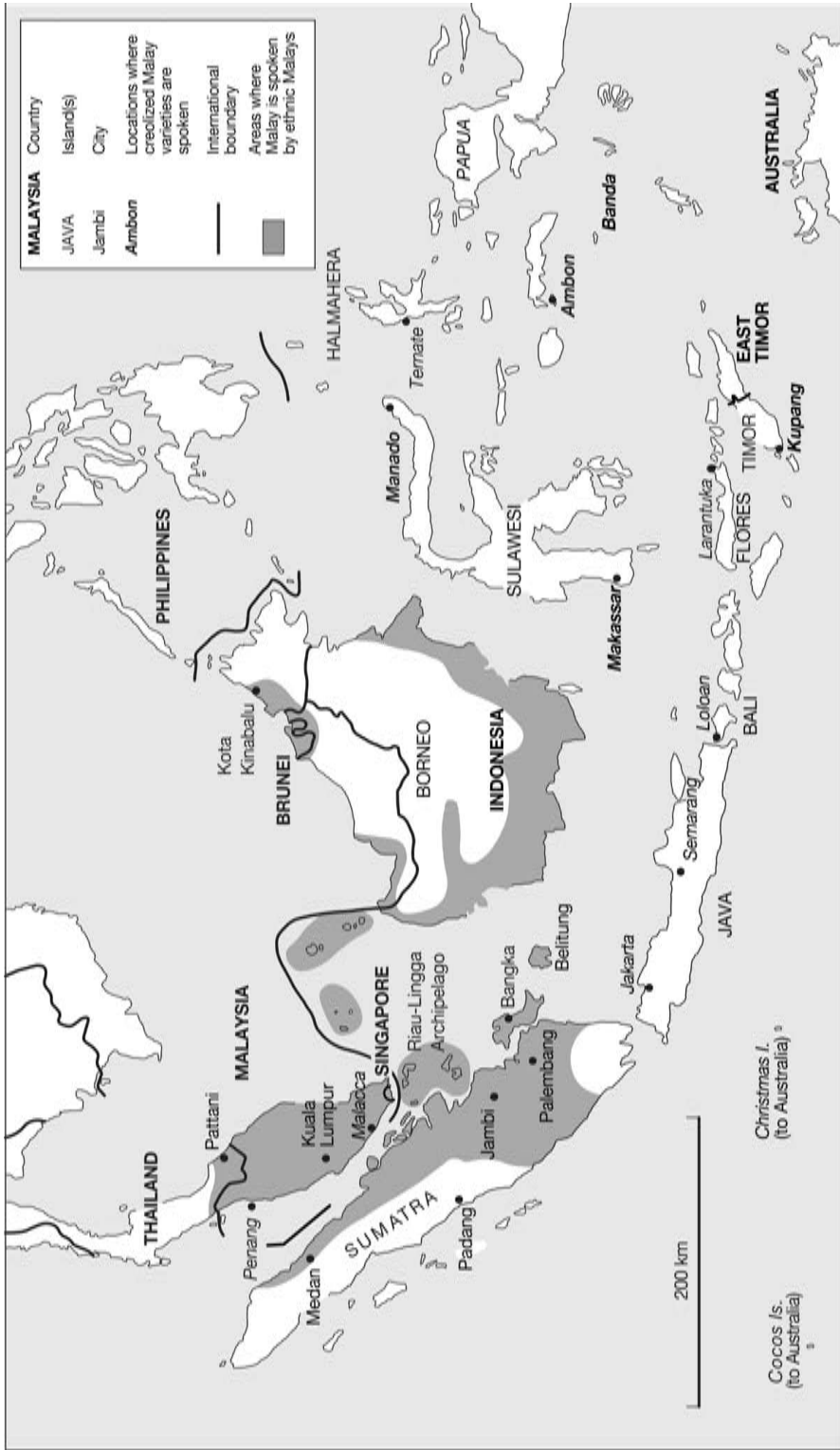

1 Introduction

Malay-Indonesian is an Austronesian language spoken in many diverse forms throughout Southeast Asia. The indigenous name of the language is *Bahasa Melayu* (literally, ‘the Malay language’), but the standard variety used in Indonesia (along with some regional colloquial varieties) is called *Bahasa Indonesia* (‘the Indonesian language’). Similar forms of standard Malay-Indonesian serve as the national languages of Indonesia, Malaysia, Brunei and Singapore;² the latter three are particularly close to each other. This chapter, unless otherwise noted, will be dealing with the most widely used variety, standard Indonesian, which will be referred to simply as ‘Indonesian’. Standard Malay as used in Malaysia will be referred to as ‘Malaysian’.

With over 250 million speakers, Malay-Indonesian is the most widely spoken language in Southeast Asia. Most speakers, however, do not acquire it as their first language. The number of native speakers is difficult to estimate; perhaps 20 per cent of the current total number of speakers acquired a colloquial variety of Malay-Indonesian as their first language. This figure is rapidly increasing, as more and more people in Indonesia, Malaysia and Brunei shift from their ancestral home languages to Malay-Indonesian. As will be explained below, colloquial varieties of Malay-Indonesian exhibit a great diversity, and most are quite different from the standard variety discussed in this chapter.

Malay-Indonesian is a member of the Malayic subgroup of Western Malayo-Polynesian, a branch of the Austronesian language family. While there is wide agreement about the existence of the Malayic subgroup (and within it of Malay-Indonesian as a separate language), linguists have not been able to agree on its classification, either external or internal. Malayic used to be classified together with Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Acehnese and Lampung in a putative ‘Malayo-Javanic’ branch, but strong doubts have been cast on the validity of this classification. It is now clear that Malayic is more closely related to the Chamic languages, spoken in Cambodia, Vietnam and Hainan Island (southern China), than to any of the above languages. Recent research indicates that Malayo-Chamic languages are in turn most closely related to Bali–Sasak–Sumbawan, a group of languages spoken on several islands east of Java. One factor hindering the external



Map 47.1 Malay-speaking areas.

classification of Malayic is that many languages in the region have borrowed heavily from Malay-Indonesian, which has served as a regional lingua franca for many centuries. Similarly, no linguistic criteria have been established for distinguishing between Malayic languages and dialects of Malay-Indonesian, and there are no widely accepted subgrouping theories for either. Many scholars in the field have therefore preferred using the neutral term ‘isolect’ to refer to any Malayic speech form which has a name of its own and is regarded by its speakers as distinct from other varieties. This practice will be followed in this chapter.

Malayic isolects vary greatly, and many of them are not mutually intelligible. They fall into several broad categories. Some, like Riau Malay (spoken in the Riau-Lingga archipelago in Indonesia) or Kedah Malay (spoken in the Malaysian state of Kedah), are thought to be direct descendants of Proto Malayic, a hypothetical language reconstructed on the basis of modern isolects. Other isolects, however, have had a more complex history, and owe their emergence to language contact and language shift. For example Betawi, the language of the indigenous ethnic group of Jakarta, is based on Malay, but has incorporated lexical and grammatical elements from Balinese, Javanese, Sundanese, Portuguese Creole and Chinese languages, which were spoken by the ancestors of today’s speakers. Some isolects have developed from pidginised forms of Malay, collectively known as Bazaar Malay, which originally served only for inter-ethnic communication, not as a first language. Baba Malay, spoken by acculturated Chinese communities in Malacca, Penang and Singapore, is thought to have developed from Bazaar Malay, which gradually became the speakers’ first language. Most Malayic isolects spoken in eastern Indonesia have probably also developed from early pidginised forms of Malay. This complex situation has contributed to the difficulty of classifying Malayic isolects.

Colloquial varieties of Malay-Indonesian differ greatly from each other and, as already mentioned, also from the standard language. These differences may involve any aspect: pronunciation, word formation, syntax, lexicon, semantics and pragmatics. It will of course be impossible to describe all these diverse varieties within this chapter. Therefore, as mentioned above, the description will involve mainly one variety, standard Indonesian. However, it should always be kept in mind that this is just one of a very large number of diverse varieties.

2 History

The cradle of Malay language and civilisation was in south-central Sumatra. Many scholars believe, however, that Proto Malayic was spoken in western Borneo. The original place name Malayu (= Malay) has been identified with the former Malay kingdom of Jambi in central Sumatra. The Chinese monk Yiqing (I Ching), who visited the area in the seventh century, reported about a place called ‘Mo-lo-yu’; later Javanese inscriptions and manuscripts also refer to the area of Jambi as ‘Malayu’. The *Sejarah Melayu* (‘Malay Annals’), the canonical work of classical Malay literature, traces Malay origins to Palembang, a city south of Jambi, which historians and archaeologists identify with the centre of the ancient maritime empire of Srivijaya.

The earliest direct evidence of Malay comes from a handful of seventh-century inscriptions found in southern Sumatra and on the nearby island of Bangka, and associated with Srivijaya. Not all scholars agree that the language of these inscriptions is the direct ancestor of modern Malay-Indonesian, but it is commonly referred to as Old

Malay. The inscriptions were written in a formal language which borrowed heavily from Sanskrit (and indeed they contain entire passages in Sanskrit); there is no direct evidence about the language ordinary people spoke in their daily lives. Old Malay inscriptions dating from the eighth–ninth centuries have also been found in areas where Malay was not indigenous, like Java and the Philippines, showing the early spread of Malay in the region.

The use of (Old) Malay as a literary language in Java and in the Philippines did not survive long. However, in Sumatra it has continued uninterrupted until today. Even among ethnic groups who speak non-Malayic languages, like Rejang and Lampung, Malay (written in an Indian-derived script) has continued to serve as the major literary language. The oldest extant Malay manuscript is a recently rediscovered fourteenth-century work originating from southwestern Sumatra. Some letters and longer works from the sixteenth century are preserved in collections in the West, and from the seventeenth century onwards surviving Malay manuscripts become numerous. The contents of these works are varied, and range from legends, chronicles and religious treatises to legal documents and personal letters. The language of these manuscripts, while showing some variation across time, space and style, is nevertheless remarkably uniform, and has been termed Classical Malay.

Modern standard Malay-Indonesian developed in the nineteenth century as a continuation of Classical Malay, aided by the efforts of local and Western scholars. The great Malay scholar Raja Ali Haji (c.1809–70) composed a grammar and a dictionary of standard Malay. Later, the Dutch scholar C.A. van Ophuysen (1854–1917) formalised the grammar for use at schools throughout the Dutch Indies. In 1928, a congress of nationalist students declared Malay – under the name *Bahasa Indonesia* – to be the national language of the Indonesian people. (The text of this declaration is appended to this chapter.) During the Japanese occupation (1942–5), the modernisation of Malay-Indonesian was accelerated, as it was widely used in the administrative and educational systems and in the mass media. Indonesia declared its independence in 1945, whereby Indonesian became the sole official language of the new republic. When Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei followed suit, similar forms of standard Malay-Indonesian became their national languages as well. In 1972 the spelling of Malay-Indonesian was reformed and harmonised, and a joint council (known by its acronym MABBIM) has been coordinating language-planning activities in these countries ever since.

Throughout its history, Malay-Indonesian has been in contact with, and influenced by, various languages. These are briefly discussed in the last section of this chapter.

3 Writing and Orthography

The writing system used in the earliest Old Malay inscriptions (dating back to the seventh century) was based on the Pallava script of southern India. The earliest extant Malay manuscript, written about seven centuries later, was written on bark paper in a script similar to the Kawi script (used for Old Javanese). Various Indian-derived scripts are still used in Sumatra for writing local languages and occasionally Malay as well. However, Classical Malay was mainly written in an Arabic-based script called *Jawi*, which developed after the Islamisation of the Malays. The earliest example of *Jawi* is the Trengganu inscription of 1303; the earliest *Jawi* manuscripts are two letters written by the sultan of Ternate (in the east of modern Indonesia) to the king of Portugal in 1521 and 1522. The oldest example of Romanised Malay comes from a word list prepared

by the Italian explorer Pigafetta in 1521. Pigafetta was not attempting to devise an alphabet for writing Malay, but simply to record Malay words in the writing system he knew. More systematic attempts to write Malay in Latin characters were made in the seventeenth century, and for several centuries Romanised Malay (known as *Rumi*) existed side by side with *Jawi*.³ *Rumi* was used mostly by Europeans, for example for bible translations and in schools, while *Jawi* was used mostly by indigenous writers. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, *Rumi* spelling was standardised by the British for use in their possessions in the Malay Peninsula and North Borneo, while a different standard was established by the Dutch for use in the Netherlands Indies. As already mentioned, in 1972 the orthography was reformed, and the two standards were harmonised by mutual agreement. Today *Jawi* is rarely used in Indonesia, and is rapidly disappearing from daily life in Malaysia as well, although it still has a relatively strong position among ethnic Malays in southern Thailand.

4 Phonology

Modern Malay-Indonesian consonants which occur in inherited vocabulary are summarised in Table 47.1. Internal reconstruction of Proto Malayic reveals that *w* and *y* never contrasted with *u* and *i*, so their status was not phonemic. They phonemicised later through a combination of external factors (basically borrowing) as well as internal factors. The same can be said for the glottal stop. The language also has some loan consonant phonemes, which are discussed below.

