



Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

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

Yannuar, N.

Citation

Yannuar, N. (2019, October 24). *Bòsò Walikan Malangan : structure and development of a Javanese reversed language*. LOT dissertation series. LOT, Utrecht. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/79901>

Version: Publisher's Version

License: [Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden](#)

Downloaded from: <https://hdl.handle.net/1887/79901>

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page



Universiteit Leiden



The handle <http://hdl.handle.net/1887/79901> holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Yannuar, N.

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

Issue Date: 2019-10-24

CHAPTER 6

Language Ecology

6.1 Introduction

This chapter¹ describes the present-day use of Walikan in the media and in public space in general. Unlike previously described youth registers in Indonesia, Walikan has existed since the 1940s and has continuously reinvented itself in terms of its forms and community of speakers (discussed previously in Chapter 2 and 5). As will be shown, speakers of Walikan have certain strategies to keep the use of the language alive. In addition to the use of Walikan in face-to-face or spontaneous communication, people also use Walikan in songs, local TV news, local newspaper columns as well as on public signs. This chapter describes how an urban language that started out as an oral practice has been maintained through written and audio-visual media offline and online. The results indicate how a community works together in shaping its identity through linguistic means.

The main goal of this chapter is to examine how Walikan is finding its way into the public space. Firstly, the language ecology of the area where Walikan

¹A preliminary version of this chapter was published as Yannuar, N. (2018). *Wòlak-waliké jaman: Exploring contemporary Walikan in public space. Wacana*, 19(1): 100-121.

is spoken is discussed in §6.2. Next, the different platforms on which Walikan appears and can be accessed by a wider community in the city are explored in §6.3 and §6.4. The analysis of its use on each platform also investigates the speakers' motivation for promoting the use of Walikan (§6.5). I conclude by comparing Walikan forms that are used in spoken and written media (§6.6).

Throughout the chapter I will make the case that the people of Malang have participated in the maintenance of a local linguistic practice, a process related to the concept of "latent enfranchisement" (Goebel et al. 2017:274). "Linguistic enfranchisement" refers to the process in which "infrastructures, such as schools and the mass media, help to circulate and standardize a language among a certain population", but latent enfranchisement refers to a situation in which a language not yet included in school curricula can be found in the city's linguistic landscape (Goebel et al. 2017:274).

In Jayapura, Papuan Malay is becoming more visible in a number of local political campaign posters. Since it is not used in the school curriculum, the uptake is categorized as latent enfranchisement (Goebel et al. 2017:283;290). Sundanese, spoken in West Java, on the other hand, is a school subject, and has appeared in a number of printed materials and telecommunication media, which makes it a good example of linguistic enfranchisement (Goebel et al. 2017:280;290).

Fataluku, a language in East Timor, is also an example of latent enfranchisement. The language is still mostly used in oral communication, with no common orthography yet established, but it has appeared in the local linguistic landscape of Lautém. Inconsistent spellings of Fataluku are found in graffiti and other signage, suggesting the emerging use of the local language in written media (da Conceição Savio 2016).

As will be discussed in this chapter, the combination of oral and written forms of Walikan in publicly assessed media or social network platforms is a result of the speakers' effort to maintain Walikan's status as the identity marker and the solidarity language of the people in Malang. The chapter can provide a closer look at how a linguistic practice such as Walikan has been able to stay around for decades, unlike other reversed languages in Southeast Asia that are more ephemeral (Dreyfuss 1983; Evans 1917; Gil 2002).

6.2 Language Ecology in Indonesia and Java

Of the existing 707 living languages in Indonesia (Simons and Fennig 2018), there are only a few which dominate the national mass media, among them standard Indonesian, Javanese, and Sundanese (Hoogervorst 2009; Krauße 2017). Javanese is used in a number of printed media (Soeharno et al. 1990), and there are nationally distributed magazines such as *Jaya Baya* and *Panjebar Semangat*, which are entirely in literary Javanese. The former was first published in the 1930s, the latter in 1945.

Sundanese, a language closely related to Javanese, has also been used in a number of printed media. One of the most popular Sundanese magazines, *Manglé*, has been published weekly since 1957. Throughout the years it has been consistently used to promote Sundanese culture and literature (Rosmana 2017). At present, *Panjebar Semangat* and *Manglé* are available online.

The tradition of distributing printed media written in non-minority local languages was relatively common in the early years of the Indonesian nation. However, the country's language planning policies have paved the way for Indonesian to gain a more powerful position in the media. Standard Indonesian and colloquial Indonesian are both considered prestigious within Indonesia's language ecology, whereas local vernaculars are regarded as less prestigious (Arka 2013; Hoogervorst 2009). The vast majority of esteemed national newspapers and magazines are written in standard Indonesian, while youth magazines or 'chick literature' are written in Gaul, the youth register of colloquial Indonesian (Djenar 2014; Sneddon 2006).

The same situation can be observed in audio-visual media, such as radio and television. Both platforms were used by the Lembaga Bahasa Nasional 'National Language Bureau' to promote the national language (Sneddon 2003; Winstedt 1962). At present, national television and radio stations broadcast most of their programs in standard and colloquial Indonesian (Sneddon 2003). The Reformation era,² which started in 1998, introduced the Regional Autonomy Law and subsequently the Broadcasting Law, which later encouraged local broadcasting enterprises to emerge (Arps and Van Heeren 2006; Bogaerts 2017). In the context of local Javanese media and public space, the situation has resulted in the shift of attention away from the national language or for-

²President Soeharto, who was the second president of Indonesia for 31 years, resigned in May 1998. Following his resignation is what is considered to be the beginning of the Reformation era, a turning point in Indonesia's political situation.

eign languages towards the local language. Colloquial Javanese is acclaimed as a modern and urban vernacular, suitable to express emotions and creativity on television (Bogaerts 2017:242).

The Surakartan TATV is a famous pioneer of Central Javanese television in using *Ngoko* Javanese to address its audiences. Surabayan Javanese, an Eastern Javanese dialect related to that of Malang, has also been promoted from being a spoken language into one that is well represented in local television programs, newspapers, advertisements, and street signs, as it can be heard extensively in the Surabayan JTV (Arps and Van Heeren 2006; Bogaerts 2017; Hoogervorst 2009).

In Malang, the second biggest city in East Java after Surabaya, the most dominant spoken languages are Indonesian and the Malangan dialect of East Javanese (Manns 2015). Indonesian is still predominantly used in most mass media, including local newspapers and television channels, but local languages, such as Malangan Javanese and Walikan, are also present. Public signs (including business signs, advertisements, street directions, public information, and landmarks) in Malang are predominantly written in Indonesian and English; only a few of them are written in Javanese or in Walikan (Yannuar and Tabiati 2016). This chapter will describe how Walikan is represented in the city's linguistic landscape.

Nowadays Walikan has become a salient characteristic of Malangan Javanese. It is one of the key features that distinguishes the Malangan dialect from the neighboring Surabayan dialect of Javanese (Hoogervorst 2014; Krauß 2017). Walikan has spread beyond the realm of face-to-face/spontaneous interaction to public platforms that are able to engage a wider audience. In this section I describe each of these domains by highlighting the nature of the media and the type of Walikan words being used.

6.3 Walikan in Spoken Media

On audio-visual public platforms, such as television and radio, music, religious sermons, and YouTube, the use of spoken Walikan can be observed.

6.3.1 Television and Radio

A regional television channel, Jawa Timur Television (JTV), broadcasts a crime news program entitled KOWAL-KAWIL for 30 minutes every week. The program's title is a distorted form of the word *walik*, which in Javanese means

‘to reverse’. Instead of using the most common reversal strategy in Walikan, Total Segment Reversal, the word is modified by using Permutation (see §4.6).

Sam Ohim, the main anchor of the program, described the reasons behind the choice of name.³ The producers wanted the name to depict the theme of the program, namely local crime news. The word *wolak-walik* in Javanese describes a situation in which everything is not in place, topsy-turvy. At the same time, the word *walik* also refers to the name of the language used in the show, Walikan. A permutation of the word KOWAL-KAWIL sounds more pleasing than the complete reversal of the word, *KALOW-KILAW. The latter is not an attested form in the community because the bilabial approximant /w/ does not occur in word-final position in the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese or Malangan Indonesian. According to Sam Ohim, it represents a type of Walikan *sing meksò* ‘forced Walikan’ which sounds unpleasant and unfamiliar.

Coincidentally, the word KOWAL-KAWIL also has another meaning in Javanese: ‘to dangle’. At the beginning of the program, Sam Ohim, dressed in black with a scarred and swollen face, greets the audience by saying, *wolak-walik-é jaman KÉR*, which can be loosely translated into ‘the world has changed, guys’, while moving his right arm to the side. Note that in this phrase only KÉR is a reversal (< *rék* ‘mate’). The way he dresses and greets fits the theme of the program: criminal news. His choice of presenting the news in Walikan might also be related to the previous view of Walikan as an anti-language (see §2.6).



