

THE CONSTRUCTION OF CONTRACTIONS IN JAVANESE

KONSTRUKSI KONTRAKSI DALAM BAHASA JAWA

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Abstract

As Indonesia's most widely spoken local language, Javanese is rich in linguistic phenomena that need to be understood, especially by speakers, linguists, and academia. One of these linguistic phenomena is contraction. This study investigates various types and communicative functions of Javanese contractions commonly used in informal situations. By qualitatively analyzing the data collected from Javanese grammar and textbooks and researchers' intuition as native speakers, this study found that Javanese has two types of contractions, i.e., internal (created by omission of internal letters and sounds) and external contraction (created by reducing the syllables of entire or partial each word). Most of these contractions were manifested through removing the first syllable, although other possibilities exist in much rarer cases. Aside from the intention of creating a more economical expression, this study discovered that contraction processes in Javanese could also be used to create humorous and euphemistic effects, maintain secrecy, and increase aesthetic effects.

Keywords: Javanese language; internal contractions; external contractions; deletion; communicative function

Abstrak

Sebagai bahasa daerah yang paling banyak digunakan di Indonesia, bahasa Jawa kaya akan fenomena kebahasaan yang perlu dipahami terutama oleh para penutur, ahli bahasa dan akademisi. Salah satu fenomena linguistik tersebut adalah kontraksi. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengidentifikasi jenis dan fungsi komunikatif dalam kontraksi bahasa Jawa yang banyak ditemukan dalam penggunaan bahasa lisan lokal terbesar di Indonesia, terutama dalam acara-acara informal. Dengan menganalisis secara kualitatif data yang dikumpulkan dari tata bahasa Jawa dan buku-buku teks, serta yang secara naluriah diperoleh dari intuisi peneliti sebagai penutur asli, penelitian ini mengidentifikasi bahwa orang Jawa memiliki dua jenis kontraksi, yaitu kontraksi internal (dengan menghilangkan huruf dan pelafalan internal) dan eksternal kontraksi (dengan mengurangi seluruh atau sebagian suku kata dari setiap kata). Semua jenis kontraksi tersebut diwujudkan dalam bentuk penghapusan suku kata awal, meskipun juga terdapat kemungkinan lain, meskipun kasus tersebut lebih jarang ditemukan. Terlepas dari niat untuk mencapai ekspresi yang lebih ekonomis, proses kontraksi dalam bahasa Jawa juga dapat berfungsi untuk mendapatkan efek lucu dan eufemistik, menjaga kerahasiaan, dan menghilangkan efek estetik.

Kata kunci: bahasa Jawa; kontraksi internal; kontraksi eksternal; penghilangan; fungsi komunikatif

1. Introduction

Maximum 'ease of articulation (EoA)' as one of the linguistic principles is considered universal, predictable, and sufficient in all languages worldwide (Locke, 1972). The principle concerns how particular sound changes in words might be motivated by how easy or hard the word is to pronounce (Napoli et al., 2014: 424). Consequently, speakers of any language tend to produce or construct linguistic elements (words, phrases, clauses, etc.) as short or as simple as possible, let alone speech situations, particularly by toning down the level of formality that allows them to perform some actions in communication.

The role of ease of articulation in shaping speech may be more influential than generally assumed, as numerous linguistic processes exist in any language contributing to its function. Those processes manifest in non-morphemic word formations, including deletion, acronym, assimilation, clipping, and so on (Fandrych, 2004; Yule, 2010; Baltova, 2019). In Indonesia, natives tend to exert the least effort in articulating sounds. For example, the phrase *tidak ada* 'non-existent/absent/none' is frequently and simply contracted to *tiada*, the word *emas* 'gold' is commonly contracted to *mas* 'gold', as the shorter forms are undoubtedly easier to pronounce. Differently, the sound /h/ in the middle of a word preceded by nonidentical vowels, such as *tahu* 'know', is often deleted to become [tau]. However, the sound /h/ between identical vowels is usually sustained by natives, such as in *pahat* 'carver' and *jahat* 'wicked'. If there are homonymic clashes to avoid, the existence of /h/ is also maintained, such as in *tahu* 'tofu'.

Apart from Indonesian, Arabic has numerous examples of the assimilation process. One is regressive assimilation, changing the final article sound of 'al' to the identical sound directly following it. For example, combining *al + shobar*, *al + tauhid*, *al + Rahman*, becomes *As-Shobar* 'the most patient', *At-Tauhid* 'the only one', and *Ar-Rahman* 'the most merciful'. The regressive assimilation process can also be seen in the transformation of the Latin word *Colnis* 'hill' into *Collis* (Keraf, 1991, 28). Therefore, the vowel deletion is frequently found in French, as *le home* 'human' becomes *l'home* 'the human'.

