

Morphological processes: language mixing and structural preservation in Indonesia

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*The Jatón isolect, born from prolonged contact between Javanese and Tondano speakers in North Sulawesi, has a distinct yet understudied morphological structure. This study examines affixation, reduplication, and compounding to assess Javanese influence. Using a qualitative descriptive method, data were collected through observation, interviews, and vocabulary lists from native speakers in Minahasa, then analyzed via morphological classification and element breakdown. Vocabulary was gathered using a basic list method, focusing on core words across specific areas, with Jatón speakers providing equivalents during structured interviews. Results show Jatón's morphology aligns mainly with Tondano, featuring five prefixes, three infixes, nine suffixes, three circumfixes, and two reduplication types involving affixation and vowel change. Jatón's morphological analysis includes affixation with five prefixes, three infixes, nine suffixes, and three circumfixes. Reduplication is divided into *wisesa dwilingga* and *dwipurwa*. Compounding forms new meanings, aligning Jatón's structures with Tondano, devoid of Javanese influence. The study concludes that despite its contact-language origin, Jatón retains a predominantly Tondano framework with minimal Javanese influence, offering insight into isolect development in contact settings.*

Keywords: *affixation, compounding, Jatón isolect, language contact, morphological processes*

1 Introduction

The Jatón isolect is an intriguing linguistic phenomenon that emerged from the cultural and linguistic blending of the Javanese and Tondano ethnic groups in North Sulawesi, Indonesia. Researchers estimate that the number of Jatón speakers is only in the hundreds. Rooted in the intermarriages between Javanese men exiled during the Dutch colonial era and Minahasan women, Jatón serves as a bridge between the two cultures. This hybrid language reflects a unique fusion of Javanese and Tondano linguistic elements, shaped by historical events such as the exile of Kyai Modjo's followers during the Java War or the war of Diponegoro (1825-1830) (Djojuroto, 2012). Over time, this blending led to the formation of the Jatón community, a cultural and linguistic group that continues to thrive in the North Tondano District.

The distinctive linguistic features of Jatón are evident in its systems, such as phonological and syntactic structures. For instance, the use of the Javanese word *sego* in sentence '*Edoni nyaku sego*' is common uttered by the Jatón people, while the Tondano people normally use the Tondano word *kaan* to say rice (*Edoni nyaku kaan*). The combination of Javanese lexicon with Tondano grammar and sentence structure demonstrates the legacy of its speakers' hybrid identity, holding both Javanese and Tondano cultures. Another instance can be seen in the adaptation of words such as *sadran* (Javanese) into *adəran* (Jatón), which exemplifies the adjustments made to fit the phonological norms of Tondano, illustrating how the language balances influences from both parent languages. In the context of this article, the

words *sadran* (from Javanese) and *adaran* (in Jatón) refer to the same term, namely *Sadranan* in Indonesian, which is a tradition or ceremony to welcome the month of Ramadan. In English, the closest equivalent for this concept is 'a tradition to welcome Ramadan' or can be explained more specifically as 'a communal pre-Ramadan ceremony.' The phonetic adaptation of *sadran* to *adaran* shows how Jatón language absorbs cultural concepts from Javanese but adjusts its pronunciation to align with the sound system of Tondano.

Jatón is not the only instance resulted from the mix of two languages. Previous studies reported numerous mixed languages which are formed due to contact of different languages, including Media Lengua (a mixed language of Spanish and Quichua) (Stewart 2018), Light Warlpiri in Australia (the combination of elements of Warlpiri, Kriol, and English) (Bundgaard-Nielsen & O'Shannessy 2021), Michif in Canada (derived from French and Cree) (Rosen 2003), and Gurindji Kriol (a mixed of Kriol and Gurindji the traditional language in Northern Australia) (McConvell & Meakins 2005). However, few studies have been conducted to specifically investigate the phenomenon of mixed language in Indonesia, such as Jatón.

