

Youth culture and urban pride

The sociolinguistics of East Javanese slang

TOM G. HOOGERVORST

ABSTRACT

This study offers an overview of the characteristics and social functions of youth slang in the Indonesian province of East Java. It examines *Boso Walikan* and various types of Surabayan slang. *Boso Walikan* emerged in Malang as a secret language that was deliberately made unintelligible to outsiders. Over the decades, large parts of Malang's urban population developed proficiency in the language and appropriated it as an identity marker. The situation in nearby Surabaya is different. While lacking a uniform local slang comparable to that of Malang, several communities make an effort to differentiate themselves through specific linguistic habits, which are briefly introduced. These case studies tell us not only how young people shape their speech, they illustrate how the East Javanese dialect deals with linguistic variety, lexical borrowing and innovation.

KEYWORDS

Slang, youth language, *Boso Walikan*, East Java, Malang, Surabaya.

As elsewhere, young people in East Java distinguish themselves through their appearance, behaviour, and language. It may be argued that the existence of an identifiable youth culture – belonging to a distinct age group between children and adults – is a relatively new phenomenon in post-colonial Southeast Asia. Students at Indonesia's first universities may have exhibited specific linguistic habits, but the emergence of a true "youth culture" and associated language is predominantly related to globalization, increased wealth and the creation of a leisure industry with products, places and events intended for adolescents. This study examines the emergence of "youth language" in East Java, Indonesia's second most populous province. The best-known slang in this province is *Boso Walikan* 'inverted language', which emerged in the dynamic city of Malang and was popularized by students. It is not the only

TOM G. HOOGERVORST is currently affiliated with the International Institute of Asian Studies in Leiden, where he examines the linguistic aspects of interethnic contact between India and insular Southeast Asia. Having recently finished his D.Phil thesis on the role of Southeast Asia in the pre-modern Indian Ocean World, his research interests include Austronesian linguistics, South and Southeast Asian archaeology, cultural contact, and youth languages. He has several forthcoming publications on these topics. Tom Hoogervorst may be contacted at: tomhoogervorst@hotmail.com.

© 2014 Faculty of Humanities, University of Indonesia

secret language spoken in the province, although it is one of the few that has a name.

Foremost, it is necessary to address the concept “youth language”. In view of the fact that adolescents are a relatively new socio-demographic category in most regions, the development of speech habits specific to this group and unknown to other age groups is not widely attested in the literature. I would argue that we can make the following preliminary set of generalizations about youth language in Southeast Asia and beyond: 1) it is used in intimate settings among friends, 2) it is deliberately manipulated to make it incomprehensible to non-group members, also within the larger speech community, 3) it displays extensive word tabooing with regard to crime, drugs and sexual relations, 4) it draws part of its vocabulary from languages in contact, and 5) it changes rapidly from one generation to the next.

While I argue that youth languages are relatively new in Southeast Asia, the phenomenon of a secret language (also known as a “cant” or “cryptolact”) is well ingrained in most of its societies (Fox 2005). As is the case in other parts of the world, several subcultures, demographic niches and professions – including hunters, shamans, fishermen, traders, sex workers, and thieves – exhibit specific argots that are only passed down to initiated group members. Obviously, these languages are rarely accessible to scholars and it would be unethical to describe them if the livelihood of their speakers depends on the confinement of information. To the best of my knowledge, we have only two short notes on now obsolete Javanese thieves’ argots (Knebel 1901; Kartomihardjo 1981: 207). The available literature allows us to make one important observation: across the secret languages of (pen)insular Southeast Asia, word formation is often achieved through phoneme reversal (metathesis), infixation and related phonological processes. The systems of reversal tend to be lexical, not syntactic. This makes them relatively easy to use if one knows the pertinent rules. In that regard, the term “secret language” is somewhat of a misnomer; in almost all cases, it is essentially an in-group argot. Reversal-based secret languages have been documented, among others, in West Malaysia (Evans 1917; Rahman 1995), Solo and Kebumen (Jasawijata and Kartadarmadja 1921), the Philippines (Conklin 1956), Kediri and Tegal (Suhardi 1977), Sabah (Prentice 1982), Jakarta (Dreyfuss 1983; Van der Meij 1983; Rahardja and Chambert-Loir 1988; Kawira 1990), Jember (Purwadi 1986), the Riau area (Gil 2002), and Tuban (Yulianto 2010).

Most attention to Indonesian youth language has hitherto been given to the Jakartan youth slang of the 1980s – known as *Prokem* – and its contemporary successor *bahasa gaul* ‘the social language’. While *Prokem* has only survived one generation, it has influenced later youth languages and even standard Indonesian. Such words as *bencong* (Ind. *banci* ‘homosexual’), *gokil* (Ind. *gila* ‘crazy’) and *katro* ‘a hick’ originate from *Prokem*, but are commonly understood, used, and written down throughout Indonesia and in Indonesian communities abroad. Next to Java, scholars have examined the situation in Brunei Darussalam (Purnama 1993) and West Malaysia (Hoogervorst

forthcoming). One very special type of inverted language in Indonesia – which has received little scholarly attention as yet – is known as *Boso Walikan Jogja*, used in and around the city of Yogyakarta. Its unique system of reversal is based on the Javanese semi-syllabic alphabet, consisting of four rows (*baris*) of five letters (*aksara*) in a fixed order, as shown in table 1. To reverse a word, the *aksara* from *baris* 1 are replaced by their counterparts from *baris* 3 and vice versa. The same goes for *baris* 2 and 4. For example, *mas* ‘older brother’ becomes *dab*, (*h*)*ayu* ‘pretty’ becomes *paru*, *piye* ‘how’ becomes *hire*, etcetera.

BARIS	AKSARA
1	ha na ca ra ka
2	da ta sa wa la
3	pa ḍa ja ya nya
4	ma ga ba ṭa nga



Table 1. Romanisation of the Javanese alphabet.

This study examines the development and characteristics of the East Javanese type of Boso Walikan from Malang,¹ whose system of word-formation is different from its Yogyanese counterpart. I will then proceed to address the youth language(s) and other slang in neighbouring Surabaya. Most of the examples used in this study were collected during linguistic fieldwork conducted in East Java during the summer of 2006. Coming back from the field, I realized that a contemporary overview of East Java’s youth slang and other secret languages – akin to the work of Maarten Mous (2009) on Africa – has not yet been published in print. The data presented here are taken from my limited corpus of field notes on the use of substandard language. This study is by no means comprehensive and is merely hoped to incite more scholarship in the field of Southeast Asian slang and youth languages. This is especially so, since “ludlings give valuable information on the native-speaker’s intuition as to what constitutes a syllable, a vowel, a consonant, a consonant cluster, a word, or a suprasegmental” (Laycock 1972: 4).

The standard orthography of Javanese is unfit to represent variations in non-standard language usage, dialectal differences and code switching with Bahasa Indonesia and other languages. Therefore, I have chosen to maintain the spelling as used by the speakers when citing written language and names, hence Boso Walikan instead of Basa Walikan (standard orthography) or *bɔsɔ waleʔan* (phonetic). For transcribed data in East Javanese (in particular the subdialects of Malang and Surabaya) and local Malay varieties, I will additionally use the following IPA symbols: /ɔ/ to represent the open-mid back rounded vowel, /o/ for the close-mid back rounded vowel, /ɛ/ for the

¹ I am entitled to the LUSTRA, Trustee Funds, and LUF International Study Fund, all from Leiden University for financially supporting my fieldwork in East Java, on which the present study is partly based. I would also like to thank Jozina Vander Klok, Maarten Mous, and Hein Steinhauer for their appreciated comments on an earlier version of this article.

open-mid front unrounded vowel, /e/ for the close-mid front unrounded vowel, /ə/ for the mid-central vowel, /ʔ/ for the glottal stop, /d/ for the voiced retroflex stop, and /t/ for the voiceless retroflex stop.

1 BOSO WALIKAN MALANGAN

It is not uncommon for cities with diverse ethnic populations to develop a distinct local slang. The relatively cosmopolitan language or dialect of the city itself often provides the matrix language, while mother tongues of the resident migrant communities make numerous lexical – and sometimes grammatical – contributions. A high proficiency in the local slang often carries connotations of slickness and street wisdom, so that its use and prestige tend to be stronger in the poorer neighbourhoods. Along these lines, it is believed that Prokem has developed from the criminal argot used in Jakarta in the 1960s. Indeed, its very name is derived from the word *preman* ‘thug’, through the infixation of /ok/ in the first syllable and the deletion of the final syllable. According to Th.C. van der Meij (1983: 1), “a *preman* is a young man who goes through life without a fixed job, life circle and other solid matters, lives from one day to the next and is not worried by uncertainties. [...] A *preman* makes a living by doing various odd jobs to bring in some money and occasionally by things bordering on crime. Real criminal offenses, however, are not among his activities. In short, a *preman* is a bit like a freebooter who is not very particular about life [my translation].” There are numerous parallels further afield. For example, we may call attention to Tsotsitaal and Isicamtho, two urban youth languages from South Africa that developed from criminal argots. The former is nearly extinct, but the latter has become an identity marker among the urban youth of the black townships (Slabbert and Myers-Scotton 1996). A Swahili-based youth language known as Sheng has undergone a similar shift in prestige; from a vernacular used by impoverished urban dwellers in Kenya to a dynamic identity marker (Samper 2002).

