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

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CHAPTER 5

Sociolinguistic Variety

5.1 Introduction

This chapter¹ explores the sociolinguistic “domain” of Walikan, including the speakers’ communities and the different ways in which they use the language variety (Fishman 1972; Holmes 2013). It does so by investigating the self-reported fluency, types of interaction, places of interaction, and the variety of word forms that are used by speakers according to gender and age group. §5.2 focuses on the extent to which Walikan is male-dominated and whether women and girls also take part in it. Further, §5.3 analyzes the variety of Walikan across different age groups. The analysis in this chapter is based on data collected through sociolinguistic questionnaires, interviews, and monologues/conversations that are categorized on the basis of gender and age. The results show that male and female speakers are equal users of Walikan, but there are significant differences between younger and older speakers.

¹The preliminary version of this chapter appeared as Yannuar, N. 2017. The interplay of social variables in Walikan. *Proceedings of The International Seminar on Sociolinguistics and Dialectology; Changes and Development of Language in Social Life*, Universitas Indonesia, Depok, 23 November 2017.

5.2 Gender

The language manipulation strategies in Walikan make it a youth language. As discussed in Chapter 2, youth languages are language registers or varieties developed by youth in urban areas, mainly characterized by linguistic manipulation strategies creating differences from their base language(s) (Kießling and Mous 2006; Nassenstein and Hollington 2015; Nortier and Svendsen 2015). They are generally seen as male-dominated, or used predominantly among male speakers (Kießling and Mous 2004). When some of them are found in both gender groups, certain taboo words are used differently (Nassenstein and Hollington 2015). For example, female speakers in other youth languages, such as Yarada K'wank'wa, spoken in Addis Ababa, may know some words but they prefer not to use them in communication (Hollington 2015).

In this section I investigate whether Walikan, which is seen as the language of pan-Malang solidarity, possesses these youth language characteristics. The investigation was conducted mainly through the use of a sociolinguistic questionnaire as a tool to gather information on how both male and female speakers perceive Walikan. The speakers were asked to self-report their fluency in Walikan, the types of interaction they experience, and the places of interaction when speaking Walikan. A group which tends to assess itself with a higher score can be regarded as more confident and thus have more power than the rest. Regarding the types and places of interaction, youth languages are typically used among peers, those belonging to the same groups, or people of the same age, and are mostly used outside the home.

In addition, I also explore the type of words that are popular among both gender groups. The most popular Walikan words that speakers mentioned spontaneously in the questionnaire were compared to each other. Afterwards, I compared the speakers' perception with real use of Walikan in my corpus.

Note that the male speakers who participated in my study outnumbered the female speakers. Recruiting female participants proved to be more challenging. Most of them hesitated because they worried that they would not perform well.

5.2.1 Fluency

In order to explore how Walikan is used by different gender groups, I focus on how speakers of each gender assess their own fluency in Walikan through a sociolinguistic questionnaire. The word fluency here refers to how communicative and confident they are in Walikan. In the questionnaire, the speakers

were presented with three choices: fluent, not very fluent, and having passive knowledge. The latter means that they know and understand Walikan words, but prefer not to produce them in their own communication. The results are shown in Figure 5.1.

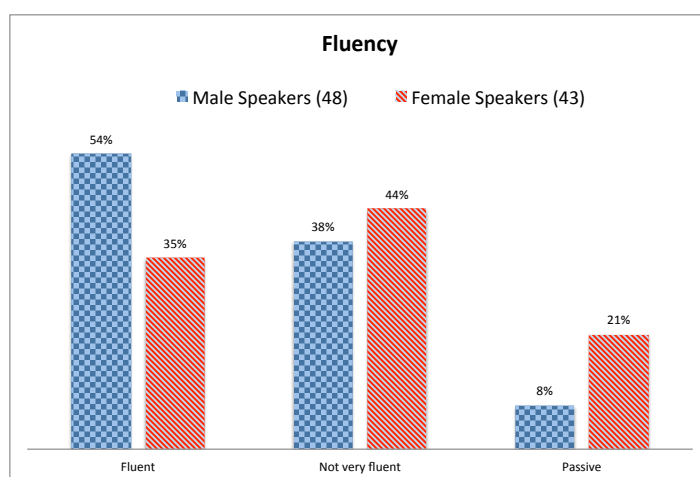


FIGURE 5.1: Self-assessment of male and female speakers' fluency

Investigating self-assessed fluency reveals the extent to which each group takes part in the linguistic practice. Out of 48 male speakers who filled in the information on fluency, 54% reported that they are fluent in Walikan, whereas only 35% of female speakers (out of 43) claimed fluency. Female speakers seem more comfortable in labeling themselves as not very fluent (44%) or having passive knowledge only (21%). The data show that male speakers have more confidence, which can also be interpreted as having a stronger sense of belonging to the community of speakers.

5.2.2 Types of Interaction

I also asked speakers with whom they usually speak Walikan. The questionnaire suggested several categories that participants could choose, but they were allowed to choose more than one category and add other categories which were not on the list yet. This was done to help participants describe the type of interaction that could trigger the use of Walikan.

From 55 male speakers and 43 female speakers, 17 different categories were generated, and in general they can be classified into three groupings:

friends, family, and anyone. Under the category of “friends”, participants mentioned friends (in general), friends of the same age, older friends, close friends, friends to hang out with, office colleagues, school friends, college friends, long-time friends, friends in a band, Facebook friends, friends from Malang, and friends from outside Malang. The category of “family” includes family (in general), parents, and siblings. The results for both male and female speakers are shown in Figure 5.2.