It is still debatable if Jatón should be regarded as a language, dialect, or subdialect. At first glance, the naming of Jatón language indicates that Javanese language is the central or dominant element, while the Tondano language is the subordinate, serving little influence on the language. However, based on linguistic observations, it appears that the Jatón is more appropriately called a variation of the Tondano language, in addition to the core subdialects: the Kakas and Remboken dialects. The first reason underlying this is from the point of view of mutual intelligibility (Wichmann 1999; Handoko 2023). Though it seems to be a variety of Javanese, Javanese speakers will not share mutual intelligibility when talking with Jatón speakers. A thesis investigating the dialectology of Jatón, published by Universitas Gadjadara, reports that Jatón's lexicon is predominantly influenced by the Tondano language (Humana 2015: 106). Another reason why Jatón is more appropriate to be a subdialect is supported by Djojoseuroto positing that Jatón only encompasses 40% Javanese language, exhibiting the domination of Tondano in its system (2012). The categorization of Minahasan language into 2 primary categories: Tondano-Tonsea and Tombulu-Tontembuan also indicates that the existence of Jatón is acknowledged as a subdialect of Tondano (2013:165). However, in order to avoid the confusion in the categorization of Jatón, this study uses isolect as a neutral term for language, dialect, or subdialect for a language (Pita 2016).

Despite its unique linguistic characteristics and historical significance, Jatón remains an underexplored linguistic phenomenon, with limited studies investigating its structural and morphological properties. Therefore, the study aims to explore the morphological processes in Jatón, focusing on affixation, reduplication, and compounding, to provide a clear linguistic classification and to the documentation of this deteriorating isolect. The notion that a language or dialect is "unique" can actually be applied to almost all language varieties. Therefore, the significance of Jatón lies in the systematic blending of two linguistic substrates, Javanese and Tondano, that form its language system. This phenomenon of linguistic hybridization makes it a crucial case for research. Unfortunately, to date, very little research has in-depth investigated the mechanisms of this blending.

This study involved 15 native Jatón speakers who were purposively selected based on recommendations from community leaders to ensure language quality and fluency. The interview participants consisted of 8 women and 7 men, ranging in age from adults to the elderly. Interviews were conducted using a structured questionnaire containing approximately 200 basic vocabulary words and open-ended questions about language use, with each session lasting approximately 60–90 minutes. The ethical aspects of the study were ensured through an

informed consent procedure in which all interviewees signed a consent form stating that their participation was voluntary, the data was used only for academic purposes, and their identities were kept confidential using an anonymous code.

2 Literature review

2.1 Overview of *Jaton* isolect

Jaton (Javanese Tondano) is an abbreviation referring to the people in a Javanese community in Tondano, North Sulawesi Province. This term also refers to the native language spoken by its people, which is characterized by the mix of Javanese and Tondano elements. The speakers of this language were formed due to the process of cultural blending resulted from intermarriage between Javanese and Tondano people. The migration of Javanese to Tondano occurred during the occupation of Indonesia, when the Dutch colonial government exiled dozens of Javanese men to Minahasa during Jawa War (Babcock 1989: 249–250; Djojoseuroto 2012)). These people were the followers of Kyai Modjo, a religious figure who also served as the counsellor of Diponegoro Prince. The exile of these people, then, led to intermarriage with Minahasan women who spoke Minahasan language. The Javanese language does indeed have many dialects, which are generally classified by region, such as East Javanese, Central Javanese, Banyumas, and others. The followers of Kyai Modjo who settled in Minahasa came from Central Java, specifically from the areas around Surakarta and Yogyakarta. Therefore, the dialect they brought with them, which became the primary substrate of the Javanese language, is the Solo-Yogya Javanese dialect (Standard Javanese), known for its complex speech levels (*unggah-ungguh*) and considered a prestigious variety. However, in the context of the formation of the Jatun language, this Standard Javanese dialect did not survive entirely in its original form. Because its speakers lived isolated from the heart of Javanese culture and had intense contact and intermarriage with Tondano speakers (Minahasa), its speech level system tended to simplify. The phonological and lexical characteristics of this Javanese dialect then underwent extensive adaptation, blending with the sound system and vocabulary of Tondano, giving rise to a new hybrid variety that is no longer identical to its parent Javanese dialect.

