dressing up only to hang out in Matos.The style of the youth of today. driving a car, dating a sexy woman. What I have is an old motorcycle. Used by my dad and mom when they were dating. Kotalama Kelenténg Talun Dinòyò Batu. Going home via Sukun and being chased by a policeman. Deep shit shit shit shit. Finding a place to hide and reaching Comboran. Buying rice and coffee to hang out. But those hanging out are boys. It's not bad to spot girls (passing by) after school time. Very good good good.' [23]

(NY_2015_YCR_Song)

The song reflects how the power of music has helped spread the local Malang youth culture and language to a wider, national context. Chapter 6

[23] Matos stands for Malang Town Square, a famous mall in the city. Kotalama, Kelenteng, Talun, Dinoyo, Batu, Sukun, and Comboran are all names of areas or neighborhoods around Malang. The latter is a famous place for thugs.

provides more illustrations as to how songs have become an important avenue for youth to maintain the use of Walikan. They can be analyzed as local practices which can contribute to the construction of a youth culture, both linguistically and beyond.

In a nutshell, Walikan is an emblem of identity and belonging for most of its speakers. The following Figure 2.4 illustrates that the people of Malang believe that those moving to Malang must show proficiency in Walikan if they intend to be part of the community.

FIGURE 2.4: A plea to speak Walikan

The writings on the T-Shirt read: *Kalau kamu sudah di Malang, bicaralah seperti arek Malang* "Boso Walikan", which can be loosely translated into 'When you are in Malang, talk like the people "Boso Walikan"'. It is a plea for newcomers to pay attention to how the locals speak, instead of how locals look or behave. If they intend to fit in, they must learn Walikan, a linguistic practice that is no longer seen as a slang, but rather as an important expression of the city's identity.

2.6 Language Ideology

Language ideology refers to the ways social realities are projected and linked to language use (Wortham 2008b). Language ideologies are closely linked to the ways speakers use language to articulate their social surroundings (Eckert 2008). For a more comprehensive understanding of these dynamics, this section examines the language ideology of Walikan from the past to the present.

Linguistic forms are used by both speakers and addressees to create meaning (Goffman 1981; Silverstein 1992; Wortham 2008a; Wortham 2008b). The concept of meaning in Walikan is constructed through its manipulated linguistic forms: reversed words. These words can produce "denotational meaning", or general linguistic meaning. In addition, they also express "indexical meaning", that is meaning based in a different kind of "social, cultural, historical, and political bodies of knowledge and experience" (Blommaert 2015b). These indexical meanings provide reflections of language ideology that can be constructed by relating the manipulated forms to the speech community's social knowledge and experience (Blommaert 2015b; Silverstein 1979).

As discussed in §2.3, the community believes in a deeply rooted urban legend concerning the history of Walikan, as a secret code among the fighters of Indonesian independence in the 1940s (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). This creation story articulates a strong message in the sense of language ideology. It projects rebellion against authority through a more powerful alliance from below. The war-related words that are used to support the legend such as NÒLÒ < (*lòndò*) 'Dutch' and KÉAT ATAM < (*taék mata*) 'spy' (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007; Widodo 2006) are symbols of patriotism and nationalism.

A YouTube trailer for the musical drama on the life of Major Hamid Roesdi described previously in §2.3 provides an outlet to delve deeper into Walikan words that people believe can portray Walikan as a wartime secret code. The video depicts a younger boy performing *silat*, an indigenous Indonesian martial art, while a woman is laying flowers on Major Hamid Roesdi's burial place. In the background, a man is giving a speech of encouragement in Walikan (21).

(21) *UMAK-UMAK HÉBAK, GENARO-GENARO sing mbois, kabéh penyerang,*
RDP~you all RDP~person that cool all assailant
penjajah, awak-é kudu TAKIS. Masiò sampék KÉTAM,
colonizer body-DEF must fight although until die
awak-é dhéwé kudu PAIS! Merdeka, merdeka, merdeka!
body-DEF own must ready freedom freedom freedom

'All the good people (of Malang), we must fight all the assailants and colonizers. Even if it kills us, we must be ready! Freedom, freedom, freedom!'

(NY_2018_YouTube)

The Sumpah Pemuda 'Youth Pledge' of Indonesia in 1928 stated the im-

portance of Indonesian language as an important tool to manage unity in a linguistically diverse region (Sneddon 2003). In light of this spirit, throughout the urban imaginary, Walikan is described as a distinct code that will not be understood by those who fought for the Dutch side. Despite the possible factual inaccuracy of this legend, for its speakers, Walikan is the actual embodiment of heroism achieved through the spirit of linguistic ingenuity. They can beat any powerful enemy as long as they unite and find a way to overcome their obstacles together.

A different past narrative of Walikan links it to elements of Halliday's (1976) anti-language, a sociolinguistic phenomenon characterized as a language of "socially conditioned disrespect and provocation, demarcation and exclusion; creation of a new social identity in opposition to an established order of values and norms textual; play with forms and competition" (Kießling and Mous 2006:365). During the 1950s and 1960s, Walikan only belonged to people whose social status was marginalized: thugs, criminals, and the street-dwelling community. This no longer applies to present-day Walikan; as shown in §2.4, Walikan has evolved into a widely accepted linguistic practice.