FIGURE 6.1: Sam Ohim in *Kowal-Kawil* show

³The interview session was conducted on August 12, 2015.

Table 6.1 lists a number of Walikan words that are related to criminal activities taken from two episodes of *Kowal-Kawil*. The latter episode was aired on 4 July 2015, the former on 13 June 2015.

Words/Phrases	Meaning	Origin
KÉTAM	‘to die’	<i>maték</i> ‘to die’
LEKET	‘to capture’	<i>cekel</i> ‘to touch’
LIP	‘drug pill’	<i>pil</i> ‘pill’
NARANJEP	‘jail’	<i>penjara</i> ‘jail’
NGILAM	‘thief’	<i>maling</i> ‘thief’
NOMETEK	‘arrested’	<i>ke-temon</i> ‘PASS-find’
RONTAK <i>pengadilan</i>	‘courthouse’	<i>kantor</i> ‘office’ + <i>pengadilan</i> ‘court’
SILUP	‘police’	<i>polisi</i> ‘police’
TANGGIM	‘to escape’	<i>minggat</i> ‘to run away’
UBAS	‘crystal meth’	<i>sabu</i> ‘crystal meth’
UNYAB <i>mendem</i>	‘alcoholic drinks’	<i>banyu</i> ‘water’ + <i>mendem</i> ‘drunk’

TABLE 6.1: Criminal-related words in *Kowal-Kawil*

Most of the words in Table 6.1 are also found in off-air, face-to-face and spontaneous interaction, except for the phrase UNYAB *mendem* ‘alcoholic drinks’. As some of my informants prefer to use the loanword from Arabic *asrob* ‘to drink alcohol’ and *asrob-an* ‘alcoholic drinks’, it is suggested that the phrase UNYAB *mendem* used in the show might have been developed only within a specific community or by the show’s maker.

Kowal-Kawil reverses commonly known numerals, such as UTAS (< *satu*) ‘one’, AUD (< *dua*) ‘two’, AGIT (< *tiga*) ‘three’, and ÒMIL (< *limò*) ‘five’, as well as common Walikan words such as NGALUP (< *pulang*) ‘to go home’, ÒKET (< *tekò*) ‘to arrive’ and HAMUR (< *rumah*) ‘house’. In addition, it showcases a number of local place names, listed in Table 6.2.

Place names	Origin
NÉRUT	<i>Turén</i>
NOJUP	<i>Pujon</i>
ÒNGISIRAS	<i>Singòsari</i>
UTAB	<i>Batu</i>

TABLE 6.2: Reversed place names in Kowal-Kawil

The theme of the program is local news, therefore a number of local place names from all over the city, including those in the regency area, are mentioned (Table 6.2). All of them appear in their reversed forms except for two areas: *Dampit* and *Gondanglegi*. The reversal of some of the place names is worth paying attention to because they are of recent coinage.

In the past, speakers only reversed place names closer to the city center, in order to refer to places where most of them lived or spent time together. Some of the most popular reversed place names include: DULEK (< *Kelud*) ‘an affordable open theater in Malang’ and ÒNÒSÒGREM (< *Mergòsònò*) ‘a *kampung* in the southern part of the city’. These days, as Walikan has become more spread out, reversed forms of more place names are used, not only in the city area but also in the regency area, as shown in Table 6.3.

Place names	Origin	Location
DULEK	<i>Kelud</i>	city
IJASIKAP	<i>Pakisaji</i>	regency
IRASÒJREM	<i>Merjòsari</i>	city
NÉNJAP	<i>Panjén</i>	regency
NGÉRAB	<i>Baréng</i>	city
NGIMBLIB	<i>Blimbing</i>	city
NUKUS	<i>Sukun</i>	city
ÒNÒSÒGREM	<i>Mergòsònò</i>	city
ÒRUPNASÉL	<i>Lésanpurò</i>	city
ÒTRAHUM	<i>Muhartò</i>	city
ÒYÒNID	<i>Dinòyò</i>	city
RAJAJOWAS	<i>Sawojajar</i>	city
SIKAP	<i>Pakis</i>	regency

TABLE 6.3: Reversal of place names across the city and regency

Recently, speakers of Walikan seem to have shown more creativity when referring to their place of belonging or community. Some of them have even juxtaposed the reversal of place names with English words such as in: Ò-TRAHUM city ‘the city of *Muhartò*’, NUKUS community ‘the community of *Sukun*’, and KingJOWAS ‘King of *Sawojajar*’. The latter was formed by translating the Indonesian word *raja* in RAJAJOWAS into English king and then reattaching it in the same position, before JOWAS.

At this point it is not clear whether the rise of place name reversal is motivated by television shows such as *Kowal-Kawil*, but it is safe to say that the use of Walikan has extended to many more communities, not only among speakers living in the city area, but also those in the regency area.

In addition to local television, Walikan can also be heard on radio channels. There are a number of local radio stations displaying an occasional use of Walikan, among others, Senaputra 104.1 FM. They have a relatively large number of fans, who often meet each other and call themselves Artupanholic. The name of this community is coined from the reversal of the radio’s name ARTUPANÉS (< *Senaputra*) and the English suffix -holic, commonly used to indicate one’s abnormal desire over the word it modifies.

One of the most popular hosts of Senaputra FM is Ovan Tobing, who is also regarded as an influential figure among Aremania fans (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007). The most popular program on Senaputra FM is about football, *Bos Bal-Balan Bos*, which in Javanese means ‘football, boss’, hosted by Yuwi (male, 47 years old).⁴ The radio proudly bears a Walikan word as its slogan, ÒYIII⁵ (< *iyò* ‘yes’), while also addressing their listeners as NAWAK-NAWAK ARTUPANÉS (< *kawan-kawan* ‘friends’ + *Senaputra* ‘radio name’) ‘friends of Senaputra’. Despite some complaints from listeners not originally from Malang, most Senaputra FM hosts use a lot of Walikan words in their broadcasts. A number of Walikan words and phrases that they use on-air are listed in Table 6.4.

⁴Recorded in an interview on October 24, 2016.

⁵The extra i in òyiii is used to emphasize the meaning of the word.

Words/Phrases	Meaning	Origin
<u>KÉLAB HÉNAM</u>	‘to return again’	<u>balik</u> ‘to return’ + <u>manéh</u> ‘again’
<u>KUSAM NINGA</u>	‘to catch a cold’	<u>masuk</u> ‘to enter’ + <u>angin</u> ‘wind’
<u>LÉDOM-é KIPA ILAKES</u>	‘good manner’	<u>modél-é</u> ‘manner-DEF’ + <u>apik</u> ‘good’ + <u>sekali</u> ‘very’
<u>NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT</u>	‘to relax’	<u>séndhén</u> ‘to lean’ + <u>tém-bok</u> ‘wall’
<u>nge-LÉDOM</u>	‘to act’	<u>nge-modél</u> ‘N-manner.AV’
<u>ÒJIT</u>	‘yes, okay’	<u>iyò</u> ‘yes’

TABLE 6.4: Popular Walikan phrases used in Senaputra FM

In §2.3.2, the phrase NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT ‘to relax’ is described as having two different meanings. To younger speakers it means ‘to relax’, but to most older speakers it means ‘to have drugs/sex’. Similar to the younger generation, the hosts of Senaputra FM use it to describe a situation where listeners are enjoying the show, feeling relaxed and carefree.

The word nge-LÉDOM ‘to act’ is taken as the title of Senaputra FM’s most engaging interactive talkshow, where listeners can participate in discussions about current social issues. It was also previously used as the radio’s slogan before it was changed to ÒYIII in 2016. The words LÉDOM, LÉDOM-é, and nge-LÉDOM, which seem to have been first popularized by Senaputra FM, have now become widely used as catchphrases among younger speakers.

LÉDOM-é at present can mean ‘stylish manner’ (see Figure 6.2) or ‘to look stylish’ in the word nge-LÉDOM in Figure 6.3. In some contexts, nge-LÉDOM may also convey a rather negative connotation, that is ‘to seek attention excessively’.

FIGURE 6.2: LÉDOM-é barbershopFIGURE 6.3: *nge-LÉDOM* as written on a T-Shirt design. *Sik HÉB* (< *sik* 'later' + *béh* 'DP') 'later guys' (published on January 13, 2015 on Instagram by @oyisamclothing)

6.3.2 Songs

Walikan is also used in song lyrics performed by local bands, including Aradoes Band, Tani Maju, and Youngster City Rockers. Aradoes Band has released three songs in Walikan: KADIT SAM (< *tidak* 'no' + *mas* 'older brother') 'no, brother', UKLAM-UKLAM (< *mlaku-mlaku* 'to walk around') *nang Kayutangan* 'to walk around Kayutangan', and NOLA-NOLA (< *Alun-alun*) 'city square'. The lead singer of the band, who is now in his sixties, has been uploading video clips of these songs to YouTube since 2010. The other band, Tani Maju, whose members are in their late thirties, began their career as a popular campus band. They became well known for their catchy pop-contemporary songs with witty lyrics. Their latest single, released in 2017, is entitled UKLAM-UKLAM (< *mlaku-mlaku*) 'to walk around'. As the title suggests, the song is about places and activities in and around Malang. Lastly, Youngster City Rockers is a ska-punk band for a younger audience. Their single, UGAL-UGALAN 'going wild' is a ska-punk song written in Walikan. Although the band never explicitly mentions the meaning of the title, it can be inferred that UGAL-UGALAN is a reversal of < *lagu-laguan* 'fake song' because the song lyrics are full of Walikan words, not familiar to people outside of Malang. It is not clear when the song was released but it has been around since 2011.