Loan consonants were introduced together with the large influx of loanwords from Arabic and later from Dutch. They include *f*, *sy* (usually realised as [ç] in Indonesian), *z* and *x*, which only occur in loanwords, e.g. *huruf* ‘letter [of the alphabet]’ (< Arabic *ḥurūf*), *syair* ‘poem’ (< Arabic *šāʿir*), *famili* ‘relatives’ (< Dutch *familie*), *izin* ‘permission’ (< Arabic *idn*), *akhir* [axir] ‘last’ (Arabic *āḥir*). The use of these loan phonemes is not consistent: *f* is frequently realised as [p]; *z* as [s] or [j]; and *x* as [k], [h] or [kh].⁴

Table 47.1 Consonant Phonemes in Inherited Malay-Indonesian Vocabulary

	<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Dental/Alveolar</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
Voiced stops	b	d	ʃ	g	
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Liquids		l r			
Fricatives		s			h
Glides	w		y		

Table 47.2 Vowel Phonemes in Inherited Malay-Indonesian Vocabulary

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

Vowels which occur in inherited Malay vocabulary are listed in Table 47.2. The vowel system has also been affected by language contact; the phonemicisation of the mid vowels (*e*, *ə*, *o*) is the product of a combination of internal and external factors.

An examination of inherited Malay morphemes in Indonesian reveals a relatively simple syllable structure. The syllable consisted minimally of a single vocalic nucleus, optionally preceded and/or followed by a single consonant. The resulting syllable structure is (C)V(C). There are thus four possible syllable shapes in inherited Malay-Indonesian vocabulary: V, CV, VC and CVC. Examples for each of the possible syllable shapes are given in Table 47.3.

Table 47.3 Syllable Shapes in Inherited Malay Morphemes

<i>Syllable shape</i>	<i>Initial syllable</i>	<i>Final syllable</i>
V	<i>i.kan</i> 'fish'	<i>ba.u</i> 'smell'
CV	<i>ba.tu</i> 'stone'	<i>a.pa</i> 'what'
VC	<i>um.pan</i> 'bait'	<i>ma.in</i> 'play'
CVC	<i>han.tu</i> 'ghost'	<i>da.pat</i> 'get'

There is a preference for consonant-initial syllables, which are much more common than onsetless syllables. However, there does not seem to be a statistically significant preference for either open or closed syllables.

Mostly through the influx of a large number of loanwords, the syllable structure of modern Indonesian has undergone radical restructuring. The number of possible consonants in the onset and coda has increased from just one consonant to three, for example in the Indonesian words *struk* 'cash-register receipt' and *korps* 'corps', both borrowed from Dutch. The syllable structure of modern Indonesian is therefore (C)(C)(C)V(C)(C)(C).

Voiced stops do not occur in final position; thus the loanwords *jawab* 'answer' (< Arabic), *masjid* 'mosque' (< Arabic) and *zig-zag* (< English) are realised [jawap], [masjit] and [siksak], respectively. Palatals do not occur in final position in inherited vocabulary, but do occur marginally in loanwords such as *bridge* [bric] (the card game), *peach* [pic] (the colour) and *Mikraj* [miʔrac] (a Muslim holiday). The combination *si* is often realised as [ç] if immediately followed by another vowel. Thus the initial syllables of *syair* 'poem' and *siapa* 'who' can be pronounced identically as [ça]: [çəʔir], [çapa]. In Malaysian (but not in Indonesian) final *k* in inherited vocabulary is realised as a glottal stop.

Relatively complex morphophonemic alternation rules affect the junctures between some affixes and roots which follow them. These affixes are the prefixes *meng-* (which marks active verbs) and *peng-* (which derives agents; it is also present in the circumfix *peng-an* which derives verbal nouns). Generally speaking, the velar nasal *ng-* in the affix assimilates to place of articulation of the root-initial consonant, and in some cases this initial consonant deletes. These rules can be summarised as follows.

- If *ng-* is followed by a root-initial voiced oral stop, it assimilates to it: *meng* + *bawa* → *membawa* 'to bring', *meng* + *dapat* → *mendapat* 'to get', *meng* + *ganggu* → *mengganggu* 'to disturb'.

- If *ng-* is followed by a root-initial voiceless oral stop, it assimilates to it, and the consonant which conditions the assimilation then deletes: *meng+pilih* → *memilih* ‘to choose’, *meng+tulis* → *menulis* ‘to write’, *meng+kirim* → *mengirim* ‘to send’.
- If *ng-* is followed by a sonorant, it deletes, preventing the creation of an unphonotactic cluster or geminate: *meng+masuk+i* → *memasuki*⁵ ‘to enter’, *meng+naik+i* → *menaiki* ‘to ascend (something)’, *meng+nyanyi* → *menyanyi* ‘to sing’, *meng+nganga* → *menganga* ‘to open wide’, *meng+lihat* → *melihat* ‘to see’, *meng+rayap* → *merayap* ‘to creep’, *meng+wakil+i* → *mewakili* ‘to represent’, *meng+yakin+i* → *meyakini* ‘to convince’.
- Roots which begin with *s-*, *sy-*, *c-* and *j-* behave more idiosyncratically. A root-initial *s-* triggers a change in the preceding *-ng-*, which becomes *ny* before the *s-* deletes: *séwa* → *menyéwa* ‘to rent’. This probably indicates that when the assimilation rule first applied, *s* was a palatalised consonant; it is still palatalised in some modern dialects.⁶ The palatals *c-* and *j-* cause the preceding *ng-* to become the alveolo-dental *n-* instead of the expected palatal nasal *ny-*: *meng+cuci* → *mencuci* ‘to wash’, *meng+jemput* → *menjemput* ‘to pick up’.⁷ Roots which begin with the loan phoneme *sy* ([ç]) are inconsistent; some behave like *s*-initial roots (*peng+syair* → *penyair* ‘poet’) while others behave like *c*-initial roots (*meng+syukur+i* → *mensyukuri* ‘to thank God [for something]’). (The reason *ng-* changes to *n* rather than to the expected *ny* before palatal-initial bases is that, as mentioned above, Malay-Indonesian phonotactics preclude the occurrence of palatals – and especially the palatal nasal – in final position.)
- Root initial *f-* and *z-*, both loan phonemes, trigger the expected assimilation of *ng-*: *meng+fokus* → *memfokus* ‘to focus’, *meng+zalim+i* → *menzalimi* ‘to treat cruelly’.

No changes affect *ng*-final prefixes if the following root begins with a vowel, the glottal fricative *h* or the velar fricative *kh*: *meng+ukur* → *mengukur* ‘to measure’, *meng+hafal* → *menghafal* ‘to memorise’, *meng+khianat+i* → *mengkhianati* ‘to betray’.

These morphophonemic alternations basically involve two processes: nasal assimilation and the deletion of certain consonants.⁸ Neither process is required by the phonotactics of modern Indonesian. Thus one finds (in loanwords) unassimilated nasals preceding oral stops, as in *tanpa* ‘without’ (< Javanese), *angpao* ‘gift envelope’ (< Hokkien) and *anbia* ‘prophets’ (< Arabic). And root-initial voiceless stops sometimes fail to delete, not only with borrowed roots such as in *meng+taat+i* → *mentaati* ‘to obey’ (< Arabic) and *meng+kopi* → *mengkopi* ‘to make a copy’ (< English) but also with inherited roots such as in *meng+punya+i* → *mempunyai* ‘to have, own’ and *meng+kilap* → *mengkilap* ‘to shine’.

5 Morphology

The principal morphological processes in Malay-Indonesian are affixation, compounding and reduplication. Affixes play a very important role in the standard language, although a significantly smaller one in most colloquial varieties. There are three types of affixes: prefixes, suffixes and circumfixes (simulfixes), the latter consisting of morphs attached simultaneously to the beginning and end of a base. In addition there are traces of infixation, although infixes have never been productive in Malayic. Most

affixes also interact with reduplication to produce complex, discontinuous grammatical morphemes. The principal productive affixes are listed in Table 47.4.

Table 47.4 Affixes in Malay-Indonesian

<i>Form</i>	<i>Main meaning or function</i>	<i>Examples</i>	<i>Base</i>
<i>meng-</i>	Active	<i>meng-ambil</i> 'to take'	<i>ambil</i> 'take'
<i>di-</i>	Passive	<i>di-ambil</i> 'to be taken'	<i>ambil</i> 'take'
<i>ber-</i>	Intransitive	<i>ber-baring</i> 'to lie down'	<i>baring</i> 'lie down'
<i>ter₁₋</i>	Adversative passive	<i>ter-telan</i> 'to get swallowed (accidentally)'	<i>telan</i> 'swallow'
<i>ter₂₋</i>	State/potentiality	<i>ter-buat</i> 'made (of)' <i>ter-lihat</i> 'visible'	<i>buat</i> 'make' <i>lihat</i> 'see'
<i>ter₃₋</i>	Superlative	<i>ter-besar</i> 'biggest'	<i>besar</i> 'big'
<i>per-</i>	Causative	<i>per-besar</i> 'enlarge'	<i>besar</i> 'big'
<i>pe-</i>	Agent of <i>ber-</i> verb	<i>pe-tani</i> 'farmer'	<i>ber-tani</i> 'to farm'
<i>peng-</i>	Agent of <i>meng-</i> verb	<i>peng-ambil</i> 'taker'	<i>meng-ambil</i> 'to take'
<i>ke-</i>	Ordinal numeral	<i>ke-dua</i> 'second'	<i>dua</i> 'two'
<i>-an</i>	Recipient or result of action	<i>makan-an</i> 'food' <i>tulis-an</i> 'writing'	<i>makan</i> 'eat' <i>tulis</i> 'write'
<i>-i</i>	Transitive	<i>datang-i</i> 'approach'	<i>datang</i> 'come'
<i>-kan</i>	Applicative (e.g. causative, benefactive)	<i>datang-kan</i> 'bring' <i>buat-kan</i> 'make [something for someone]'	<i>datang</i> 'come' <i>buat</i> 'make'
<i>ke-an₁</i>	Abstract noun	<i>ke-baik-an</i> 'kindness'	<i>baik</i> 'good, kind'
<i>ke-an₂</i>	Unintentional event	<i>ke-hujan-an</i> 'to get caught in the rain'	<i>hujan</i> 'rain'
<i>per-an₁</i>	Collective noun	<i>perikanan</i> 'fishery'	<i>ikan</i> 'fish'
<i>per-an₂</i>	Verbal noun (for <i>ber-</i> verbs)	<i>per-temu-an</i> 'meeting'	<i>ber-temu</i> 'to meet'
<i>peng-an</i>	Verbal noun (for <i>meng-</i> verbs)	<i>peng-ambil-an</i> '(the) taking'	<i>meng-ambil</i> 'to take'
<i>se-nya*</i>	Adverb	<i>se-benar-nya</i> 'actually'	<i>benar</i> 'true'

Note:

* Historically made up of the clitics *se-* 'as' and *-nya* 'determiner', but synchronically functions as an affix.

Affixed words can serve as the base for further affixation, as in the forms *mem-ber-laku-kan* 'to enforce' (< *ber-laku* 'to be in force'), *di-per-besar* 'to be enlarged' (< *per-besar* 'enlarge') and *ke-ter-lambat-an* 'tardiness' (< *ter-lambat* 'late'). While the first example is lexicalised, the latter two are fully productive: any *ter-*adjective can undergo affixation with *ke-an*, and any *per-*verb can be prefixed with *di-*.

Compounding is also a common morphological process in Indonesian. The criteria for determining whether a group of morphemes constitute a compound or a phrase are mostly semantic and syntactic, rather than phonological. A sequence of two words can be said to be a compound if its compositional semantics is unpredictable yet it is used consistently. For example, *kamar kecil* means 'a small room' when used as a phrase, but as a compound it means 'toilet', a meaning that cannot be predicted based on the meaning of its constituents alone. Compounds function as a single lexical unit; their constituents cannot be separated from each other by any process, such as relativisation.

Thus, *kamar yang kecil* (*yang* is a relativiser) would only have the phrasal reading of ‘a small room’, not ‘toilet’. Sometimes the criterion is word order, e.g. *rambut panjang* ‘long hair’ vs *panjang rambut* ‘long-haired’. The claim that *panjang rambut* is a compound that means ‘long-haired’ rather than a phrase that means ‘long hair’ is supported by the grammaticality of sentences such as *Tuti punya rambut panjang* ‘Tuti has long hair’ versus the ungrammaticality of sentences like **Tuti punya panjang rambut* (which would literally mean ‘Tuti has long-haired’). Lack of affixation can also indicate compounding, e.g. *jual-beli* ‘trade’ (lit. ‘sell buy’; ‘to sell and to buy’ would be *menjual dan membeli*). Compounds may undergo affixation as a single unit, as in *menandatangani* ‘to sign’ (from the compound base *tanda tangan* ‘signature’, lit. ‘sign hand’) and *memperjualbelikan* ‘to trade [in]’ (from the base *jual-beli* ‘trade’, lit. ‘sell buy’).

The third major morphological process in Indonesian is reduplication. A distinction should be made between lexical reduplication (where the word only occurs in a reduplicated form) and morphological reduplication (where the reduplicated form is derived from an existing base by a regular process). An example of lexical reduplication is found in the word *kupu-kupu* ‘butterfly’. This word only occurs in its reduplicated form; the putative base **kupu* does not occur by itself, and has no meaning. On the other hand, *jalan-jalan* ‘to go for a walk’ is transparently derived from the base *jalan* ‘walk’. Of the two types of reduplication, only morphological reduplication constitutes a derivational process.