Another popular youth language in Indonesia, Gaul, is described as having an ideology that "articulates a rejection of what is viewed as the previous generation's orientation toward patrimonialism, formality, and fixed social hierarchy" (Smith-Hefner 2007:186). Walikan, like Gaul, is rarely used in face-to-face encounters with older people. Notwithstanding its tendency to be used among a group of people who share the same values or are considered insiders, Ersi (male, 32 years old) and Ansu (male, 27 years old) were both observed speaking in Walikan with their respective fathers. In Javanese, a speaker is expected to use *Kròmò* or *Madyò* level when speaking to an older addressee (see §1.3.1). In Walikan, however, one can keep the matrix language in low or *Ngoko* level of Javanese. Politeness, as it appears, is reflected differently in Walikan.

The reversed form of certain pronouns or address terms in Walikan are used to express linguistic politeness to different degrees when compared with those in Indonesian and Javanese (Yannuar et al. 2017). Address terms in Walikan are seen as tools to homogenize the intricate socio-cultural values of Javanese (see Table 2.12).

Javanese	Walikan
aku (1SG, *ngoko*) *awakku* (1SG, *ngoko*) *kulò* (1SG, *madyò*) *dalem* (1SG, *kròmò*)	AYAS (1SG)
kowé (2SG, *ngoko*) *koen* (2SG, *ngoko*) *awakmu* (2SG, *ngoko*) *sampéyan* (2SG, *madyò*) *panjenengan* (2SG, *kròmò*)	UMAK (2SG/PL) UMAK SAM (*kamu* + *mas*) (2SG/PL/honorific)

TABLE 2.12: Comparison of Address Terms in Javanese and Walikan (from Yannuar et al. 2017:116)

In addition to pronominal kinship terms such as *ébés*, *ébés* KODÉ, SAM, and KÉR (Yannuar et al. 2017), Table 2.12 shows that there are only two common address terms for pronouns in Walikan: AYAS as the singular first person pronoun, and UMAK 'you' or UMAK SAM (< *kamu* 'you' + *mas* 'older brother') as the singular and plural second person pronouns. UMAK SAM functions as an honorific term that can be used when speakers address older speakers, albeit still in a neutral sense when compared to other Javanese honorifics, such as *sampéyan* '2SG' and *panjenengan* '2SG'. This indicates the egalitarian address system of Walikan, as opposed to that of its matrix and embedded languages (Yannuar et al. 2017). Walikan ideology, therefore, is a rejection the socio-linguistic hierarchy as it offers its speakers a more egalitarian way to communicate.

Walikan can also be seen as a form of linguistic practice that bridges the Malangan dialect of Javanese with Indonesian. Indonesian is not the mother tongue for most of the older generation in Malang. Mumu (male, 70 years old)[24] recalled that when he was young they used to make fun of people who spoke Indonesian. "Who are you? Why are you speaking Malay? Are you Javanese or not?", he said, imitating one of his friends. This is indicative of how Indonesian was treated in the past. However, the existence of reversed words and address terms originating from Indonesian shows that this degree of resistance toward Indonesian has diminished gradually. Speaking Indonesian in informal contexts might still incite friends to smirk, even now, as they prefer Malangan Javanese; but the use of reversed Indonesian words in Walikan can

[24] As recorded in an interview on July 10, 2015.

equally convey a sense of solidarity.

The majority of Walikan words originate from Malangan Javanese (56%), followed by words from Malangan Indonesian (40%). Interestingly, there are cases where only reversed forms of Indonesian words are attested, whereas reversals from Malangan Javanese are not accepted. The reversed words from Malangan Indonesian are represented in Table 2.13.

Walikan	**MI**	**Meaning**	**MJ**
(N)ARANJEP	*penjara*	'prison'	*bui*
AYAS	*saya*	'I'	*aku*
HAMUR	*rumah*	'house'	*omah*
ISLA	*asli*	'original'	*temenan*
KADIT	*tidak*	'no(t)'	*gak*
KANYAB	*banyak*	'many'	*akéh*
KAWAB	*bawak*	'to bring'	*gòwò*
LICEK	*kecil*	'small'	*cilik*
LUKUP	*pukul*	'to hit'	*antem*
MUNYES	*senyum*	'to smile'	*mésem*
NAKAM	*makan*	'to eat'	*mangan*
ROLÉT	*telur*	'egg'	*ndhog*
RUDIT	*tidur*	'to sleep'	*turu*

TABLE 2.13: Malangan Indonesian Words in Walikan (MJ = Malangan Javanese, MI = Malangan Indonesian)

On the other hand, there are also examples where Walikan words originating from Malangan Indonesian and Malangan Javanese can be used interchangeably. Some of these are shown in Table 2.14.