There are two noticeable themes in these Walikan songs: alcohol and

drugs, as well as out and about in Malang. The song *Kadit Sam* by Aradoes Band contains several lines in its lyrics directed at drug addicts to encourage them not to use drugs any more.

(1) *Kadit Sam* lyrics

KADIT SAM AYAS KADIT KOLÉM, yén mung trimò
 NEG older.brother 1SG NEG follow if only receive
lér-télér-an nganti séndhén. Lha kok malah ning kamar
 RDP~drunk-AV until lean DP DP even in room
sedhot-sedhot-an, nge-LIP nggé-lék ganti-an UBAS-UBAS-an.
 RDP~inhale-AV n-pill.AV N-drink.AV change-AV crystal.meth-AV

‘No, brother, I will not join you, if it is only to get so drunk until you lean over (a wall). How come you stay in a room drinking pills and using crystal meth in turn (with friends).’

(NY_2015_AB_Song)

Aside from discouraging the use of drugs, some lines in *Uklam-Uklam* by Tani Maju (2a) and *Ugal-Ugalan* by Youngster City Rockers (2b) also advise against consuming alcohol.

(2) a. *Uklam-Uklam* lyrics

KADIT OJOB KADIT HALASAM, tidak perlu di-gawé KUBAM,
 NEG spouse NEG problem NEG need PASS-make drunk
hidup tetap bahagia, gembira, senang, sejahtera.
 life still happy pleasant joyful comfortable

‘Being single is not a problem, no need to be drunk. Life is still happy, pleasant, joyful, and comfortable.’

(NY_2016_TM_Song)

b. *Ugal-Ugalan* lyrics

Bah gak ng-urus di-kék-i urip yò wis NUWUS.
 DP NEG N-handle.AV PASS-give-APPL life yes already thank.you
UMAK òjò sambat mòrò KUBAM ng-enték-i LOTOB,
 2SG NEG.IMP complain then drunk N-finish-APPL bottle
angur-an n-delok bal-bal-an Aréma Indonésia.
 prefer-COMP N-watch.AV RDP~ball-AV Aréma Indonésia
Kami tidak ke mana-mana tapi di mana-mana.
 3PL.INCL NEG PREP RDP~where but in RDP~where

‘Oh, we don’t care, we are just thankful for being alive. Don’t you always complain and drink a whole bottle, let’s just watch Arema Indonesia. We don’t go anywhere but you can see us everywhere.’
 (NY_2015_YCR_Song)

The lyrics of these songs are used to fight two substances used among the youth, drugs and alcohol, both of which are very unacceptable in the Indonesian society. It gives an idea of the kind of problems the youth are dealing with on a daily basis.

The second prominent theme in the songs, out and about in Malang, is related to the fact that the people of Malang value Walikan as a local practice. This sense of belonging makes them feel the need to capture all the iconic places in Malang in their song lyrics, for the sake of solidarity, if not nostalgia. *Ugal-Ugalan* song mentions the following place names in their songs: *SOTAM* (< *Matos*), *AMALATOK* (< *Kotalama*), *Kelenténg*, *Talun*, *ÒYÒNID* (< *Dinòyò*), *UTAB* (< *Batu*), *NUKUS* (< *Sukun*), *Comboran*, while the song *Uklam-Uklam* has these place names included in its lyrics: *Taman Singa*, *Balai Kota*, *Roma*, *Sukarno Hatta*, *Kayutangan*, *Comboran*, *Brawijaya* museum, *Splindid*, *Boldi*, *Gajahyana*, *Taman Rékréasi Kota*, *Lembah Diéng*, *Jalan Ijén*.⁶ They are all familiar places in Malang to hang out.

The song from Aradoes Band, a band of older musicians, focuses on an area called Kayutangan, see (3). It is located in the center of the city, just a few meters from *Alun-Alun* ‘city square’. As suggested by some lines in the song *Uklam-Uklam nang Kayutangan*, this was the most popular place to hang out for youngsters in the past. In the 50s to the 80s, the place was filled

⁶Note that in *Ugal-Ugalan* only some place names are reversed but none of the place names in *Uklam-Uklam* is reversed.

with shops and a cinema (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007:35-39).

(3) *Uklam-Uklam nang Kayutangan* lyrics (1)

UKLAM-UKLAM nang Kayutangan, numpak bronfit silih-an,
 RDP~walk PREP Kayutangan ride motorcycle borrow-NMLZ
boncéng-an karo NAWAK, golék hibur-an.
 ride.on.the.back-AV with friend find entertain.NMLZ
UKLAM-UKLAM nang Kayutangan, UMAK macak sing LITES,
 RDP~walk PREP Kayutangan you dress.up that stylish
IMBLAK ANALET pantes, ng-golék LANEK-an.
 shirt trouser appropriate N-find.AV know-NMLZ

‘Walking around Kayutangan, riding a borrowed motorcycle with a friend on the back, trying to have fun. Walking around Kayutangan, you dress up nicely to find new friends.’

(NY_2015_AB_Song)

The song continues by explicitly stating that Kayutangan is a nostalgic place for everyone, and that people should work together to preserve the location, see (4). The popularity of Kayutangan, considered as the former business center of the city from the colonial era up to the 90s, is being overtaken by the opening of more shops, malls, or cafés targeting the youths in the newer parts of the city. More people and communities show their concerns, exemplified most notably by “A Day to Walk”, a historical walking tour around the Kayutangan area organized by some local youths at least once a year.

(4) *Uklam-Uklam nang Kayutangan* lyrics (2)

Kayutangan, akéh kenang-an, ayo pòdhò di-jògò sejarah
 Kayutangan many memory-NMLZ let.us same PASS-guard history
Kayutangan, òjò nganti ilang.
 Kayutangan NEG.IMP until disappear

‘Kayutangan is a place of many memories, let us protect its history so it does not disappear.’

(NY_2015_AB_Song)

Most of the songs above use Malangan Javanese as the matrix language, as would happen in normal face-to-face conversations (see §2.3). The matrix language used in the song *Uklam-Uklam*, however, is Malangan Indonesian. It may indicate a change in Walikan norms, which demand speakers to use Malangan Javanese as the matrix language. Normally, those who are not able to insert Walikan words into a Malangan Javanese structure would be considered unauthentic users. However, the band performing *Uklam-Uklam*, Tani Maju, might have chosen to use Indonesian as the matrix language in their songs because they want to reach a wider audience, including those who are not Javanese speakers, see part of the lyrics in (2a).

The Walikan words and phrases that are used in the songs are not new to speakers. Most of them are familiar words and phrases, such as those shown in Table 6.5.

Words/Phrases	Meaning	Origin
<u>KADIT</u> KOLÉM	‘not to join’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>mélok</i> ‘to join’
<u>KADIT</u> KUSAM	‘not making sense’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>masuk</i> ‘enter’
<u>KADIT</u> OJIR	‘there is no money’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>raiyo</i> ‘money’
<u>KADIT</u> SAM	‘no, brother’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>mas</i> ‘older brother’
<u>MUNYES</u> ULALES	‘always smiling’	<i>senyum</i> ‘to smile’ + <i>selalu</i> ‘always’
NUWUS <u>ILAKES</u>	‘thank you so much’	<i>suwun</i> ‘thank you’ + <i>sekali</i> ‘very’
ÒNGIS NADÉ	‘wild lion’	<i>singò</i> ‘lion’ + <i>édan</i> ‘wild’
ÒYI SAM	‘yes brother’	<i>iyò</i> ‘yes’ + <i>mas</i> ‘older brother’

TABLE 6.5: Walikan phrases used in songs

In Table 6.5, the word KADIT is used as the only negator in Walikan. In fact, there are two types of negators in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian. The Javanese words *nggak/gak* and *ora*, and the Indonesian word *tidak* are used to negate different types of predicate other than nouns. These predicates

include verbal, adjectival, and prepositional phrases. In order to negate nouns or nominal phrases, Javanese uses the word *duduk* and Indonesian makes use of *bukan*. In addition, Indonesian also has the word *tiada*, which comes from *tidak ada* ‘there isn’t’.⁷

The word *tidak*, the source of *KADIT*, is used by Malangan Indonesian speakers in formal contexts. Most of them will therefore avoid this word in colloquial or informal situations, but in Walikan it can be used in different contexts to replace *nggak/gak*, *tidak*, *duduk*, *bukan*, and *tiada*. Two reasons can be postulated to explain this: 1) phonology and phonotactics; and 2) semantic simplification.