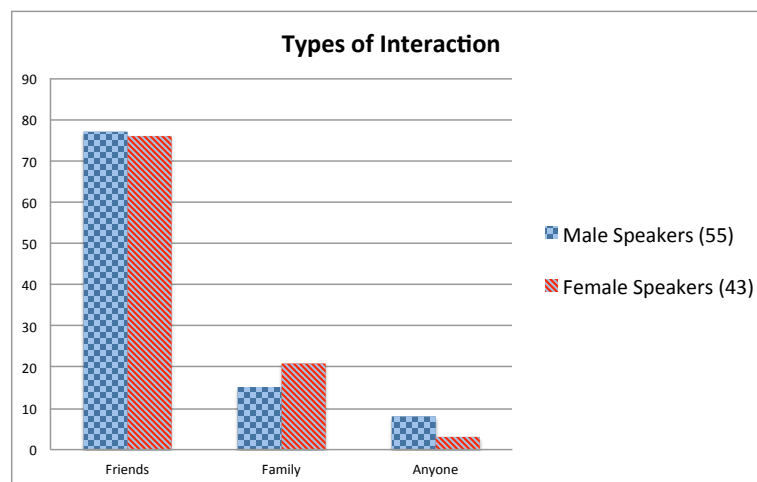


FIGURE 5.2: Walikan circle of male and female speakers

Figure 5.2 shows that both male and female speakers have similar types of interaction in Walikan. Friends (in general) and friends of the same age receive the most mentions. The “friends” category is mentioned 77 times by male speakers and 76 times by female speakers. 29 male speakers and 28 female speakers specify that the friends are of the same age. In contrast, there are only 8 male speakers and 1 female speaker who believe that they can use Walikan with older friends.

In the domain of “family”, both male and female speakers have more or less the same perception. That Walikan is used with family members is mentioned 15 times by male speakers and 21 times by female speakers. Among them, 4 male speakers and 5 female speakers report that they can use it with their parents. Three female speakers use Walikan with their siblings, but none of the male speakers does so.

A greater number of male speakers use Walikan with anyone. During the interviews, some of them said that as long as they are in Malang they can use

Walikan anywhere, with anyone, in any kind of situation. On the other hand, female participants shared that they would prefer not to use Walikan with a stranger, because if the person turns out to be a non-speaker of Walikan the former would be embarrassed. Therefore, female speakers of Walikan tend to show the attitude of restricting the use of Walikan to peers and relatives only, while male speakers tend to feel more freedom to use it with others, regardless of their relationship.

5.2.3 Places of Interaction

Next, places where Walikan is spoken at by male and female speakers are explored. A number of suggestions for possible places were given in the questionnaire, and later participants could select more than one and add their own information. The following data were gathered from 56 male speakers and 45 female speakers. Overall, 22 places were generated, which can be classified into five types: around residence, public space, stadium, school/campus, and office. The results for both male and female speakers are shown in Figure 5.3.

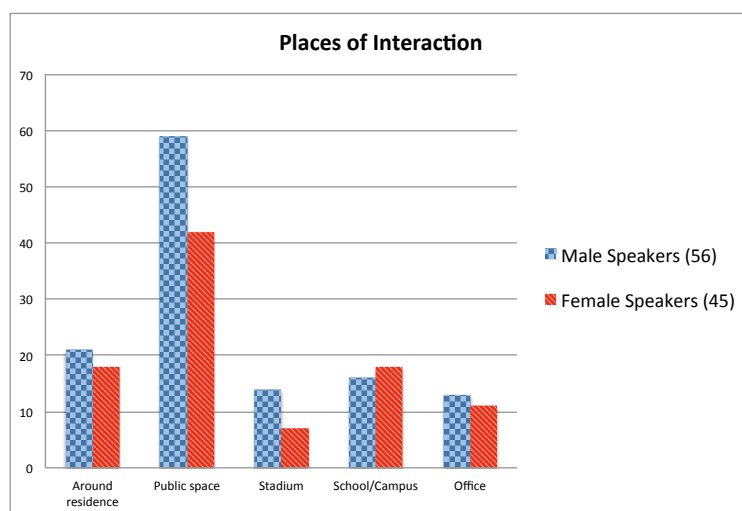


FIGURE 5.3: Places where male and female speakers interact in Walikan

The majority of both male and female speakers feel comfortable using Walikan in public places, which, among others, includes the street, hangout places, and coffee stalls. 39 male speakers and 31 female speakers use Walikan in hangout places. Assuming that most of these speakers are hanging out with

their friends, this supports the previous result shown in §5.2.2 that Walikan is predominantly used among peers in informal situations.

The category “street” as a type of public space is mentioned by 17 male speakers and 10 female speakers. These numbers, although still less than hangout places, are relatively high, meaning that speakers still associate Walikan with a street vernacular.

In the second place, the category “around residence” is mentioned as a location where speakers of both gender groups use Walikan most frequently. 21 male speakers and 18 female speakers consider their houses as spaces for speaking Walikan. In the past Walikan was seen as anti-language, thus it belonged to the marginalized community and was spoken more in the street. So it is interesting to see that nowadays people also consider that Walikan can be used at home.

Walikan is also used in school/on campus by almost the same relatively high number of speakers, namely 16 male speakers and 18 female speakers. Many speakers in the interview recalled that they became fluent in Walikan from interaction with peers in schools, including elementary, junior high, and high schools.

The office is also shown to be a place where speakers can use Walikan. 13 male speakers and 11 female speakers use Walikan in their daily communication with their work colleagues. However, as stated in the interview sessions, they do not use Walikan during formal meetings in the office.

Finally, the results of the questionnaire also reflects the fact that Walikan is commonly identified with sports. 14 male speakers and seven female speakers use Walikan when they are in stadiums and watch football. This is supported by my own observation when I visited Gajahyana Stadium on October 14, 2016. As I sat in the stadium and watched Arema FC playing, I heard Walikan being used by male and female football fans.

5.2.4 Word forms

This section investigates whether male and female speakers use Walikan words in the same manner. In the sociolinguistic questionnaire, informants were asked to mention any Walikan words that they often use from the top of their heads. A total of 254 words were collected from 51 male speakers, while only 149 words were gathered from 47 female speakers. The most popular words in the list are shown in Table 5.1.