Reduplication fills a large number of functions in Malay-Indonesian, only some of which can be mentioned here. One of the most important ones is forming collectives, as in *anak-anak* ‘(a group of) children’ (from *anak* ‘child’). An adjective can also be reduplicated to indicate that it modifies a collective noun: *anak rajin-rajin* ‘(a group of) hard-working children’.

Another function of reduplication is to indicate resemblance. Reduplicated nouns (sometimes with the addition of the suffix *-an*) denote things that appear similar to the referent of the simple base but are actually quite different, e.g. *langit-langit* ‘palate’ < *langit* ‘sky’, *rumah-rumahan* ‘dollhouse’ < *rumah* ‘house’. In verbs, the process creates atelic verbs whose action is performed with no objective in mind or purely for enjoyment: *minum-minum* ‘to have a drink (for enjoyment)’ < *minum* ‘drink (to quench one’s thirst)’; *baca-baca* ‘to glance, read here and there’ < *baca* ‘read (in order to gain knowledge)’. Reduplication combined with the circumfix *ke-an* creates adjectives whose meaning involves resemblance to that of the simple, unreduplicated form, e.g. *kebarat-baratan* ‘Western-like, Westernised’ < *barat* ‘west’, *kemérah-mérahan* ‘red-like, reddish’ < *mérah* ‘red’.

In addition to full reduplication, where the entire base is reduplicated, Malay-Indonesian used to have a process of partial reduplication, which reduplicated just the onset and nucleus (initial consonant + vowel) of the initial syllable. The vowel of the initial syllable was then reduced to schwa by a regular phonological process.⁹ While no longer productive in modern standard Indonesian, partial reduplication is still exhibited in numerous older words, such as *lelaki* ‘man, male’ < *laki* ‘husband’ and *tetangga* ‘neighbour’ < *tangga* ‘ladder’ (i.e. not ‘the person next door’ but rather ‘the person next ladder’, reflecting traditional Malay architecture). There are also more complex types of reduplication which involve some mutation of the reduplicant, such as *bolak-balik* ‘back and forth’ < *balik* ‘to go back’ and *sayur-mayur* ‘(various) vegetables’ < *sayur* ‘vegetable’.

In addition to these major morphological processes, abbreviations are also very common in Indonesian. These include clipped words, which combine syllables of words

that make up a larger syntactic unit, e.g. *balita* ‘infant’ from *bawah lima tahun* ‘under five years’; initialisms, formed from the names of the initial letters of two or more words, e.g. *DPR* [depeʔer] ‘the Indonesian parliament’ from *Déwan Perwakilan Rakyat* ‘People’s Representative Assembly’; acronyms, formed from initial letters but pronounced as a single word, e.g. *ASI* [ʔasi] ‘mother’s milk’, from *Air Susu Ibu* ‘mother’s breast liquid’; and truncated forms, where a word is reduced by deleting some of its phonological material, e.g. *Pak* ‘Sir, epithet that precedes names of adult males’ from *bapak* ‘father’.

6 Syntax

6.1 Word Classes

Although they may use different terms, practically all scholars agree that content words are distinguished syntactically from function words in Malay-Indonesian. Many also recognise the existence of categories such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, prepositions and a few minor categories, and this approach is taken up in this chapter. An alternative is to analyse the roots of content words as not belonging to any particular word class, with syntactic categories assigned by affixes. This analysis, however, would require positing zero derivation for a large number of nouns and adjectives.

6.2 Nouns and Noun Phrases

Although there are various noun-forming affixes, most nouns are not overtly marked as such. In noun phrases, modifiers such as demonstratives, adjectives and attributive nouns usually follow the head:

(1a)	(1b)	(1c)
<i>rumah ini</i>	<i>rumah besar</i>	<i>rumah batu</i>
house dem. prox.	house big	house stone
‘this house’	‘a/the big house’	‘a/the stone house’

The unmarked position of quantifiers is before the noun:

(2a)	(2b)	(2c)
<i>satu rumah</i>	<i>banyak rumah</i>	<i>semua rumah</i>
one house	many house	all house
‘one house’	‘many houses’	‘all houses’

However, the quantifier may occur after the noun in some more marked constructions.

Possession is indicated by simple juxtaposition of the nouns, with the possessor following the possessed:

(3a)	(3b)	(3c)
<i>rumah guru</i>	<i>rumah saya</i>	<i>rumah Tuti</i>
house teacher	house 1sg.	house Tuti
‘a/the teacher’s house’	‘my house’	‘Tuti’s house’

Other types of possessive constructions also occur, but their use in the standard language is limited.

6.3 Numerals and Classifiers

The cardinal numbers from one to ten are *satu* ‘1’; (clitic form: *se-*), *dua* ‘2’, *tiga* ‘3’, *empat* ‘4’, *lima* ‘5’, *enam* ‘6’, *tujuh* ‘7’, *delapan* ‘8’, *sembilan* ‘9’, *sepuluh* ‘10’ (from *se-* ‘one’ + *puluh* ‘ten’). Numbers between 11 and 19 are formed with the element *belas* ‘-teen’: *sebelas* ‘11’, *dua belas* ‘12’, etc. Tens are formed by adding *puluh* ‘ten’: *dua puluh* ‘20’, *tiga puluh* ‘30’, etc. Larger numbers are formed by juxtaposition in descending order, with no conjunction:

- (4) *seribu* *sembilan* *ratus* *empat* *puluh* *lima*
 one-thousand nine hundred four ten five
 ‘1945’

Ordinal numbers are formed with the suffix *ke-*: *kedua* ‘second’, *kelima* ‘fifth’, *kesebelas* ‘eleventh’, *kedua puluh tujuh* ‘twenty-seventh’. The common word for ‘first’ is *pertama*, a loanword from Sanskrit. The expected form *kesatu* also exists but is rarely used.

Several numeral classifiers exist, but their use is not obligatory, and most also occur as nouns. Only three classifiers are in common use: *orang* (literally ‘person’) for humans, *ekor* (literally ‘tail’) for animals, and *buah* (literally ‘fruit’) for inanimate objects and entities. When both a numeral and a classifier are used, the usual order is numeral–classifier–noun:

- (5a) (5b) (5c)
dua orang *guru* *tiga* *ekor* *kucing* *lima* *buah* *rumah*
 two person teacher three tail cat five fruit house
 ‘two teachers’ ‘three cats’ ‘five houses’

The order noun–numeral–classifier also occurs, especially in lists.

6.4 Adjectives and Adjective Phrases

Some authorities classify adjectives together with verbs, because they fill similar syntactic positions. They may also occur with phonetically identical affixes, but the meaning of each affix varies in unpredictable ways according to whether the base is a verb or an adjective. Thus, when added to adjectives, the prefix *ter-* derives superlatives (*besar* ‘big’, *terbesar* ‘biggest’), but when added to verbs it produces adversative, potential or stative forms which bear no clear semantic or functional relation to superlatives. Moreover, not all affixes which occur with verbs also occur with adjectives. For example, the prefix *di-* forms the passive from verbal bases, but does not occur with adjectives, not even transitive adjectives.

Adjectives (again unlike verbs) may be modified by an adverb of degree, such as *sangat* ‘very’, *sekali* ‘very’, *agak* ‘fairly, quite’ and *kurang* ‘insufficiently’. Most such adverbs occur before the adjective: *sangat besar* ‘very large’, *agak besar* ‘fairly large’, *kurang besar* ‘not large enough’. However, a few occur after the adjective, such as *sekali: besar sekali* ‘very large’.

There are two equative constructions. The simpler one is created by preposing the clitic *se-* ‘as’ to the adjective, and placing it between the two compared entities:

- (6) *Budi sangat tinggi; dia setinggi Tuti.*
 Budi very tall 3sg. as-tall Tuti
 ‘Budi is very tall; he is as tall as Tuti.’

Alternatively, the adjective is preceded by *sama* ‘same, equal’ and followed by the 3rd-person enclitic pronoun *-nya*:

- (7) *Budi sama tingginya dengan Tuti.*
 Budi same tall-3 with Tuti
 ‘Budi is as tall as Tuti.’
 (lit. ‘(As for) Budi, his tallness is the same as Tuti’s.’)

The comparative is formed by placing the word *lebih* ‘more’ before the adjective and *daripada* ‘(rather) than’ after it. (The preposition *dari* ‘from’ can be used instead of *daripada*, but this is considered informal.)

- (8) *Budi lebih tinggi daripada/dari Tuti.*
 Budi more tall than/from Tuti
 ‘Budi is taller than Tuti.’

The superlative can be formed in two ways. In formal Indonesian, an adjective may be prefixed by *ter-*: *baik* ‘good’, *terbaik* ‘best’; *besar* ‘big’, *terbesar* ‘biggest’ (Example 9). The alternative construction, used in formal as well as colloquial Indonesian, is formed by placing the word *paling* ‘most’ before the adjective: *paling baik* ‘best’, *paling besar* ‘biggest’ (Example 10).

- (9) *Tuti dan Budi memang tinggi, tetapi Edi yang tertinggi.*
 Tuti and Budi indeed tall but Edi rel. sup.-tall
 ‘Tuti and Budi are tall, but Edi is the tallest.’
- (10) *Tuti dan Budi memang tinggi, tetapi Edi yang paling tinggi.*
 Tuti and Budi indeed tall but Edi rel. most tall
 ‘Tuti and Budi are tall, but Edi is the tallest.’

6.5 Prepositions and Prepositional Phrases

The basic prepositions of Malay-Indonesian are *di* ‘in, at’, *ke* ‘to’ and *dari* ‘from’:

- (11) *Setelah makan di hotel, Budi berangkat dari Jakarta ke Solo.*
 after eat at hotel Budi depart from Jakarta to Solo
 ‘Having dined at his hotel, Budi left Jakarta for Solo.’

Some other prepositions that express spatial relations are *atas* ‘above, over’, *bawah* ‘below, under’, *sebelah* ‘next to’, *keliling* ‘around’, *belakang* ‘behind’ and *depan* ‘in front of’. In formal Indonesian these prepositions are often preceded by *di* ‘at’, betraying their nominal origin. Other prepositions include *untuk* ‘for’, *dengan* ‘with’ and *tanpa* ‘without’.

6.6 Verbs and Verb Phrases

In standard Malay-Indonesian most verb forms must be preceded by a verbal prefix, such as *meng-* ‘active’, *di-* ‘passive’ and *ber-* ‘intransitive’. Thus the root *isi* ‘fill/contents’ serves as the base for *mengisi* ‘to fill’, *diisi* ‘to be filled’ and *berisi* ‘to have contents or a filling’. Exceptions include imperatives, object voice verbs (see below) and a small set of intransitive verbs that do not take prefixes (unless also suffixed), such as *datang* ‘come’, *pergi* ‘go’ and *tidur* ‘sleep’.

Active forms of transitive verbs in declarative sentences are usually marked with the prefix *meng-* (Example 12) and passive forms with the prefix *di-* (13). The agent of a passive verb is optionally marked with *oleh* ‘by’ (14).

(12) *Budi membaca buku itu.*
 Budi act.-read book dem. dist.
 ‘Budi reads that book.’

(13) *Buku itu dibaca Budi.*
 book that pass.-read Budi
 ‘That book is read by Budi.’

(14) *Buku itu dibaca (oleh) Budi.*
 book that pass.-read by Budi
 ‘That book is read by Budi.’

Expression of the agent is not obligatory; in fact, most passive sentences in Indonesian, like the following example, are agentless:

(15) *Buku itu dibaca.*
 book that pass.-read
 ‘That book is read.’

When the object occurs before the verb, use of the passive is obligatory. Passive verb forms are very frequent in Indonesian because of a preference for focusing on (and fronting) the object.

Passive *di-* forms are used only when the agent is not expressed or when it is a third person. When the agent is a first person (16) or second person (17), object voice is used. In this construction, which Indonesians call *pasif semu* ‘pseudo-passive’, the bare root form of the verb is immediately preceded by the agent:

(16) *Buku itu saya baca.*
 book dem. dist. 1sg. read
 ‘I read that book.’

(17) *Buku itu kamu baca.*
 book dem. dist. 2 read
 ‘You read that book.’

Object voice can also be used with 3rd-person agents, as an alternative to passive constructions with *di-*:

- (18) *Buku itu dia baca.*
 book dem. dist. 3sg. read
 ‘He/she read that book.’

The agent and the verb in object voice constructions cannot be separated from each other; no element (such as a negator or an aspect marker) can come between them. Although the *di-* passive and object voice appear in near complementary distribution, the two constructions have very different properties. As we saw above, in the *di-* passive the agent is optional, and is clearly an adjunct when it occurs. In contrast, in the object voice construction the agent is obligatory, and has been shown to share subject properties with the passive subject (the patient).

A few other passive-like constructions can also be formed with the prefix *ter-* (19), the circumfix *ke-an* (20), and the auxiliary verb *kena* (21). All three indicate that the action denoted by the verb is unintentional. Examples are given below.

- (19) *Kaki Budi terinjak.*
 foot Budi unint.-step
 ‘Someone stepped on Budi’s foot.’
- (20) *Karena macét saya kemalaman.*
 because jam 1sg. unint.-night-circ..
 ‘Because of the traffic jam I came home late at night.’
- (21) *Kue nya ketinggalan di luar lalu kena hujan.*
 cake-3sg. unint.-leave-circ. at out then unint. rain
 ‘The cake got left outside and then got rained on.’