First, reversing the words *nggak* [ʎgaʔ] and *gak* [ʎaʔ] will create complicated word forms. The reversal of [ʎgaʔ] will be [ʎagʎ], while [ʎaʔ] will be [ʎag]. The former shows a consonant cluster in word-final position, while the latter shows /g/ in word-final position. Both combinations are not allowed in the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian. On the other hand, the reversal of [ʎi.ðaʔ] is [ʎa.ðiʔ], which conforms to the phonotactics of Malangan Javanese and Indonesian. The reversal of the other negators, *bukan*, *duduk*, and *tiada*, may also conform to the phonotactics, but since they are originally used in more limited functions than *tidak*, they are not preferred by Walikan speakers.

In addition to this phonotactic explanation, a semantic reason may also motivate the speakers to use only one negator in Walikan. They prefer to use only *KADIT* because having one accepted form that can be used in all contexts is seen as a more practical strategy.

6.3.3 YouTube Videos

All these bands have uploaded the video clips of their Walikan songs to YouTube. YouTube itself has provided a space for other kinds of videos with Walikan themes. Some of the channels I observed in 2016 are Saishoku, Pilot ProjectIDN, and Bayu Skak. Of the three, Bayu Skak is the most popular YouTuber, with more than 1.5 million followers. Bayu Skak mostly uses Malangan Javanese in his videos, and Walikan only occasionally. Nowadays he has become one of the few nationally known young comedians who speak the Eastern Javanese dialect. In January 2018 he released a nationwide movie in Malangan Javanese, featuring a number of Walikan words.

⁷See Sneddon et al. (2010) for a detailed explanation of negation in Indonesian grammar.

In one YouTube video uploaded by Arief Muhammad, a popular YouTuber from Jakarta, Bayu Skak is invited to Jakarta and they are shown to have a brief discussion about Walikan. Arief Muhammad asks Bayu Skak about the reversed words in Malang. This instance demonstrates that Walikan is also known among younger Jakartan speakers, possibly outside the community of SMUN 70 students in Bulungan (see §2.4). The Jakartan youth Arief Muhammad further asks Bayu Skak to reverse two rather complicated loanwords from Dutch, *progrésif* ‘progressive’ and *intuisi* ‘intuition’, which immediately confuses Bayu Skak. Both words have complex syllable structures and are not commonly used by Walikan speakers. It has been a common misunderstanding among people outside of Malang, that Walikan speakers spontaneously reverse any word thrown at them. In fact, they prefer to reverse words that are already known to the community (see §2.3). There is a risk for them to be labeled as non-authentic users of Walikan if they attempt to reverse new words that are not supposed to be reversed.

The prominent theme in Saishoku and Pilot ProjectIDN videos is how to learn Walikan. They refer to these videos as “Walikan Tutorials”. Two Saishoku vloggers, Nabi (male, 17 years old) and Base (male, 17 years old),⁸ revealed that they published the video on YouTube to attract viewers, while at the same time promoting the use of Walikan. The target viewers include newcomers to the city who often use the wrong forms of Walikan; they hope that this video can teach people the correct forms of Walikan. In addition, they want to let people know certain Walikan norms, as well as the fact that it should be used with people who understand Walikan and avoided when talking to older people. In the Belajar Bahasa Malangan sama Kak Della ‘Learning Malangan language with Sister Della’ video series uploaded by Pilot ProjectIDN, three rules of word reversal are mentioned: 1) total reversal of segments instead of graphemes; 2) maintenance of homorganic consonant clusters; and 3) no reversal of function words.

Some of the words and phrases featured in Saishoku and Pilot ProjectIDN videos are listed in Table 6.6.

Walikan	Meaning	Origin
ANAMÉK	‘where’	<i>ke-mana</i> ‘where’
ANAMID	‘where’	<i>di-mana</i> ‘where’
AP AIS	‘who’	<i>siapa</i> ‘who’
AYAS	‘I’	<i>saya</i> ‘I’
ÉMPÉT	‘soybean cake’	<i>témpé</i> ‘fermented soybean cake’

⁸Interviewed on August 16, 2016.

Walikan	Meaning	Origin
<u>HALOKES</u>	'school'	<i>sekolah</i> 'school'
<u>HAMUR</u>	'house'	<i>rumah</i> 'house'
HÉB	'DP'	<i>béh</i> 'DP'
<u>KADIT ITRENG</u>	'don't know'	<i>tidak</i> 'no' + <i>ngerti</i> 'understand'
KÉR	'mate'	<i>rék</i> 'mate'
KÉRA	'child'	<i>aré</i> 'child'
LÉMBAS	'sambal'	<i>sambel</i> 'sambal'
<u>NAKAM</u>	'to eat'	<i>makan</i> 'to eat'
NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT	'to relax'	<i>séndhén</i> 'to lean' + <i>témbok</i> 'wall'
NGALAM	'Malang'	<i>Malang</i> 'Malang'
<u>NGANTIB</u>	'star'	<i>bintang</i> 'star'
<u>NGARO</u>	'person'	<i>orang</i> 'person'
NGAYAMBES	'to pray'	<i>sembayang</i> 'to pray'
NGIPOK	'to drink coffee'	<i>ngopi</i> 'to drink coffee'
<u>NGONTOL</u> ⁹	'rice cake'	<i>lontong</i> 'rice cake'
NUWUS	'thank you'	<i>suwun</i> 'thank you'
ÒWIK	'left (side)'	<i>kiwò</i> 'left (side)'
ÒYI	'yes'	<i>iyò</i> 'yes'
SAM	'bro'	<i>mas</i> 'older brother'
<u>SILUP</u>	'police'	<i>pulisi</i> 'police'
<u>SOB</u>	'boss'	<i>bos</i> 'boss'
<u>TAHÉS</u>	'healthy'	<i>séhat</i> 'healthy'
<u>TIKAS</u>	'sick'	<i>sakit</i> 'sick'
<u>UMAK APAIS?</u>	'who are you?'	<i>kamu</i> 'you' <i>siapa</i> 'who'
<u>UMAK</u>	'you'	<i>kamu</i> 'you'
UMEL	'fat'	<i>lemu</i> 'fat'

TABLE 6.6: Walikan words and phrases in Saishoku and Pilot ProjectIDN YouTube videos

These videos use some basic Walikan words and contain a number of recently coined words. The word HÉB, for example, is not known by my older consultants. However, it is very popular among the young speakers as a reversal of the discourse particle *béh*. The same word is also used in the Pilot ProjectIDN videos, where several other friendly address terms are mentioned,

⁹Note that NGONTOL has another connotation, because it can be derived from *ng-kontol* 'N-penis.AV'. For this reason, the word received some negative responses in the comment section of the YouTube video.

including: *béh*, *rék*, *coy*, *bro*, and *HÉB*, *SOB*. The word *SOB* is a reversal of the word *bos* ‘boss’, which is also popular only among the younger generation. In addition, the words *ANAMÉK* (< *ke-mana* ‘to-where’) ‘where are you going?’ and *ANAMID* (< *di-mana* ‘in-where’) ‘where?’ are noteworthy because these forms also include the reversal of prepositions rather than only the content words. In other words, the entire prepositional phrase is reversed. They only appear among the younger speakers; older speakers reject these forms.

The other episodes of Pilot ProjectIDN feature two young men singing in non-authentic Walikan; they are deliberately reversing almost all the words in the song lyrics. It is intended as a joke, because using as many Walikan words as possible is prone to create inaccurate Walikan (see §2.3).

In addition to the Walikan tutorials by Saishoku and Pilot ProjectIDN, there are also YouTube videos featuring a particular religious *kyai* ‘preacher’, KH. Abd. Wachid Ghozali, who is very popular locally, both because of the content of his sermons and his habit of using Walikan humourously in them. His sermons are delivered in Malangan Javanese, to which he occasionally inserts Walikan words. The reaction from his congregation has been very positive, and he is dubbed *kyai yang merakyat* ‘a popular preacher’. One of his programs, *Syiarema*, is coined from the word *syiar* ‘sermon’ and *Aréma* (< *aré* ‘kid’ + *malang* ‘Malang’) ‘people of Malang’. This indicates that the program is specifically targeted at the people of Malang, since the preacher is originally from Malang and fluent in Walikan. His use of Walikan symbolizes his intention to level with common people and display local affinity.

The Walikan words he uses in his sermons, as observed in his YouTube trailer, are listed in Table 6.7.