Boso Walikan, known in Boso Walikan as *Osob Kiwalan*, has its origins in Malang, East Java’s second largest city. *Boso* means ‘language’ and *walikan* means ‘reversed’. It is believed that this slang emerged during the Indonesian independence war, designed to mislead spies working for the Dutch. Those who were not able to speak it fast enough were regarded as potential enemies (Widodo 2006: 166-167). According to interviews with elderly speakers conducted by Sudarwati (1987: 41) and Pujileksono and Kartono (2007: 35-40), the argot was used by ticket salesmen (*tukang catut*) at Malang’s cinemas in the 1950s and 1960s, who would act as *ramalak* ‘middlemen’ (<*makalar*) to sell the *itrak* ‘tickets’ (<*karcis*) to the latest movies (both words are ultimately from Dutch: *makelaar* ‘broker’ and *kaartjes* ‘tickets’). These cinemas were notorious meeting places for gang members and Boso Walikan remained a marginalized argot until the 1970s, predominantly restricted to criminals and pedicab drivers (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007: 38). The importance of touts and drivers for the spread of urban slang is not unique to Malang; the *matatu* (privately owned minibuses) drivers in Nairobi appear to have fulfilled a very

similar role with regard to the popularization of Sheng (Samper 2002). Another similar process is the appropriation of what was initially a secret language by the wider speech community. In the case of Boso Walikan, this took place via students and – later – football supporters and urban dwellers in general. This tendency was accelerated by the regional autonomy in Indonesia after Soeharto, which enabled provinces to highlight, retrieve, reinvent or fabricate their regional identities after a long and homogenizing epoch of centralized government (Hoogervorst 2009).

As was the case with Prokem in Jakarta, Boso Walikan eventually gained entrance to the wider speech community. At present, it can be encountered in newspapers and other printed media (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007: 68-76), on banners, during political campaigns and in local television programmes such as *Pojok Malang*, broadcasted by Jawa Pos Media Televisi (JTV). Not infrequently, the name of a small foodstall (*warung*), its owner, and the entire menu are in Boso Walikan. At present, practically everyone in Malang and its surroundings knows some Boso Walikan and it is used by males and females in all age groups. It has become part of the city's cultural heritage and creates a feeling of regional identity among Malang's inhabitants, who are known as *Arek Malang* (*Arema*). As numerous websites, mailing lists and Facebook groups demonstrate, Boso Walikan is also used extensively among the Arek Malang communities living in other Indonesian cities and abroad. While it is common to measure true "Malangness" by someone's proficiency in Boso Walikan, which is still used as a secret language outside of Malang, there are numerous anecdotes of expats and other foreigners who have lived in the city and speak the lingo – to the shock of those who may have tried to gossip about them.

Within the matrix language of East Javanese, Boso Walikan behaves in a very similar way to the honorific speech levels for which the Javanese varieties are better known. Most notably, the grammatical structure remains essentially identical and the changes are predominantly lexical. To illustrate this observation, example 1) contains a sentence in the default speech level of East Javanese (Ngoko), example 2) gives the equivalent in the honorific speech level (Kromo), and example 3) gives the Boso Walikan:

- 1) *Aku je? ndo? omah kancu-ku.*
 1s still at house friend-1s
 'I am still at my friend's house.'
- 2) *Kulo tase? entan griyo kancu kulo.*
 1s still at house friend 1s
 'I am still at my friend's house.'
- 3) *Uka je? ndo? hamur nawa?-ku.*
 1s still at house friend-1s
 'I am still at my friend's house.'

The last example also demonstrates that not all words are being inverted in Boso Walikan. Furthermore, it may be noted that the word for ‘house’ in the example is the inverted form of Indonesian *rumah* ‘house’, not its East Javanese equivalent *ꦫꦸꦩ*. Likewise, *nawa?*, from Indonesian *kawan* ‘friend’, is used instead of *kꦏꦤꦏ*. Section 1.2 introduces more Indonesian borrowings. According to consultants, the really proficient speakers (*yang paham betul*) used to invert every word in the variety of Boso Walikan used in the 1970s, but this is no longer the case. As is the case in the honorific speech levels of Javanese, only a limited set of words has an alternative form. While examples 1) to 3) show a relatively large degree of lexical change, other sentences can be quite similar in all three varieties. The main difference between the honorific speech levels and Boso Walikan lies in the fact that the former is relatively static and bound to fixed rules, whereas the latter – on account of its origins as a secret language – is more dynamic and the rules by which lexical items are inverted change over time. Lexical replacement is especially common with “loaded vocabulary”, as is the case cross-linguistically. Words with strong emotional associations, such as cultural vocabulary, sexual terms, swearwords, and adjectives used to describe others, often have a Boso Walikan form.

In addition to its presence online, in the streets of Malang and in the social media, printed T-shirts form an interesting source of written Boso Walikan. Numerous souvenir shops in Malang display T-shirts with humorous prints, sold as *kaos Malang* in East Javanese and *soak Ngalam* in Boso Walikan. Consider the following examples (in the original spelling with the Boso Walikan vocabulary underlined):

Isuk nakam oges lecep, awan nakam oskab, bengi nakam napalal maya. Oyiker!!!

‘In the morning I eat *səgɔ pəcəl*, in the afternoon I eat *ba?so*, in the evening I eat *lalapan ayam*. Yeah, man!’

Nakam dirayabi, utapes nyelang, helom nunut kok nyimut

‘People pay for your dinner, your shoes are borrowed, people drive you home, what a life you have’

Kolem a... helom hamur Ngalam

‘Come along... go home to Malang’

Unyab tuwak: kapan ngombene... kok kubam’e kaitan iki... don’t dring dhis water

‘Fermented coconut liquor: when you drink it... you’ll get so drunk... don’t drink this water’

Ayas asli Ngalam: my home town

‘I’m from Malang: my home town’

Jangan tanya saya: ayas kadit itreng

‘Don’t ask me: I don’t know’

Adapes rotom: dino Minggu numpak adapes rotom ngejak ojob uklam uklam nang Tendem, tail tenyom

‘The motorcycle: taking the motorcycle on a Sunday, asking the wife along on a trip to Mendit to see the monkeys’.

A more detailed treatize of the rules of inversion in the above examples is given in the subsequent sections.

While these printed T-shirts are chiefly designed for their humorous effect and their textual contents are presumably not based on natural speech, they allow us to make several initial observations on the language variety under comparison. First of all, Boso Walikan does not only invert and incorporate words and phrases from the local subdialect of East Javanese; Indonesian also features extensively and even English is used on occasion. Furthermore, such forms as *di-rayab-i* ‘it is paid for (by someone)’ (<*di-bayar-i*<UV-pay-APPL) in the example *Nakam dirayabi utapes nyelang* [...] demonstrate that productive affixes are generally not inverted; the reversal is almost exclusively lexical. The next sections delve deeper into the various processes of word-formation and reversal in Boso Walikan.

1.1 WORD-FORMATION IN BOSO WALIKAN

As will be demonstrated below, word reversal is the most productive tool for word formation in Boso Walikan. As is the case in many other secret languages, especially in Indonesia, there are three main alternatives to create new words: 1) the formation of acronyms, 2) the assignment of new meanings to existing words (either inherited or borrowed), and 3) the creation of entirely new words, often of unclear etymology. A frequently used acronym in Boso Walikan is *kɔra?* ‘criminal’, consisting of *kɔtɔran* ‘filth’ and *ra?yat* ‘people’. An example of a semantic shift is *ngəntup* ‘to have sexual intercourse’, from the original meaning ‘to sting’. Many more examples can be found in Sudarwati (1987) and Hoogervorst (2009: 43).

Being predominantly a spoken means of communication, word-formation in youth languages is typically phonetic. We may, for example, call attention to Verlan, the reversal-based urban youth slang of France. As the following data from Lefkowitz (1991) demonstrate, words in Verlan are inverted based on their syllable structure and pronunciation. The spelling of the newly formed words is a reinterpretation of their phonology, as is demonstrated in Table 2:

FRENCH ORIGINAL	FRENCH PHONETIC	VERLAN PHONETIC	VERLAN WRITTEN	MEANING
<i>bizarre</i>	bizɑ̃	zɑ̃bi	<i>zarbi</i>	‘bizarre’
<i>français</i>	fʁɑ̃sɛ	sɛfʁɑ̃	<i>cəfran</i>	‘French’
<i>métro</i>	metʁo	tʁome	<i>tromé</i>	‘metro’
<i>parents</i>	paʁɑ̃	ʁɑ̃pa	<i>rempas</i>	‘parents’
<i>petit</i>	pəti	tipə	<i>tipeu</i>	‘small’
<i>pourris</i>	pʁɔ̃i	ʁipu	<i>ripoux</i>	‘corrupt’

Table 2. Syllabic word reversal in Verlan.

Let us now compare the system of reversal in Boso Walikan. As we have seen, Verlan exhibits syllabic reversal. In Boso Walikan, on the other hand, most words are inverted entirely. This is illustrated in Table 3:

EAST JAVANESE ORIGINAL	BOSO WALIKAN	MEANING
<i>lumayan</i>	<i>nayamul</i>	'pretty good'
<i>mas</i>	<i>sam</i>	'older brother'
<i>panas</i>	<i>sanap</i>	'hot'
<i>payu</i>	<i>uyap</i>	'to be in demand'
<i>rabi</i>	<i>ibar</i>	'to be married'
<i>tuku</i>	<i>ukut</i>	'to buy'

Table 3. Word reversal in Boso Walikan.

Written East Javanese uses some letters that represent more than one phoneme: <d> for /d/ versus /ɖ/, <e> for /e ~ ε/ versus /ə/, <o> for /o/ versus /ɔ/, etcetera. These phonemic values are maintained in the reversed forms, as can be seen from the examples in Table 4:

EAST JAVANESE ORIGINAL (PHONETIC)	EAST JAVANESE (WRITTEN)	BOSO WALIKAN (WRITTEN)	BOSO WALIKAN (PHONETIC)	MEANING
bəɖɛs	<i>bedes</i>	<i>sedeb</i>	sɛɖəb	'monkey'
bojo	<i>bojo</i>	<i>ojob</i>	ojob	'spouse'
buɖal	<i>budal</i>	<i>ladub</i>	laɖub	'to leave'
dɛsə	<i>deso</i>	<i>osed</i>	ɔsɛd	'village'
mətu	<i>metu</i>	<i>utem</i>	utəm	'to go out'
səkələh	<i>sekolah</i>	<i>halokes</i>	haləkəs	'school'
təkə	<i>teko</i>	<i>oket</i>	əkət	'to come'

Table 4. The reversal of letters used for multiple phonemes.

