

Javanese

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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 (1994, p. 245) estimates that Javanese is about 37% cognate with Madurese, and about 33% 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 speakers of any Austronesian language. Javanese is spoken by about 90 million people, representing 40% 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 25th 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 16th 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, 1994, p. 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 (pp 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 (Gertz, 1960). A sample of words which differ at four different levels found in Nugroho’s (1995) dictionary is shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Words Which Differ at Four Different Levels.

English	Ngoko	Madya	Krama	Krama Inggil
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 “substandard (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. 122 of the concepts had terms in krama inggil, and only 21 of them had equivalents in madya. Ühlenbeck (1950, p282) estimates that there are about 2000 ngoko-krama pairs or “oppositions”, covering 10 to 20% 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, 1994, p. 260). Ühlenbeck (1950, p.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 half way between *o* and *a*, and a neutral (pepet) *e*, as in the English word *open*. Following Robson (1992), 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*. (Robson, 1992: pp 6-7).

The Javanese consonants may be laid out as shown in Table 2 (Robson, 1992, p. 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 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 p. 11).

Table 2. The Javanese Consonants.

	Unvoiced	Voiced	Nasal
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	

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 *nng*, 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 with of place, as in *kubur* (grave), *pakuburan* (cemetery), *désa* (village), *padésan* (countryside), *turu* (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, pp 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 un-affixed 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 nasalized forms. The rules for the nasalization of root words are given in Table 3. Exceptions are *cocog* → *nocogi* (agree with), *susu* → *nusoni* (suckle), where the second 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 nasalized form, in this case (*ngetik*).

Table 3. Formation of Nasalised Forms of Javanese Verbs

Un-nasalised initial sequence	Nasalised initial sequence
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-

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 nasalized 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, pp. 87-91) lists four forms of the passive. The first passive takes different prefixes for the first, second and third person. Taking 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 be 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 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 nasalized 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. Firstly, 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. Uhlenbeck (1953) gives examples where the duplicated form is not exactly a repetition 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 4.

Table 4. The Javanese Personal Pronouns.

English	Ngoko	Madya	Krama	Krama Inggil
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, 1982, pp. 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 (p65) is given in Table 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 5. Aspect Markers in Javanese.

Ngoko	Krama	Meaning
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 sends 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 Uhlenbeck (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). (Ühlenbeck, 1965).

9. Javanese Numerals

The cardinal numbers in Javanese, shown in Table 6. (Robson pp75-76) 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* (twenty), *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* (three hundred), *telung atusan* (about three hundred).

Table 6. Cardinal Numbers in Javanese

	Ngoko	Krama
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	

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* are chosen to replace the *nama alit* at a key juncture's 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 Ühlenbeck, 1969) have meanings in the Javanese lexicon. The unmotivated female, lower-class names often take the vowel pattern *a-i-pepet e*, an 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 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 *Suginati* 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, pp145-146; Arciniega, 2005).

11. 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 14th Century, after the arrival of Islam, there was limited use of Arabic script called *pégon* or *gundil*. By the 17th 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 influence Javanese writing until early in the 20th century, when Roman scripts came into fashion. *Kawi* scripts, although by now largely supplanted by Roman scripts, are still used by scholars and *wayang kulit* puppeteers (Phlong).

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