Walikan	Meaning	Origin
AUD UBIR	‘two thousand’	<i>dua</i> ‘two’ + <i>ribu</i> ‘thousand’
<i>di-RAYAB</i>	‘PASS-pay’	<i>di-bayar</i> ‘PASS-pay’
KADIT HÉLOB	‘not allowed’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>boléh</i> ‘can’
LUKUP-òno	‘hit-APPL’	<i>pukul-òno</i> ‘hit-APPL’
NAKAM	‘to eat’	<i>makan</i> ‘to eat’
NARKODÉW	‘drugs and women’	<i>narkoba</i> ‘drugs’ + <i>wédok</i> ‘woman’
NAWAK	‘friend’	<i>kawan</i> ‘friend’
NAYAMUL	‘not bad’	<i>lumayan</i> ‘not bad’
NGETEM	‘pregnant’	<i>meteng</i> ‘pregnant’
OJIR KANYAB	‘lots of money’	<i>raijo</i> ‘money’ + <i>banyak</i> ‘many’
OJIR	‘money’	<i>raijo</i> ‘money’
OKÉR-é	‘cigarette-DEF’	<i>rokok-é</i> ‘cigarette-DEF’

Walikan	Meaning	Origin
OMIL <u>HULUP</u>	‘fifty’	<i>limò</i> ‘five’ + <i>puluh</i> ‘ten’ + <i>ribu</i> ‘thousand’
UBIR		
ÒNDHÒR <u>TAHÉS</u>	‘sexy widow’	<i>ròndhò</i> ‘widow’ + <i>séhat</i> ‘healthy’
RUDIT	‘to sleep’	<i>tidur</i> ‘to sleep’
SAREB <u>KANYAB</u>	‘plenty of rice’	<i>beras</i> ‘rice’ + <i>banyak</i> ‘many’
SILUP	‘police’	<i>pulisi</i> ‘police’
TEKÉS <u>UBIR</u>	‘fifty thousand’	<i>séket</i> ‘fifty’ + <i>ribu</i> ‘thousand’
TIDHEM	‘stingy’	<i>medhit</i> ‘stingy’
UBLEM	‘to enter’	<i>mlebu</i> ‘to enter’
<u>WOLES</u>	‘slow, relax’	<i>selow</i> ‘slow’

TABLE 6.7: Walikan words and phrases in Syiarema

6.4 Walikan in Written Media

In this part I describe an array of uses of Walikan in written media, either printed or online. They include a dictionary, newspapers, social media, and texts appearing across the city.

6.4.1 Dictionaries

A five-hundred page dictionary of Walikan and Malangan Javanese was published in 2011 (Soenarno 2011).¹⁰ The dictionary, entitled *Kamus Bahasa Malangan* ‘Malangan Language Dictionary’, is divided into four parts: Kiwalan (Walikan) into Indonesian, Indonesian into Kiwalan (Walikan), Ngalam (Malangan Javanese) into Indonesian, and Indonesian into Ngalam (Malangan Javanese). By doing this, Soenarno (2011) emphasizes the differences between the mainstream Malangan Javanese dialect and Walikan.

Unfortunately, the words that are included in this dictionary are not quite authentic; they include suspicious forms such as: KEDNAM (< *mandek* ‘to stop’), RUPMAC (< *campur* ‘to mix’), KÉHTEC (< *cethék* ‘shallow’), NGÉHTNÉ (< *énthéng* ‘light’), and NGECSING (< *nginceng* ‘to peek’). The homorganic consonant clusters <nd> and <mp> in the original words *mandek* and *campur*, for example, should be maintained instead of reversed. The correct Walikan

¹⁰This dictionary uses the term Kiwalan instead of Walikan. Kiwalan is also derived from the word *walik* ‘to reverse’, which is commonly used among the older speaker community, but popular among the younger speakers (see §2.3).

words should have been KENDAM and RUMPAC. Next, the digraphs <th> in *cethék* and *énthéng* actually represent one consonant sound, /t/, and therefore should be reversed into <th>, since the reversal in Walikan is not based on orthography. Further, the consonant sequence <cn> does not exist in Malangan Javanese and Indonesian.

My main informants¹¹ confirmed that those suspicious words have never been heard or used in their communities. It is unknown why unattested Walikan words are included in this dictionary, but they may be a shortcut to invent Walikan words by reversing different types of Javanese and Indonesian words without carefully checking them with speakers.

Aside from this dictionary, I also discovered a set of guidelines published in 2016. Aimed at new university students coming from outside Malang, the guide is entitled “College Survival Guide: Malang”. Malang is well-known for its status as a university city (see §1.2.3), so it is no surprise that some people will benefit from this economic opportunity by writing a guidebook.

This guide contains useful information, such as things to do and not to do in Malang, tips and tricks to save money while living as a student in Malang, maps and guidelines of local public transport, as well as important emergency numbers. It also includes 32 Walikan words that the writers consider as helpful for new students when they start a new life in Malang. None of them is suspicious. They are all confirmed in my data, including the word GENARO (< *orang*) ‘person’ and ARUDAM/ARODAM (< *Madura/Medurò*) ‘a place name’ and AYABARUS/ÖYÖBARUS (< *Surabaya/Suròbòyò*) ‘a place name’.

The publication of both the dictionary and guide should be regarded as a positive effort in promoting and protecting Walikan, while there is likely also an economic motivation behind them.

6.4.2 Newspapers

In newspapers, Walikan is commonly used in cartoons or in small columns presenting local jokes or witty criticisms. Recently, Malang Ekspres, a relatively new local newspaper, has been publishing a longer column in Walikan entitled *Osiiii Ae Jès!*¹² The phrase *Ösiiii aé Jès* is derived from *Isò aé jès* ‘yeah right, guys’. The column was published almost daily on the front page of the newspaper.

¹¹Ersi (male, 33 years old) and Infa (female, 36 years old) in separate interview sessions conducted in 2015–2017.

¹²Note that the extra ‘i’ here is used to emphasize the meaning of the utterance.

The use of Walikan in at least one online news portal has been observed. The name of the portal is Malang Voice; it basically reports up-to-date, reliable local news. Malang Voice uses Walikan in one of its columns, *Paitun Gundul*. Under the sub-category of Woles ‘slow; relaxed’, *Paitun Gundul* narrates the story of an elderly woman who strolls around many *kampungs* in the city center and witnesses various situations involving the people of Malang. Most of the stories portray Malang in the 1980s, when it was less crowded and the city square was still home to a variety of traditional entertainments, such as *tandhak bedhês* ‘street monkey circus’. The latter usually features a man who can order a trained monkey to perform everyday human activities, such as going shopping or going to school, in order to amuse people, especially children. Apparently, the name of the main character in the column, *Paitun Gundul* ‘the bald Paitun’, is inspired by a popular urban legend current in the city during the 1980s. Paitun was a mentally disturbed woman who was often spotted in different areas around Malang carrying a dirty doll, whom she thought was her deceased child. Here, the use of Walikan is linked to a nostalgia about the city and its historical characters.

From editions of these two newspapers dated May 2015 to December 2016, I was able to compile a list of Walikan words. All of them are found in my spoken data, and are considered legitimate by two of my main informants. Similar to those in spoken data, they conform to Malangan Javanese and Indonesian phonology and phonotactics (see §6.6).

Finally, it is worth noting that the matrix language used in both columns is Malangan Javanese, despite the fact that all the other articles in both news media are written in standard Indonesian. Example (5) is taken from the printed newspaper Malang Ekspres.

- (5) Òpò HÉNAM kate TAIL nang ngarep, tambah KADIT ÒSI HÉNAM.
 what again will see to front more NEG can again

‘They definitely cannot see the front view.’

(NY_2015_ME_Newspaper)

Rule (male, 51 years old),¹³ involved in the management team of the online medium Malang Voice, explains that as they aim to be the main news portal for local communities in Malang; they need to promote the use of Walikan. This objective is embodied in the publication of the *Paitun Gundul* column and the use of Walikan words as the title of several sections: HALOKES

¹³Interviewed on July 5th, 2015.

(< *sekolah*) ‘school’ for educational news, UKLAM-UKLAM (< *mlaku-mlaku*) ‘to walk around’ for traveling news, NAWAK ÉWÉDH (< *kawan dhéwé*) ‘ally’ for community news, *WOLES* (< *selow*) ‘slow, relaxed’ for collection of short stories, poetry, opinion, including the *Paitun Gundul* column.

6.4.3 Social Media

Written forms of Walikan online can be seen in a number of popular social media platforms, such as Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. There are a number of Facebook groups specializing in Walikan, but I only looked at the following two Facebook groups: AREMA Club (Pencinta Malang dan Boso Walikan) ‘Arema Club (Lovers of Malang and Boso Walikan)’ and Komunitas Peduli Malang (ASLI Malang) ‘Community Caring for Malang (Authentically Malang)’. Both groups are followed by thousands Facebook users, demonstrating their popularity. Each group has its own administrators, whose job is to post interesting and relevant posts, as well as to moderate the postings. Walikan is used in these postings and in the comments section.

On Twitter, I monitored the use of Walikan occasionally. One particular account I observed is @infomalang. It had 171,645 tweets, had been retweeted 353,239 times, and was liked by 1,557 users, when I observed it in October 2017. The account mainly shares news about Malang, and practical information deemed useful to the people of Malang. It uses Walikan in its posts, and followers also occasionally replied in Walikan, although most of the time the replies are in either Malangan Javanese or Indonesian. On the information page of the account, it announces that it also moderates an Instagram account with the same name.

