

Two phonological indices of Osing identity (Banyuwangi, East Java)  
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This paper represents one area of an ongoing research project on the East-Javanese language variety **Osing** (Banyuwangi) based on sociolinguistic interviews and recordings of natural, everyday conversations. With these recordings I am now focusing on specific aspects of Osing phonology, lexicon, and grammar. I am particularly interested in patterns of Osing **palatalization and diphthongization**, which—along with a handful of lexical items including personal pronouns—are among the primary linguistic indices of performing an Osing identity.

Diphthongization occurs in two ways: 1) the realization of word-final /i/ as [ai], and 2) the realization of word-final /u/ as [au]. Examples of these can be seen below.

- 1) iki > **ikai** ('this')
- 2) iku > **ikau** ('that')

Crucially, at least according to prescriptive and attitude-based views, diphthongization of types 1) and 2) must occur not just word-finally, but also phrase- or sentence-finally (i.e., these diphthongs would not be found anywhere other than at the end of a phrase or sentence). This research examines these normative views and compares and contrasts these attitudes with empirical data from Osing conversations, stage performances, and songs. Do these diphthongs appear elsewhere (other than phrase-finally)? How reliably do speakers produce these diphthongs? Are Osing diphthongs found in certain /i/- and /u/-final words but not others?

There also exists an attitude-based rule for palatalization, which is boiled down as follows:

C [+voiced] → [+palatal] / \_\_ [a] or [ɛ]

My research examines actual language use (i.e. natural conversation data from several environments). Preliminary analysis indicates that some palatalization patterns may not be phonologically conditioned, but are rather lexical or phono-lexical. This is supported by several factors: an extremely limited distribution of certain tokens, such as word-initial [mʲ], for example; some high-frequency words known to be specific to Osing (for example *paran* 'what') but are never palatalized (\*parʲan); and palatalization occurring in less than half of all *possible* environments (i.e. involving a voiced consonant preceding [a] or [ɛ]).

Further, some discourse factors may motivate palatalization. The data reveal many examples of single speakers producing the same word two different ways (palatalized and non-palatalized) within a stretch of discourse. This is surprisingly common, and there are even examples in the data of a speaker producing a lexical item both ways in a single intonation unit.

My talk will explore these patterns and some other discourse factors for palatalization and diphthongization in Osing. This research is part of a larger project which aims to describe the effects of language and status planning efforts on speech patterns within a minority language community.