Indonesian may be one of the most acronym-rich languages. It can be found across domains of life. In the military domain, there is *ABRI* which stands for 'Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia' (Indonesian Armed Forces), *AL* 'Angkatan Laut' (Navy), *AU* 'Angkatan Udara' (Air Force), *Hankam* 'Pertahanan Keamanan' (Security Defence), *Wamil* 'Wajib Militer' (Military Obligation), etc. In the education domain, we found acronyms such as *Dikdasmen* 'Pendidikan Dasar dan Menengah' (Elementary and Secondary Education), *Dikti* 'Pendidikan Tinggi' (Tertiary Education), *Tendik* 'Tenaga Kependidikan' (Educational Staff). All of these complex phenomena are inextricably linked to the speakers' tendency to communicate or speak more effectively and efficiently.

Javanese is the most widely spoken local language in Indonesia. According to the 2000 population census, Javanese is spoken by more than 80 million (about 38%) of Indonesia's total population of 211 million (Denistia & Baayen, 2022; "Language Data for Indonesia," n.d.). Javanese was the leading contender for the language with the official status. Even

though it has the most significant number of speakers, Javanese is not the official or national language as it was only spoken natively on Java island (Hoy-Kee, 1971; Cohn & Ravindranath, 2014; Farikah et al., 2022).

Based on the 1928 youth pledge agreement, Indonesian (derived from Malay) was adopted as a national language and formal means of communication. Since the youth pledge, the number of Indonesians who can speak Indonesian has grown steadily. Nowadays, almost all Indonesians speak Indonesian as the national and official language (Anwar, 1980; Holmes, 1995), and Javanese has become a means of communication on informal or less formal occasions among the Javanese native speakers in stable diglossia situations (Khubchandani, 1985; Errington, 1986; Holmes, 1995; Wijana, 2003; Klok, 2019). Due to its specific use, the Javanese language is rich in linguistic phenomena intended to construct simpler forms that can be used in informal situations. Notwithstanding, it is undeniable that most Javanese speakers are more familiar with the informal or casual forms, such as linguistic changes of *wuragil* 'the youngest child' to become *ragil*, *mengko dhisik* 'just a moment' to become *kosik*, *dumatheng* 'to' to become *datheng*, *nyambut gawé* 'working' to become *mbutgé*, *minggir-minggir* 'go to the edge' to become *nggir-nggir*. These few examples demonstrate that contraction processes can occur within monomorphemic words, polymorphemic words, phrases, clauses, etc., by deleting the initial syllable(s), polymorphemic word affixes, or other decisions.

An extensive literature review about contractions to diachronic or historical issues is conducted by Crowley (1992: 39-43). He begins his discussion with lenition, which in its extreme forms will lead to the

disappearance of the weakest sound. For example, in modern English, the [ð] sound that exists in the word [histðri] is often pronounced as [histri]. Further, he differentiates the contraction into several categories, i.e., aphaeresis, apocope, syncope, cluster reduction, and haplology. The aphaeresis process happens when the initial consonants are dropped, such as the consonant dropping in Angkamuthi, a language in Cape York Peninsula in Australia. The word *maji* 'food' changed into *aji*, *nani* 'ground' into *ani*, *nampu* 'tooth', etc. Apocope happens when the final consonants are also dropped, such as losing the final consonants of South Ambrym, a language in Vanuatu, in which *utu* 'lice' changed to *ut*, *aNo* 'fly' into *aN*, *tohu* 'sugar cane' to *toh*, etc. Syncope refers to the loss of vowels in the middle of words. This process directly causes the emergence of clusters that did not exist in that language before, such as the changes that happened in Modern English [pɒli:smðn] to be [plis:mðn], or some words of Tanna in Vanuatu: *namatana* 'his/her eye' to be *nimrin*, *nalimana* 'his/her hand' to be *nelmin*, and *masa* 'low tide' to be *mha*. Cluster reduction happens when one of its consonants is deleted, such as the consonant deletion found in Melanesian Pidgin words that originated from English. For example, [district] 'district', [pEint] 'paint', and [taeNk] 'tank' are often pronounced [distrik], [pen], and [taN]. Finally, haplology refers to the loss of an entire syllable, mainly when it occurs next to another identical or very similar syllable, such as the changes that happened in 'Anglaland' to become 'England' 'the land of angles', [laibrðri] 'library' to become [laibri]. These facts indicate that Crowley's discussion concerning contraction only includes phonological reducing processes within words, yet according to Crystal

(1980: 89), it has a much broader concept that refers to all processes that phonologically reduce linguistic forms. This process can either be applied to adjacent linguistics or a sequence of forms so that they appear as single forms, such as *I've* and *haven't* which respectively come from *I have* and *have not*, as well as *I can*, *you can't*, *I should*, *you shouldn't*, or in French *du* and *des* that come from *de le* and *de les*.