The Instagram account which has proved to be the most enlightening, however, is @ikimalang, with 2,911 posts and 186,000 followers in October 2017. The account describes itself as a medium for news on local languages. Its posts are dominated by memes in Walikan and pictures around the city. An example can be seen in Figure 6.4.

Ojok o sempol, cilok, opo oskab.
 Kabéh aè tak tukokno gawé umak.
 Tapi lék umak dadi ojobku, Beh.

IKI MALANG!

FIGURE 6.4: Walikan meme on Instagram

The Walikan texts represent an instance in which an utterance in Malangan Javanese matrix contains reversed nouns and pronouns, a similar format as Walikan in spoken interaction (6).

- (6) Òjòk-ò sempol, cilok, òpò OSKAB. Kabéh aé tak
 NEG.IMP-DP sempol cilok what meatball all just 1SG.PROCL
 tukòk-nò gawé UMAK. Tapi lék UMAK dadi ojob-ku,
 buy-BEN for 2SG but if 2SG become spouse-1SG.POSS
 béh.
 DP

‘Not just *sempol*, *cilok*, or *bakso* (local street food). I’ll buy you anything.
 Only if you become my lover, mate.’

(NY_2017_Instagram)

There are also Walikan digital stickers created by individuals from Malang to be marketed in *Line*, a communication application popular in Indonesia. This shows how digital space has become an important avenue in the promotion of Walikan among its current generation of speakers. The first package of digital stickers was given to me by Sais (male, 30 years old), its creator and owner.¹⁴ The package was sold to a major communication platform in Indonesia (see Figure 6.5). He said that the targeted consumers of his product are young users of the communication platform who are speakers of Walikan or have interests in Walikan. Together with a friend, he also manages a Facebook

¹⁴Interviewed on May 31, 2015.

group which aims to provide a medium for people to interact in Walikan. Sais believes that digital space has become an important medium for practicing and promoting Walikan.



FIGURE 6.5: *Kadit* ‘no’—an example of Walikan sticker created by Sais

The second package was found via Google (Figure 6.6).



FIGURE 6.6: A collection of digital Walikan stickers

These stickers display expressions commonly used by users when they want to illustrate different types of situation on social media. The translations and source forms are given in Table 6.8.

Walikan	Meaning	Origin
<i>aré</i> k TÉWUR	‘bad kid’	<i>aré</i> k ‘child’ + <i>ruwet</i> ‘chaotic’
AYAS <i>ngesir</i> UMAK	‘I like you’	<i>saya</i> ‘I’ + <i>nge-sir</i> ‘ACT.like’ + <i>kamu</i> ‘you’
<i>cék</i> TAHÉS	‘to be healthy’	<i>cék</i> ‘let’ + <i>séhat</i> ‘healthy’
ÉNARUPES <i>ho</i>	‘sorry, man’	<i>sepura-ne</i> ‘sorry-DEF’ + <i>ho</i> ‘DP’
ÉWUL ILAKES	‘very hungry’	<i>luwé</i> ‘hungry’ + <i>sekali</i> ‘very’
IDREK <i>sik</i>	‘to work first’	<i>kerdi</i> ‘to work’ + <i>sik</i> ‘first’
INDAN <i>ho</i>	‘where?’	<i>nang</i> ‘in’ + <i>endi</i> ‘where?’ + <i>ho</i> ‘DP’
IPES	‘quiet, lonely’	<i>sepi</i> ‘quiet’
<i>isò aé</i> NAWAK <i>iki</i>	‘how cool’	<i>isò</i> ‘can’ + <i>aé</i> ‘just’ + <i>kawan</i> ‘friend’ + <i>iki</i> ‘this’
KADIT <i>révisi</i>	‘no (thesis) revision needed’	<i>tidak</i> ‘no’ + <i>révisi</i> ‘revision’
<i>kapan</i> IBAR	‘married when?’	<i>kapan</i> ‘when’ + <i>ibar</i> ‘get married’
KÉRA NGALAM	‘kids of Malang’	<i>aré</i> k ‘child’ + <i>Malang</i> ‘the city of Malang’
LADHUB SAM	‘let’s go, bro’	<i>budhal</i> ‘to leave’ + <i>mas</i> ‘older brother’
<i>mbois</i> ILAKES	‘very cool’	<i>mbois</i> ‘stylish’ + <i>sekali</i> ‘very’
NAKAM <i>sik</i>	‘eat first’	<i>makan</i> ‘to eat’ + <i>sik</i> ‘first’
NÉNDHÉS KOMBÉT	‘to relax’	<i>séndhén</i> ‘to lean on’ + <i>témbok</i> ‘wall’
ÒYI KÉR	‘yes, mate’	<i>iyò</i> ‘yes’ + <i>rék</i> ‘mate’
ÒYI	‘yes’	<i>iyò</i> ‘yes’
TAHÉS SAM	‘healthy, bro’	<i>séhat</i> ‘healthy’ + <i>mas</i> ‘older brother’
UMIAR	‘your face’	<i>rai-mu</i> ‘face-2SG.POSS’
WOLES SAM	‘relax, bro’	<i>selow</i> ‘slow’ + <i>mas</i> ‘older brother’

TABLE 6.8: Walikan words and phrases on digital stickers

Some of the stickers are specifically intended to show passion for and affinity to the most popular football team in the city, Arema FC (Table 6.9).

Words/Phrases	Meaning	Origin
<u>gol</u>	‘goal’	not a reversal
<u>kudu</u> NGANEM	‘must win’	<u>kudu</u> ‘must’ + <u>menang</u> ‘to win’
MALAS UTAS AWIJ	‘one soul greeting (slogan of <i>Aremania</i>)’	<u>salam</u> ‘greeting’ + <u>satu</u> ‘one’ + <u>jiwa</u> ‘soul’
<u>yes</u> , NGANEM	‘yes, victory’	<u>yes</u> ‘yes’ + <u>menang</u> ‘to win’

TABLE 6.9: Words in digital stickers that are related to football

6.4.4 The City’s Linguistic Landscape

Walikan became more visible in the city’s linguistic landscape from 2015 and 2016. During my fieldwork around this period, I noticed that Walikan words were appearing on a city landmark, business signs, advertising billboards, as well as posters or banners. The rise of Walikan in public signage can be seen as a process of latent enfranchisement (Goebel et al. 2017). In such a process, a language promotes itself into the linguistic landscape even without support from infrastructures, such as school curriculum and mass media.

Firstly, Walikan appears on a landmark built in the Veteran Street area (Figure 6.7). Veteran Street is seen by the urban-dwellers as the educational centre of Malang, as it connects the Universitas Negeri Malang, the Universitas Brawijaya, and the Institut Teknologi Nasional Malang with a number of nearby primary, junior and senior high schools. A lot of young students and tourists walk along the street every day, which is probably why the landmark was put there, to catch the eye of these youngsters.



FIGURE 6.7: Walikan on a city landmark

The writing on the landmark in Figure 6.7 reads NGALAM KIPA ILAKES (< *Malang apik sekali*) 'Malang is very beautiful'. On the other sides of the cube pictured in Figure 6.7, are two other messages, *Paris of East Java* 'Malang is) the Paris of East Java', and *Kota pendidikan* 'city of education'. All of these messages underline the potential and the positive image of the city.

Aremania, the football supporters of Arema FC, used Walikan words in its posters to celebrate the twenty-ninth anniversary of Arema FC on August 11, 2016 (see Figure 6.8 and Figure 6.9).



FIGURE 6.8: Walikan on a banner during Arema FC's anniversary



FIGURE 6.9: Messages for Aremania from LA Mania and Jakmania

The banners were all over the city for around a month. Figure 6.8 shows the phrase AYAS KÉRA NGALAM (< Saya arék Malang) 'I am a Malang kid' written in a banner under the logo of Arema FC in the center. In Figure 6.9, two other football-supporters' communities, LA Mania from Lamongan and Jakmania from Jakarta, wish Arema FC a happy anniversary in Walikan: TAMALES NGALU NUHAT Aréma (< selamat ulang tahun Aréma) 'happy anniversary Arema'.

Figure 6.9 shows the English word ‘from’ used in the middle of written Walikan. This indicates how global the Walikan community is, or perceives itself to be. It makes use of different languages in one message. A word from a global language such as English is juxtaposed with a local code such as Walikan, indicating the growing status of Walikan, by making the local look more global. The same is also seen in Figure 6.10, Figure 6.11, and Figure 6.12.