The uniqueness of Boso Walikan and other youth slangs in Java, such as the aforementioned Boso Walikan from Yogyakarta, lies in the fact that the system of reversal is based in part on the way the language is written. The way newly formed words are written (which is different from the standard orthography!) affects their pronunciation in Boso Walikan. In effect, the system is opposite to that of Verlan, in which the spelling is a reinterpretation of the phonology. In the common spelling of East Javanese, some letters are used to represent a non-phonemic distinction: <e> for /ε/ in the word-initial and medial position versus /e/ word-finally and <k> for /k/ in the word-initial and medial position versus /ʔ/ word-finally (but /k/ when following /ə/). While the examples in Table 4 demonstrate that phonemic distinctions are maintained in Boso Walikan, the examples in Table 5 show that the spelling of non-phonemic distinctions is left intact. In these cases, the pronunciation

of inverted vocabulary is based on a reinterpretation of the way the words are commonly written:

EAST JAVANESE (PHONETIC)	EAST JAVANESE (WRITTEN)	BOSO WALIKAN (WRITTEN)	BOSO WALIKAN (PHONETIC)	MEANING
əḁeʔ	<i>adik</i>	<i>kida</i>	kiḁa (not *ʔeḁa)	‘younger sibling’
bɛcaʔ	<i>becak</i>	<i>kaceb</i>	kaɛb (not *ʔaceb)	‘pedicab’
ḁewe	<i>dewe</i>	<i>ewed</i>	ɛwɛd (not *ewed)	‘own; self’
ɛnaʔ	<i>enak</i>	<i>kane</i>	kane (not *ʔane)	‘nice’
kalah	<i>kalah</i>	<i>halak</i>	halaʔ(not *halak)	‘to lose’
luwe	<i>luwe</i>	<i>ewul</i>	ɛwul (not *ewul)	‘hungry’
moleh	<i>moleh</i>	<i>helom</i>	hɛlɔm (not *helom)	‘to go home’
isoʔ	<i>iso</i>	<i>osi</i>	ɔsi	‘can’
tuwɛʔ	<i>tuwek</i>	<i>kewut</i>	kɛwut (not *ʔɛwut)	‘old’

Table 5. The reversal of letters used for multiple phones.

The above examples demonstrate the extent to which words are reversed based on their written forms, after which they adapt to the East Javanese phonology. The fact that the word-final glottal stop in *isoʔ* ‘can’ is normally omitted in writing directly impacts on the shape of its reversed form. There are more examples of phonological reinterpretation of written words in Boso Walikan. As Javanese phonotactics do not allow offglides at the word-final position, the word *wɛdɔʔ* ‘woman’ initially became *kɔḁɛb* (Suharto 1983), while at present *kɔḁɛ* and *kɔḁɛw* are also permitted. For similar reasons, the Arabic loanword *zɛn* ‘beautiful’ – from Arabic *zayn* (زين) ‘beauty’ – had to become *nɛs*. Word-final affricates and retroflex consonants also conflict with Javanese phonotactics. My only examples displaying word-final affricates are *analɔc* ‘trousers’ (<*cəlana*) and *Atrakaj* ‘Jakarta’. Normally, word-final affricates and retroflex consonants are substituted by their homorganic dental counterparts. In some cases, this leads to homonymy; the form *ɔwɔd* may go back to either *dɔwɔ* ‘long’ or *jɔwɔ* ‘Javanese’. Other examples of phonotactic restrictions on word-final consonants are given in Table 6:

EAST JAVANESE ORIGINAL (PHONETIC)	EAST JAVANESE (COMMON SPELLING)	BOSO WALIKAN (COMMON SPELLING)	BOSO WALIKAN (PHONETIC)	MEANING
cino	<i>Cino</i>	<i>Onit</i>	ɔnit (**ɔnic)	‘Chinese’
cipɔʔ	<i>cipok</i>	<i>kopit</i>	kɔpit (**ʔɔpic)	‘to kiss’
ḁewe	<i>dewe</i>	<i>ewed</i>	ɛwɛd (**ewed)	‘own; self’
jajan	<i>jajan</i>	<i>najad</i>	najad (**najaj)	‘snacks’
ʔitiʔ	<i>titik</i>	<i>kitit</i>	kiʔit (**ʔitit)	‘a little’

Table 6. Phonotactic restrictions.

The digraphs <ng> and <ny>, representing the velar nasal /ŋ/ and palatal nasal /ɲ/ respectively, are normally left intact. I have found three examples in which the digraph <ng> is separated and reversed: *gənatu* ‘debt’ (from *utang*), *gənamo* ‘to talk’ (from *omong*, the /a/ is irregular) and *gənaro* ‘person’ (from the Indonesian *orang*), where a schwa is inserted for phonotactic reasons. This further supports my observation that spelling plays a more important role in Boso Walikan than in other youth languages, such as Verlan. Uninflected words starting with <ny> are relatively rare in East Javanese and I have found no example of them in Boso Walikan, but it may be pointed out that Javanese phonotactics would prohibit <ny> in the word-final position. Other than that, the digraphs <ng> and <ny> remain together in all positions: *ngaɖəg* ‘banana’ (<gəɖəng>), *ngilam* ‘thief’ (<maling>), *nangam* ‘to eat’ (<mangan>), *tənyəm* ‘monkey’ (<mənyet>) and *itrəng* ‘to know’ (<ngərti>).

The consonant clusters do not behave in a predictable way. They are maintained in the following cases: *astəp* ‘party’ (<pəsta>), *kampəs* ‘underwear’ (<səmpaʔ>), *lancap* ‘to pedal’ (<pancal>), *lanɖas* ‘sandal’ (<səndal>), *ngayambəs* ‘to pray’ (<səmbayang>), *ɔɖɔr* ‘widow’ (<rəɔɖɔ>), *Təɖəm* ‘Mendit, a bathing place near Malang’ (<Məɖet>), and *təncrəm* ‘diarrhoea’ (<məncrət>). Other examples are irregular, displaying consonant cluster reduction, syllable metathesis and other features: *ham* ‘grandparent’ (<mbah>), *imblaʔ* ‘shirt’ (<klambi>), *intuʔ* ‘key’ (<kunci>), *kuyam* ~ *uyab* ‘older sister’ (<mbaʔyu>), *lətək* ‘thick’ (<kəntəl>), *nakus* ‘reluctant’ (<sungkan>), *nɔɔ* ‘white person’ (<ləɔɔ>), *ubləm* ‘to enter’ (<mləbu>), and *uklam* ‘to walk’ (<mlaku>). According to my consultants, these irregularities arise from the fact that the Boso Walikan forms need to sound pleasant to the ears of the speakers (*ənaʔ dirungəʔnə kopeng*). Along those lines we should also view the following irregular forms: *ɛgəd* ~ *həɖəg* ‘big’ (<gəɖe>), *igrɔg* ‘groggy’ (<grɔgi>), *jiga* ‘salary’ (<gaji>), *kamsud* ‘meaning’ (<maʔsud>), *kiwal* ‘to reverse’ (<waleʔ>), *ləgəm* ‘to like’ (<gələm>), *ngalan* ‘man’ (<lanang>), *ngingub* ‘confused’ (<bingung>), *ɔkər* ‘to smoke’ (<rəɔkəʔ>), *ɔpir* ‘how much’ (<piɔ>), *ɔɔməut* ‘parents-in-law’ (<məɔɔtuwo>), *ɔrusɔɔɔb* ‘Surabaya’ (<Surəɔɔɔɔ>), *rəbəs* ‘settled’ (<bərəs>), *silup* ‘police’ (<pulisi>) and *yipe* ‘how’ (<piye>). In addition, secret languages are constantly evolving to remain inaccessible for outsiders. For instance, after the meaning of *siba* ‘all gone; used up’ (<abes>) became widely known, it was changed into *sibun* and eventually re-reverted into *nubis* (Suharto 1983). Along similar lines, the word *silup* ‘police’ was changed into *pil* after the meaning of the former became known (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007: 37). We may also compare Verlan *rebeu* ‘French-born individual of North African descent’, the reversed form of *beur*, which ultimately goes back to *arabe* (Valdman 2000: 1188).

1.2 LEXICAL SOURCES AND SEMANTIC SHIFTS

As demonstrated in the previous section, Boso Walikan draws upon the East Javanese dialect for its grammatical structure and most of its lexicon. Some words have been created spontaneously. The form *ojiar* ~ *ojir* ‘money’ goes back to *raijo* < *rai ijo* ‘green face’, a reference to the green colour of the lower

Indonesian banknotes before the 1970s (Pujileksono and Kartono 2007: 67). The form *wanye?* refers to a 'woman' or 'she', whereas *wanyo?* denotes a 'man' or 'he'. While vowel apophony to indicate gender is atypical to Javanese, at least one parallel exists in Jakarta slang (*bahasa gaul*): *cɛwɛ?* 'girl' versus *cɔwɔ?* 'boy'. In line with its origins as a secret language, a considerable quantity of words is found in the domain of culturally loaded vocabulary, including some of the numerous profanities (*pisuhan*) for which the East Javanese dialect is famous: *iləp* 'penis' (<*pəli*), *kɛat* 'shit' (<*tæ?*), *kɛs* 'sex' (<*sɛk*), *kɛtam* 'dead' (<*matɛ?*), *kɛmpət* 'vagina' (<*təmpe?*), *kɔmɛs* 'callipygian' (<*sɛm?*), *kubam* 'drunk' (<*mabu?*), *kunam* 'penis' (<*manu?*), *korot* (not **kɔrɔt*) 'vagina' (<*toro?*), *lɔntɔ?* 'scrotum' (<*kɔntɔl*), *ngətəm* 'pregnant' (<*mətəng*), *ngɔkɔb* 'buttocks' (<*bɔkɔng*), *nɔlab* 'prostitute' (<*balɔn*), *ɔdum* 'naked' (<*mudɔ*), *ɔmrəg* 'pimp' (<*gərmɔ*), *rɔngɔt* 'mouth' (<*cɔngɔr*), *teles* (not **tɛləs*) 'arse' (<*selet*), *ubab* 'female servant' (<*babu*), *ujəp* 'sperm' (<*pəju*), and *usus* 'breasts' (<*susu*).