Contraction's discussions in Indonesian are also related to phonological shortening. It occurs within the words that include aphaeresis (*tetapi* 'but' > *tapi*), syncope (*Bahagia* 'happy' > *bagia*), apocope (*adjektiva* > *adjektif*), and haplology (*budidaya* > *budaya*) (Keraf, 1991: 170-171). Wijana (2010: 14-15) in his investigation of "Indonesian adolescent slang," mentions several phenomena of contraction, such as the modification process of *éyang putri* 'grandmother' to be *éyang ti*, *kuliah* 'lecture' to be *kul*, *permisi* 'permission' to be *misaé*, and *warnet* 'internet café' to be *W-net*. Meanwhile, discussions about contraction in Javanese found in Javanese lesson books generally revolve around three types of words, i.e. *tembung garba* (external sandhi), *tembung plutan* (internal contraction), and *tembung camboran tugel* (external contraction) (Daryanto, 1999; Nuraini, 2012; Susanto & Trisnawati, 2019). The changes of *sarwa indah* 'everything is beautiful' to be *sarwéndah*, *amrih* 'in order to' to be *mrih*, and *ibu cilik* 'aunt' to *bulik* are respectively examples of external sandhi, internal contraction, and external contraction. Wijana (2020) primarily discusses various types of *tembung garba* as one form of contraction process in Javanese. In much older books written by Padmosukotjo (1958), contraction includes *kerata basa* (folk etymology) and *tembung garba* (external sandhi). *Kerata basa* is a creative way to trace the meaning of words through a syllabic

lengthening process, such as *wédang* 'hot water', which is created as if coming from *ngawé kadang* 'waving friends/relatives', *guru* 'teacher' from *digugu lan ditiru* 'to be believed and imitated'. While, in one published by "Kementerian Pendidikan, dan Kebudayaan" (The Ministry of Teaching, Education, and Culture), contraction is a combination of words to become one. contraction is essentially synonymous with *tembung camboran kang ora jangkep* (incomplete compound) or "*tembung camboran tugel*" (external contraction). In the later book, however, *kerata basa* does not constitute/belong to contraction, because the shorter forms exist earlier than the longer/more complete ones.

Despite the various types of contraction, reviews of some studies have shown that no expert is trying to describe the functions of those phonological processes. Although it is already clear that contraction explicitly refers to any phonological shortening process involving two adjacent constituents (word or morph), a wider conceptual perspective is used to include broader shortening phenomena. From Indonesian construction theory, Kridalaksana (1982: 120) defines contraction as a reduction process that shortens lexeme or combination of lexemes. By this approach, Kridalaksana expected that the concept of contraction might also be viewed as a phonological, morphological, and syntactical phenomenon. This finding aligns with the new morphological process perspective in which specific contraction processes are regarded as one type of word formation. Bauer (1998: 32) exemplifies those various kinds of shortening bases (such as subtractive morph found in French to differentiate masculine and feminine (Moves 'bad' > move; *pâtît* 'little' > *pâti*) and clipping found in English (Binoculars >

Binocs, Delicatessen > deli, etc.)) constitute are one kind of morphological process. The other phenomenon, the so-called alphabet-based formation, is categorized as a morphological process, though he is unsure. This includes blends and acronyms. For example, the combination of *glass* and *asphalt* to become *glassphalt*, 'war' plus 'orgasm' to become *warghasm*, as well as SALT for "Strategic Limitation Task" and WASP for "White Anglo-Saxon Protestants". In much simpler classification, Kreidler (2002: 270) differentiates the derivation process into four types, consisting of addition, mutation, conversion, and subtraction. Among these types, only three exist in Indonesian or languages in Indonesia. Those are addition, conversion, and subtraction. Even though it is still debatable, reduplication includes the first type (addition) (see also Wijana (2010: 128)), and as far as shortening processes are concerned, some types of contraction can be included in the last type--subtraction. These phenomena motivate this study to address the contraction process found in this language. Two issues that became the focus of attention in this study include the various types of contraction and extra-linguistic factors which possibly influence such linguistic processes.