Male speakers		Female speakers	
Words	Frequency	Words	Frequency
<u>NAKAM</u> < <u>makan</u> 'to eat'	14/254 (6%)	<u>NAKAM</u> < <u>makan</u> 'to eat'	20/149 (7%)
<u>ÒYI</u> < <u>iyò</u> 'yes'	13/254 (5%)	<u>ÒYI</u> < <u>iyò</u> 'yes'	17/149 (6%)
<u>KADIT</u> < <u>tidak</u> 'no'	11/254 (4%)	<u>HAMUR</u> < <u>rumah</u> 'house'	10/149 (3%)
<u>AYAS</u> < <u>saya</u> 'I'	8/254 (3%)	<u>NGALUP</u> < <u>pulang</u> 'to go home'	10/149 (3%)
<u>IDREK</u> < <u>kerdi</u> 'to work'	7/254 (3%)	<u>AYAS</u> < <u>saya</u> 'I'	7/149 (2%)
<u>UMAK</u> < <u>kamu</u> 'you'	7/254 (3%)	<u>KADIT</u> < <u>tidak</u> 'no'	6/149 (2%)

TABLE 5.1: Frequent words or phrases among male and female speakers

Table 5.1 shows that word usage by both gender groups is not very different. The words NAKAM 'to eat', ÒYI 'yes', KADIT 'no', and AYAS 'I' are found in the list of six most frequent words across the two different gender groups. The following observations can be made to explain some of these popular words.

Firstly, it is possible that the word NAKAM, which is derived from the Indonesian word makan 'to eat' is one of the most popular words in the city. It is frequently seen written on food stalls around the city. It also appears on the T-shirt designs of both Oyisam and Ongisam brands (see 6.4.5). The structure of the word is simple, meaning that it does not contain any consonant clusters, which possibly helps it to linger in the mind of the speakers.

Secondly, the words ÒYI and KADIT are both used by speakers as expressions of the affirmative and the negative respectively. These words have no synonyms in Walikan. In Indonesian, the word tidak 'no', the origin of KADIT, is used before verbs and adjectives, while bukan 'no' is used preceding nouns.

In Walikan, KADIT is used for both functions (also see §6.3.2). It is then not a surprise that both male and female speakers are very familiar with both ÒYI and KADIT.

Thirdly, the pronouns AYAS ‘I’ and UMAK ‘you’ are popular because they often appear in spontaneous conversations when speakers refer to themselves or to the addressee(s). AYAS is a reversal of the Indonesian word saya ‘I’, while the reversal of the Javanese word aku ‘I’, UKA, is not preferred by speakers. Similarly, UMAK also originates from the Indonesian word kamu. There is no other alternative as the other Javanese second person pronouns are bound to complicated politeness and hierarchical rules. As a result, AYAS and UMAK appear as two of the most familiar words for both male and female speakers.

The data discussed above suggest that both male and female speakers of Walikan seem to be familiar with the same Walikan words. However, data from my overall corpus suggest that male speakers produce more words and expressions with socially negative connotations than female speakers. Words and expressions such as KÉAT NGICUK ‘bullshit’ (< *taék kucing* ‘cat shit’), LONTOK (< *kontrol*) ‘penis’, NGUNTAL UTAPES ‘talk rubbish’ (< *nguntal sepatu* ‘eat shoes’), and NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT ‘to have drugs/sex’ (< *séndhén témbok* ‘to lean over a wall’) are found to be predominantly used among male speakers. The latter expression NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT is also known among female speakers but only with its literal meaning. On the other hand, male speakers use the same phrase mostly to refer to the state of being intoxicated, high on drugs, or having pre-marital intercourse (see §2.3.2). This means that male speakers may use Walikan words in a way that can accommodate socially displeasing utterances, but female speakers will not immediately do the same.

5.3 Age

This section explores the domain of age to find out whether Walikan is still part of a youth culture and a youth linguistic practice, even though it has existed for decades and thus its speakers may include both younger and older individuals. To (Blommaert 2015a:4), youth culture is a phenomenon that underlines a specific period in the life of the speakers: their youth. The youth characteristics of Walikan can be justified by focusing on the period when Walikan was forged and when it was used more extensively in the life of most of its speakers.

However, as seen in the demography of my informants, nowadays Walikan speakers come from different generations. Walikan is no longer a vari-

ety that is confined to the youth. The situation reflects the definition of Contemporary Urban Vernacular, that is, a language variety generally developed when the speakers were young, but is still used by the same speakers as they get older (Rampton 2015).

This section aims to investigate how Walikan may be used differently across age groups. I categorized Walikan speakers into five age groups: 1) elderly; 2) middle-aged; 3) adult; 4) youth; and 5) adolescent. The categorization was drawn based on the year they were born, the years they spent in high school and university, and their current social situation.

It is worth noting that the years spent in high school will also inform us regarding the official spelling that speakers were introduced to in their formal education. The first spelling system in Indonesia was the Van Ophuijsen Spelling in 1901, followed by the Republican Spelling System/Soewandi Spelling in 1947. They were both more or less still influenced by Dutch orthography. The most noticeable element in both systems is that the palatal stop sound /c/ is represented with a digraph <tj>. In the Perfected Spelling System introduced in 1972, the palatal stop /c/ is represented as <c> instead of the digraph <tj>. In 2016 the Ministry of Education and Culture published a general guide to Indonesian spelling. Understanding this situation helps analyze how speakers at times deal with the orthography of a word (also see §1.3.2).

The categorization of Walikan speakers based on age groups is shown in Table 5.2.

Age range	Year born	Years in Senior High School	Social situation
Elderly, 60s and above	1950s and earlier	1960s or early 1970s	Retired, have more time to reconnect with old friends
Middle-aged, 40s and 50s	late 1960s to 1970s	late 1970s to 1980s	Settled down, married, busy with family
Adult, 25 to 30s	1980s	1990s	Working, in the most productive stage, starting to have more life responsibility
Youth, 16 to 24	1990s to early 2000s	2000s	Still in high school or university, more time to hang out with friends
Adolescent, 10 to 15	2000s	Still in elementary school or junior high school	Still under parents' guidance, limited interaction with peers

TABLE 5.2: Walikan speakers' age categories

The elderly group (60s and above) were born in the 1950s or earlier, during the early stages of Indonesian independence. They are used to speaking Javanese in their daily conversations, while using Indonesian only in very formal situations. The official orthography that they used when they were in school in 1960s or early 1970s was the Soewandi Spelling (from 1947 to 1972). At present, the people belonging to this group are mostly retired and have more time to reconnect with their friends from the past.

The middle-aged group (in their 40s to 50s) went to high school in the

late 1970s and the 1980s. Most of them have now settled down, married, and are quite occupied with family life. Next is the adult group (in their 20s to 30s), who went to high school in the 1990s. In terms of social situation, they are now at the peak of their productive years and have started to have more responsibilities in life. The fourth group is the youth (aged 16 to 24), who are still either in high schools or universities. They spend most of their time studying or socializing with friends.