Secret languages are meant to be inaccessible to outsiders within the same speech community. Therefore, their lexicon often relies on languages with which not everybody is familiar. Urban slang in Amsterdam, for example, exhibits *toges* 'arse', *gajes* 'scum', and *majem* 'water', which ultimately go back to Hebrew. Such British slang words as *chiv* 'a knife', *pal* 'a friend', and *mush* 'a man' are believed to go back to Romani, the latter originally from Russian. Similar processes occur in Boso Walikan. Next to its East Javanese lexical core, the language displays a modicum of Arabic loanwords: *asrob* 'alcoholic drinks' from *ašrub* (أشرب) 'drink', *ɔarɔja* from *darājah* (دراجة) 'bicycle' and *fulus* from *fulūs* (فلوس) 'money'. The word *bəndɔ?* 'firearm' appears to be borrowed from Urdu *banduq* (بنوق) 'gun'. The word *jinja?* 'police' goes back to Mandarin *jǐngchá* (警察) in the same meaning. The word *ciame?* 'excellent' is of Chinese origin too, presumably from Mandarin *jiāměi* (佳美) 'good and beautiful'. An interesting case of borrowing is the word *sanjipak* 'fraud'. It is derived from the Hokkien number *sa'chhitpat* (三七八) '378', a reference to Article 378 of the Indonesian Penal Code, which deals with fraud. As none of these words are commonly understood, there is no need for them to be reversed.

Finally, a special type of Malang slang has been documented among traders in golden ornaments during the 1970s. This trade is said to have been introduced into Malang by Indians in the 1950s and 1960s, after which it was taken over by local Javanese gold traders. Their distinct argot was used to keep information secret to outsiders. Several of their terms appear to be from colloquial Tamil. Of these, only the word *sari?* 'beautiful' became generally understood in Malang. The attestations given below are from Pujileksono and Kartono (2007: 23-24), the tentative etymologies are mine. In the examples below, Tamil elements are underlined, followed by the associated colloquial and literary forms (between round brackets):

<i>anji?</i> <i>ratus</i>	'500'	<i>an̄ju</i> (<i>añcu</i> , அஞ்சு) 'five' + <i>ratus</i> 'hundred'
<i>ile?</i> <i>tanggəm</i>	'not (made of) gold'	<i>ille</i> (<i>illai</i> , இல்லை) 'no' + <i>tanggəm</i> (<i>taṅkam</i> , தங்கம்) 'pure gold'

<u>ina weleh</u>	'what's the price?'	<i>enna</i> (<i>enna</i> , என்ன) 'what', <i>vele</i> (<i>vilai</i> , விலை) 'price'
<u>ortimunu?</u>	'23 carat'	<i>mu:ŋu</i> (<i>mūnru</i> , மூன்று) 'three' (<i>orti</i> remains unexplained; it might be an abbreviation of <i>iruvatū</i> (<i>irupatu</i> , இருபது) 'twenty')
<u>ortinali?</u>	'24 carat'	<i>na:lū</i> (<i>nālu</i> , நாலு) 'four'
<u>pai puluh</u>	'10.000'	<i>pattu</i> (<i>pattu</i> , பத்து) 'ten' + <i>puluh</i> 'ten'
<u>pai ratus</u>	'hundred'	<i>pattu</i> (<i>pattu</i> , பத்து) 'ten' + <i>ratus</i> 'hundred'
<u>pesi</u>	'to chat; to lie'	<i>pe:su</i> (<i>pēcu</i> , பேசு) 'to talk, speak, converse'
<u>renḍi?</u>	'22 carat'	<i>renḍu</i> (<i>iraṇṭu</i> , இரண்டு) 'two'
<u>renḍi? anjik</u>	'25'	<i>renḍu</i> (<i>iraṇṭu</i> , இரண்டு) 'two' + <i>anjū</i> (<i>añcu</i> , அஞ்சு) 'five'
<u>renḍi? ratus</u>	'200'	<i>renḍu</i> (<i>iraṇṭu</i> , இரண்டு) 'two' + <i>ratus</i> '100'
<u>tanggām</u>	'gold'	<i>tanggām</i> (<i>taṅkam</i> , தங்கம்) 'pure gold'
<u>tanggām poci?</u>	'inferior gold'	<i>tanggām</i> (<i>taṅkam</i> , தங்கம்) 'pure gold' + <i>poci</i> (<i>poci</i> , பொசி) 'sulphate of copper or zinc'
<u>tanggām sari?</u>	'beautiful gold'	<i>tanggām</i> (<i>taṅkam</i> , தங்கம்) 'pure gold', <i>sarū</i> (<i>cāru</i> , சாரு) 'beauty'
<u>werām</u>	'diamond'	<i>werām</i> (<i>vayiram</i> , வயிரம்) 'diamond'

The largest contribution of non-Javanese vocabulary comes from Bahasa Indonesia – or, more correctly, the home-grown East Javanese variety of Malay – amounting to about 27% of the lexicon of Boso Walikan according to Pujileksono and Kartono (2007: 66). The Malay language has been in use in East Java since pre-colonial times and the province is home to a distinct variety (Kartomihardjo 1981). Several words specific to this variety are used in Boso Walikan. These are normally reversed: *isa?* 'to give' (<*kasi*), *katnim* 'to request' (<*mintā?*), *kawab* 'to bring' (<*bawa?*), *la(w)ud* ~ *lawəd* 'to sell' (<*juwal*), *lokop* 'to punch' (<*pokol*), *naisa?* 'pity' (<*kasian*), *tail* 'to see' (<*liat*) and *takis* 'to take away' (<*sikat*). Several other Malay/Indonesian words are used in Boso Walikan instead of their East Javanese equivalents, as shown in Table 7 (the Malay/Indonesian and East Javanese source forms in the table represent the local pronunciation). In other cases, Boso Walikan uses two synonyms interchangeably; one from East Javanese and the other from Malay/Indonesian. Some pairs are given in Pujileksono and Kartono (2007: 65). Table 8 gives more examples.

BOSO WALIKAN	MALAY/INDONESIAN	MEANING	EAST JAVANESE EQUIVALENT
adɛpəs	səpɛda	'bicycle'	pit
aidəs	səɟia	'available'	sadɟiɔ
aranjəp	pənjara	'prison'	bui
sarəb	bəras	'uncooked rice'	wɔs
hamur	rumah	'house'	ɔmah
hələb	bələh	'may'	ələh
kaɟit	tiɟa?	'no(t)'	ga?
kanyab	banya?	'many'	akəh
kəndɛp	pəndɛ?	'short'	cəndək
libəm	məbil	'car'	məntər
licək	kəcil	'small'	cili?
niam	maen	'to play'	dulin
ruɟit	tiɟur	'to sleep'	turu
unyap	punya	'to have'	duwe
u(w)am	mau	'to want'	kate

Table 7. Malay/Indonesian words in Boso Walikan.

EAST JAVANESE	BOSO WALIKAN #1	MALAY/INDONESIAN	BOSO WALIKAN #2	MEANING
aku	uka	saya	ayas	'I; me'
are?	kera	ana?	kana	'kid'
ayu	uya	manis	sinam	'pretty'
kəncɔ	ɔncɔ?	kawan	nawa?	'friend'
mangan	nangam	makan	nakam	'to eat'
mətu	utəm	kəluar	raulək	'to go out'
mələbu	ubləm	masu?	kusam	'to go in'
moleh	hələm	pulang	ngalup	'to go home'
ngərti	itrəng	tahu	uhat	'to know'
rabi	ibar	kawin	niwa?	'to marry'
rikɔ	ɔkir	kamu	ukam	'you'
səpɔ	ɔpəs	siapa	apais	'who'
sugih	higus	kaya	aya?	'rich'
tuku	ukut	bəli	iləb	'to buy'

Table 8. East Javanese and Malay/Indonesian synonyms.

As regards the numerals, the system is considerably unequivocal and there is little room for synonyms. The Boso Walikan numerals in use during my fieldwork in 2006 are listed in Table 9 (again with the source forms in local pronunciation):

MEANING	BOSO WALIKAN	EAST JAVANESE	MALAY/INDONESIAN
1	utas	(siji)	satu
2	aud	(loro)	dua
3	agit	(təlu)	tiga
4	(papat)	papat	(əmpat)
5	əmil	limə	(lima)
6	mən	nəm	(ənəm)
7	hujut ~ ujut	(pitu)	tujuh ~ tuju
8	əwul	wəlu	(dələpan)
9	əngəs	səngə	(səmbilan)
10	holopəs	səpoloh	(səpoloh ~ səpuluh)
11	saləb	(solas)	səbəlas
20	aud hulup	(rong poloh)	dua puluh
100	sutas ~ sutar	satus	sə ratus
1000	ubir	(səwu)	səribu
25	əlawəs	səlawe	(dua puluh lima)
50	təkəs	səkət	(lima puluh)

Table 9. Boso Walikan numerals.