2. Methods

The majority of the data presented in this study were meticulously collected from Javanese grammar, Javanese lesson books, and from the researchers' intuition as a Javanese native speaker and more than 40 years have been living in Yogyakarta (as one of the essential Javanese-speaking areas, with linguistic interactions displaying a variety of Javanese styles, including formal, informal, polite, middle, low, and indecent). This study was under descriptive-qualitative approach which was

analyzed by following these steps. *First*, the contractions are differentiated into two types, i.e., internal and external. The first occurs at the level of a single word or within a single lexical unit, and the second occurs between two words or two lexical units. *Second*, the analysis then focused on the locus or distribution of the deleted parts, whether in the first, initial, middle, or final syllable. *Third*, concerning the external contraction, the classification is carried out along with the part of the word to be deleted. *Finally*, the analysis was directed to identify the various functions of contractions, such as whether the resulting forms are simply intended to achieve more simple or economical forms, or whether they are also intended to achieve certain stylistic effects or other more specific intentions.

3. Findings and Discussion

The following sections describe the types of Javanese contractions and their various functions in linguistic interaction.

3.1 Types of Javanese Contractions

As Javanese contractions can simply be differentiated into two types, internal contraction occurs within single words or lexical units. On the other hand, external contraction occurs due to the combination of two adjacent words or lexical units.

3.1.1 The construction of Javanese internal contractions

Many words in Javanese construction exist due to internal contraction, and all these words appear incomplete due to initial part reductions. The initial part could be a single sound, as what generally happens in aphaeresis *bisa* 'to be able' to become *isa*, *durung* 'not yet' to become *urung*, or the initial syllable for most Javanese words place the stress on the final syllable, such as

found in the reduction of *bablas* 'gone' to become *blas*, *séléléké* 'put down' to become *léhké*, *êmoh* 'do not want' to become *moh*, *minggir-minggir* 'go to the edge' to become *nggir-nggir*, *mandhak* 'to become' to become *ndhak*, *gotrah* 'relatives' to become *trah*, *lêbar* 'after' to become *bar*, *karebén* 'in order to' to become *ben*. The influence of foreign languages, pre-dominantly English to Indonesian, and the close relation between Indonesia and Javanese directly make borrowing some English clippings, such as *lab* for laboratory, *demo* for demonstration, etc. to Indonesian have a substantial effect on the use of Javanese. Clipping based on a native word can also be found, such as *perpustakaan* 'library' to become *perpus*. Javanese literary affix {-a} is often deleted using a less formal style, such as *amarga* 'because (of)' to become *marga*. Finally, the deletion in the middle of words constitutes the disappearance of polite marker {-um-} such as found in the changes of *dhumatêng* 'for' to become *datêng*, *dumugi* 'until' to be *dugi* in which the shorter forms are less formal though it is still considered polite. The consonant /h/ in the middle of words, such as *dahar* 'eat', *jahé* 'ginger', *pahing* 'second day of the Javanese week', *bahan* 'material/ingredient', etc. are also often deleted. Therefore, [daar], [jaé], [paing] and [baan] are more commonly heard pronunciations. So far, no single consonant is distributed in the final position to be deleted. If there is any, this also happens with the same consonant [h], such as *pamrih* 'purpose' to become *pamri(yé)* 'the pur-pose', *okéh* 'a lot/ many' to become *koké(yan)* 'too much'. Finally, to become Javanese words, several loan words borrowed from Indonesian containing schwa [ə] often underwent [schwa] deletion, such as the change of *pêrawan* 'virgin' to *prawan*, *pêrkasa* 'strong' to *prakosa* or *kêranjang* 'basket' to *kranjang*. Finally,

internal contraction can also happen between the base form and suffix. When two vowels are combined, the shortening process produces a single vowel with in-between articulation. This process is commonly known as *sandhi* {u + a > o; i + a > E}, such as *minggon* 'hanging out on Sunday' and *ijén* 'alone' which are respectively derived from *minggu* 'Sunday' + {-an} and *iji* 'one' + {-an}. This phenomenon is part of internal *sandhi* since the *sandhi* occurs in single words (Wijana & Rohmadi, 2006).