The last group is the adolescents (aged 10 to 15), who are currently still living with their parents. Most of them have not yet fully developed their skills in Walikan. They just started learning Walikan by picking up generic words and using it with their school friends.

The number of speakers within each category is not always balanced. There are only 2 adolescent speakers because I focused the data collection of my study on campuses, offices, houses, and high schools instead of elementary schools. Due to these constraints, I was not able to enter the adolescent communities. The 2 adolescent speakers I recruited, however, are fluent and reliable.

5.3.1 Fluency

Based on the aforementioned age categories, I first looked into how speakers assess their fluency of Walikan based on age groups. There were 20 elderly, 18 middle-aged, 40 adult, 13 youth, and 2 adolescent speakers who reported their self-assessed fluency. The results are presented in Figure 5.4.

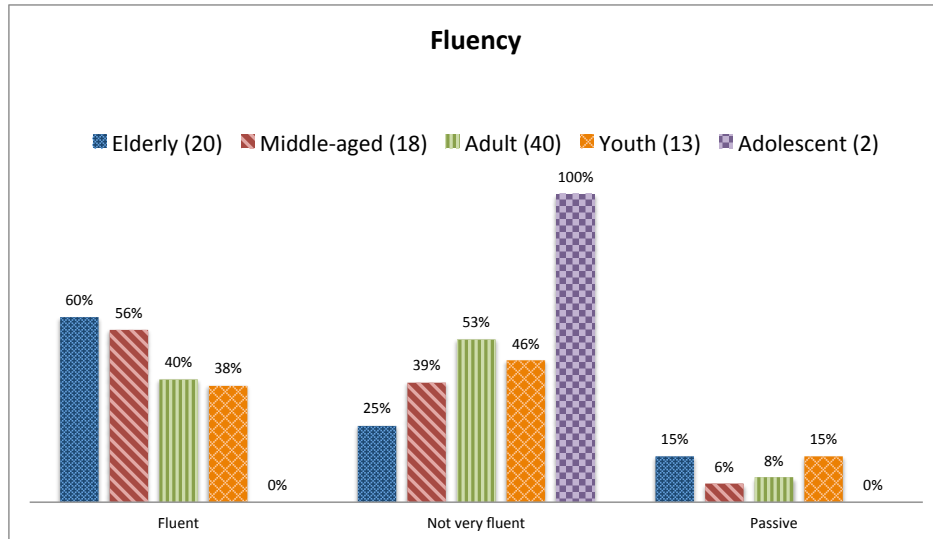


FIGURE 5.4: Self-assessment of speakers' fluency based on age groups

The distribution of responses suggests that the older the participants are, the more confident they feel of their ability in Walikan. 60 % of elderly speakers believe that they are fluent in Walikan, while only 38 % of youth speakers feel the same way. Older speakers are seen to have more power and control in displaying their knowledge of Walikan. Fewer younger speakers seem to admit that they have fluent proficiency in Walikan, but this does not correlate with their actual ability in speaking. In the spoken data, younger groups of speakers also show high proficiency, indicated by the high number of Walikan words incorporated in their speech. However, there seems to be a norm which suggests that older speakers have better knowledge of Walikan.

As an attempt to understand how Walikan is used in spontaneous interaction, I asked one of my informants to bring a recorder as she followed the band *Arema Voice* when they performed in Bulungan Jakarta. They were invited as a guest performance during the celebration of Arema's anniversary in 2016. The recording managed to capture a situation where one younger speaker used a certain Walikan word, which was immediately commented on by an older speaker. The older speaker then went on to mention certain rules that he believed should be followed by younger speakers of Walikan.

5.3.2 Types of Interaction

In §5.2.2 it was shown that a slight difference can be observed between the male and female Walikan speakers based on the groups of people to whom they talk. Male speakers feel more freedom to also use Walikan with strangers, even before establishing common ground with them first. Here I observe that younger and older speakers also show very little difference with regard to the group of people that they may interact with in Walikan. The data presented in Figure 5.5 were collected from 21 elderly speakers, 21 middle-aged, 40 adult, 18 youth, and 2 adolescent speakers.

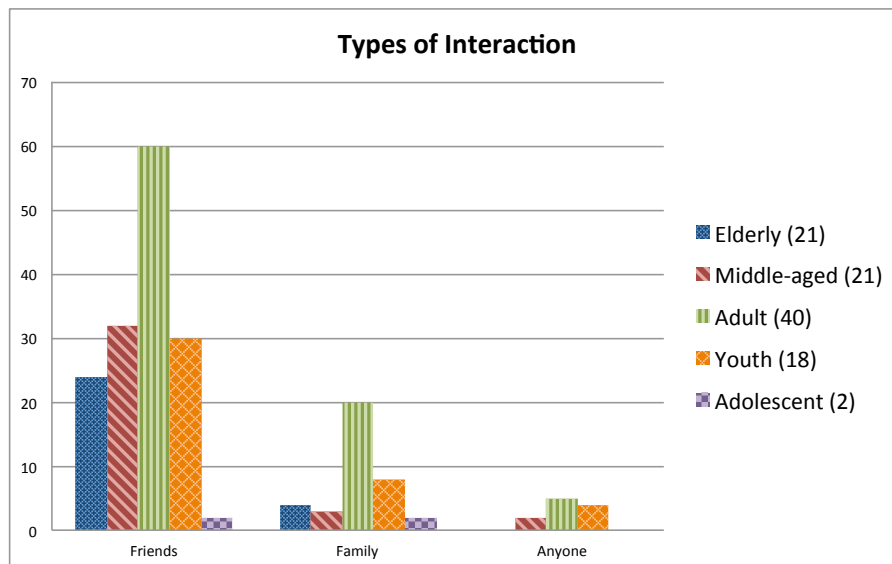


FIGURE 5.5: Self-assessment of speakers' fluency based on age groups

Speakers across generations use Walikan with friends. Most of them frequently mentioned the category friends of the same age. 15 elderly speakers, 11 middle-aged speakers, and 20 adult speakers specified that they use Walikan with friends of the same age.

The second most frequently mentioned category for adult speakers is family. Youth speakers show the same trend as adult speakers. For them Walikan can be used mostly with friends, followed by family, which includes both parents and siblings.