In several cases, new meanings are applied to words after they are reversed. Among the anti-Dutch freedom fighters, the term *bəndəʔ* was in use for 'firearm'. A 'long-barrelled firearm' was subsequently called *bəndəʔ əwəd*, from *dəwə* 'long' (Widodo 2006: 168; Pujileksono and Kartono 2007: 34). A spy for the Dutch became known as *kəat atam*, being the reversed form of either *təʔ mata* 'mucus at corners of eyes' or *təʔ* 'shit' and *mata-mata* 'spy' (Widodo 2006: 168; Pujileksono and Kartono 2007: 34). There are similar examples in modern usage. *Asaib* refers to 'a prostitute' and is the reversed form of Indonesian *biasa* 'habitual', *ojob* is a 'lover, girlfriend' and originates from *bojo* 'spouse', *tahəs* means 'sexy; shapely' and goes back to *səhat* 'healthy' and *tiləp* 'to steal' is from Indonesian *pəlit* 'stingy'.

In general, only free morphemes are reversed. The resultant Boso Walikan forms are subject to normal grammatical processes. Like regular words, they can be affixed, reduplicated, prenasalized, used in compounds or a combination thereof: *ngipəʔ* 'to drink coffee' (<AV-*ipəʔ*<*ipəʔ*<*kəpi* 'coffee'), *əwədan* 'all alone' (<*əwəd*-NMLZ<*əwəd* <*dəwe* 'self'), *kələkət* 'caught' (<UV-*ləkət*<*ləkət*<*cəkəl* 'to catch'), *isəʔi* 'to give to someone' (<*isəʔ*-APPL<*isəʔ*< Malay *kasi* 'to give'), *ngalupnə* 'to bring home' (<*ngalup*-APPL<*ngalup*< Malay *pulang* 'to go home'), *uklam-uklam* 'to go for a walk' (<RED-*uklam*<*mlaku* 'to walk') and *lab-laban* '(to play) football' (<RED-*lab*-NMLZ<*lab*<*bal* 'ball'). The following expressions are frequently used in Boso Walikan: *isan ngerəg* 'fried rice' (< Malay *nasi* 'rice'

+ *gɔrɛŋg* ‘fried’), *kaɖet itrəŋg* ‘(I do) not know’ (< Malay *tiɖa?* ‘not’ + *ngərti* ‘to know’), *kaɖet niam* ‘seriously’ (< Malay *tiɖa?* ‘not’ + Malay *maen* ‘to play’), *kanyab tulum* ‘too talkative’ (< Malay *banya?* ‘much’ + Malay *mulut* ‘mouth’), *kɛra kawaban* ‘prostitute’ (< *arɛ?* ‘kid’ + Malay *bawa?an* ‘take-away’), *naɰwa?ɛwɛd* ‘one of ours’ (< Malay *kawan* ‘friend’ + *ɖɛwe* ‘own’), *ŋan ində* ‘whereto’ (< *naŋg* ‘to’ + *əndi* ‘where’), *ɔŋgis nade* ‘supporter of Arema FC’ (< *singɔ* ‘lion’ + *ɛdan* ‘crazy’). In addition, affixed forms are sometimes inverted as a whole, but this is relatively exceptional: *umair* ‘your face (an insult)’ (< *rai-mu*), *kɔdɛm* ‘fond of women’ (< *mɛdɔ?* < AV-(w) *ɛdɔ?*) and *narubu?* ‘grave’ (< *kuburan* < *kubur-NMLZ*). Finally, the Malay circumfix *pəN-an*, denoting a localization of the stem referent, has found its way into the Boso Walikan grammar: *pəŋindəman* ‘bathing place’ (< *pəN-indəman* < *indəman* < Malay *mandi* ‘bath’) and *pəŋɔlaban* ‘prostitution district’ (< *pəN-nɔlab-an* < *nɔlab* < *balɔn* ‘prostitute’).

To illustrate Boso Walikan in use, consider the following sentences (Boso Walikan elements underlined):

- 4) *Wanyɛ?* *sɛŋ* *kanyab* *janji* *kaɖet* *nɛs* *sɛ*.
 girl REL a.lot promise not nice DP²
 ‘Girls who promise a lot aren’t nice.’
- 5) *Uka* *golɛ?* *ojob* *sɛŋ* *sari?* *lan* *tahɛs*.
 1s look.for girlfriend REL pretty and sexy
 ‘I’m looking for a girlfriend who is pretty and sexy.’
- 6) *Kɛra* *ŋgalam* *kaɖet* *ɔsi* *ketam*.
 kid Malang not can die
 ‘The Arek Malang cannot die.’
- 7) *Lɛ?* *utəs-kɔsɔŋg* *arɛma* *bakal* *lɔlɔs* *a?*
 If one-nil Arema FC will pass DP
 ‘Will Arema FC pass if it’s 1-0?’

2. SURABAYAN SLANG

The use of local languages has increased remarkably in and around Surabaya from the late 1990s, accelerated by sentiments of regional pride following the Indonesia’s *reformasi* (Hoogervorst 2009). Unlike Malang, however, the city lacks a characteristic slang understood by the majority of its inhabitants but not by outsiders. While the East Javanese sub-dialect of Surabaya exhibits some vocabulary less common in surrounding areas, these do not amount to a distinctive slang on par with Malang’s Boso Walikan. If anything, Surabayan parlance distinguishes itself by a comparatively excessive use of

² Here and elsewhere, I use the Leipzig Glossing Rules. In addition, AV is used for “agent voice”, DP for “discourse particle”, UV for “undergoer voice” and VET for “vetative”.

profanities (*pisuhan*), which is quite uncommon in a Javanese cultural context. Illustratively, the city's main brand of local souvenirs is called *Cak Cuk*, the first element of which goes back to *caca?* 'older brother', the second to *janco?* 'fuck!'. This brand boasts the slogan *kata kata kota kita* 'the words of our city' and sells various types of T-shirts littered with the most creative swearwords the East Javanese dialect has to offer, including *asu* 'dog', *bədəs* 'monkey', *dəbəl* 'arsehole', *gətəl* 'penis', *gəgərmu mləcət* '(may) your back peel off', *gəndəng* 'idiot', *kake?mu mətəl* '(may) your grandfather fall apart', *kere?* 'puppy', *ma?mu kipər* 'your mother is a goalkeeper' and *mbə?ne anco?* 'fuck (the)mother'. In addition to its legacy of swearing, we may judge from the contents of souvenir T-shirts that Surabaya also prides itself with its cuisine, promoting local specialities like *lontəng balap* 'dish made of compressed rice cake', *ruja? cingur* 'dish made of cow's lips and vegetables', *tahu tē?* 'dish made of cut-up fried tofu', *lədəl kətewel* 'salad made of unripe jackfruit', *səgə rawən* 'a dark beef soup with rice', etcetera. Surabaya's other hallmarks of urban pride are the city's foundation myth of a fight between a shark (*surə*) and crocodile (*bəyə*), its status as the city of heroes (*Kota Pahlawan*) in post-independent Indonesia, and its famous red light district known as Gang Dolly, allegedly among Asia's largest prostitution centres. These examples notwithstanding, Malang appears to be somewhat unique in having developed a secret language that unites all its inhabitants. Little along these lines can be said of Surabaya. Nevertheless, several groups in this city possess their own secret language. The slangs that have been accessible to me will be introduced in what follows.

As elsewhere, the use of ludlings among schoolchildren was and is common in Surabaya. One consultant called attention to a ludling common in the 1960s in which a voiced labiodental fricative /v/ – an introduced phoneme in Javanese and Indonesian – is inserted in every syllable, followed by a repetition of the preceding vowel: *ivikuʋut* 'to join' (< Indonesian *ikut*), *ngovomovong* 'to chat' (< *ngomong*) and *kavamuʋu* 'you' (< Indonesian *kamu*). Diphthongs are regarded as separate units: *buʋuʋavat* 'to make' (< Indonesian *buat*) and *soʋoʋavele* 'because' (< *soale*). In this particular case, the matrix language tends to be the local variant of Bahasa Indonesia. Consider the following examples:

- 8) *qiviava lavagivi mavakavan tevempeve.*
 qia lagi makan tempe.
 3s PROG eat tempe
 'S/he is eating *tempe*.'

- 9) *Avakuʋu mavauʋu tiʋiʋuʋur. Suʋuʋavah ngavantuʋu?*
 Aku mau tiʋur. Suʋah ngantuʋ.
 1s want sleep already sleepy
 'I want to sleep. I'm already sleepy.'

From the 1990s onwards, Surabayan adolescents developed another system in which the first syllable of a word was preceded by /l/, followed by the vowel of the first syllable and followed by the first phonemes of the word whereas the rest was dropped. As a result, various swearwords and other vocabulary could be masqueraded: *labal* ‘prostitute’ (<*balən*), *ləkən* ‘transport’ (< Indonesian *kandaraan*), *lədəl* ‘Gang Dolly’ (<*dəli*), *ləgəb* ‘idiot’ (<*gəblə?*), *ləcəng* ‘stupid’ (<*cəngə?*), *ləkən* ‘penis’ (<*kənʔəl*), *lomob* ‘car’ (< Indonesian *mobil*), *ləmən* ‘car’ (<*mənʔər*) and *lustup* ‘stupid’. The use of these forms is illustrated in examples 10) and 11):

- 10) *Mələ?* *ləməb-ku* *ae* *yə.*
follow car-1s DP DP
‘Just follow my car.’
- 11) *Ləkən-mu* *je?* *di-gae* *ng-oyoh* *ʔə?* *ae!*
penis-2s still UV-use AV-piss only DP
‘You still use your penis exclusively to piss.’