6.7 Auxiliary Verbs

Auxiliary verbs occur before the main verb, and denote concepts such as ability and possibility. When they co-occur with a negator, the order is negator–auxiliary–main verb:

- (22) *Budi tidak boleh makan babi tapi boleh makan sapi.*
 Budi neg. may eat pig but may eat cow
 ‘Budi may not eat pork, but he may eat beef.’

In addition to *boleh* ‘may, might’, some other common auxiliary verbs include *bisa* ‘can’, *dapat* ‘can’, *mampu* ‘able to’, *suka* ‘like to’, *sempat* ‘have occasion to’, *harus* ‘must’ and *perlu* ‘need’.

6.8 Adverbials

Adverbs of manner can be formed in several ways. Often, an unmodified adjective functions as an adverb:

- (23) *Budi berjalan cepat sedangkan Tuti berjalan lambat.*
 Budi act.-walk quick while Tuti intr.-walk slow
 ‘Budi walks quickly whereas Tuti walks slowly.’

The adjective can be reduplicated, which reinforces its ‘adverbiality’; for some speakers, this also adds intensity:

- (24) *Budi berjalan cepat-cepat sedangkan Tuti berjalan pelan-pelan.*
 Budi intr.-walk red.-quick while Tuti intr.-walk red.-slow
 ‘Budi walks (very) quickly whereas Tuti walks (very) slowly.’

The adjective (either in its simple form or in a reduplicated form) may also be preceded by *dengan* ‘with’ to form an adverbial, e.g. *dengan cepat* ~ *dengan cepat-cepat* ‘quickly’.

The choice of which pattern of adverbial formation is used has to do more with idiomaticity than with grammaticality; note that in the examples above, two different words for ‘slow’ are used, depending on the particular pattern chosen.

Some adverbials, usually of a more abstract nature, are formed with *secara* ‘in a manner’, e.g. *secara teoretis* ‘theoretically’, *secara logis* ‘logically’. Yet others use the suffix *-nya*, as in *pokoknya* ‘basically’, sometimes preceded by the preposition *pada* (e.g. *pada umumnya* ‘generally’) or the clitic *se-* (e.g. *sebenarnya* ‘actually’). This latter pattern, when used with adjectives (optionally reduplicated), also has the sense of ‘as x as possible’, e.g. *secepatnya* ~ *secepat-cepatnya* ‘as quickly as possible, as soon as possible’.

6.9 Predication

Any type of phrase can serve as predicate, including a noun phrase (25), a verb phrase (26), an adjective phrase (27) or a prepositional phrase (28).

- (25) *Budi orang Indonesia.*
 Budi person Indonesia
 ‘Budi is an Indonesian.’

- (26) *Tuti makan pisang.*
 Tuti eat banana
 ‘Tuti is eating bananas.’

- (27) *Budi tinggi sekali.*
 Budi tall very
 ‘Budi is very tall.’

- (28) *Budi di rumah.*
 Budi at house
 ‘Budi is home.’

Sentences with a nominal predicate can optionally use the copula *adalah*:

- (29) *Budi adalah orang Indonesia.*
 Budi cop. person Indonesia
 ‘Budi is an Indonesian.’

6.10 Negation

Generally speaking, noun phrases are negated by *bukan* (30), while other phrases are negated by *tidak* (31).

(30) *Budi tidak tahu bahwa Tuti bukan orang Amérika.*
 Budi neg. know comp. Tuti neg. person America
 ‘Budi didn’t know that Tuti wasn’t American.’

(31) *Tuti tidak senang karena Budi tidak di rumah.*
 Tuti neg. happy because Budi neg. at house
 ‘Tuti wasn’t happy because Budi wasn’t home.’

Bukan can also negate words and syntagms other than noun phrases, including entire sentences, but then it has the meaning ‘it is not the case that ...’:

(32) *Budi bukan tidak mau datang, tapi memang tidak bisa datang.*
 Budi neg. neg. want come but indeed neg. can come
 ‘It’s not that Budi doesn’t want to come, he really can’t come.’

A negative imperative is expressed by *jangan*:

(33) *Jangan makan!*
 neg. eat
 ‘Don’t eat!’

Other negators include *belum* ‘not yet’, *tidak lagi* ‘not any more’ and *tidak usah* ‘not necessary’, corresponding to *sudah* ‘already’, *masih* ‘still’ and *harus* ‘necessary’, respectively.

6.11 Time and Aspect Marking within Predicates

Tense is not obligatorily expressed in Malay-Indonesian. Often the time of the event must be inferred from the linguistic or non-linguistic context. It can also be expressed by optional temporal markers, such as the past marker *telah* (34) and the future marker *akan* (35):

(34) *Budi telah makan.* (35) *Budi akan makan.*
 Budi past. eat Budi fut. eat
 ‘Budi ate.’ ‘Budi will eat.’

Although the particles *sedang* and *sudah* are often said to mark present and past actions respectively, they are actually aspect markers: *sudah* marks an action as having been completed (perfective), while *sedang* indicates that it has not been completed (imperfective).¹⁰ Thus in (35), *sudah* is used to mark an action that will take place in the future, while in (36) *sedang* marks an action that took place in the past:

(35) *Besok Tuti pasti sudah selesai.*
 tomorrow Tuti certain perf. finish
 ‘Tuti will certainly have finished by tomorrow.’

- (36) *Waktu Budi datang, Tuti sedang makan.*
 time Budi come Tuti imperf. eat
 ‘When Budi came, Tuti was eating.’

6.12 Relativisation

Relative clauses are formed with the relativiser *yang* followed by a phrase. Sometimes this phrase adds information about a head noun phrase (37), but just as often it occurs headless (38, 39). This distributional pattern is quite different from that of many other languages, in which headless relative clauses are rare or non-existent.

- (37) *Wanita yang makan pisang itu Tuti.*
 woman rel. eat banana dem. dist. Tuti
 ‘That woman (who is) eating a banana is Tuti.’
- (38) *Yang makan pisang itu Tuti*
 rel. eat banana dem. dist. Tuti
 ‘The one (who is) eating a banana is Tuti.’
- (39) *Yang tidak berkepentingan dilarang masuk.*
 rel. neg. intr.-abstr.-important-circ. pass.-prohibit enter
 ‘Whoever has no official business is prohibited from entering.’ (Door sign)
 (= ‘No entry unless on duty.’)

In formal Malay-Indonesian the predicate of the relative clause must be a verb phrase, adjective phrase or prepositional phrase. Colloquially, however, the predicate may also be a noun phrase (40). This usage is becoming acceptable in the standard language as well.

- (40) *Coca Colanya mau yang kaléng atau yang botol?*
 Coca-Cola-det. want rel. can or rel. bottle?
 ‘Would you like your coke in a can or in a bottle?’

In formal Malay-Indonesian, only the subject of a transitive verb can be relativised. Thus, (41) is a grammatical sentence, but not (42).

- (41) *Anak-anak yang sudah membaca buku itu boleh pulang.*
 red-child rel. perf. act.-read book dem. dist. may go.home
 ‘The children who have already read the book can go home.’
- (42) **Buku yang anak-anak sudah membaca itu menarik.*
 book rel. red-child perf. act.-read dem. dist. act.-pull
 ‘The book that was read by the children is interesting.’

However, in less formal Malay-Indonesian speakers accept sentences such as (43):

- (43) *Buku yang anak-anak sudah baca itu menarik.*
 book rel. person perf. read dem. dist. act.-pull
 ‘The book that was read by the children is interesting.’

Locative relative clauses are a relatively recent development, due to the influence of Dutch and English. Instead of *yang*, such clauses use a locative interrogative (usually *di mana* ‘where’) as a relativiser:

- (44) *Tuti pulang ke hotel di mana dia menginap.*
 Tuti go.back to hotel at which 3sg. act.-stay.overnight
 ‘Tuti went back to the hotel where she was staying.’

Some speakers view this construction as too ‘foreign-sounding’, and prefer using *tempat* ‘place’ instead of an interrogative (45). However, this does not make this construction more ‘Indonesian’, as it has no precedent in previous stages of the language.

- (45) *Jalan tempat Budi melihat Tuti adalah Jalan Sudirman.*
 street place Budi act.-see Tuti cop. street Sudirman
 ‘The street where Budi saw Tuti is Sudirman Street.’

6.13 Questions

Yes–no questions can be formed simply by using a specific intonation contour. Thus the structure of the following two sentences is identical, even though (46) is statement and (47) is a question:

- (46) *Budi sudah makan.*
 Budi perf. eat
 ‘Budi has already eaten.’
- (47) *Budi sudah makan?*
 Budi perf. eat
 ‘Has Budi eaten yet?’

In formal Indonesian, the particle *apakah* (historically derived from *apa* ‘what’ and the interrogative clitic *-kah*, see below) can be placed at the beginning of a sentence to indicate that it is a yes–no question:¹¹

- (48) *Apakah Budi sudah makan?*
 YNQ Budi perf. eat
 ‘Has Budi eaten yet?’

Information questions are formed with interrogative pronouns. These include *apa* ‘what?’, *siapa* ‘who?’, *mana* ‘which?’, *kapan* ‘when?’, *bagaimana* ‘how?’, *mengapa* ‘why?’ and *berapa* ‘how much/many?’. Locative interrogatives are formed with a preposition followed by *mana* ‘which?’: *di mana* ‘where?’, *ke mana* ‘to where, whither?’, *dari mana* ‘from where, whence?’

Some interrogatives undergo movement, while others may be left *in situ*. *Mengapa* ‘why’ and *bagaimana* ‘how’ are usually fronted:

- (49a) *Tuti makan karena lapar.*
 Tuti eat because hungry
 ‘Tuti ate because she was hungry.’

- (49b) ?*Tuti makan mengapa?*
Tuti eat why
'Why did Tuti eat?'
- (49c) ✓ *Mengapa Tuti makan?*
why Tuti eat
'Why did Tuti eat?'

- (50a) *Budi makan pakai séndok.*
Budi eat use spoon.
'Budi eats with a spoon.'

- (50b) ?*Budi makan bagaimana?*
Budi eat how
'How does Budi eat?'
- (50c) ✓ *Bagaimana Budi makan?*
how Budi eat
'How does Budi eat?'

Kapan 'when?' and locative interrogatives (*di mana* 'where?', *ke mana* 'whither?', *dari mana* 'whence?') can occur either *in situ* or fronted:

- (51a) *Tuti datang tadi.*
Tuti come earlier
Tuti came earlier.

- (51b) ✓ *Tuti datang kapan?*
Tuti come when
'When did Tuti come?'
- (51c) ✓ *Kapan Tuti datang?*
when Tuti come
'When did Tuti come?'

- (52a) *Budi di rumah.*
Budi at house
'Budi is home.'

- (52b) ✓ *Di mana Budi?*
at which Budi
'Where is Budi?'
- (52c) ✓ *Budi di mana?*
Budi at which
'Where is Budi?'

Object *apa* 'what?' and *siapa* 'who?' may be left *in situ*:

- (53a) *Tuti makan pisang.*
Tuti eat banana
'Tuti is eating bananas.'
- (53b) *Tuti makan apa?*
Tuti eat what
'What is Tuti eating?'

- (54a) *Budi melihat Tuti.*
Budi act.-see Tuti
'Budi sees Tuti.'
- (54b) *Budi melihat siapa?*
Budi act.-see who
'Who does Budi see?'

Both subject and object *apa* and *siapa* may occur in initial position. However, a cleft sentence must then be used. It is created by inserting *yang* in front of the verb phrase, thus converting it into a headless relative clause, and turning the subject (the interrogative) into the predicate.

- (55a) *Gempa bumi mengguncang pulau Bali.*
earthquake earth act.-shake island Bali
'An earthquake shook the island of Bali.'

- (55b) **Apa mengguncang Bali?*
 what act.-shake Bali
 ‘What shook Bali?’
- (55c) ✓ *Apa yang mengguncang Bali?*
 what rel. act.-shake Bali
 ‘What shook Bali?’
- (55d) **Apa diguncang gempa?*
 what pass.-shake quake
 ‘What was shaken by the quake?’
- (55e) ✓ *Apa yang diguncang gempa?*
 what rel. pass.-shake quake
 ‘What was shaken by the quake?’
- (56a) *Budi melihat Tuti.*
 Budi act.-see Tuti
 ‘Budi sees Tuti.’
- (56b) **Siapa melihat Tuti?*
 who act.-see Tuti
 ‘Who sees Tuti?’
- (56c) ✓ *Siapa yang melihat Tuti?*
 who rel. act.-see Tuti
 ‘Who sees Tuti?’
- (56d) **Siapa dilihat Budi?*
 who pass.-see Budi
 ‘Who was seen by Budi?’
- (56e) ✓ *Siapa yang dilihat Budi?*
 who rel. pass.-see Budi
 ‘Who was seen by Budi?’

In formal Indonesian, questions are also formed with the interrogative clitic *-kah*. It is attached to the interrogative (57) or in questions without an interrogative, to the predicate (58). If the predicate contains an auxiliary verb, *-kah* is attached to it (59).

- (57) *Ke manakah Tuti pergi?*
 to which-inter. Tuti go
 ‘Where did Tuti go?’
- (58) *Besarkah rumah Budi?*
 big-inter. house Budi
 ‘Is Budi’s house big?’
- (59) *Bisakah Budi datang?*
 can-inter. Budi come
 ‘Can Budi come?’