The acculturation of these two ethnicities eventually formed a new language, known as Jatun. The geographical location of this community also causes the creation of Jatun, as this area is surrounded by people residing in Tonsealama village in the north, Wuluan Neighborhood in the east, Luan Neighborhood in the west, and Ranowangko in the south, whose native language is Minahasan language. Consequently, the contact between Jatun and Tondano language is high, leading to the deterioration of Javanese elements in Jatun.

Despite its uniqueness, there are still few studies investigating this linguistic phenomenon. A relevant study on the Javanese Tondano (Jatun) community is the dissertation by Tim G. Babcock (1989), later published as *Kampung Jawa Tondano: Religion and Cultural Identity*. This work examines the cultural identity and religious aspects of the Jatun community, providing insights into the historical formation of Kampung Jawa Tondano. Babcock discusses how the Dutch colonial government exiled Kyai Modjo and his followers to Tondano. Based on colonial archives, he states that in 1830, 63 Javanese men who supported Prince Diponegoro were exiled to the region. The absence of Javanese women in this group led to interethnic marriages between Javanese men and Minahasan women, eventually forming the Jatun community. Moreover, Babcock argues that the limited retention of the Javanese language

within the Jatón community is due to the strong emotional bond between Minahasan mothers and their children. As with mother-child relationships in general, children born from Javanese-Minahasan marriages developed a stronger psychological attachment to their Minahasan mothers, who were Tondano speakers, rather than to their Javanese fathers. This maternal bond, reinforced through daily communication, resulted in language acquisition favoring Tondano, leading to a greater influence of the Tondano language in the Javanese Tondano community.

A study investigating the phonology of Jatón was conducted by Baehaqie (2018). This study found that alternations of Javanese lexicon in Jatón. For instance, the elimination of phoneme /t/ in *sikut* (elbow) becomes [siku] or the loss of phoneme /n/ in *talingan* (ear) /taliŋan/ becomes /taliŋa/. Phoneme additions are also evident, such as phonemes /m/ and /a/ are added in the word The term Jatón, which originally only referred to the community, eventually known as the language due to the frequent use of this language by the Jatón people in various occasions. Additionally, the fact that this language includes the elements of both Javanese and Tondano languages, which is inevitable when the language is spoken becomes a unique characteristic of the Jatón isolect. For instance, the fusion of Javanese and Tondano sounds in the lexicon aspect such as the word *sadran* in Javanese becomes *adəran* in Jatón. The occurrence of [ə] in this word is to compensate the absence of cluster [dr] in the Tondano language. Additionally, the use of lexicon from both languages is apparent in its sentence. To illustrate, the Javanese word *sego* (means rice) is used in sentence *Edoni nyaku sego*. The word *sego* is a word in Javanese, while the words *edoni* (to take) and *nyaku* (I) are from the Tondano language. The use of *sego* and other Javanese words in sentences are normally carried out by Jatón people, while the speakers of Tondano language use the word *kaan* (rice in Tondano language). Despite the unique characteristic Jatón has as a result of speech differences with the Tondano language, this does not sufficient to categorize Jatón as one of the languages in Minahasa.