Walikan	MI	Walikan	MJ	Meaning
ARADUS	*sòdara*	RULUD	*dulur*	'relative'
AYAK	*kaya*	HIGUS	*sugih*	'rich'
IGAP	*pagi*	KUSI	*isuk*	'morning'
ILAKES	*sekali*	LOP	*pol*	'very'
IRAL	*lari*	ULAYEM	*mlayu*	'to run'
ISAN	*nasi*	ÒGES	*segò*	'cooked rice'
ITAM	*mati*	KÉTAM	*maték*	'to die'
KUSAM	*masuk*	UBLEM	*mlebu*	'to enter'
LIHAM	*hamil*	NGETEM	*meteng*	'pregnant'
NGALUP	*pulang*	HÉLUM	*mulih*	'to go home'
RACAP	*pacar*	OJOB	*bojo*	'boy/girlfriend'
TULUM	*mulut*	ÉMBAL	*lambé*	'mouth'

TABLE 2.14: Synonyms in Walikan (MJ= Malangan Javanese, MI= Malangan Indonesian)

For speakers, reversing Malangan Indonesian words, along with small numbers of Arabic and English words, is acceptable, but reversing words from other Javanese dialects is off-limits. In addition, the quantity of Walikan words from Malangan Indonesian shows recent growth. For instance, the word ILAKES (<*sekali*) 'very', was unheard of for older speakers. But nowadays it is popularly used among younger speakers. Ever since its establishment as the country's sole national language, Indonesian has steadily taken on a prestigious status in the language ecology of Indonesia (Arka 2013; Sneddon 2003). At the other end of the scale, other Javanese dialects are seen to have the same, if not a lower status than Malangan Javanese within the city of Malang.

2.7 Conclusions

This chapter has explored the dynamic nature of Walikan through its forms, practice, and ideology, following Silverstein's (1985) Total Linguistic Fact framework. The forms of Walikan are characterized by two degrees of linguistic manipulation: phonological manipulation and semantic manipulation. To manipulate sounds and conceal original messages, speakers of Walikan fully reverse the phonemes of each word, hence the name *Walikan* 'reversed'. Apart

from this basic rule, there are locally developed varieties of Walikan that develop additional rules such as Walikan Gandhékan, which combines reversal with transposition of the word-final consonant. Paired with the vowel *é* /e/, the consonant is then inserted before the final syllable. A Malangan Javanese word such as *tidak* 'no, not', for instance, becomes KATÉDI. In applying the phonological manipulation strategies, speakers rely on the phonology and phonotactics of its matrix language, Malangan Javanese, a topic that will be discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4.

The second type of manipulation is semantic, which shows how speakers also alter the meaning of certain words, indicating that Walikan is not a mere automatic type of play language (Kießling and Mous 2006). A closer look at Walikan's semantic can give insights to the society's dynamic and fast-changing nature, as evidenced by the changing meanings of a handful of words and phrases, such as NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT 'to chill out' from 'to get high on drugs' and by the existence of words depicting past social situation, such as IDREK 'to work', which originates from the colonially-flavored term *kerdi*, (*kerja rodi*) 'corvée labor'.

In order to speak proper Walikan, there is a set of accepted rules and norms that must be followed. Firstly, one can reverse as many words as possible as long as these are attested forms, so in general not every word in an utterance should be reversed. Secondly, Walikan incorporates words taken from the speakers' linguistic repertoire, including Malangan Javanese, Malangan Indonesian, Arabic, and English; however, words from other Javanese dialects are not incorporated because they hinder the speaker's identity construction as a Malangan person. Unlike Malangan Indonesian—whose language status is increasing and thus is allowed to contribute more words to Walikan—within the speech community other Javanese dialects are perceived to have a somewhat lower status than Malangan Javanese. Furthermore, aside from certain lexicalized expression, such as ANAMID 'where', affixes and possessive pronouns are not part of the reversal, instead they are attached to a reversed root. In addition, a speaker must be able to assess the semantic and social value of a Walikan word to know which reversal form will be acceptable depending on the situation and the addressee.

The chapter has described the formation and development of Walikan from a secretive slang to a marker of shared identity. Promoted by speakers of Walikan, word reversal strategies have become more widespread. Jakartan students are reported to have invented a reversed language inspired by a nearby musical community coming from Malang, and more recently, an increasing number of reversed words are found in Colloquial Jakartan Indone-

sian. At present, speakers use Walikan as a tool to find similarity and highlight differences with other groups, as well as an emblem for identity construction.

This chapter also demonstrates that Walikan ideology has shifted in line with social change. In the past, it showed elements of Halliday's (1976) anti-language; it was mainly used by gangsters and thugs, a situation which is still reflected in some of its vocabulary. A decade later, it gained ground among the youth, particularly among students, musicians, and football fans, at which point reversed words reflecting youth culture and football jargon began to form. Similar to Gaul (Smith-Hefner 2007), Walikan can be seen as an articulation of rejecting existing social hierarchy. Combined with the use of *Ngoko* 'low' Javanese level, the egalitarian system of address terms in Walikan has a homogenizing effect on the intricate Javanese socio-cultural hierarchies.

Finally, as we have seen in §2.2, Walikan is explored through the lens of youth language discourse, despite it having existed for generations. The sociolinguistic domain of Walikan, including how older speakers and younger speakers use Walikan differently is discussed in Chapter 5.