6.14 Imperatives

Like questions, imperative sentences can be formed by using a special intonation contour. The active prefix *meng-* (see above), obligatory for many verbs in declarative sentences, is generally dropped in imperative sentences.¹² Optionally, the clitic *-lah* is attached to the verb.

- (60) *Kamu membaca buku itu.*
 2 act.-read book dem. dist.
 ‘You are reading that book.’
- (61) *Baca(lah) buku itu!*
 read-imper. book dem. dist.
 ‘Read that book!’

Negative imperatives are formed with the negator *jangan*:

- (62) *Jangan datang!*
 neg. come
 ‘Don’t come!’

Passive imperatives are perceived as less emphatic (and thus more polite) than active imperatives. They are thus often used in invitations and requests.

- (63) *Dimakan(lah)!*
 pass.-eat-imper.
 ‘(Please) eat it!’, ‘(Please) have some!’ (lit. ‘Let it be eaten!’)

6.15 Coordination

Words, phrases and clauses may be linked by conjunctions. The most common conjunctions linking words and phrases are *dan* ‘and’ (64), *atau* ‘or’ (65) and *tapi/tetapi* ‘but’ (66):

- (64) *Tuti dan Budi makan pisang.*
 Tuti and Budi eat banana
 ‘Tuti and Budi are eating bananas.’
- (65) *Mau makan jeruk manis atau asam?*
 want eat orange sweet or sour
 ‘Would you like to eat a sweet orange or a sour orange?’
- (66) *Buah jeruk asam tapi enak.*
 fruit orange sour but delicious
 ‘Oranges are sour but delicious.’

In addition to these, clauses may be linked by a wider range of conjunctions, including *sedangkan* ‘while’ and *lalu* ‘then’.

- (67) *Tuti makan pisang, sedangkan Budi makan jeruk.*
 Tuti eat banana while Budi eat orange
 ‘Tuti is eating bananas, while Budi is eating oranges.’

If the subject of a clause is identical to that of a preceding clause, it is often omitted; the verb may be omitted as well:

- (68) *Budi makan pisang lalu jeruk.*
 Budi eat banana then orange
 ‘Budi ate bananas and then oranges.’

6.16 Subordination

An independent clause can be joined to a dependent clause to form complex sentences, with a subordinator preceding the dependent clause.

- (69) *Tuti makan pisang karena lapar.* (Reason)
 Tuti eat banana because hungry
 ‘Tuti ate a banana because she was hungry.’
- (70) *Budi makan pisang supaya tidak lapar.* (Purpose)
 Budi eat banana in.order.to neg. hungry
 ‘Budi ate a banana so that he wouldn’t be hungry.’
- (71) *Tuti makan pisang walaupun belum lapar.* (Concession)
 Tuti eat banana although not.yet hungry
 ‘Tuti ate a banana, even though she wasn’t hungry yet.’
- (72) *Budi makan pisang kalau dia lapar.* (Condition)
 Budi eat banana if 3sg. hungry
 ‘If Budi is hungry, he eats bananas.’

The order of the clauses can be freely reversed:

- (73) *Karena lapar, Tuti makan pisang.*
 because hungry Tuti eat banana
 ‘Tuti ate a banana because she was hungry.’

7 Deixis

7.1 Person deixis

Pronoun use in Malay-Indonesian is a complex matter. When choosing a pronoun, the speaker may take several factors into consideration: style, formality, the kind of relationship between the speaker and the referent of the pronoun, the age of the referent vis-à-vis the speaker’s, and even the ethnicity of the referent. The basic pronouns of Indonesian are summarised in Table 47.5.

The historical first person pronouns, *aku* and *kami*, are still widely used in formal and literary Indonesian. *Aku* is also used informally when addressing equals and inferiors. In formal Indonesian *kita* is used as a combined first + second person pronoun

Table 47.5 Major Pronouns of Malay-Indonesian

Person	Number	
	Singular	Plural
1st person	<i>aku</i> (literary, informal) <i>saya</i> (general)	<i>kami</i> (formal) <i>kita</i> (informal)
1st + 2nd person	—	<i>kita</i> (formal)
2nd person	<i>engkau/kau</i> (literary) <i>kamu</i> (informal) <i>anda</i> (formal)	<i>engkau/kau</i> (literary) <i>kamu</i> (informal) <i>kalian</i> (semi-formal)
3rd person	<i>ia</i> (formal) <i>dia</i> (general)	<i>meréka</i> (general)

(‘you and I/we’), but informally it is used as a simple first person plural pronoun, which may or may not include the addressee(s), much like English ‘we’.

The historical singular second person pronoun, *engkau/kau*, is now used only in literary and poetic styles, and sometimes occurs with a plural meaning. The historical plural second person pronoun, *kamu*, has undergone a universally common pattern of change, by first expanding its meaning to include honorific second person singular, and then being gradually bleached of its honorific contents, until it became a simple pronoun unmarked for number. This meant that there was no longer a formal second person pronoun, and a wide range of substitutes came to be used instead, such as kinship terms, titles and personal names preceded by epithets. The most widely used formal pronoun substitutes are *bapak* ‘father’ and *ibu* ‘mother’. In the 1950s a new pronoun, *anda*, was artificially introduced to fill the function of a formal second person pronoun.¹³ However, it did not become popular in everyday speech, because it was perceived as distant and impersonal. It is now used mostly in advertisements, signs and product markings.

The common third person singular pronoun, *dia*, was originally used only in object position, as the counterpart of the subject pronoun *ia*. However, *dia* is now used in both subject and object positions, and *ia* is used only in formal or literary styles.

As already mentioned, in many situations Indonesians prefer to use kinship terms, epithets, personal names or a combination of these, rather than using a pronoun. There can be various reasons for wishing to avoid using pronouns, and this also affects self-reference. For example, a man called Budi addressing a woman called Tuti might produce any of the following sentences, all with the same meaning, depending on the particular situation: ‘Let me go with you’, ‘Let Father go with Tuti’, ‘Let Budi go with Tuti’, ‘Let Budi go with Mother’, ‘Let Budi go with Doctor’, ‘Let Budi go with Doctor Tuti’, or any of a practically unlimited range of other choices, based on the particular context and situation where the sentence is said.

7.2 Time Deixis

As mentioned above, while tense is not obligatory in Malay-Indonesian, it can be expressed by optional temporal markers such as *telah* and *akan*, which indicate past and future events, respectively. *Sekarang* ‘now’ marks the present; *tadi* ‘earlier’ and *nanti* ‘later’ are commonly used to indicate the relative time of events.

- (74) *Budi tadi memberitahu bahwa dia tidak bisa ikut nanti.*
 Budi earlier act.-inform comp. 3sg. neg. can join later
 ‘Budi informed us (earlier) that he won’t be able to attend (later)’.

‘Today’ is expressed by *hari ini*, literally ‘this day’, ‘yesterday’ by *kemarin*, and ‘tomorrow’ by *besok*.

7.3 Place Deixis

The proximal demonstrative *ini* ‘this’ and the distal demonstrative *itu* ‘that’ indicate the location of entities with relation to the speaker: *rumah ini* ‘this house (near the speaker)’, *rumah itu* ‘that house (away from the speaker)’. They are also used as topic markers. Usually *ini* ‘this’ is used if the referent is present, while *itu* ‘that’ is used if the referent

is absent. Thus in (75) Budi may be the speaker, the addressee or a third person taking part in the conversation, while in (76) Budi is not among those present:

- (75) *Budi ini orang Indonesia.*
Budi dem. prox. person Indonesia
'I'm Indonesian.'/'You're Indonesian.'/'Budi is Indonesian.'

(It is necessary to know the context in which the sentence was said in order to ascertain which of the possible readings is the right one.)

- (76) *Budi itu orang Indonesia.*
Budi dem. dist. person Indonesia
'Budi is Indonesian.'

Adverbs which mark relative locations are *sini* 'here', *situ* 'there (usually within sight/earshot)' and *sana* 'there (usually out of sight/earshot)'. *Sini* and *sana* are also used as imperatives: *Sini!* 'Come here!', *Sana!* 'Go away!'.

8 Foreign Influence on Malay-Indonesian¹⁴

Since prehistoric times, Malay-Indonesian has been in contact with various languages. The earliest foreign language known to have had significant influence on Malay-Indonesian was Sanskrit. The oldest Malay inscriptions (seventh century AD) alternate between Malay and Sanskrit, and even the Malay sections contain many Sanskrit loanwords. Sanskrit continued to be used in the Malay-speaking world for centuries as a liturgical language (for both Hinduism and Buddhism). Newer Indic languages such as Hindi-Urdu as well as Dravidian languages were also in contact with Malay-Indonesian, and have left traces in the form of numerous loanwords.

Chinese pilgrims and traders have been visiting Indonesia for well over a thousand years, and Chinese communities have also existed throughout the archipelago for many centuries. Various southern Chinese languages are spoken in Indonesia, and have influenced colloquial varieties of Indonesian, although in the standard language their influence has been limited and purely lexical.

Traders from the Near East first arrived in Indonesia during the second half of the first millennium AD. Eventually the Arabic and Persian languages were to have a strong impact on Malay-Indonesian. However, this did not take place until several centuries later, when local inhabitants began converting to Islam. The influence of Arabic has been especially strong, in the form of a great many loanwords, most of which did not enter the language from spoken Arabic, but rather through Arabic literature as well as Persian literature (where Arabic loanwords abound). Because many religious and other texts were translated into Malay-Indonesian from Arabic, sometimes quite literally, Arabic also had some grammatical influence on the language.

The earliest Europeans with a substantial presence in Indonesia were the Portuguese, who first arrived in the first half of the sixteenth century. There are numerous Portuguese loanwords in Indonesian, many of them originating from creolised varieties rather than from metropolitan Portuguese. Some colloquial varieties of Malay-Indonesian were impacted grammatically as well, but the grammar of the standard language was not affected.

The next Europeans on the scene were the Dutch, who sent their first expedition in 1595, and eventually came to control all of present-day Indonesia until the mid-twentieth century. The use of Dutch in Indonesia was rather limited and only a tiny fraction of the population ever gained any fluency in the language. Nevertheless, since the few Indonesians who spoke Dutch belonged to the influential elite, Dutch had a strong impact on the Indonesian lexicon, and some impact on its grammar as well.

Following independence, English quickly replaced Dutch as the most widely studied foreign language. Although English instruction in Indonesian schools has not been very successful, members of the educated elite generally have a good knowledge of English. Code switching between English and Indonesian has become the hallmark of foreign-educated Indonesians and even some locally educated ones. English is also heard daily on television and in cinemas, so most Indonesians have at least some exposure to it.

In addition to coming in contact with foreign languages, Malay-Indonesian has been in contact with hundreds of local languages, principally via its role as a lingua franca throughout the archipelago. The most influential of these local languages overall was Javanese, which has existed in a state of quasi-symbiosis with Malay-Indonesian for well over a millennium. Today, native speakers of Javanese form the largest group of speakers of Indonesian. Another language that has had some influence on Standard Indonesian is Minangkabau, a Malayic language of western Sumatra. Many Indonesian authors and educators, especially those active in the early formative years of modern standard Indonesian, were native speakers of Minangkabau. Balinese and Sundanese have had a strong impact on the Jakarta dialect, and through it on the standard language as well. Because of the similarity among them, it is often difficult to tell whether a particular word or feature has been borrowed from Javanese, Balinese or Sundanese. However, borrowings from Old Javanese are often distinguishable by their distribution, as they are present in Classical Malay literature and in areas which have been minimally influenced by modern Indonesian languages, such as the Malay peninsula.

It is important to note that many borrowed features (lexical as well as grammatical), especially the oldest and best-integrated ones, entered the language not via widespread bilingualism, but rather through written literary languages used by small minorities. Such changes affected the language of the elite first, and slowly spread to the general community. Examples of some common loanwords are provided in Appendix 1.

Appendix 1: Some Loanwords in Indonesian

A large part of the vocabulary of modern Indonesian has been borrowed from other languages. A recent study (Tadmor forthcoming) suggests that about a third of the vocabulary of Indonesian is borrowed, not including words derived from borrowed bases. Some common loanwords are listed below by source language.

Sanskrit: *suami* ‘husband’, *istri* ‘wife’, *kepala* ‘head’, *muka* ‘face’, *kunci* ‘key’, *gula* ‘sugar’, *kerja* ‘work’, *cuci* ‘wash’, *pertama* ‘first’, *semua* ‘all’.

Arabic: *badan* ‘body’, *dunia* ‘world’, *nafas* ‘breathe’, *lahir* ‘born’, *kuat* ‘strong’, *séhat* ‘healthy’, *kursi* ‘chair’, *waktu* ‘time’, *pikir* ‘think’, *perlu* ‘need’.

Chinese (Hokkien): *cat* ‘paint’, *toko* ‘store’, *hoki* ‘lucky’, *téko* ‘teapot’, *mi* ‘noodles’, *kécap* ‘soy sauce’, *giwang* ‘earrings’.

Persian: *kawin* ‘marry’, *domba* ‘sheep’, *anggur* ‘grapes, wine’, *pinggan* ‘dish’, *gandum* ‘wheat’, *saudagar* ‘merchant’.

Portuguese and Portuguese Creole: *garpu* ‘fork’, *kéju* ‘cheese’, *sepatu* ‘shoes’, *jendela* ‘window’, *méja* ‘table’, *roda* ‘wheel’, *bola* ‘ball’, *minggu* ‘week’, *dansa* ‘dance’, *séka* ‘wipe’.