Table 1: Comparison of the Javanese, Tondano, and Indonesian Lexicons

Bahasa	Javanese Language	Tondano Language	Description
Hati	Ati	<u>Nate</u>	Cognates (similar cognates)
Lima	Lima	Lima	Cognates
Mata	Mata	Weren	Non-Cognates (different cognates)
Air	Banyu	Rano	Non-Cognates
Besar	Gedhe	Wangko	Non-Cognates
Kaki	Sikil	<u>Na?e</u>	Non-Cognates
Rumah	Omah	Walé	Non-Cognates

As fellow Austronesian languages, Javanese and Tondano share a number of vocabulary words derived from the same ancient root. Words like *hati* and *lima* are classic examples of this kinship. These words are often terms for body parts, numbers, and very basic natural phenomena. Despite their close relationship, these two languages evolved separately over a very long time and in very different cultural environments (mainland Javanese vs. Sulawesi). This has led to much of their vocabulary developing into very different words. Words like *banyu* (Javanese) vs. *rano* (Tondano) for ‘water’ or *omah* (Javanese) vs. *walé* (Tondano) for ‘house’ demonstrate profound lexical differences. These differences make the two languages unintelligible and have become distinctive features.

Another relevant study related to the morphological processes in Jatón was carried out by Rattu et al. (1993) who investigated the morphology of Tontembuan language. This study provides a synchronic analysis of the morphology and syntax of the Tontembuan language, one of the for Minahasan dialects spoken in Sonder, Kaling, Langoan, Tompasó, Tenga, Tombasian, Montoling, Tumpaan, Tareran, Modóinding, and Tompasu Baru. Although the study is somewhat outdated, having been published over three decades ago, it remains a valuable reference for analyzing the morphological processes of Jatón. Its findings provide relevant insights into the structure and formation of words in Minahasan languages, supporting comparative linguistic analysis.

2.2 Morphological processes

The Abdul Chaer's (2014) theory is an appropriate choice and is commonly used in descriptive linguistic research in Indonesia, even though the morphology of Indonesian and Jatón differs. Chaer's theory on word formation processes (such as affixation, reduplication, and composition) is not intended to provide a specific analysis for one language, but rather provides a universal descriptive framework that can be adapted to analyze any language, including regional languages. The morphological differences between Indonesian and Jatón are not actually a barrier. According to Chaer, word formation consists of three main processes: affixation, reduplication, and compounding. The affixation process involves adding affixes to a base form, which can be either a root or complex base. Affixes are classified as inflectional or derivational, depending on their function. Based on their position, affixes can be categorized into four types: (1) prefixes, which appear at the beginning of a base form, (2) infixes, inserted within the base form, (3) suffixes, attached to the end of the base form, and (4) circumfixes, which combine both prefixation and suffixation. Moreover, reduplication refers to a morphological process in which a base form is repeated fully, partially, or with phonetic modifications. Meanwhile, compounding involves combining two or more base forms to create a new lexical unit with a distinct meaning.

Morphology is the study of grammar, which investigates the internal structure of words (Herma 2015; Sakir 2024). It is a branch of linguistics which studies word form and the influences of changes in word forms on their category and meaning (Band Ramlan 1987: 21). In general, word formation can be categorized into affixation process (addition of bound affix – prefix, infix, suffix, and circumfix to roots), reduplication process (the formation of derived words by repeating part of the roots or all parts of the roots), and compounding process (combination of words that behaves as one united word).

3 Method

This research employed a qualitative descriptive method, as the morphological process, which is presumed to include Javanese and Tondano languages in Jatón is a natural phenomenon (Abdussamad 2021: 29). Furthermore, the attempt to describe the phenomenon is realized by presenting the elements of the Jatón isolect in basic and derived lexicon (Nasution 2023: 144). This research employs descriptive linguistic theory, particularly the theory of word formation processes, as outlined by Abdul Chaer (2014: 177–188).

The research procedures included stages, namely data collection, data analysis, and result presentation (Sudaryanto 2015: 7–9). Meanwhile, the grand theory used in the study was the

word formation theory proposed by Chaer (2014) which divides the morphological process into three major categories: affixation process, reduplication process, and composition process.