The elderly speakers also highlight the category friends. For them, it is important to make sure that the people they are talking to in Walikan are

their peers. They seem to be more reluctant to use Walikan with their family. Walikan was more like a secret language among peers, instead of an urban language that can be used with anyone.

A youth language is more commonly used in the interaction between friends or peers of the same age. The fact that younger participants report that they can use Walikan with their family shows that for them Walikan has lost its youth language characteristics. Walikan is seen as an informal language variety that reflects local pride, solidarity, as well as regional identity (see §6.5).

5.3.3 Places of Interaction

Here, following the same category of places described in §5.2.3, I also observe the places where people speak Walikan based on their age. The data presented in Figure 5.6 were collected from 20 elderly, 22 middle-aged, 39 adult, 18 youth, and 2 adolescent speakers.

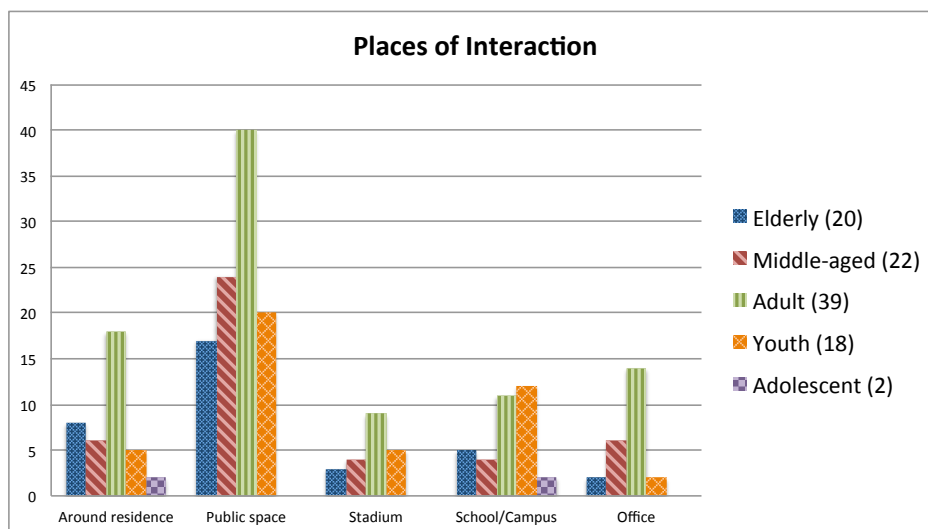


FIGURE 5.6: Self-assessment of speakers' fluency based on age groups

Both of the participating adolescent speakers use Walikan in their homes and at school. Both of them have supportive parents who are also fluent in Walikan, so they use Walikan at home. In school, both of them also continue to use Walikan with their friends.

Among speakers older than 16 years of age, Walikan is used predominantly in public spaces. This category is mentioned by 40 adult speakers, 24 middle-aged speakers, 20 youth speakers, and 17 elderly speakers. Most of them mentioned that typically they converse in Walikan in a hangout place.

The category campus is also popular among youth speakers, while adult speakers mention the category of office. In addition, the stadium is also mentioned quite frequently, mostly by adult speakers, followed by youth and middle-aged speakers.

With regard to the elderly speakers, a few of them mentioned reunions as occasions that trigger their use of Walikan (not included in Figure 5.6). During the interview sessions, they explained that Walikan is seen as a tool to connect to their old friends.

Baso (male, 62 years old)² shared that he had learned Walikan in high school from school friends and peers in general. As he grew older, however, the frequency with which he used Walikan decreased. He felt this linguistic practice to be closely tied to a certain period in his life, namely his youth. As a result, every time he and his school friends met for a reunion, they made use of Walikan in order to celebrate the memory of their youth. In February 2016, the alumni network of SMAN 1 Malang (Senior High School 1 Malang), *Ikamisa*, organized a gathering which was entitled Uklam Tahés Ikamisa. UKLAM is a reversed form of *mlaku* 'to walk', while TAHÉS is the inverted form of *séhat* 'healthy'. The whole sentence means 'A healthy morning walk with Ikamisa – the alumni network of SMAN 1 Malang'.

The interviews also suggest that Walikan was mostly used in oral communication for the older generation. The younger generation, however, shows that their use of Walikan extends beyond oral communication. They also find the Internet or digital space in general a more substantial place to learn and practice Walikan (see §6.4.3).

²Interviewed in May 30th, 2015.

5.3.4 Word Forms

This section further explores the different Walikan forms that are used by speakers of different age groups. In order to investigate these forms, I focus on certain Walikan words that show variation in my corpus. There are two different variation categories: 1) phonological or phonotactical; and 2) related to reversal types. The phonological or phonotactical variations are divided into (a) consonant variation; as shown in Table 5.3, and (b) vowel variation; as shown in Table 5.4.

Note that the empty cells indicate unused forms or no data among the corresponding group. The Walikan word UMAK ‘you’, for example, is not used by the elderly group. For the second person pronoun, the elderly group chose to use the unreversed Javanese word *kowe* ‘you’, *koen* ‘you’, or *sampéyan* ‘you (honorific)’. The other empty cells signify that no data was collected due to the limited number of participants.

Words	Elderly	Middle-Aged	Adult	Youth	Adolescent
<i>kamu</i> ‘you’ [ka.mu]		[ʔu.maʔ]; [ʔu.mak]	[ʔu.maʔ]; [ʔu.mak]	[ʔu.maʔ]; [ʔu.mak]; [ju.maʔ]; [ju.mak]	[ʔu.maʔ]; [ʔu.mak]
<i>kecil</i> ‘small’ [kə.cil]	[li.təʔ]; [li.tək]	[li.cəʔ]; [li.cək]	[li.cəʔ]; [li.cək]	[li.cəʔ]; [li.cək]	[li.cək]
<i>celana</i> ‘trousers’ [cə.la.na]	[ʔa.na.ləʔ]	[ʔa.na.ləʔ]	[ʔa.na.ləʔ]; [ʔa.na.ləc]	[ʔa.na.ləc]	
<i>cinò</i> ‘Chinese’ [ci.nə]	[ʔə.niʔ]	[ʔə.niʔ]	[ʔə.niʔ]; [ʔə.niʔ]	[ʔə.niʔ]; [ʔə.niʔ]; [ʔə.nic]	
<i>Jakarta</i> ‘a place name’ [ʃa.kar.tə]	[ʔa.ʔra.katʔ]; [ʔa.ra.ka.ʔatʔ]; [ʔa.ʔa.ra.katʔ]	[ʔa.ʔra.katʔ]	[ʔa.ʔra.katʔ]; [a.ʔra.katʔ]	[ʔa.ʔra.katʔ]; [a.ʔra.katʔ]	[a.ʔra.katʔ]