Dutch: *kelinci* ‘rabbit’, *open* ‘oven’, *sup* ‘soup’, *handuk* ‘towel’, *kamar* ‘room’, *mobil* ‘car’, *gelas* ‘glass’, *duit* ‘money’, *koran* ‘newspaper’.

English: *koin* ‘coin’, *bolpoin* ‘pen’, *strés* ‘stress’, *tivi* ‘television’, *tikét* ‘ticket’, *pink* ‘pink’, *gaun* ‘formal dress’, *komputer* ‘computer’, *notes* ‘notepad’, *flu* ‘flu’.

Appendix 2: Sample Text

This short text consists of the Youth Pledge (*Sumpah Pemuda*), adopted on 28 October 1928 by the Second Pan-Indonesian Youth Congress. It constitutes the first official designation of Malay, under the name *Bahasa Indonesia* (‘the Indonesian language’), as the national language of the Indonesian people.

Pertama: Kami, putra dan putri Indonesia, mengaku
 first 1pl. son and daughter Indonesia act.-claim
 First: We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, assert that

bertumpah-darah yang satu, Tanah Indonesia.
 intr.-spill-blood rel. one land Indonesia
 we have one homeland, the Land of Indonesia.

Kedua: Kami, putra dan putri Indonesia, mengaku
 second 1pl. son and daughter Indonesia act.-claim
 Second: We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, assert that

berbangsa yang satu, Bangsa Indonesia.
 intr.-nation rel. one nation Indonesia
 we belong to one nation, the Indonesian Nation.

Ketiga: Kami, putra dan putri Indonesia, menjunjung
 third 1pl. son and daughter Indonesia act.-carry.on.head
 Third: We, the sons and daughters of Indonesia, uphold

bahasa persatuan, Bahasa Indonesia.
 language NMLZ-one-circ. language Indonesia
 the language of unity, Indonesian.

Notes

- 1 This chapter is dedicated to the memory of Jack Prentice, who wrote the chapter ‘Malay (Indonesian and Malaysian)’ for the first edition of this book. I am indebted to Peter Cole and David Gil for their helpful comments on an earlier draft of this chapter. Responsibility for its contents remains entirely with the author.
- 2 Singapore has four official languages – Mandarin, English, Malay and Tamil – but only Malay is designated as the ‘national’ language. Practically, however, only English and Mandarin are widely used, and the actual status of Malay is rather marginal.
- 3 The terms *Jawi* and *Rumi* are used mostly in Malaysia; Indonesians call Malay-Indonesian written in Arabic letters *Arab gundul* (in fact this term properly refers to Arabic written without vowel signs) or *Pégon* (although this more precisely means Javanese written in Arabic characters). Indonesian does not have a special term for Romanised Malay-Indonesian, as this has long been the norm.
- 4 Some authorities claim that *v* is a loan phoneme in Indonesian, although it does not in fact occur. Orthographic *v* is realised as [f] or as [p].
- 5 This form and some following examples contain the transitivising suffix *-i*.
- 6 Indeed, *s* is often palatalised in languages which do not have two separate phonemes for *s* and *ʃ*.
- 7 It should be noted that in some dialects whose syllabification rules are different from those of standard Malay-Indonesian one does encounter the expected *ny-*. Moreover, in some dialects a root-initial *c-* deletes following the assimilation, as one would expect of a voiceless stop.
- 8 The historical explanation is more complex, but cannot be discussed within the limits of this chapter.
- 9 It is also possible to analyse this process as the reduplication of the initial consonant with a phonetically inserted vowel between the resulting initial two consonants.
- 10 It is also possible to interpret *sedang* as a progressive marker.
- 11 Colloquially, *apa* ‘what’ (without *-kah*) may also be used as a yes–no question marker, but this mostly occurs in Indonesian spoken by native speakers of Javanese, and is patterned after a similar construction in that language.
- 12 *Meng-* is retained in a small number of denominal verbs.
- 13 Legend has it that this was done under the influence of socialism (which was officially sanctioned by the Soekarno regime) in order to produce a neutral, non-honorific pronoun. However, it is derived from the Malay honorific suffix *-(a)nda*, and was in fact intended to be respectful rather than egalitarian.
- 14 This section is based on Tadmor 2007.

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The most comprehensive work on historical Malayic to date is Adelaar (1992), but this is a highly technical work meant for linguists. Collins (1998) offers a very accessible – and colourful – concise history of Malay. Sneddon (2003) is a good introduction to the history of Indonesian. The standard reference grammar of Indonesian in English is Sneddon (1996); for modern Malaysian, Safiah Karim (1995) is the most comprehensive, although Winstedt (1927) (based mostly on Classical Malay) is still useful. A good student’s grammar which covers both Malaysian and Indonesian is Mintz (2002).

The standard English–Indonesian dictionary for decades has been Echols and Shadily (1975). Its Indonesian–English counterpart was likewise the standard work of its type for many years, especially in its greatly expanded third edition (Echols and Shadily, 1989). It has now been eclipsed by the even more comprehensive Stevens and Schmidgall-Tellings (2004). The most authoritative dictionary of (Malaysian) Malay–English dictionary is still Wilkinson (1959). This dictionary includes many dialectal and Indonesian entries, but is very dated, having been compiled before World War II. The most comprehensive English–Malaysian dictionary by far is Johns and Prentice (1992).

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1 Introduction

Javanese is one of the Austronesian languages, belonging to the Western Malayo-Polynesian subgroup and the Sundic family. In keeping with the other members of the subgroup, most Javanese root words consist of two syllables, and from these grammatical variants are derived by means of affixes, as described in Section 4. Austronesian languages use reduplication of words to indicate the plural and other grammatical concepts, and the use of reduplication in Javanese will be discussed in Section 5. The Austronesian languages in general exhibit a high ratio of vowels to consonants. Other Sundic languages are Sundanese, Tenggerese, Osing, Madurese and Balinese, which are all spoken on or near the island of Java. Nothofer, reported in Purwo (1993: 245), estimates that Javanese is about 37 per cent cognate with Madurese, and about 33 per cent cognate with Sundanese. An ancestor language for Javanese, Proto-Malayo-Javanic, has been reconstructed by Nothofer (1975).

Javanese does not have the status of an official language in Indonesia (although it does have the status of a regional language), but has by far the largest number of native speakers of any Austronesian language. Javanese is spoken by about 90 million people, representing 40 per cent of the people of Indonesia, making it the twelfth most widely spoken language in the world (Weber 1997). It is taught in schools, and represented in the mass media (NVTC 2007), but may be losing in influence to the national language, Bahasa Indonesia. Java is the most populous island in Indonesia, and about two-thirds of the people on the island speak Javanese. Javanese is spoken mainly in central and eastern Java. It is also spoken in a thin strip along the north coast of west Java except for the area around Jakarta, where a form of Malay is spoken.

There are three dialects of Javanese which are 'more or less' mutually intelligible (NVTC 2007). The regional dialect of Solo and Yogyakarta, the historical centres of Javanese culture, is called *Kejawen*, and is considered the standard form of Javanese. East Javanese is spoken in Surabaya, Malang and Pasuran (Gordon 2005). West Javanese is spoken in Banten, Cirebon and Tegal; Cirebonan is much influenced by Sundanese. The Banyumasan dialect (Logat Banyumasan, spoken in Purwokerto) is the oldest Javanese dialect, where a number of Sanskrit words such as *rika* (you) are still used. Consonants are more stressed,

such as a final *k* being read almost like a *g*. It has a number of unique particles, such as *baén* or *baé* (only) (Sayoga 2004). The largest group of Javanese speakers outside Java live in Malaysia, where there are about 300,000 speakers.

The history of Javanese literature starts with an inscribed stone found in the area of Sukabumi, East Java. This stone, referred to as ‘Prasasti Sukabumi’, is dated the equivalent of 25 March 804, and refers to the construction of a dam. It is the oldest text written entirely in Javanese, but is in fact a copy of a now-lost original written 120 years earlier. Old, incomplete, poems called *kakawin* have also been found engraved on stone. The Javanese ‘Ramayana’, thought to have been written in 856, is considered the principal, earliest, longest and most beautifully written *kakawin* of the Hindu-Java period (Wikipedia, Malay Wikipedia).

2 Speech Levels

An important characteristic of Javanese is the speech decorum of the language, where different levels or stylemes of speech are used depending on the relative social status of the two speakers. This system has been in existence since the sixteenth century, and may be a legacy of the feudal system left behind by the old Hindu court tradition. However, some authors believe that the speech levels developed during the time of the Martaram empire of Central Java (Moedjanto 1985, reported in Purwo 1993: 260). The speech levels are not different languages, but different manners of speaking which vary according to the relationship between the speaker and the addressee. Each level within the language has its own characteristic set of vocabulary.

The three main levels of modern Javanese are *krama*, *madya* and *ngoko* – high, middle and low – of which *krama* and *ngoko* are most commonly used. Someone of high status speaking to someone of low status will use *ngoko*, while the other will use the (more formal) *krama*. The basic level *ngoko* is used between friends and equals. *Ngoko* is the *ngoko* form of ‘I’, while *krama* means ‘marriage’. The *madya* level consists of *krama* containing certain words shortened and with *ngoko*-style affixes. It is often used among strangers. There are also a few hundred modesty words called *krama inggil*, where *inggil* means ‘high’. These words can be mixed into either *ngoko* or *krama* as required. There are two types of *krama inggil*: one is ‘honorific’, words used when one either speaks about the person, actions or possessions of someone to whom respect is due, or speaks to that person. The other is deferential, where the verbs ‘accompany’, ‘request’, ‘offer’ and ‘inform’ take *inggil* forms when used of oneself in relation to the respected person. Examples of the use of different levels of Javanese speech are given by Robson (1992: 16–17).

- *Ngoko* (girl to her younger sister): *Aku wis mangan segane* (I have eaten the rice).
- *Krama* (girl to her uncle): *Kula sampun nedha sekulipun* (I have eaten the rice).
- *Krama* with *krama inggil* (girl to her uncle about her father): *Bapak sampun dhahar sekulipun* (Father has eaten the rice).
- *Ngoko* with *krama inggil* (girl to her sister about her father): *Bapak wis dhahar segane* (Father has eaten the rice).
- *Madya* (the old servant to the girl): *Kula mpun nedha sekule* (I have eaten the rice).

Another form, *basongan*, is only used in the *kratons* (Sultan’s palaces) of Jogjakarta and Solo. The language of religion is called *Jawa Halus* (Refined Javanese); many words

are based on Sanskrit or Kawi, but a diminishing number of people are able to use that form of the language. The number of levels may vary according to regional dialect, and between urban and rural areas (Geertz 1960). A sample of words which differ at four different levels found in Nugroho's (1995) dictionary is shown in Table 48.1.

Table 48.1 Words which Differ at Four Different Levels

<i>English</i>	<i>Ngoko</i>	<i>Madya</i>	<i>Krama</i>	<i>Krama Inggil</i>
Allow	Kareben	Kajenge	Kajengipun	Kersanipun
Obedient	Gugu	Dharatur	Gega	Ngestokaken dhawun
Speak	Celathu	Canten	Wicanten	Ngendika
Wear	Enggo	Ngge	Engge	Agem

For some words, this dictionary subdivides krama into 'standard (krama)' and 'sub-standard (krama andhap)' forms, e.g. *adhi* and *rayi* respectively for 'little brother', and *benjing* and *benjang* for 'tomorrow'. As a rough guide to the relative frequencies of ngoko, madya and krama words, I looked at the first 500 headwords in Nugroho's dictionary, for which ngoko forms were given for all 500. Krama 'standard' terms were given for 463 of the headwords, and 'substandard' terms for 87. Another 122 of the concepts had terms in krama inggil, and only 21 of them had equivalents in madya. Uhlenbeck (1978: 282) estimates that there are about 2,000 ngoko–krama pairs or 'oppositions', covering 10 to 20 per cent of the total morpheme stock. The Malay Wikipedia also distinguishes three levels of ngoko: ngoko kasar (rough), ngoko alus (refined) and 'ngoko meninggikan diri sendiri' (raising oneself). The related languages of Madurese, Sundanese and Balinese also have krama forms, probably as a result of borrowings from Javanese. In terms of its krama vocabulary, Balinese has the closest correspondence with Javanese. The phenomenon of 'level reversal' also exists, where a ngoko variant in one language is a higher level variant in another language. For example, *suku* is the Javanese krama word for 'foot' or 'leg', while *suko* is the ngoko variant with the same meaning in Madurese (Purwo 1993: 260). Uhlenbeck (1978: 288) distinguishes a number of patterns relating ngoko words with their krama equivalents. Many words form 'unique pairs', which are phonetically unrelated, such as *panah* (bow) and its krama form *jemparing*. Other pairs follow each other closely, as in the ngoko: krama pairs *tali:tangsul*, *bali:wangsul*, *kuwali:kuwangsul* and *kendhali:kendhangsul*. Even some loan words can generate krama forms by analogy, such as *patikelir* (private person) which comes from the Dutch *partikulier*. Following the pair *pati:pejah* (die), the krama form of *patikelir* is *pejahkelir*. In this chapter, ngoko forms are used throughout unless otherwise stated.