The data collection was conducted through a field study method (33-34 Ayatrohaedi 1979). In this stage, the research data were collected directly from observation and interview sessions with the speakers of Jatón in Minahasa, and also by using list of basic vocabulary. Vocabulary collection was conducted using a basic vocabulary list method, for example, with a target vocabulary, which contains core words from specific semantic areas such as numbers, body parts, kinship, nature, and daily activities. This list was then used as a guide during structured interviews with Jatón speakers. During the interviews, speakers were asked to provide Jatón equivalents for each item on the list, while researchers recorded their responses and, where possible, recorded their pronunciation for more accurate documentation and phonetic analysis. After that, the data was transcribed, and the Jatón lingual unit data was classified morphologically. This classification was carried out by performing direct element breakdown into smallest meaningful units. The direct element breakdown was applied with two advanced techniques, namely ellipsis and substitution. Ellipsis aims to determine the authenticity or essence of Jatón language morpheme data (Sudaryanto 2015:50). For instance, ellipsis is carried out toward the polymorpheme unit {maroŋkit} ‘to steal’ which consists of the bound morpheme, prefix {ma-}, and free morpheme {roŋkit} ‘thief’. In order to determine that the identity of [ma-] is a bound prefix that precedes the free morpheme [roŋkit], one of the elements needs to be eliminated. If the element [roŋkit] can still stand alone despite the removal of [ma-], it is a free morpheme. Conversely, if morpheme [roŋkit] cannot stand alone when morpheme [ma-] is removed, it is a bound morpheme. Similar concepts apply during the ellipsis of morpheme [roŋkit] to determine the authenticity of [ma-]. When researchers omit one element to test the authenticity of another element, researchers are allowed to directly substitute the omitted element with another element that is considered to be in the same category to determine the level of class similarity. Therefore, this technique is called substitution technique (Sudaryanto, 2015:59).

After performing the ellipsis and substitution techniques, the Jatón morphemes were reanalyzed by comparing them with the core dialect of Tondano spoken in the city of Tondano. This comparison was carried out to see whether the word formation process was similar to that in the Tondano language. If similarities are found in Jatón morphological processes, it could be inferred that the morphological processes in Jatón are not influenced by Javanese, but if discrepancies are found, a further comparison between Jatón and Javanese would be carried out.

Finally, the result display is presented both formally and informally, which includes elaboration by using particular signs and symbols as well as general and technical terms.

4 Results and discussion

4.1 Affixation

Affixation refers to the addition of bound morphemes to free morphemes in roots or complex complex forms. It is classified as a bound morpheme because affixes cannot stand alone or do not possess lexical meaning, but can change the lexical identity of a root to which they are attached. The affixation process in Jatón consists of prefixes, infixes, suffixes, and circumfixes.

4.2 Prefixes

Prefixes are affixes which are attached at the beginning of a base word (Ayufitriani et al. 2021: 144). This study found that Jatón isolect has 4 prefixes, namely *ma-*, *ka-*, *pa-*, *mina-*, and *pinaki-*.

4.2.1 Prefix *{ma-}*

Prefix *{ma-}* normally forms verbs which indicates actions or progressive activities. In addition, prefix *{ma-}* also suggests that the subjects serve as agent or actor. Examples are given in (1):

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| (1) | <i>{ma-}</i> + <i>{teŋkor}</i> | ‘to knock’ | <i>{mateŋkor}</i> | ‘is knocking’ |
| | <i>{ma-}</i> + <i>{wunuʔ}</i> | ‘to kill’ | <i>{mawunuʔ}</i> | ‘is killing’ |
| | <i>{ma-}</i> + <i>{pəʔit}</i> | ‘bitter’ | <i>{mapəʔit}</i> | ‘to become bitter’ |
| | <i>{ma-}</i> + <i>{səla}</i> | ‘big’ | <i>{masəla}</i> | ‘to become big’ |

The instances suggest that prefix *{ma-}* possesses both inflectional and derivational properties. When applied to verb roots *teŋkor* ‘to knock’ and *wunuʔ* ‘to kill’, prefix *{ma-}* functions as a marker of transitive active verbs, preserving their verbal category. In contrast, in formations such as *{mapəʔit}* ‘bitter’ and *{masəla}* ‘big’, prefix *{ma-}* serves a derivational role, altering the word class. The base forms *{pəʔit}* ‘bitter’ and *{səla}* ‘big’, which are originally adjectives, undergo derivation into stative verbs through the addition of *{ma-}*.