3.1.2 The construction of Javanese external contractions

Unlike internal contraction, external contraction involves two or more adjacent words. Hence, the reduction can be entirely or partly on the syllables of each word constructing the expressions. For example, the Javanese acronyms *mérsi*, *péknggo*, *sarkêm*, and *mêrji* are created from two words *pamér gusi* 'showing gums' to *mérsi*, *ngêpék tonggo* 'to get married with the neighbour', *pasar kêmbang* 'flower market (a name of a place in Yogyakarta) which is identical with prostitute area' to *sarkêm*, *nomêr siji* 'the number one' to *mêrji*. Meanwhile, *néngendi* is derived from the combination of three words *ana*, *ing*, and *ndi*, 'where', *barjibarbéh* is derived from four words *bubar siji bubar kabéh* 'one has dispersed, all will have to disperse', and *tijitibéh* is derived from *mati siji mati kabéh* 'one has died, all will have to die'. If internal *sandhi* is found in internal contractions, external *sandhi* is seen in external ones. In this type of *sandhi*, the final vowel of one word is combined with the first vowel of the next word to form a new vowel with intermediate articulation. The latest word that resulted from this combination is commonly called "Tembung Garba" (Wijana, 2010), such as *surêng* 'to be

brave against' which is derived from *sura* 'dare or to be brave' and preposition *ing* 'to', *narotama* 'primary person' from *nara* 'person' and *utama* 'first or primary', *tumekeng* 'arrive at' from *tumeka* 'arrive' and preposition *-ing* 'at', *naréndra* 'king' from *nara* 'people' and *Indra* 'name of Hindu Goddess'.

The contraction can also appear because of the combination of identical vowels, such as found in *sêdyarsa* 'the desire of' and *sarwanjogéd* 'all dancing' that are derived from *sedya* 'ready' and *arsa* 'desire' and *sarwa* 'all, everything' and *anjogéd* 'dancing', or deletion of the weak vowel when the combination taking place, such as *mahrési* 'great teacher' and *mahméru* 'the holly mountain' derived respectively from *maha* 'big' and *resi* 'teacher', and *maha* 'big' and *méru* 'Hindu pagoda'. Javanese contractions constructed by two or more words are generally created with initial syllabic omissions, such as *pakdhé* 'uncle, father's or mother's older brother' derived from *bapak* 'father' and *gêdhé* 'big, older', *budhé* 'aunt, father's or mother's older sister' from *Ibu* 'mother' and *gêdhé* 'big, older', *lunglit* 'skinny' from *balung* 'bone' and *kulit* 'skin'. *Barjibarbéh* and *tijitibéh*, mentioned in this section's first paragraph, are examples of Javanese contractions constructed from four words.

Besides those canonical patterns above, several cases of external contraction do not follow this rule. For example, *mbutgé* 'working', *taswaé* 'for a moment', *dhêmênnyar* 'to like new', *darwis* 'no problem to die', *lambédang* 'literally means 'the hole of the large metal vessel for steaming rice', etc. These words are derived from longer forms, *nyambut gawé*, *mêntas waé*, *dhêmên anyar*, *modar ya wis*, and *lambé dandang*. In *nyambut gawé* 'working' only *gawé* 'work' is shortened to be *ge*, and *nyambut* 'to take' is left unchanged. In *mêntas waé* 'only' *mentas*

'just' is shortened, whereas *waé* 'just' is left without any changes. In *dhêmênnyar*, only *anyar* 'new' changes, but *dhêmên* 'to like' does not. In *modar ya wis*, the first word *modar* 'dead' omits its initial syllable, the second word *ya* 'yes, right' is totally deleted, and the third word *wis* 'finish, already' does not change. Finally, in *lambédang*, the first word *lambé* 'lip, mouth' is still complete, but the initial syllable, the second word *dandang* 'large steaming rice vessel' is deleted to become *dang*.

3.2 Various functions of Javanese contractions

Because no references have been found that can explain the communicative function of Javanese contractions, linguists have only guessed what the function of this linguistic phenomenon might cause when it appears in language use. In this case, guessing seems to be only done to get a more straightforward or economic expression. Of course, no one can deny its primary function, especially those that are directly related to informal speech situations, such as the use of the short form *gah* 'no', *ra* 'not', *njur* 'and then', *nyang* 'to', etc. to substitute the more formal equivalents *wegah*, *ora*, *banjur*, and *mênnyang*. There is no difference between the shortened and the more extended expressions, except regarding stylistic quality. However, it should be noted that the use or construction of shorter forms is often motivated by other, more subtle purposes. (Wijana, 2010: 2), mentions that shortening is one among many others to create slang expressions, and according to (Partridge, 1954), the use of slang expressions is motivated by at least 15 reasons underlying the choice of slangy expressions instead of their non-slangy counterparts. Among those, slangy expressions are considered more playful, humorous, novel, attractive, and startling than conventional ones. In line with these assumptions, the contracted forms found in Javanese expressions have at least four

other communicative functions compared to their more extended versions. Those communicative functions are interrelated and sometimes difficult to differentiate from one another. Those functions are for the humorous effect, to keep something secret, euphemistic functions, and aesthetic functions.