3 Phonology

The Javanese vowels are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*, and there are open (long) and closed (short) forms of each. There is also a variant of the open *a* when it is the final syllable, pronounced halfway between *o* and *a*, and a neutral (pepet) *e*, as in the English word *open*. Following Robson (1992: 6–7), this chapter will distinguish the full length *e* from the

pepet *e*, by marking it with an accent, *é* or *è*, according to whether it is found in an open syllable such as *ké* in *kéré* (beggar) or a closed one such as *nèn* in *Senèn* (Monday). *é* is pronounced as in *fiancé*, while *è* is pronounced as in the English *den*.

The Javanese consonants may be laid out as shown in Table 48.2 (Robson 1992: 10). The unvoiced stops are almost totally unaspirated, as is the case when they occur at the end of words in Malay. A piece of paper held in front of the lips should not move when

Table 48.2 The Javanese Consonants

	<i>Unvoiced</i>	<i>Voiced</i>	<i>Nasal</i>
Labial	p	b	m
Dental	t	d	n
Retroflex	th	dh	
Palatal	c	j	ny
Velar	k	g	ng
Liquids		r	l
Semivowels		y	w
Sibilant		s	
Aspirant		h	

the voiced stops are articulated. In Javanese, the consonants *b*, *d* and *g* are also pronounced as unvoiced (*p*, *t* or *k* respectively) when they are found at the end of a word. The English *d* and *t* are somewhere in between the Javanese dental and retroflex forms. The dental forms require pressing the tongue on the back of the front teeth, while the retroflex forms are so called because the tongue is bent back and pressed on the back of the upper gum. *c* is similar to ‘ch’ in English, and *ng*, which can appear at the front of a word, is always pronounced as in ‘singer’ rather than ‘finger’ (Robson 1992: 11).

Root words are typically disyllables of the form (C1) V1 (C2) V2 (C3), where (C1), (C2) and (C3) are optional consonant clusters. The most common sequences are CVCVC followed by CVCCVC. Allowable consonant clusters include *mb*, *nd*, *ndh*, *nj* and *mng*, which can all occur in the initial position. There is a light stress on the second-last syllable, or the final syllable when the second-last syllable contains a neutral *e*. This light stress does not occur when a suffix is added.

4 Affixes

Grammatical variants of a root word may be composed by affixation, reduplication or combination. Affixes, which may be prefixes, suffixes or infixes, are more common in Javanese and Tagalog than in Malay. Affixes may result in the production of either a noun or a verb. Sometimes the surface forms of affixes that result in the formation of a noun are identical with those which result in the formation of a verb. Adjectives can take affixes, e.g. *cukup* (enough) + *-an* = *cukupan* (more or less enough), *dhuwur* (high) + *ke-an* = *kedhuwuren* (too high). Adjectives can also be formed from nouns with affixes, e.g. *jamur* (fungus) + *-an* = *jamuren* (mouldy). In the remainder of this section, we will consider the great variety of ways that affixes can transform nouns and verbs in Javanese.

4.1 Nouns

As is typical in Malayo-Polynesian languages, nouns do not change according to gender or case. They do not change either with definite number, as in *wong* (person), *wong telu* (three people, where the numeral follows the noun). However, indefinite number can be expressed by reduplication of the noun, as described in Section 5. Nouns may be in the form of a root word without affixes, such as *omah* (house), *dalan* (road) and *manuk* (bird). Only those affixed forms which are relatively common will be discussed here. Abstract nouns can be formed with the prefix *ka-* and the suffix *-an* added to root words. These root words may be verbs, as in *ana* (to be) yielding *kaanaan* (state or condition) nouns, as in *lurah* (village headman) giving *kalurahan* (area controlled by the headman), or adjectives, where *rosa* (strong) becomes *karosaan* (strength). The prefix *pa-* can be added to any active nasalised verb (see Section 4.2) as in *njaluk* (to ask) and *panjaluk* (request). The prefix *pa-* and the suffix *-an* can be added to both nouns and verbs to yield a noun of place, as in *kubur* (grave), *pakuburan* (cemetery), *désa* (village), *padésan* (countryside), *туру* (to sleep), *paturon* (bed). A small number of common words are made with the prefix *pi-*, and are considered as being more dignified or archaic than their unaffixed variants, such as *karep* (wish), *pikarep* (a wish). The suffix *-an* produces various types of meaning. This can be locative, as in *tegal* (non-irrigated field) and *tegalan* (area of non-irrigated fields), *gemblak* (a brass-smith) and *gemblakan* (the brass-smith's workshop). The meaning of imitation or miniature can be rendered by adding *-an*, as in *jaran* (horse) and *jaranan* (hobby-horse), *bajing* (squirrel) and *bajingan* (petty thief). The suffix may denote a ceremony, as in *selapan* (35-day calendar cycle, see Section 10), and *selapanan* (ceremony to celebrate the first 35-day cycle after birth). A large number of verbs can take *-an* to produce nouns describing the result of their action, such as *nandur* (to plant), *tanduran* (a crop), *nggagas* (to think over), *gagasan* (idea). We can also use *-an* to indicate the instrument by which a verb is carried out, e.g. *mikul* (to carry on a pole over the shoulder), *pikulan* (carrying pole which goes over the shoulder), *timbang* (to weigh), *timbangan* (weighing balance). Other suffixes can occur with reduplicated forms of the noun, as described in Section 5 (Robson 1992: 20–32).

4.2 Verbs

Robson (1992) feels that the verb is the most complicated aspect of Javanese grammar. Verbs may be transitive, taking both subject and object, or intransitive, taking a subject only. Transitive verbs can take either the active or the passive voice. Intransitive verbs often occur as unaffixed root words, such as *lunga* (to go), *weruh* (to know) and *teka* (to come). Other verbs can be made by adding affixes to the root-word verbs. Some root-word verbs have a dual role as noun or verb, such as *jeneng* (a name, to be called), *kembang* (a flower, to bloom) and *crita* (a story, to tell). Many verbs can be formed by partial or complete doubling of a root-word, as described in Section 5. A group of intransitive verbs still retains a form of the historical infix *-um-*, which is still widely used in Tagalog verbs, such as (in Javanese) *mlebu* (go in, from *lebu*, entry), *mlaku* (to walk, from *laku*, walking or gait), *muni* (to sound, call or say, from *uni*, a sound or call). Most transitive verbs and some intransitive ones have nasalised forms. The rules for the nasalisation of root words are given in Table 48.3. Exceptions are *cocog* → *nocogi* (agree with), *susu* → *nusoni* (suckle), where the second

Table 48.3 Formation of Nasalised Forms of Javanese Verbs

<i>Un-nasalised initial sequence</i>	<i>Nasalised initial sequence</i>
p-	m-
b-	mb-
t-	n-
d-	nd-
th-	n-
dh-	ndh-
c-	ny-
j-	nj-
k-	ng-
g-	ngg-
r-	ngr-
l-	ngl-
s-	ny-
w-	m- or ngw-
n-, m-, ng- (already begins with a nasal)	no change
vowel	ng + vowel-

consonant *c* or *s* is the same as the initial consonant, and when the root is a monosyllable, such as *tik* (to type), the pepet *e* comes before it in the nasalised form, in this case (*ngetik*).

Nasalised intransitive verbs include *ngiwa* (to move to the left, from *kiwa*, left); *ndhalang* (to act as a wayang-kulit puppeteer, from *dhalang*, wayang kulit puppeteer); *nglenga* (glisten like oil, from *lenga*, oil); *mbécak* (ride in a trishaw, from *bécak*, trishaw). Nasalised transitive verbs can occur with the suffixes *-i* or *-ake*, or with no suffix. In some respects the suffix *-i* can correspond to a preposition in English. For example, *lungguh* (to sit) becomes *nglungguhi* (to sit on), *mundur* (to go backwards) becomes *munduri* (to withdraw from). Sometimes the *-i* form is more specific in meaning than its corresponding unsuffixed form, where for example *padha* (to be the same) becomes *madhani* (to equal or match); *nemu* (to find) becomes *nemoni* (to go and see a particular person). Transitive verbs with the sense of providing someone with something can be made by the addition of *-i* to the relevant noun: examples are *tamba* (medicine) becomes *nambani* (to treat with a medicine); *warah* (knowledge or science) becomes *marahi* (to instruct). Adjectives and verbs can take the *-i* suffix to form verbs of causation, such as *resik* (clean) produces *ngresiki* (to make clean) and *kebak* (full) making *ngebaki* (to fill up). The *-i* form can also indicate plurality or repetition of the subject or object, as in *mangan* (to eat) giving *mangani* (to eat many things or eat again and again). Some intransitive verbs can take *-i*, such as *bocah* (child) can make *mbocahi* (to act childishly), and *wédok* (female) giving *médoki* (to be effeminate).

Verbs created with the suffix *-aké* are always transitive. To add the suffix *-ake* to a root word ending in a consonant, e.g. *dadi* (to become) produces *ndadèkaké* (to make or appoint). Glottal stops are inserted after terminal vowels, and in place of terminal *-n*, so *takon* (ask) becomes *nakokaké*, and *tata* (order, structure) becomes *natakaké* (to put in order). Both *-i* and *-ake* forms can produce a causative meaning, but there is a subtle distinction: *dawa* (long) gives both *ndawakaké* (to lengthen) and *ndawani* (to make longer than something else). Sometimes the *-ake* form implies that the causation is not

intended, as in *tugel* (snapped in two) making *nugelaké* (to break or snap something accidentally). It can also be used to mean consider to have the property of the root word, as in the pair *mokal* (impossible), *mokalaké* (to regard as impossible). Another role played by the *-i* and *-aké* suffixes is to distinguish the direct and indirect object: compare *wèneh* (to give) with *mènehi*, to give (something) to someone, and *menèhaké*, give something to (someone). Although the *-i* and *-aké* suffixes are very productive, not all verbs can take them. Four common transitive verbs do not take nasalised forms: *éntuk* (to get), *gawé* (to make or to cause), *tuku* (to buy) and *duwé* (to have or to possess).

The passive voice is more commonly used in Javanese than in English, and Robson (1992: 87–91) lists four forms of the passive. The first passive takes different prefixes for the first, second and third person. Using the verb *njupuk* (to take), we can form *dakjupuk* (taken by me), *kojupuk* (taken by you) and *dijupuk* (taken). The third person *di-* form does not specify who did the taking, so if necessary this must be specified in addition, e.g. *dijupuk kancaku* (taken by my friend). The passive prefix *di-* can also be added to verbs with *-i* and *-aké*, with no change in the suffix. The more formal second passive corresponding to the prefix *di-* adds instead the prefix *ka-*, and if the verb has the suffix *-i*, this is changed to *-an* (e.g. *nglakoni*, to carry out, *kalakon*, carried out). The third passive is an archaic form, used more in poetry than in conversation, and also corresponds to the third person *di-* forms. If the root begins with a consonant, as in *gawé* (make), the third passive inserts *-in* immediately after the initial consonant to give *ginawé* (made). If the root begins with a vowel, as for *utus* (to send), the prefix *-ing* yields the third passive *ingutus* (sent). The fourth passive, indicated by the prefix *ke-* (simply *k* before *r* or *l*, and *ku* before *w*) shows that the action is accidental, as in *payungé kegawa kancaku* (my friend accidentally took the umbrella). Note the change in word order required by the passive, compared with the active *kancaku kegawa payungé*. The passive voice cannot be used in conjunction with nasalised forms.

Other forms of the verb are formed simply by the addition of the particles *dak* and *ya*. *Dak* is used with the first person singular to emphasise that *I* will do it (as in ‘Let me ...’). For example, *aku dak turu* is ‘I’ll have a sleep’. The imperative is formed with *ya*, and more politely with the passive voice, as in *lawangé ditutup, ya* (close the door, will you) (Robson 1992).

5 Reduplication

A notable feature of Austronesian languages is that of word reduplication, where the reduplicated form of a word, although related to the single root word, may have a number of other connotations, such as plurality, repetition or vagueness. Suharto (1982) lists six syntactic forms of word reduplication. First, whole words can be reduplicated without any phonological change, as in *mangan* (eat) and *mangan-mangan* (eat informally with other people). There can also be partial doubling, producing a noun from an adjective, as in *lara* (sick) and *lelara* (sickness), or *peteng* (dark) and *pepeteng* (darkness). The reduplicated fragment is a prefix consisting of the first phoneme of the root word followed by *pepet e*. A combination of partial doubling and the prefix *-an* yields such pairs as *tembung* (word) and *tetembungan* (wording, expression). Duplication can involve whole word repetition of a verb with a phonological change, as in *bali* (return)

and *bola-bali* (to and fro); *mubeng* (go around) and *mubang-mubeng* (beat around the bush). In lexical doubling, the root words are already doubled, since the single form does not exist. For example *ali-ali* means ring, while *ali* does not exist. In morphological doubling, a completely new meaning is formed in contrast to the non-doubled one. Ühlenbeck (1953) gives examples where the duplicated form is not exactly a repletion of the unduplicated form, such as *puji* (praise) making *pujeq-pujeqna* (pray for me, keep your fingers crossed for me).