2.2 SURABAYAN GAY SLANG

Other ludlings are found among Surabaya’s gay and transvestite (*waria*) community. Their slang has been documented by Dede Oetomo (1990). All examples on Surabayan gay slang are taken from his work. Foremost, we may call attention to the observation that this community uses a lot of Dutch words unknown in mainstream East Javanese. The presence of Dutch words in this and other Indonesian gay slangs corresponds to what we may expect from in-group codes. However, the widespread idea that Dutch is used as a secret language among Indonesian transvestite communities appears to hail from rather ill-founded anecdotal observations (Vries 1989). Dutch loanwords in Surabayan gay slang include *baləcəs* ‘testicles’ (<*balletjes*), *əkə* ‘I’ (<*ikke*), *kranəkh* ‘handsome’ (<*kranig* ‘brave’), *spelən* ‘to have sexual intercourse’ (<*spelen* ‘to play’), *wil* ‘to feel attracted to someone’ (<*willen* ‘to want’), *ye* ‘you’ (<*jij*) and *yongən* ‘boy’ (<*jongen*). English loanwords include *taip* ‘someone’s preferred type of sex partner’ (<*type*) and *dərtudər* ‘coming to someone’s home to have sex’ (<*door-to-door*). In addition, Surabayan gay slang encodes words by taking their first syllable and the onset of the second syllable, adding the segment /si/ in front. This is illustrated in Table 10.

EAST JAVANESE ORIGINAL	SURABAYAN GAY SLANG	MEANING
balən	sibal	‘prostitute’
cili?	sicil	‘small (of penis)’
grates	sigrat	‘free’
lanang	silan	‘man’

EAST JAVANESE ORIGINAL	SURABAYAN GAY SLANG	MEANING
polisi	sipol	'police'
spelən	sispel	'to have sexual intercourse'
səɲʔ	sisən	'prostitute'
selet	sisel	'arse'
sunat	sisun	'circumcised'
yəŋgən	siyəŋg	'boy'

Table 10. Word-formation through the prefix *si-*.

If the second syllable starts with a sequence of consonants, only the initial phoneme is retained, as shown in Table 11.

EAST JAVANESE ORIGINAL	SURABAYAN GAY SLANG	MEANING
banci	siban	'homosexual'
brəndəŋg	sibrən	'young man'
dandan	sidan	'to wear women's clothing'
jəmbot	sijəm	'pubic hair'
kəntəl	sikən	'penis'
ləmbəŋg	silem	'to behave in an effeminate way'
ləŋte	silən	'prostitute'
ngərti	singər	'to know (that someone is gay)'
ngganɲəŋg	singgan	'handsome'
ngəndɛʔ	singən	'to behave in an effeminate way'
pəntel	sipən	'nipple'
təntara	sitən	'soldier'

Table 11. Simplification of consonant clusters in Surabayan gay slang.

Affricates and voiced consonants are replaced by their homorganic voiceless consonants. Retroflex consonants, off-glides and palatal nasals <ny> are not permitted at a word-final position. Compare the innovations in Table 12.

EAST JAVANESE ORIGINAL	SURABAYAN GAY SLANG	MEANING
bojo	sibot	'boyfriend'
gədə	sigət	'large (of penis)'
mbayar	simba	'to pay (for sex)'
ngləɲʔ	singlət	'to masturbate'

EAST JAVANESE ORIGINAL	SURABAYAN GAY SLANG	MEANING
nyɔnya	sinyɔn	‘madam’
payu	sipa	‘to be in demand’
pəju	sipət	‘sperm’
tabrak	sitap	‘to collide’
wɛdɔʔ	siwɛt	‘woman’

Table 12. Phonotactics in Surabayan gay slang.

Surabaya’s gay slang displays two more phonological processes to encode words. The first replaces the penultimate syllable with /ɛ/ and the syllable rhyme with /ɔŋ/, the second replaces the penultimate syllable with /ɛ/ and the syllable rhyme with /es/. Both processes are also used in Jakarta’s gay slang (Van der Meij 1983; Boellstorff 2007). The word *bencɔŋ* ‘homosexual’ (from *banci*) has even found its way into mainstream Indonesian. The word *ɛbɛs* ‘father’, also known in Prokem and Boso Walikan, probably goes back to Arabic *ab* (أب) ‘father’ or *abī* (أبي) ‘my father’. As suggested by Oetomo (1990), the form *ɛrbɔŋ* ~ *ɛrbɛs* ‘Arab’ may have been borrowed from Arabic ‘*arbi* (عربي) ‘Arab’, since the Malay equivalent *arab* would have yielded ***ɛrɔŋ* ~ ***ɛres*. In general, the system is regular and predictable. Not every word is commonly altered. The most frequently used words, as documented by Oetomo (1990), are listed in Table 13.

EAST JAVANESE	MALAY/INDONESIAN	ɔŋ	ɛs	MEANING
	banci	bɛncɔŋ	bɛnces	‘homosexual’
	bərbulu	bərbɛlɔŋ	bərbɛles	‘with hair’
	clana	clɛnɔŋ		‘trousers’
dandan		dɛndɔŋ	dɛndɛs	‘to wear women’s clothing’
gɛdɛ		gɛdɔŋ	gɛdɛs	‘big (of penis)’
	grates	grɛtɔŋ		‘free’
	homo	hɛmɔŋ	hɛmɛs	‘homosexual’
	kluwar	klɛwɔŋ	klɛwɛs	‘to ejaculate’
kɔŋtɔl		kɛŋtɔŋ	kɛŋtɛs	‘penis’
laki		lɛkɔŋ	lɛkɛs	‘potential sex partner’
lɔcɔʔ		lɛcɔŋ	lɛcɛs	‘to masturbate’
	maen	mɛɔŋ	mɛɛs	‘to have sex’

EAST JAVANESE	MALAY/INDONESIAN	ꦗꦁ	ꦱ	MEANING
mbayar		mbꦪꦁ	mbꦱ	'to pay (for sex)'
	panjat	pꦤꦗꦠ	pꦤꦱ	'buttocks'
	polisi	pꦺꦴꦭꦱꦶ		'police'
	prəmpuwan	pꦫꦺꦩꦥꦸꦮꦤ		'woman'
	raba-raba	rꦫꦧꦁ-rꦫꦧꦁ		'to feel something'
	ratus	rꦠꦺꦴꦁ	rꦠꦱ	'hundred'
	sama-sama	sꦱꦩꦁ-sꦱꦩꦁ		'sex out of mutual consent'
sꦱꦁꦁ			sꦱꦁꦱ	'nine'
	təntara	tꦤꦠꦺꦫꦁ		'soldier'

Table 13. *ꦗꦁ* and *ꦱ* vocabulary in Surabayan gay slang.

"In a limited number of cases, words that have undergone changes of the above type are given the aforementioned /si/ prefix to further obscure their meaning: *sibꦱꦺꦴꦤ* 'homosexual' (<*bꦱꦺꦴꦤꦁ* ~ *bꦱꦺꦴꦤꦱ*<*banci*), *sikꦱꦺꦴꦤ* 'penis' (<*kꦺꦴꦤꦁ* ~ *kꦺꦴꦤꦱ*<*kꦺꦴꦤꦥ*), *silꦱꦺꦴꦤ* 'potential sex partner' (<*lꦺꦴꦁ* ~ *lꦺꦴꦤꦱ*<*laki*), *simꦱꦺꦴꦤ* 'to pay (for sex)' (<*mbꦪꦁ* ~ *mbꦱ*<*mbayar*) and *simꦱꦺꦴꦤ* 'to have sex' (<*mꦺꦴꦁ* ~ *mꦱ*<*maen*). As is the case with Boso Walikan vocabulary, words in Surabayan gay slang are subject to the default East Javanese morphology: *disilꦱꦺꦴꦤ* 'masturbated' (<*uv-silꦱꦺꦴꦤ*<*silꦱꦺꦴꦤ*<*lꦱꦱꦺꦴꦤ* 'to masturbate'), *nyisꦱꦺꦴꦤ* 'to have anal sex' (<*av-(s)isꦱꦺꦴꦤ*<*sisꦱꦺꦴꦤ*<*selet* 'arse') and *bꦺꦴꦪꦱꦤ* 'male prostitute' (<*bꦺꦴꦪꦱ*-NMLZ<*bꦺꦴꦪꦱ*<*bayar* 'to pay')."

2.3 CHINESE YOUTH SLANG

The Chinese community of Surabaya has its own specific linguistic habits, locally known as *ꦢꦶꦭꦺꦴꦥꦺꦴꦩꦲ* 'Chinese dialect' or *ꦱꦶꦁꦏꦺꦴꦤ* 'China speech'. As is the case elsewhere in the region, this variety incorporates elements from Malay, Hokkien (in particular the Xiàmén and Zhāngzhōu subdialects of Southern Min) and the local language (in this case East Javanese). Very similar varieties are found in the East Javanese towns of Probolinggo (Prasetyowati 2005), Pasuruan (Oetomo 1987) and Malang (Dreyfuss and Djoehana 1979; Rafferty 1982). As was the case throughout the former Dutch East Indies, the Chinese and other non-European immigrant communities had been denied Dutch education until the late nineteenth century, by which time a large number of people had sought literacy in Malay (Rafferty 1984: 255). In the early twentieth century, following the establishment of the Tiong Hoa Hwee Koan (that is *tionghoa hōekóan*, 中華會館) – an influential institution for the Chinese inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies – and the National Language Unification Movement in China, education in Mandarin increased in popularity (Oetomo

1987: 172–173, 182). Mandarin was normally called *Cina Putōnghoa* ‘standard Chinese’ (from Mandarin *Pǔtōnghuà*, 普通話) in Indonesia. As elsewhere in Southeast Asia, Chinese people from different dialect groups will often attempt to use Mandarin as their common language. However, their proficiency in this language greatly depends on their age, regional and educational background.