The Javanese contraction words *mérsi* which is derived from *pamér gusi* 'gums' show', *darwis* from *modar ya wis* 'no problem if must die', *tuju* from *untu maju* 'protruded teeth', etc, are hardly possible be constructed without intention for not creating a homonymic clash with the conventional words *mérsi* (borrowed from mercy) 'brand of a luxurious car, *darwis* 'dervish', and *tuju(h)* 'seven'. The homonymic clash, which contains a semantic contradiction in certain senses, is one way to create humorous texts (Nurhadi, 1989). The other example is *ndhékm* which means 'yours' in conventional use. These words can also intend to represent a contraction *cêndhék lêmu* 'short and big' for insulting someone's physical defect. To keep secret what the speaker is talking about to the addressee from the person or people they refer to, abbreviating and shortening linguistic forms are also considered adequate. For example, *kakong*, *thukmis*, and *péknggo* are derived respectively from *tungkak karo bokong* 'heel and buttocks' for referring to an unideal physical posture, *bathuk klimis* 'shining forehead to metaphorically refer to an unfaithful person', and from *ngêpék tonggo* 'to take the neighbor, to marry the neighbor', etc. All of these creations are possibly done to avoid any possible offense of the person they talk to concerning their unideal physical state, lousy behavior, and unskillfulness.

Javanese shortening expressions are possibly used for bearing euphemistic functions. For instance, *plékcur* and *sarkêm*. The first is derived from *némplék mancur* 'directly spraying when it is attached' to refer to early ejaculation because of health factors or sexual inexperience. The second

is derived from *pasar kêmbang* 'name of a place in Yogyakarta'. These two shorter forms are intended to attain shorter, more euphemistic expressions for the impolite connotations the more extended versions might bring. Sexual activity *némplék mancur* and bad historicity of a place can cause taboo in the use of language and should be avoided in all ways.

A poetic license is a privilege given to poets. As such, in particular restrictions, they intentionally violate the rules of standard language use. Shortening linguistic forms in Javanese, especially related to *sandhi*, is one of many options to choose from the poets for achieving more aesthetic expressions. For instance, *jayêng* 'victorious at', *maharja* 'emperor', *siniwakêng* 'to reign at', and *naréndra* 'king', are respectively derived from *jaya* 'victorious' plus *ing* 'sleepy', *siniwéka* 'to reign' plus *ing* 'at'. These short forms are only used or found in some literary works.

4. Conclusion

Contraction is one of many ways language speakers use to implement "the principle of ease of articulation". In Javanese, this linguistic phenomenon can be divided into two categories based on the number and types of constituents involved in such a process. Those are internal contraction and external contraction. The first occurs within a single word or lexical unit, and the latter does between two or more words. Elements that are omitted in internal contractions can appear in the form of sounds or syllables scattered at the beginning, middle, or end of words or affixes added to their basic forms. Meanwhile, removing the initial syllable from each contracted word in external contraction is the most common pattern, although other patterns are also possible in much rarer cases. Even though it is widely assumed that contraction is mainly intended to gain more simple or more economical expressions, this research can prove that internal and external contractions also have some other communicative functions, such as creating

senses of humour, keeping something secret, and making something euphemisms and gaining aesthetic expressions.

More extensive research is required to uncover other Javanese contraction communicative function options. Several forms of *kerata basa* (*jarwo dhosok*), such as *sinom* 'category of traditional Javanese song for youngster' > *isih nom* 'still young', *guru* 'teacher' > *digugu lan ditiru* 'to be believed and imitated' were excluded from this study because, according to folk etymology, the existence of shorter forms for which the putative meanings are traced emerges earlier in Javanese history. Moreover, these phenomena constitute lengthening rather than shortening processes. It is also important to note that the close relationship between Javanese and the national/official language (Indonesian), results in various contracted expressions, such as *pérko* for *émpér toko* 'shop's veranda', *ruko* for *rumah toko* 'shophouses', and *warteg* for *warung Tegal* 'Tegal's stall'; is still challenging to determine which language they belong to.

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