Words	Elderly	Middle-Aged	Adult	Youth	Adolescent
<i>juragan</i> 'boss' [ˈbɔs]	[na.ˈra.ɡʊt̪]; [na.ˈra.ɡʊt̪]; [na.ˈɡa.ruʔ]	[na.ˈra.ɡʊt̪]; [na.ˈra.ɡʊʃ]	[na.ˈra.ɡʊt̪]; [na.ˈra.ɡʊʃ]		
<i>wédok</i> 'fe-male' [ˈwɛ.ɖəʔ]	[kɔ.ɖɛh]; [kɔ.ɖɛp]; [kɔ.ɖɛ]	[kɔ.ɖɛh]; [kɔ.ɖɛp]; [kɔ.ɖɛ]	[kɔ.ɖɛh]; [kɔ.ɖɛʊ]	[kɔ.ɖɛʊ]	[kɔ.ɖɛʊ]
<i>wedi</i> 'afraid' [ˈwə.ɖi]	[ˈʔi.ɖɛp]; [ˈʔi.ɖɛʊ]	[ˈʔi.ɖɛp]; [ˈʔi.ɖɛʊ]	[ˈʔi.ɖɛp]; [ˈʔi.ɖɛʊ]	[ˈʔi.ɖɛʊ]	
<i>yang</i> 'that.REL' [ˈjaŋ]				[ˈŋaʔ]	
<i>yuk</i> 'let's [ˈjuʔ]				[ˈkuʔ]	[ˈkuʔ]

TABLE 5.3: Consonant variations across age groups

The phonological or phonotactical variations take place as reflections of a number of rules of Malangan Javanese and Malangan Indonesian phonology and phonotactics that were discussed in Chapter 4.

The first variation concerns the realization of the final /k/, which is a glottal stop [ʔ] in Malangan Javanese. The pronunciation of UMAK 'you' and licek 'small' has shown that some speakers, despite their age groups, conform to the aforementioned rule, while some of them tend to realize the final /k/ as [k] because of the orthography. In other words, if reversal follows orthography, then a [k] appears in word-final position. If reversal follows phonemic form of words, it yields a [ʔ] in word-final position (see §4.3.2.2).

Among the youth group, the initial close-back vowel /u/ in the word UMAK 'you' can be realized in two different ways. The first is preceded by a glottal stop, just like any other word-initial vowels in Malangan Javanese, as in [ʔu.maʔ] or [ʔu.mak]. The second inserts a glide in word-initial position, thus [ju.maʔ] or [ju.mak], because of a link with English [ju:] 'you'. This was mentioned by the speakers as their strategy to make Walikan sound more modern and English-like.

A closer look at the word kecil 'small' also shows that the light palatal stop /c/ is realized as /t/ in [li.təʔ] and [li.tək] by the elderly group. This could be due to the old spelling of the word, which was historically written as ketjil following the Van Ophuijsen Spelling System modelled on Dutch orthography; Indonesia's Perfected Spelling System changed the digraph <tj> into modern <c>. The elderly speakers may have paid attention to this early spelling, but reversing ketjil to *LIJTEK would have yielded the phonologically impermissible form [liʃ.təʔ] or [li.ʃtəʔ]. Therefore, [li.təʔ], with a retroflex rather than dental /t/, may have been a creative solution to transform it into something pronounceable.

In the word celana 'trousers' and cinò 'Chinese', the light palatal stop /c/ is realized as the light dental stop [t̪] in word-final position by all speakers above 24 years of age. This is because /c/ in word-final position violates Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonotactics. Younger speakers tend to retain the palatal stop /c/ in word-final position, as they produce the form [ʔa.na.ləc]. When pronouncing the word cinò 'Chinese', however, the youth group is observed to realize the word-final /c/ as [t̪].

In reversing the word Jakarta 'a place name', elderly speakers break up the consonant cluster /tr/ in word-medial position by inserting the vowel /a/. This strategy is not found among speakers who are below 60. In addition, adult and youth speakers realize the word-final heavy palatal stop /ɟ/ as [ɟ] in the reversal of Jakarta 'a place name' and juragan 'boss', although [ɟ] in such

position contravenes Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonotactics. Older speakers, on the other hand, prefer to realize the word-final /j/ as [t̚].

Next, we can investigate how the word-final bilabial approximant /w/ is realized by speakers from different age groups in the reversal of the word *wédok* ‘woman’. In Malangan Javanese and Indonesian, /w/ does not occur in word-final position. Speakers below 40 years of age realize word-final /w/ as a diphthong, as in [kɔ.ɖ̥ɛ̃^u]. This is avoided by older speakers, as they feel that it breaks the Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonotactics. They prefer to replace /w/ with the glottal fricative [h], the heavy bilabial stop [b], or simply delete the final consonant.

Some other new forms used among the younger speakers are [ʎaⁱ] and [kuⁱ], which are reversed forms of *yang* [jaŋ] ‘that.REL’ and *yuk* [juʔ] ‘let’s’. The palatal approximant /j/ does not normally occur in final position in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian words, and when it does in Walikan words, it may be realized as a diphthong (see §4.6). These words are only found among younger speakers, and are not approved of by the older speakers.

In other words, innovative forms of Walikan are found among the youth, who produce reversal speech in a new fashion, including [ju.mak] ‘you’ and [ʎaⁱ] ‘that.REL’. Younger speakers also seem to show less hesitation in violating Javanese and/or Indonesian phonotactics, as seen in [ʔa.na.ləɕ] ‘trousers’ and [na.ra.guʃ] ‘boss’. The younger speakers are thus less conservative than the older speakers, and they can be regarded as key actors in directing change in Walikan.

Table 5.4 shows pronunciation variations among different age groups based on the vowels.