Robson (1992) lists a number of semantic categories which result from reduplication. One is to do something at leisure, as in *mlaku* (walk) and *mlaku-mlaku* (go for a stroll). Reduplication can imply repetition, as in *njerit* (shout) and *jerit-jerit* (shout repeatedly). Interrogative pronouns can be given indefinite meaning, as in *sapa* (who) and *sapa-sapa* or *sapaa* (anyone). Mild exasperation can be expressed through reduplication, as in *mentah-mentah iya dipangan* (even though it's unripe he still eats it). Repetition expresses general plurality of nouns, as in *wet-wet* (trees), or plurality with diversity for both adjectives and nouns, as in *gedhong dhuwur-dhuwur* (highish buildings). Other uses are to express doing something together, e.g. *omong-omongan* (to chat together), and to compete in, e.g. *gelis-gelisan* (to see who is fastest at running).

6 Pronouns

The Javanese personal pronouns are shown in Table 48.4.

Table 48.4 The Javanese Personal Pronouns

<i>English</i>	<i>Ngoko</i>	<i>Madya</i>	<i>Krama</i>	<i>Krama Inggil</i>
I	Aku	—	Kula	Dalem
You	Kowé	Samang	Sampéyan	Panjenengan
He, She	Dhèweké	—	Piyambakipun	Panjenengané, panjenenganipun

For *we*, ngoko uses *awaké dhéwé*, while both ngoko and krama can use the Indonesian loanword *kita*. The second and third person pronouns are rarely used, and are generally replaced by kinship terms, titles or proper names. For example, a woman may be addressed as *Bu* (literally, *mother*) or a young man as *Mas* (elder brother). A pronoun may be omitted altogether if the referent's identity is understood. The ngoko forms of possessive pronouns are produced by the suffixes *-ku*, *-mu* and *é/né* for the first, second and third person respectively. For example, *kembang* (flower) gives *kembangku* (my flower), *omah* (house) gives *omahmu* (your house). A word ending with a consonant usually adds *-é* to denote 'his/her', while words ending in vowels take the suffix *-né*. Two nouns in a relation of possession are linked using *-ing* or *-ning*. In the krama form, the noun or pronoun indicating the possessor is written immediately after the word indicating the object possessed, as in *serat kula* (my letter). The suffixes *-ipun* and *-nipun* correspond to the ngoko *-é* and *né* respectively, as in *sabinipun* (his irrigated field) and *méndanipun* (his goat) (Robson 1992: 33–42).

7 Tense and Aspect

Verbs are not inflected to denote tenses, but instead auxiliary words are used as aspect markers preceding the verb. The list given by Robson (1992: 65) is given in Table 48.5. Some auxiliaries can stand alone to make a fully syntactic sentence: *aja!* (don't!), *durung* (no, not yet), *isih* (yes, still), *ora* (I don't or No it isn't) or *wis* (Yes I have, or Yes it is). Two or more auxiliaries can be used together, as in *isih ora* (still not). Auxiliaries can be used with adjectives as well as nouns, as in *Aja nakal* (don't be naughty), *isih mentah* (still unripe).

Table 48.5 Aspect Markers in Javanese

<i>Ngoko</i>	<i>Krama</i>	<i>Meaning</i>
Aja	Sampun	Don't
Arep, bakal	Badhé	Will
Durung	Dèrèng	Not yet
Isih	Taksih	Still
Lagi	Saweg	In the process of doing
Mèh	—	Almost
Meksa	—	Even so, still
Ora	Mboten	Not
Padha	Sami	Also; indicates the plurality of the subject performing the action
Sok	—	On occasion, ever
Tansah	—	Always, constantly
Wis	Sampun	Already

8 Syntax

The normal word order within the modern Javanese sentence is subject–verb–object (SVO). There is no copulative verb, e.g. *klambiku reged* (my shirt is dirty). No changes are found in nouns or verbs for number, case or gender. A definite noun can be made from a simple word verb or noun by the addition of *-é* if it ends in a consonant, or *-né* if it ends with a vowel. Examples are *jaran* (horse), *jarané* (the horse), *sapi* (bull), *sapiné* (the bull), *tuku* (buy), *tukuné* (the purchase). An adjective follows the noun it qualifies, as in *anyar* (new) with *kreteg* (bridge) giving *kreteg anyar* (new bridge).

In Javanese, the most extensive progressive nominal group encountered by Ühlenbeck (1965) consists of seven elements, for example in the group *bocah* (subject, boy) *cilik* (adjective, small) *wolu* (numeral, eight) *iku* (demonstrative pronoun DP, those) *kabèh* (all) *mau* (previously mentioned) *waé* (only), with the overall meaning 'only all those eight boys previously mentioned'. Simpler constructions can be made by omitting some of these words, but the order subject–adjective–numeral–DP–*kabèh*–*mau*–*waé* must be maintained. Thus the sequences *bocah waé* (only boys) or *bocah wolu kabèh waé* (only all eight boys) are allowed, but not **bocah wolu cilik iku*. However, there is some flexibility in the allowable positions of *kabèh*.

Progressive structures consisting only of pronouns can have up to three constituents, and word order is determined by the types of pronouns used. For example, if a personal pronoun occurs in the first position, the neutral demonstrative occupies the final position,

e.g. *aku* (I) *kéné* (here) *iki* (this), *kowé* (you) *kono* (there), *iku* (that). Only the following three sequences of two pronouns modifying a noun are allowed: (a) locative DP–neutral DP, as in *bocah kono iku* (those boys there); (b) modal DP–neutral DP, as in *prekara mengkono iku* (such a question); and (c) quantitative DP–neutral DP, as in *dhuwit semono iku* (so much money) (Uhlenbeck 1965).

9 Javanese Numerals

The cardinal numbers in Javanese, shown in Table 48.6 (Robson 1992: 75–6) are fairly irregular, and exist in both *ngoko* and *krama* forms. Note the special terms for 25, 50 and 60. In Javanese, the numeral follows the noun it refers to, e.g. *jeruk lima* (five oranges). For expressing measures, the numbers 1 to 9 take the forms found in the terms for units of ten in the cardinal numbers, e.g. *rong puluh* (20), *rong kilo* (two kilos). The ordinal numbers are formed by placing the word *ping* before the cardinal number, the first five being *ping sapisan* (first or once), *ping pindho* (second or twice), *ping telu* (third or thrice), *ping pat* (fourth or four times) and *ping lima* (fifth or five times). Note the terms for first and second are irregular. The numerals can be used to derive other kinds of words, e.g. *telu* (three), *telu-telu* (in threes, three each); *loro* (two), *loro-loroné* (both), *telung atus* (300), *telung atusan* (about 300).

10 Javanese Names

Forms of the definite article precede Javanese names, the so-called personal articles *si* in *ngoko* and *pun* in *krama*. Proper names do not take suffixes. With a few exceptions, names are either masculine or feminine. Some names are reserved for low social class, while others are not associated with class. Masculine names are also either *nama alit* (little names), traditionally given by the father at the *slametan pasaran* name-giving ceremony which takes place five days after birth, or *nama sepuh* (adult names) selected by the adult man himself. A *nama sepuh* is chosen to replace the *nama alit* at a key juncture in the man's life, such as his wedding, upon taking a new job or after recovery from a serious illness. Upon marriage women also discard their birth names, taking instead the title *mboq* (mother), followed by the husband's *nama sepuh*, possibly abbreviated. Some names are merely morphologically Javanese, while others (described as 'motivated' by Uhlenbeck (1969)) have meanings in the Javanese lexicon. The unmotivated female lower-class names often take the vowel pattern *a-i-pepet e*, and end in *-em* or *-en*, as in *Ardinem*, *Waginem*, *Jaminten*. The corresponding masculine names often take the vowel pattern *a-i-a* and end in *-an* or *-in*, such as *Ardiman*, *Jandiman* and *Sukiman*. The lower-class motivated names are often taken from the Javanese calendar for boys, although *Legi* in the market week (see Section 11) is reserved for girls, and *Paing* can be taken by either gender. They may also be the names of tools, such as *Ganden* (mallet) or *Palu* (hammer) for boys, or *Tumbu*, *Kendil* or *Genting* for girls (these three names are types of baskets or pots). These names may describe personal qualities, usually but not always favourable: examples are *Onjo* (excellent), *Susah* (sorrowful) for girls, *Lantip* (clever, shrewd) or *Sabar* (patient) for boys. Also in this category are names of animals and plants, such as *Kampret* (bat), *Bajing* (squirrel) and *Jaran* (horse) for boys, and *Cebong* (tadpole) and *Atat* (parrot) for girls. Feminine

Table 48.6 Cardinal Numbers in Javanese

	<i>Ngoko</i>	<i>Krama</i>
1	Siji	Satunggal
2	Loro	Kalih
3	Telu	Tiga
4	Papat	Sakawan
5	Lima	Gangsal
6	Nem	
7	Pitu	
8	Wolu	
9	Sanga	
10	Sapuluh	Sadasa
11	Sawelas	
12	Rolas	Kalih-welas
13	Telu-las	Tiga-welas
14	Pat-belas	Kawan-welas
15	Lima-las	Gangsal-welas
16	Nem-belas	
17	Pitu-las	
18	Wolu-las	
19	Sanga-las	
20	Rong puluh	Kalih dasa
21	Salikur	
22	Ro-likur	Kalih-likur
23	Telu-likur	Tiga-likur
24	Pat-likur	Kawan-likur
25	Salawé	Salangkang
26	Nem-likur	
27	Pitu-likur	
28	Wolu-likur	
29	Sanga-likur	
30	Telung puluh	Tigang dasa
31	Telung puluh siji	Tigang dasa satunggal
40	Patang puluh	Kawan dasa
50	Sèket	
51	Sèket siji	Sèket satunggal
60	Sawidak	
62	Sawidak loro	Sawidak kalih
70	Pitung puluh	Pitung dasa
75	Pitung puluh lima	Pitung dasa gangsal
80	Wolung puluh	Wolung dasa
90	Sangang puluh	Sangang dasa
100	Satus	
105	Satus lima	Satus gangsal
200	Rong atus	Kalih atus
1,000	Sèwu	
2,000	Rong èwu	Kalih ewu
10,000	Saleksa	
100,000	Sakethi	
1,000,000	Sayuta	

names and *nama atit*, when unmotivated and not associated with social class often end in *-ah*, and tend to take either *-n-* or *-y-* as an intervocalic consonant, such as *Jakinah* or *Jatinah*. Another group all end in *-i*, with *a* as the penultimate vowel, as in *Maryati*, *Sukarti*. This group can often generate masculine names by replacing the terminal *-i* with *-a*, yielding feminine–masculine pairs such as *Sugianti* and *Sugianta*, *Sumarni* and *Sumarna*. The motivated names not associated with social class include the names of important figures in the *wayang kulit* stories, such as *Wibisana*, or *Indrajit*, but not *Arjuna* or *Rama*. In contrast, lower-class names might be the names of lesser characters in these plays. Classless names may be personality traits, such as *Seneng* (splendour) or *Puji* (praise) for girls, *Mulya* (exalted) or *Waskata* (wise) for boys. The classless *nama sepuh* nearly always consist of two components, usually verbs or nouns of Sanskrit origin, e.g. *Wangsa-guna*, *Karta-Semita*. Lower-class variants can be generated from these by processes such as abbreviation and simplification of consonant clusters, as in *Singa-Semita* making *Sasmita* and in turn *Semita*. Some Sanskrit elements are exclusive to classless names, such as *kusuma*, *wijaya* and *surya* (Ühlenbeck 1969).

11 The Javanese Calendar

The days in the international seven-day week, which in Java begin at sunset, are derived from Arabic, i.e. *Ngahad* (Sunday, alternatively the Indonesian *minggu*), *Senin* (Monday), *Selasa* (Tuesday), *Rebo* (Wednesday), *Kemis* (Thursday), *Jumat/Jumuwat* (Friday) and *Setu* (Saturday). These names exist alongside the older *Redité*, *Soma*, *Anggara*, *Buda*, *Respati*, *Sukra* and *Tumpak/Saniscara*. The seven-day week is the most widely used in commerce and modern life generally, but apart from this seven-day week, Java also has an ancient five-day market week (*Pasaran*): *Pon*, *Wagé*, *Kliwon*, *Legi* and *Paing*. Dates such as birthdays can be specified on a 35-day cycle (*selapan dina*) by the pairing of the days from the seven-day and five-day weeks, such as *Senin Pon*. *Jumat Kliwon* is said to be inauspicious. This superimposition of the five-day and seven-day weeks is called *Wetonan* (Coincidence). The Javanese have three sets of months: the 12 months of the Western solar year, the 13 Islamic lunar months which add up to a year of 354 or 355 days, and a set of months called *Pranata Mangsa*, of irregular length, which were used as agricultural seasons. The first day of the lunar month of *Sura* is the first day of the Javanese year (*taun Jawa*), and eight such years form a *windu*. Finally, there is a cycle of four *windu*: *Adi*, *Kunthara*, *Sengara* and *Sancaya* (Robson 1992: 145–6; Arcinega 2005).

12 Javanese Writing Systems

Traditional Javanese script (Kawi) is based on the Pallava script of South India. The earliest inscription, which originates from the town of Malang, was written in Sanskrit and dated 760. The earliest text written in Old Javanese is the Sukabumi inscription (see Section 1). Kawi evolved into ‘later Kawi’, used in the Majapahit period (1250–1450 AD). From the fourteenth century, after the arrival of Islam, there was limited use of Arabic script called *pégon* or *gundil*. By the seventeenth century, the Javanese alphabet, also known as *tjarakan* or *carakan*, had developed into its current form. During the Japanese occupation of Indonesia between 1942 and 1945, the Javanese alphabet was prohibited (Omniglot). The period of Dutch colonisation did not greatly

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