FIGURE 6.10: Walikan on a business sign



FIGURE 6.11: Walikan on a public display

The pictured food stall in Figure 6.10 belongs to “De Chicken” brand, which uses the Walikan word NGALAM (< *Malang*) together in the same phrase next to English word *street food* in their stall description. The use of English words in Indonesian linguistic landscape is increasing (Yannuar and Tabiati 2016). In accordance with the status of English as a global language and its constant usage in social media and popular culture, it is used especially among the young generation. The article *de* before the word *chicken*, is also a sign of globalisation. It imitates the article *de* in Dutch, indicating the attempt of the owner to make their business sound more international. By using the Walikan form of the name of the city, NGALAM (< *Malang*), however, they simultaneously want to emphasize the local nature of their businesses.

Figure 6.11 is a public display that seems to be intended for the younger generation. The words NGALAM (< *Malang*) and *love* are displayed in an installation, placed in front of Matos plaza, in a small park in between the two sides of the dual carriageway to attract pedestrians who want to stop by and take

pictures there. This type of installation recently becomes popular because it is “instagrammable”, a newly coined word which indicates that a certain spot is able to provide a good background for pictures to be posted on Instagram (or other social media platforms).

In Figure 6.12, the word SAM (< *mas*) ‘bro’ is combined with the English word ‘awesome’, creating a new blend word AWESAM. It is a local T-Shirt store aimed for youngsters in the city. Two major Walikan T-Shirt brands are described in §6.4.5.



FIGURE 6.12: Walikan on a business sign, AWESAM (from awesome ‘awesome’ + SAM < *mas* ‘older brother’) ‘Awesome bro’

Figures 6.10 to 6.12 may suggest that the use of Walikan words in signs are intended for the younger generation, but there are also other types of business or functions that do not target a specific age group, for example street food vendors.

Figure 6.13 shows a street food vendor who has branded his business *Lontong Balap Wonokròmò* AYABARUS ‘Lontong Balap Wonokròmò from Surabaya’. *Lontong Balap* is a local Surabaya dish, therefore the act of using Walikan that is reversing the word *Surabaya* to AYABARUS serves as a motif to capture people’s attention and to make the business more acceptable in the eyes of the locals of Malang.



FIGURE 6.13: Walikan in a street food vendor sign: Lontong Balap Wonokròmò AYABARUS (< *Lontong Balap Wonokròmò Surabaya*) ‘Lontong Balap Wonokròmò from Surabaya’

In addition, political campaign signs indicate that Walikan’s audience includes anyone living in Malang, not only the youth or older people.



FIGURE 6.14: Walikan on a political campaign, SAM Wanedi (< *mas* ‘older brother’ + Wanedi) ‘Brother Wanedi’

Ahmad Wanedi, the politician depicted in Figure 6.14 chose to use a com-

mon Walikan term of address SAM (< *mas*) ‘older brother’, possibly to establish his local affinities when running for the office of vice mayor in the 2018 election.

Walikan is also used as a tool to create common ground, as shown by Agus Harimurti Yudhoyono, a Jakarta-based politician in Figure 6.15. In early 2017, he ran and lost the DKI Jakarta governor election. A couple of months later, around June 2017, his political campaign appeared on the streets of Malang, when he was rumored to run in the upcoming election for the governor’s office of East Java.



FIGURE 6.15: Walikan on a political campaign, AYAS OKET KEER (< *Saya tekò rék*) ‘Here I come, guys’

Focused more on the face and name of the candidates, these types of campaign posters demonstrate that building the characters and personalities of politicians is considered to be potentially more rewarding than emphasizing the political parties’ logos and jargon (Goebel et al. 2017:281). Decentralization has changed the way people design their campaign posters; a political campaign in the past, specifically before 1998, would only use Indonesian, but nowadays it has become very important to include local languages in local politics to connect to local values (Aspinall 2011; Goebel et al. 2017).

6.4.5 T-Shirts and Merchandise

Strolling around the city, I noticed that some young people were wearing t-shirts written in Walikan. The bulk of them were produced by two brands: Oyisam and Ongisam. Oyisam is coined from the words òYI (< *iyò*) ‘yes’ and SAM

(< *mas*) ‘older brother’, while Ongisam is a combination of the word ÒNGIS (< *singò*) ‘lion’ and SAM (< *mas*) ‘older brother’. The word SAM ‘older brother’ appears in both brands as their owners are male, and their prime targets are male customers. The enterprises produce their t-shirts locally and employ local youths in both the production and in their shops. In an interview with the owner of Oyisam,¹⁵ I was given a folder showing their collection, most of which feature Walikan words. Figure 6.16 depicts one of these Oyisam t-shirt designs.



FIGURE 6.16: Walikan words on t-shirts, *ASAIB aé jés* (< *biasa aé jés*) ‘just relax, mate’

The words on the t-shirts are written in big fonts, often alluding to the cultural identity of Malangese, such as KÉRA NGALAM (< *aré^k malang*) ‘Malang people’, or APAIS KÉR (< *siapa rék*) ‘who, mate?’. According to the owner of Oyisam, the t-shirt business is currently booming and he has been able to open a number of outlets, one in Malang Town Square, one of the hippest malls in Malang, and another one outside the city.

The Walikan words featured on Oyisam t-shirts are all found in my spoken corpus. The Oyisam owner does not seem to have problems identifying new words because he often uses Walikan with his employees, despite their origin from Kendalpayak, located in the regency area of Malang, far from the center of the city where Walikan is believed to have originated.¹⁶ Only once did they receive a complaint from an older speaker, concerning the word

¹⁵Conducted on October 16, 2016.

¹⁶I managed to also interview two Oyisam employees on October 10th, 2016.

ÒJREK (< *kerjò*) ‘to work’ that they used on one of the t-shirts. For the older generation, the more appropriate Walikan form is KERDI, which is coined from the phrase *kerja rodi* ‘corvée labour’ (also see §2.3.1).

The Oyisam owner also acknowledges that he did not really want to explore the opportunity to create new Walikan words because he was afraid of rejection and criticism from older customers. However, in one instance he coined a new word, USEN (< *nesu*) ‘to become angry’, and so far the word has not been met with universal rejection.

6.5 Motivations to Promote Walikan

The act of writing a language traditionally confined to the oral domain symbolizes the “legitimation of an urban language, an urban culture, and an urban identity” (McLaughlin 2001:155). As Walikan has entered both the written and the spoken media, it has claimed its status as a vehicle of the people’s cultural identity. Reflecting on the media and the interview sessions with several key persons who contributed to the production of Walikan in these media, it seems to me that the act of writing and producing Walikan in media is motivated by three factors: 1) to express local pride and solidarity; 2) as a regional marker; and 3) to provide economic opportunities.

First, Walikan is a linguistic practice associated with pride in belonging to the community of Malang. The phrase AYAS KÉRA NGALAM (< *Saya arek Malang* ‘I am a Malang kid’ in Figure 6.8 is an expression of their pride in being from Malang and having a football club such as Arema FC. At the same time, the message on the banners also promotes solidarity. In Figure 6.9, a birthday message is written in Walikan by supporters of two rival football clubs, LA Mania from Lamongan and Jakmania from Jakarta. Instead of using Indonesian or Javanese, they use Walikan in order to create the feeling of solidarity or comradeship.

The feeling of pride can also be related to the aforementioned nostalgic theme of the Walikan song lyrics. *Uklam-Uklam* ‘to walk around’, *Uklam-Uklam nang Kayutangan* ‘to walk around Kayutangan’, and *Nola-Nola* ‘city square’ list different activities one could do in Malang and places to visit around the city. They remind listeners of how beautiful and comfortable life in Malang is.

Walikan is also considered a regional hallmark, as seen in its use in television programs, newspaper columns, sermons, and the city’s landmarks. Malang Javanese speakers want their speech to sound different from other

neighbouring Javanese dialects, such as Surabayan Javanese, and they use Walikan as a means to emphasize their Malangan dialect (see §2.5). As Sam Ohim from *Kowal-Kawil* explained in an interview, hosting a news program narrated in Walikan is a way to promote the local language and culture. It is worth noting that most of the news in *Kowal-Kawil* centers on the activities of criminals. Apart from the observation that crime news is sensational and therefore marketable, in the case of Malang, presenting this sort of news in Walikan might also reflect the historical status of Walikan as a register commonly associated with criminals and stigmatized communities.

On Facebook, the accurate use of Walikan can “give away” whether a user is genuinely originally from Malang or just a “poser”. To politicians, the way Walikan is regarded as a regional marker is utilized as an instrument to benefit their campaigns among the locals. As shown in Figure 6.14 and Figure 6.15, Walikan words are used to create common ground between the politicians and the locals.

The people of Malang also embrace Walikan because it provides economic opportunities. A golden opportunity has been grasped by the owners of t-shirt enterprises and other businesses. The use of Walikan words emphasizes the sense of local belonging, through which they can attract more customers. They use Walikan in the names of their shops, restaurants, and other businesses, sometimes only as a tagline of the business (see Figure 6.10, 6.13, 6.12, and 6.16).