During the New Order, Chinese education was banned and the use of the Chinese languages remained highly restricted for the next decades to come. This situation changed drastically after the fall of Soeharto in 1998. New liberties regarding the use of languages other than Bahasa Indonesia, combined with the global popularity of Mandarin, led not only to the re-Sinification of Indonesia’s Chinese communities, but also to the incorporation of Mandarin into the curriculums of numerous elite schools in Indonesia. Among the Chinese communities in East Java, proficiency in the ancestral Hokkien variety is generally low (Oetomo 1987: 165) and competence in Mandarin depends on one’s generation and educational background. To some extent, the Chinese communities in East Java have made their home-grown variety of Malay into a language of identity. This variety is characterised by a strong East Javanese substrate in the domains of phonology and morphosyntax. For the older generations, this might be the language in which they can express themselves most fluently. However, I have also seen it in extensive use among younger Surabayans of Chinese ancestry and even among Javanese who move in Chinese circles. According to Dede Oetomo (1991: 1), East Javanese adolescents of Chinese ancestry prefer this language to popular slang from Jakarta (in the 1990s). In what follows, I will give some notes on the present situation.

As is the case with the Malay varieties spoken by the Chinese communities elsewhere in Southeast Asia, the speech of Surabaya’s Chinese community incorporates several grammatical elements from Hokkien. It is beyond the scope of this paper to delve deep into this lexical and grammatical substrate. In summary, syntactic elements include the use of the negative imperative marker *mbəʔ* ‘don’t’ from the negative marker *bô* (無), the verb *pigi ~ pagi ~ gi* ‘to go’ as a directional marker under influence of *khi* (去) ‘to go, to(wards)’, the verb *kasi* ‘to give’ as a causative marker under influence of *hō* (互) ‘to give’ and the possessive marker *punya* that follows the same patterns as the possessive marker *ê* (的) in Hokkien. This has been relatively well documented for the Chinese-Malay varieties of West Malaysia (Lim 1981; Pakir 1986). In addition, Surabayan Chinese Malay uses many of the Hokkien loanwords also common in neighbouring varieties (Oetomo 1987; Kong 2005; Jones 2009), mostly in the domains of names, kinship terms, numerals and terms for typical Chinese things and concepts. Thus, East Javanese adolescents of Chinese ancestry would use such words as *cəngli* ‘just; fair’ from Hokkien *chēnglí* (情理) and *səpien* ‘to urinate’ from Hokkien *siópiān* (小便), whereas non-Chinese speakers would use the East Javanese equivalents *adil* and *ngəncing*. While their grandparents may have used the Dutch loanword *məner* ‘Sir’, this generation employs the Mandarin counterpart *xiānshēng* (先生). For the

personal pronouns, we see a shift from Dutch borrowings like *ekə* 'I; me' and *ye* 'you' to Mandarin *wǒ* (我) and *nǐ* (你), alongside the Malay equivalents *saya* and *kamu*, East Javanese *aku* and *kəən* and the Hokkien loanwords *gua* (<*goá*, 我) and *lu* (<*lú*, 汝). The same holds true for kinship terms, religious terms, numbers, dates, etcetera. As is the case in the Chinese-Indonesian vernacular of Jakarta, code-switching between Malay and Mandarin also involves the use of several interjections and short phrases from the latter (Haryono 1990).

Examples 12), 13), and 14) were recorded among Surabayan adolescents of Chinese ancestry. Below each example, I give the equivalents in the local Malay dialect (as spoken by non-Chinese people) and in East Javanese:

- 12) *Itu* *barang-e* *mbə?* *di-turun-nə* *lho!*
 DEM things-DEF VET UV-go.down-APPL DP
 'Don't bring those things down!'
Barang-e itu *jangan* *di-turun-kan* *lho!*
Barang-e iku *əpə?* *di-udun-nə* *lho!*
- 13) *Mana* *gua* *punya* *səpatu?*
 Where 1s POSS shoe
 'Where are my shoes?'
Mana *səpatu* *saya?*
Əndi *səpatu-ku?*
- 14) *Lu* *ga?* *səpiən* *tah?*
 2S not take.a.pee DP
 'Won't you take a pee?'
Kamu *ga?* *kəncing* *tah?*
Kəən *ga?* *kəncing* *tah?*

2.4 TEXT SLANG

The use of SMS messages, twitter and internet slang forms a largely untapped resource in linguistic data collection. Thus far, research on this topic has limited itself to some remarks on the use of text slang in Indonesia (David 2007: 107-111) and Malaysia (Hoogervorst forthcoming). Outside Southeast Asia, too, much remains to be done in this field; Sandra Nekesa Barasa's PhD thesis on digital language use in Kenya (2010) forms an important initial step. In the Indonesian cybersphere, it may be observed that the online occurrence of Javanese dialects – previously negligible (Arps and Supriyanto 2002) – has sky-rocketed during the last decade. It can be found on Facebook and other social network sites, in e-mails, chat boxes, digital forums, and in the comments sections of weblogs and media-sharing websites. As is the case elsewhere, the

text slang of Surabaya’s speech community is characterized by abbreviations due to the limited amount of characters permitted in SMS and other electronic messages. The text slang of Surabaya is very similar to that of Malang and other places in the region.

As we have seen previously, written East Javanese does not differentiate between such phonemes as /e/, /ɛ/ and /ə/, /o/ and /ɔ/, /d/ and /ɖ/, /t/ and /ʈ/, etcetera. In addition, the word-final glottal stop, written as <k> in Javanese orthography, is often omitted in text slang: *ne* /nɛʔ/ ‘if’, *ono* /ɔnɔʔ/ ‘there is’ and *iso* /isɔʔ/ ‘can’. Affixed forms tend to be written as separate units: *bek ne* /bɛʔne/ ‘maybe’, *de e* /dɛʔe/ ‘he; she’, *ke isuk en* /kəisuʔən/ ‘too early’, *matur o* /maturɔ/ ‘please tell’ and *ta delok i* /taʔdələʔi/ ‘I’ll look at’. Reduplication is marked using the number 2: *su2l* ‘to pick up’ (<*susul*>), *ja2n* ‘snacks’ (<*jajan*>), *bo2* ‘to sleep’ (<*boboʔ*>), *ksa2r* ‘to get lost’ (<*kəsasər*>) and *ke tu2r en* ‘to shiver’ (<*kətuʔurən*>). In addition, we find several commonly abbreviated forms, as illustrated in Table 14:

TEXT SLANG	EAST JAVANESE	MEANING
<i>ak</i>	aku	‘I; me’
<i>drg</i>	durung	‘not yet’
<i>g</i>	gaʔ	‘not’
<i>glm</i>	gələm	‘to like’
<i>gnok</i>	gaʔnɔʔ	‘there is not’
<i>gpp</i>	gaʔpɔ-ɔpɔ	‘no problem’
<i>kb</i>	kabɛh	‘all’
<i>kbr</i>	kabar	‘news’
<i>kdu</i>	kudu	‘must’
<i>kpn</i>	kapan	‘when’
<i>ktm</i>	kətəmu	‘to meet’
<i>ky</i>	kɔyɔʔ	‘such as’
<i>Mjk</i>	Mɔjɔkərtɔ	‘Mojokerto’
<i>Malg</i>	Malang	‘Malang’
<i>mne</i>	məne	‘tomorrow’
<i>ng</i>	nang	‘to(wards)’
<i>ngu</i>	nunggu	‘to wait (av)’
<i>pngn</i>	pengen	‘to want’
<i>Sby</i>	Surɔbɔyɔ	‘Surabaya’
<i>sg</i>	seng	rel. part.
<i>smpe</i>	sampeʔ	‘until’

TEXT SLANG	EAST JAVANESE	MEANING
<i>smpean</i>	sampeyan	'you (polite)'
<i>tgu</i>	tunggu	'to wait'
<i>tko</i>	təkɔʔ	'from; to come'
<i>tku</i>	tuku	'to buy'
<i>tmbh</i>	tambah	'to add'
<i>tp</i>	tapi	'but'
<i>ws</i>	wes	'already'

Table 14. Surabayan text slang.

Consider the following examples of Surabayan text slang:

- 15) *yo, ta delok e mene yo, ambek ngrungok no mp3 e.*
Yo, taʔ-dəlɔʔ-e mənə yo, ambɛʔ ng-rung(u)-ɔʔnɔ mp3-e.
 Yes, DES-look.at-3s tomorrow DP with AV-hear-APPL mps-DEF
 'Yes, I'll have a look at it tomorrow, while listening to the mp3s.'
- 16) *jek tas tangi ak. test e ok. jek ngu*
Jeʔ tas tangi aku. Test-e ɔke. Jeʔ n-(t)unggu
 still just get.up 1s test-DEF okay still AV-wait
panggilan maneh.
panggilan maneh.
 call again
 'Sorry, I just woke up. The test went okay. I'm still waiting for another call.'

3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have attempted to present a contemporary overview – by no means complete – of the slang and sociolects of East Java. Studying socio-linguistic phenomena involves studying the demographically variegated societies in which they can emerge and thrive. In the case of Boso Walikan, its development from an exclusive insiders' code to a hallmark of regional pride underlies nationwide historical developments: the struggle against Dutch colonialism, post-independence regionalist sentiments, youth culture and – especially after Indonesia's decentralization policy – the pride to be part of Malang's urban speech community. In Surabaya, I have called attention to the secret languages and speech behaviour of several different social groups, including adolescents, the gay community and Chinese-Indonesians. This is no more than a preliminary endeavour to chart the linguistic ecology of East Java, one I hope other scholars will continue to devote their attention to.