Words	Elderly	Middle-Aged	Adult	Youth	Adolescent
<i>gedhé</i> 'big' [gə.ðɛ]	[ʔɛ.ðək]	[ʔɛ.ðək]	[ʔɛ.ðək]	[ʔɛ.ðək]; [ʔe.ðək]	
<i>saté</i> 'satay' [sa.tɛ]	[ʔɛ.tas]	[ʔɛ.tas]	[ʔɛ.tas]	[ʔɛ.tas]; [ʔe.tas]	[ʔɛ.tas]
<i>énak</i> 'de- licious' [ʔɛ.naʔ]	[ka.ne]	[ka.ne]	[ka.ne]; [ka.nɛ]	[ka.ne]; [ka.nɛ]	[ka.nə]
<i>selawé</i> 'twenty- five' [sə.la.we]	[ʔɛ.la.wɛs]; [ʔɛ.la.wəs]	[ʔɛ.la.wɛs]; [ʔɛ.la.wəs]	[ʔɛ.la.wɛs]; [ʔɛ.la.wəs]	[ʔɛ.la.wəs]; [ʔe.la.wəs]	
<i>tentara</i> 'soldier' [tə.nta.ra]	[ʔa.ra.nɛʔ]; [ʔa.ra.nəʔ]	[ʔa.ra.nɛʔ]; [ʔa.ra.nəʔ]	[ʔa.ra.nɛʔ]; [ʔa.ra.nəʔ]	[ʔa.ra.nɛʔ]; [ʔa.ra.nəʔ]	
<i>sekolah</i> 'school' [sə.kɔ.lah]	[ha.lo.kəs]; [ha.lɔ.kəs]	[ha.lo.kəs]; [ha.lɔ.kəs]	[ha.lo.kəs]; [ha.lɔ.kəs]	[ha.lo.kəs]; [ha.lɔ.kəs]	[ha.lɔ.kəs]

TABLE 5.4: Vowel variations across age groups

The pronunciation of the reversal words for *gedhé* 'big' and *saté* 'satay' shows that in word-initial position, the vowel /e/ is realized as [ɛ] by speakers above 24 years of age, hence [ʔɛ.ðək] and [ʔɛ.tas]. This is because in Malangan Javanese phonotactics, /e/ does not appear in word-initial position. The youth group, however, is observed to realize word-initial /e/ as [e], as in [ʔe.ðək] and [ʔe.tas].

In KANÉ, the reversal of *énak* 'delicious', speakers of all age groups realize the word-final /e/ as [e], in accordance with Malangan Javanese phonotactics. Interestingly, speakers who are younger than 40 years of age have a different realization of this phoneme, which also violates Malangan Javanese phono-

tactics. In the alternative form, [ka.nɛ], word-final /e/ is realized as [ɛ]. While in another alternative form, [ka.nə], the word-final /e/ is even realized as [ə] by the adolescent. As pointed out in §4.3.2.6.3, this is caused by the use of the same grapheme <e> for both /e/ and /ə/ in the orthography. The same case is found in the reversal of the word *tentara* ‘soldier’, where speakers above 15 years of age also interchangeably realize the schwa vowel /ə/ as [ə] or [ɛ].

Further, in reversing the word *selawé* ‘twenty-five’, speakers above 24 years old interchangeably realize the schwa vowel /ə/ in the first open syllable of the original word as [ə] or [ɛ] in the last closed syllable of the reversal. In addition, the /e/ in the final position of the original word is also interchangeably realized as [ɛ] or [e] by the youth in the word-initial position of the reversal. The interchangeable realizations of [ɛ] and [e] is discussed in §4.3.2.6.2.

Finally, in the reversal of *sekolah* ‘school’, speakers above 15 years old interchangeably realize the vowel /o/ as [ɔ] or [o]. The adolescent speakers, however, only realize /o/ as [ɔ]. The interchangeable realizations of /o/ as [ɔ] or [o] is discussed in §4.3.2.6.4.

The way some vowels replace each other depending on the position in which they appear in the reversal words is due to their allophonic relations. However, the fact that sometimes younger speakers neglect these allophonic rules may provide evidence for the claim that some allophones, such as [ɛ] and [ɔ], are slowly gaining phonemic status in Malangan Javanese (see §4.3.2.6).

In addition, there are also variations based on the type of reversal strategies chosen by speakers based on their age. Note that the type of variations found in Walikan has been previously discussed in §4.6. Here I look at four examples that I found to be used differently by different age groups.

Words	Elderly	Middle-Aged	Adult	Youth	Adolescent
<i>selamat</i> ‘a greeting’	[ʈa.'la.məs]; [ʈa.'ma.ləs]	[ʈa.'la.məs]; [ʈa.'ma.ləs]	[ʈa.'la.məs]; [ʈa.'ma.ləs]	[ʈa.'la.məs]; [ʈa.'ma.ləs]	[ʈa.'ma.ləs]
<i>setuju</i> ‘to agree’	[ʔu.'tu.jəs]	[ʔu.'tu.jəs]	[ʔu.'tu.jəs]	[ʔu.'tu.jəs]; [ʔu.'ju.təs]	[ʔu.'ju.təs]
<i>pirò</i> ‘how much’	[ʔɔ.'rip]; [ʔɔ.'pir]	[ʔɔ.'rip]; [ʔɔ.'pir]	[ʔɔ.'rip]	[ʔɔ.'rip]	[ʔɔ.'rip]
<i>lanang</i> ‘man’	[ŋa.'lan]; [ŋa.'nal]	[ŋa.'lan]; [ŋa.'nal]	[ŋa.'nal]	[ŋa.'nal]	[ŋa.'nal]

TABLE 5.5: Type of reversal variations across age groups

The word *selamat* ‘a greeting’ is reversed by both the Total Segment Reversal and the Segment Exchange strategies. By using the former, [sə.'la.maʈ] becomes [ʈa.'ma.ləs]. While the latter strategy yields the form [ʈa.'la.məs]. Both forms can be found almost in all age categories, except among the adolescent speakers, who only use the Total Segment Reversal strategy.

Another trisyllabic word *setuju* ‘to agree’ can also be reversed by using Total Segment Reversal and Segment Exchange. Speakers older than 24 years of age only use the Segment Exchange version, [ʔu.'tu.jəs]. Some youth speakers also use this version, but some of them also use Total Segment Reversal strategy, yielding the form [ʔu.'ju.təs]. This form is the only one used by the adolescent speakers.