6.6 Walikan Forms in Spoken and Written Media

In the spoken media, I have observed Walikan forms which are similar to those in my spontaneously uttered data. In TV and radio shows, songs, as well as YouTube videos, the Walikan forms used are based on those used in off-air oral communication. The reversal strategy used is largely based on Total Segment Reversal, with occasional modification strategies, as explained in Chapter 4. Homorganic consonant clusters are retained in word-medial position, and reversal is applied to the base word before attached prefixes. Some modifications or variations take place, but they are similar to those that are found in spontaneous spoken data. In other words, the Walikan words in spoken media are pronounced like those collected through face-to-face/spontaneous interactions. Table 6.10 provides some common examples.

Words	Realiza- tion	Origin	Realiza- tion	Gloss	Media
KOWAL- KAWIL	[ˈkɔ.wal ˈka.wɪl]	wolak- walik	[ˈwɔ.laʔ ˈwa.lɪʔ]	‘topsy- turvy’	Kowal- Kawil TV Show
<u>LAWÉT</u>	[ˈla.wet]	<u>juwal</u> ¹⁷	[ˈɟu.wal]	‘to sell’	Kowal- Kawil TV Show
LEKET	[ˈlə.kət]	cekel	[ˈcə.kəl]	‘to cap- ture’	Kowal- Kawil TV Show
<u>NARANJEP</u>	[na.ˈra.nɟəp]	<u>penjara</u>	[pə.ˈnɟa.ra]	‘jail’	Ser- mon in YouTube
<u>nge-LÉDOM</u>	[ŋə.ˈlə.dəm]	<u>nge-modél</u>	[ŋə.ˈmɔ.dəl]	‘N- manner.AV’	Sena- putra FM
UKLAM	[ˈʔu.klam]	mlaku	[ˈmla.ku]	‘to walk’	Tani Maju, Aradoes Band songs

TABLE 6.10: Examples of Walikan words used in spoken media

The data shows that Walikan used in the spoken media conforms to the Javanese phonology and phonotactics. The producer of KOWAL-KAWIL for example, follows the phonotactic constraints of not having /w/ in word-final position. As explained in §6.3.1, Total Segment Reversal is not used to reverse the word *wolak-walik* to avoid the form *KOLAW-KALIW.

The word LEKET and LAWÉT represent how the palatal stops /c, ɟ/ in word-final position are realized as the dental stop [t̪]. In NARANJEP, the homorganic consonant cluster /nɟ/ in word-medial position remains intact. In addition, a

¹⁷Djoewal in the old spelling, hence perhaps the /e/ in the reversed form.

word-initial /n/ is added in the reversal word. The same strategy is also seen in spontaneous spoken data, such as the words HADÉPES ‘bicycle’ and HUJUT ‘seven’.

In *nge-LÉDOM*, the nasal prefix *nge-* is added after reversal. In UKLAM, the cluster /kl/ in word-medial position is formed instead of word-final /lm/ in *UKALM. The same process is seen in other Walikan words collected through face-to-face interaction.

This conformity to Javanese phonology and phonotactics has also been observed when Walikan is used in the written domain, although the written nature of the form might have increased the tendency to apply the reversal to the orthography of the word rather than on its pronunciation. All of the Walikan words used in two newspaper columns, *Osiiii Ae Jes!* and *Paitun Gundul*, are confirmed in my spoken data, see Table 6.11.

Words	Meaning	Origin
KINTUS	‘to inject’	<i>suntik</i> ‘to inject’
<u>MUNYES</u>	‘to smile’	<i>senyum</i> ‘to smile’
NÉNDHÉS	‘to lean on’	<i>séndhén</i> ‘to lean on’
NÉNTAM	‘wedding’	<i>mantén</i> ‘wedding’
SÉNJEM	‘dark colored soybean cake’	<i>menjés</i> ‘dark colored soybean cake’
UBLEM	‘to enter’	<i>mlebu</i> ‘to enter’
UKLAM	‘to walk’	<i>mlaku</i> ‘to walk’
NGILAM	‘thief’	<i>maling</i> ‘thief’
NGALAM	‘Malang’	<i>Malang</i> ‘Malang’
<u>GENARO</u>	‘person’	<i>orang</i> ‘person’
GENATU	‘debt’	<i>utang</i> ‘debt’
<u>UTUJES</u>	‘to agree’	<i>setuju</i> ‘to agree’
<u>UJUTES</u>	‘to agree’	<i>setuju</i> ‘to agree’
<u>TALKOC</u>	‘chocolate’	<i>coklat</i> ‘chocolate’
<u>AGRAULEK</u>	‘family’	<i>keluarga</i> ‘family’
ÉNARUPES	‘sorry’	<i>sepurané</i> ‘sorry’

TABLE 6.11: Examples of words with homorganic consonant clusters in online and printed newspaper columns

The illustrations in Table 6.11 suggest that the type of Walikan that appears in both printed and online newspapers does not deviate from spoken Walikan. The articles' authors do not create new forms of reversal by reversing based on orthography.

In KINTUS, MUNYES, NÉNDHÉS, NÉNTAM, AND SÉNJEM, the homorganic consonant clusters in word-medial position are retained after the application of Total Segment Reversal rule.

Other words that require quite a complex reversal process, such as *mlaku* and *mlebu*, are reversed based on their spoken form. They still obey Javanese phonology and phonotactics and become UKLAM and UBLEM respectively (see §4.3.2.4). They are not reversed based on the orthography. Several other words that show a phoneme based reversal include: NGILAM ['ŋi.lam'] (< *malang*) ['ma.lɪŋ] 'thief' and NGALAM ['ŋa.lam'] (< *malang*) ['ma.laŋ] 'Malang'. A reversal based on orthography would yield the forms *gnaling and *gnalam. A number of exceptional forms such as GENARO and GENATU, orthographically reversed from (< *orang*) 'person' and (< *utang*) 'debt', have been chosen by the community despite their deviation from the most common patterns of reversal (see §4.6).

The newspaper columns allow us to investigate certain forms categorized as alternate forms in §4.6. Alternate forms in Walikan are those that can have more than one acceptable reversion. The Indonesian word *setuju* 'to agree' for example, has two Walikan forms: UTUJES and UJUTES. The former is found more in spoken interaction among my informants, while the latter is observed more in WhatsApp and Facebook conversation. The latter completely follows Total Segment Reversal, which may lead to the argument that this form is only used in written media. However, two newspaper columns in my observation consistently use the form UTUJES, giving it more power to be recognized as the standard form. The other form, UJUTES, therefore, is only used in smaller circles than UTUJES.

It seems likely that the written media have given users more freedom to innovate different types of Walikan. This is shown in the increasingly common reversal of words that break the phonotactics of Javanese, such as TALKOC (< *coklat*) 'chocolate', and words with more than two syllables, such as AGRAULEK (< *keluarga*) 'family' and ÉNARUPES (< *sepurané*)¹⁸ 'sorry'. When writing, users seem to have more time to consider which form will be used. However, as words of this type do not occur very often in spontaneous speech,

¹⁸In spoken Malangan Javanese, it can be pronounced as either [sə.pu.'ra.ne] or [sə.pu.'rɔ.ne].

it may be inferred that the users of Walikan do not refer to written Walikan to change the form of Walikan. They still refer to the accepted reversed forms of spoken Walikan in order to convey a message to their readers.

6.7 Conclusions

This chapter has presented an overview of the ways Walikan, which was once confined to particular social domains, can spread into a wider range of domains. Walikan began as an oral linguistic practice but is currently used in mass media, social media, and on public signs; it is widely used within Malang's linguistic landscape. At present, Walikan is no longer an anti-language limited to a certain social class. It has acquired its position as an urban language which is able to project the identity of the people. Speakers have proudly facilitated its dissemination from a spoken to a written media, from in-group interaction to public communication, and from offline to online platforms.

Several important communities have been actively involved in this metamorphosis. They include students, musicians, and football-supporters. As the language has become more widespread and more accessible to a wider community in the city, its survival and viability is now in the hands of the general population of urban-dwellers. Their autonomous use of Walikan has shown us a successful example of how local-level oral language practices can enter different types of public media.

How Walikan has found its way into public spaces gives us an idea of how Indonesia's urban language-scapes and linguistic landscape can include local linguistic features. Walikan has brought local colour to the linguistic landscape of Malang and, more importantly, it proves that there can be space for local (urban) languages in the linguistic landscape of Indonesia, alongside Standard Indonesian and other established local languages. Walikan is an example of latent enfranchisement, in which a local vernacular which was not only excluded from the school curriculum, but was once also used by a stigmatized community, can now appear on public signs.

I have also shown that the changes and developments observed in the domains of Walikan have introduced changes in the nature of the language itself, from a strong conformity to Javanese phonotactics to more innovative strategies that allow for the violation of phonotactics rules. However, the tendency to conform to Javanese phonotactics in the written media remains strong, because users tend to reject sudden changes in form. If a written message is to be

well-received by readers, they must comply with socially accepted Walikan forms. Hence, the standard is determined by informal consensus within the speech community. Written forms are not always considered as reflection of the spoken form.