The varieties under comparison demonstrate several important similarities. In all cases, there is a high degree of convergence between East Javanese and the local variety of Malay/Bahasa Indonesia. While the phonological processes used to encode vocabulary differ from one variety to the next, the innovations are all lexical and more or less predictable. Nouns, verbs, adjectives and other word classes are incorporated into the secret languages, which still predominantly follow the grammar of East Javanese. The “secret” words are treated as a part of the morphology of the matrix language and can be verbalized, nominalized or otherwise inflected according to the same rules as default vocabulary. While encoded vocabulary normally adapts itself to East Javanese phonotactics, Boso Walikan shows some isolated cases in which these rules are violated, such as *Atrakaj* ‘Jakarta’ and *kɔdɛw* ‘woman’. Finally, it is important to point out that the linguistic categories used in this study are not fixed. A simple ludling may stand at the basis of a criminal argot, a criminal argot can change into a youth language, and a youth language can become more widely understood within an urban community and become a marker of regional identity.

With shopping malls, entertainment venues and nightclubs springing up all over its cities, youth culture has become an increasingly prominent and tangible part of life in Indonesia. Like their peers in other parts of the world, East Javanese adolescents mix different languages at their disposal, invent new words through a variety of processes and bring new meanings to existing words. Improved education and career opportunities enable them to remain “young people” for much longer than the generations before them, away from the social pressure to start a family. The “ageless” hipsters from NYC and L.A., who have influenced or taken over popular culture in many parts of the world from the 1990s onwards, demonstrate essentially the same thing: age groups are flexible and changing. Whether or not this will eventually lead to a “rejuvenation of language” remains to be examined case by case. In East Java, the “youth” will have to work hard to keep their speech hidden to “older people”.

REFERENCES

- Arps, Bernard and I. Supriyanto. 2002. “Special report; Javanese on the internet”, *Caraka*, ‘The Messenger’. *A Newsletter for Javanists* 37-38: 1-10.
- Barasa, Sandra Nekesa. 2010. *Language, mobile phones and internet; A study of SMS texting, email, IM, and SNS chats in computer mediated communication (CMC) in Kenya*. PhD thesis, University of Leiden.
- Boellstorff, Tom. 2007. *A coincidence of desires; Anthropology, queer studies, Indonesia*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Conklin, H.C. 1956. “Tagalog speech disguise”, *Language* 32: 136-139.
- David, Bettina. 2007. *Indonesisch slang; Bahasa gaul*. Bielefeld: Reise-Know-How.
- Dreyfuss, G.R. 1983. “The backward language of Jakarta youth; A bird of many language feathers”, *Nusa* 16: 52-56.

- Dreyfuss, G.R. and Oka Djoehana. 1979. "Chinese Indonesian; A new kind of language hybrid?", in: S.A. Wurm (ed.) *Papers in Pidgin and Creole Linguistics* 2, pp. 247-274. Canberra: Australian National University. [Pacific Linguistics A-57.]
- Evans, I.H.N. 1917. "Malay back-slang", *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums* 7: 115-116.
- Gil, David. 2002. "Ludlings in Malayic languages; An introduction", in: Bambang Kaswanti Purwo (ed.), *Pertemuan Linguistik Pusat Kajian Bahasa dan Budaya Atma Jaya: Kelima Belas*, pp. 125-180. Jakarta: Unika Atma Jaya.
- Fox, James J. 2005. "Ritual languages, special registers and speech decorum in Austronesian languages", in: Alexander Adelaar and Nikolaus P. Himmelmann (eds), *The Austronesian languages of Asia and Madagascar*, pp. 87-109. London and New York: Routledge.
- Haryono, Inny C. 1990. "Kelompok dwibahasawan Indonesia - Cina Putonghua di Pancoran - Jakarta Barat", in: Muhadjir and Basuki Suhardi (eds), *Bilingualisme dan variasi bahasa*, pp. 124-137. Depok: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia. [Lembaran Sastra 11-12.]
- Hoogervorst, Tom G. 2009. "Urban dynamics; An impression of Surabaya's sociolinguistic setting", *Wacana* 11(1): 39-56.
- Hoogervorst, Tom G. Forthcoming. "Malay youth language in West Malaysia", in: Dwi Novi Djenar (ed.), *Youth languages of Indonesia and Malaysia*. Jakarta: Atma Jaya University/Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia.
- Jasawijata and Kartadarmadja. 1921. "Eenige voorbeelden van geheime taal in het Javaansch", *Djawa* 1: 53-54.
- Jones, Russel. 2009. *Chinese loan-words in Malay and Indonesian*. Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press.
- Kartomihardjo, Soeseno. 1981. *Ethnography of communicative codes in East Java*. PhD thesis, Australian National University.
- Kawira, Lita Pamela. 1990. "Bahasa Prokem di Jakarta", in: Muhadjir and Basuki Suhardi (eds), *Bilingualisme dan variasi bahasa*, pp. 1-23. Depok: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia. [Lembaran Sastra 11-12.]
- Knebel, J. 1901. "Varia Javanica. (Over Kalangs. - Pasar Londå. - Legende van Telågå-Pasir. - Over het Tingkëb-feest. - Legende van Njahi-Agëng Någåpërtåå. - Over dievetaal. - Over reiniging), den Javaan naverteld", *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 44: 24-59.
- Kong Yuanzhi. 2005. *Silang budaya Tiongkok-Indonesia*. Jakarta: Bhuana Ilmu Populer.
- Laycock, Don. 1972. "Towards a typology of ludlings, or play-languages", *Linguistic communications* 6: 61-113.
- Lefkowitz, Natalie. 1991. *Talking backwards, looking forwards; The French language game Verlan*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Lim, Sonny. 1981. *Baba Malay; The language of the 'straits-born' Chinese*. Melbourne: Monash University.

- Meij, Th. C. van der. 1983. "Enige aspecten van geheimtaal in Jakarta". Master thesis, University of Leiden.
- Mous, Maarten. 2009. "The development of urban youth languages in Africa", in: M.C. Junyent (ed.), *Transferences; The expression of extra-linguistic processes in the world's languages*, pp. 215-232. Vic: Eumo Editorial.
- Oetomo, Dede. 1987. *The Chinese of Pasuruan; Their language and identity*. Canberra: Australian National University. [Pacific Linguistics D-63.]
- Oetomo, Dede. 1990. "Bahasa rahasia waria dan gay di Surabaya", in: Muhadjir and Basuki Suhardi (eds), *Bilingualisme dan variasi bahasa*, pp. 53-67. Depok: Fakultas Sastra Universitas Indonesia. [Lembaran Sastra 11-12.]
- Oetomo, Dede. 1991. "Kemultibahasa dan identitas orang Cina di Indonesia", in: Oetomo, Dede, Jennifer Gushman, and Gungwu Wang (eds), *Perubahan identitas orang Cina di Asia Tenggara*, pp. 131-43. Jakarta: Grafiti.
- Pakir, Anne Geok-In Sim. 1986. *A linguistic investigation of Baba Malay*. PhD thesis, University of Hawaii.
- Prasetyowati, Dwi Agus. 2005. "Ciri-ciri kalimat perintah ragam bahasa etnik Cina peranakan di pecinan Probolinggo", Master thesis, Universitas Jember.
- Prentice, D.J. 1982. "Some ludic aspects of Timugon Murut", in: Amran Halim, Lois Carrington, and S.A. Wurm (eds), *Papers from the Third International Conference on Austronesian Linguistics. Volume 3; Accent on variety*, pp. 145-55. Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- Pujileksono, Sugeng and Rinekso Kartono. 2007. *Model pelestarian budaya lokal melalui bahasa Walikan Malang dalam menciptakan integrasi di Kota Malang*. Malang: Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang.
- Purnama, Karyono. 1993. "Slang bahasa Melayu Brunei". Paper, Simposium Internasional Ilmu-Ilmu Humaniora II: Bidang Sejarah & Linguistik, Yogyakarta, 26-27 April.
- Purwadi. 1986. "Jargon pelacur di proyek lokalisasi dan rehabilitasi wanita Harapan Sumberjati desa Rambipuji". Master thesis: Universitas Jember.
- Rafferty, Ellen. 1982. *Discourse structures of the Chinese Indonesian of Malang*. Jakarta: Universitas Atma Jaya. [NUSA 12.]
- Rafferty, Ellen. 1984. "Languages of the Chinese of Java; An historical review", *Journal of Asian Studies* 2: 247-272.
- Rahardja, Prathama and Henri Chambert-Loir. 1988. *Kamus bahasa prokem*. Jakarta: Grafitipers.
- Rahman, Azizul Rahman Abdul. 1995. *Bahasa rahsia bahasa Melayu*. Bangi: Penerbit Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia.
- Samper, David Arthur. 2002. *Talking Sheng; The role of a hybrid language in the construction of identity and youth culture in Nairobi, Kenya*. PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania.
- Slabbert, S. and C. Myers-Scotton. 1996. "The structure of Tsotsitaal and Isicamtho; Code-switching and in-group identity in South African townships", *Linguistics* 34: 317-342.

- Sudarwati. 1987. "Ragam bahasa remaja di Kotamadya Malang". Master thesis, Universitas Jember.
- Suhardi. 1977. "Permainan kata dalam bahasa Jawa", *Bahasa dan Sastra* 6: 2-6.
- Suharto. 1983. "Bahasa Walikan Malang tidak lagi bersifat rahasia", *Sinar Harapan* 9 August 1983.
- Valdman, Albert. 2000. "La langue des faubourgs et des banlieues; De l'argot au français populaire", *The French review* 6: 1179-1192.
- Vries, Jan W. de. 1989. "Travestieten in Jakarta; Nederlands als geheimtaal", *Ons Erfdeel* 32: 717-722.
- Widodo, Dukut Imam. 2006. "Osob Kiwalan", in: Dukut Imam Widodo (ed.), *Malang tempo doeloe; Djilid doea*, pp. 165-172. Malang: Bayumedia Publishing.
- Yulianto, Bambang. 2010. "Penggunaan cara walikan dalam bahasa Jawa dialek Tuban kajian fonologi generatif." [Research report.]