Next, the words *pirò* ‘how much’ and *lanang* ‘man’ can be reversed by using Total Segment Reversal and Transposition/Sequence Exchange. The former strategy yields the forms [ʔɔ.'rip] and [ŋa.'nal]. They are used across all age categories. On the other hand, the forms created through Transposition/Sequence Exchange, [ʔɔ.'pir] and [ŋa.'lan], can be found only among speakers who are older than 40 years of age.

In short, we can conclude that the Total Segment Reversal strategy is becoming more salient and is seen as the norm among younger speakers of Walikan. Most of them are aware of Walikan words formed through alternative strategies of word reversal, but Total Segment Reversal is universally preferred in their own speech.

5.3.5 Word Choices

Having explored how Walikan is pronounced across different age groups, this section looks at the varieties of Walikan words as a result of different age groups' preferences. Table 5.6 shows different word choices in Walikan across age groups.

The word ÒJREK (< *kerjò*) 'to work' is only used by speakers younger than 25 years old. Older speakers prefer the term IDREK (< *kerdi*; from *kerja rodi* 'corvée labor') 'to work'. The latter form originated from a social phenomenon during the colonization period (see the discussion in §2.3.2). Second, the Walikan word for 'relative' among middle-aged and adult speakers can be either ARADUS (< *sodara*) or RULUD (< *dulur*) and RULUDES (< *sedulur*). The elderly speakers prefer ARADUS, whereas the youth tends to use RULUD and RULUDES.

The word ASAIB (< *biasa*) for adult and younger speakers simply means 'common'. However, speakers who are older than 40 use ASAIB to mean 'prostitute' in addition to the word NOLAB (< *balon*) 'prostitute'.

Another example is the word ILAKES, a reversal from the Indonesian word *sekali* 'very', which is popular among younger speakers but not well received by speakers who are above 40. This group prefers the form LOP, which is a reversal from the Javanese word *pol* 'very'. According to older speakers, *pol* appeared earlier and sounds better.

Of further significance are reversed words that include affixes, such as ANAMÉK (< *ke-mana* 'to-where') 'where are you going?', ANAMID (< *di-mana* 'in-where') 'where?', and UMIAR or UMAIR (< *rai-mu* 'face-2SG.POSS') 'your face; insult'. These words are only used by youth speakers. They are frowned upon by the older speakers.

The type of Walikan words used among these older speakers can be considered quite obsolete. This age group has stopped inventing new words when they use Walikan in their later years. That said, the young speakers use newly developed words that are not familiar to the older speakers. Phrases such as HAMURMU ANAMID < *rumahmu dimana* which means 'where are you from?' (literally 'where is your house?') are popular among Aréma fans to break the ice.

Words	Elderly	Middle-Aged	Adult	Youth	Adolescent
<i>kerdi;</i> <i>kerjò</i> ‘to work’	<u>IDREK</u>	<u>IDREK</u>	<u>IDREK</u>	<u>IDREK</u> ; <u>ÒJREK</u>	
<i>sodara;</i> <i>du-</i> <i>lur/sedu-</i> <i>lur</i> ‘relative’	<u>ARADUS</u> ³	<u>ARADUS</u> ; <u>RULUD</u> ; <u>RULUDES</u>	<u>ARADUS</u> ; <u>RULUD</u> ; <u>RULUDES</u>	<u>RULUD</u> ; <u>RULUDES</u>	
<i>biasa</i> ‘common’			<u>ASAIB</u>	<u>ASAIB</u>	<u>ASAIB</u>
<i>balon;</i> <i>biasa</i> ‘prostitute’	<u>NOLAB</u> ; <u>ASAIB</u>	<u>NOLAB</u> ; <u>ASAIB</u>	<u>NOLAB</u>	<u>NOLAB</u>	
<i>sekali; pol</i> ‘very’	<u>LOP</u>	<u>LOP</u>	<u>ILAKES</u> ; <u>LOP</u>	<u>ILAKES</u> ; <u>LOP</u>	<u>ILAKES</u>
<i>ke-mana</i> ‘to- where’				<u>ANAMÉK</u>	
<i>di-mana</i> ‘in- where’				<u>ANAMID</u>	
<i>rai-mu</i> ‘face- 2SG.POSS’; insult’				<u>UMIAR</u> ; <u>UMAIR</u>	

TABLE 5.6: Different word choices in Walikan across age groups

³Note that the reversed word ARADUS used by elderly, middle-aged, and adult

5.4 Conclusions

In this chapter I have shown how Walikan is used among different gender and age groups.

Male speakers show more confidence than female speakers in reporting their fluency. In addition, the number of words or expressions that have socially negative connotations are found more frequently in the male domain. Female speakers may know this type of words, but avoid them in general. Female speakers can thus be considered to also be speakers of Walikan, but in a more restricted manner. The difference in language use between male and female speakers of Walikan seems to be related to gender differences in using languages in general, as the same situation can also be observed when they are speaking Malangan Javanese or Malangan Indonesian.

By looking at how Walikan is used in different age groups, I have shown that there are phonological differences between age groups in the reversed form of the words. Older speakers are seen as the most conservative group, as they show a greater tendency to conform to Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonology and phonotactics. In some cases, they also make use of old spellings, but they do not fully neglect the rules of phonotactics. Younger groups, on the other hand, can be seen as the most dynamic group of speakers, as they also add and create new forms or new pronunciations that are unknown to older speakers.

These differences also tell us that the reversed forms in Walikan are dynamic, and they are changing through different age groups. Walikan, therefore, is not a static practice; the older speakers can still speak it, but the younger speakers —and particularly the men —are those who control the contemporary form of Walikan by spearheading innovative and frequent use of Walikan.

Finally, this chapter suggests that Walikan is no longer a youth language. It might have had youth language characteristics in the past, but nowadays both the older and younger generations are proficient speakers of Walikan. They tend to regard Walikan as an informal or colloquial variety of Malangan Javanese that is able to project local pride, solidarity, and regional identity. This topic will also be discussed in the next chapter, in §6.5.

speakers has three other variations: ARADOS, ARADES, or ARODES.