4.2.2 Prefix *{ka-}*

Prefix *{ka-}* indicates involuntariness or denotes the subject as an experiences. This prefix also indicates the extremeness of the base form. Examples are given in (2):

- | | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------------------|
| (2) | <i>{ka-}</i> + <i>{sawut}</i> | ‘to pull out’ | <i>{kəsawut}</i> | ‘unintentionally pulled out’ |
| | <i>{ka-}</i> + <i>{resok}</i> | ‘to fall’ | <i>{karesok}</i> | ‘accidentally fall’ |
| | <i>{ka-}</i> + <i>{rintək}</i> | ‘small’ | <i>{karintək}</i> | ‘very small’ |
| | <i>{ka-}</i> + <i>{səla}</i> | ‘big’ | <i>{kasəla}</i> | ‘very big’ |

The examples demonstrate two properties of prefix *{ka-}*: inflectional and derivational. When prefix *{ka-}* is attached to the verb roots *sawut* ‘to pull out’ and *resok* ‘to fall’, it functions inflectionally, making the words preserve their verbal category. Conversely, when applied to the adjective roots *rintək* ‘small’ and *səla* ‘big’, *{ka-}* serves a derivational role, which converts the adjective words into adverbs.

4.2.3 Prefix *{pa-}*

Prefix *{pa-}* is a derivational morpheme that converts words into nouns. It signifies either a tool or a person associated with the action denoted by the base form. Examples are given in (3):

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|----------|------------------|-----------|
| (3) | <i>{pa-}</i> + <i>{kətor}</i> | ‘to cut’ | <i>{pakətor}</i> | ‘cutter’ |
| | <i>{pa-}</i> + <i>{lewoʔ}</i> | ‘evil’ | <i>{palewoʔ}</i> | ‘villain’ |

These examples illustrate how the verb *kətor* ‘to cut’ and the adjective *lewo?* ‘evil’ undergo nominalization with the addition of the prefix {pa-}. The resulting nouns denote a tool and a person, respectively.

4.2.4 Prefix {mina-}

Prefix {mina-} is a bound morpheme which indicates the completion or past occurrence of an event or action. This marking applies to both verb and adjective base forms. Examples are given in (4):

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|----------|-------------|------------------|
| (4) | {mina-} + {goson} | ‘burnt’ | {minagoson} | ‘has burnt’ |
| | {mina-} + {liur} | ‘forget’ | {minaliur} | ‘has forgotten’ |
| | {mina-} + {pəte?} | ‘broken’ | {minapəte?} | ‘already broken’ |
| | {mina-} + {selok} | ‘wrong’ | {minaselok} | ‘already wrong’ |

The examples illustrate that *goson* ‘burnt’, *liur* ‘forget’, and *pəte?* ‘broken’ are verb roots, while *selok* ‘wrong’ is an adjective; all of which are marked with the time description when they are attached with prefix {mina-}.

4.2.5 Prefix {Pinaki-}

The prefix {Pinaki-} in Jatón indicates that the subject undergoes or experiences the event described by the verb. In other words, it functions as a verbal prefix that denotes an action performed on behalf of or for the benefit of someone else. Examples are given in (5):

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|-------------|---------------|-----------------|
| (5) | {pinaki-} + {siwo} | ‘to make’ | {pinakisiwo} | ‘to be made’ |
| | {pinaki-} + {sawəl} | ‘to change’ | {pinakisawəl} | ‘to be changed’ |

Both basic forms function verbs. The verb is then marked as a transitive passive verb, indicating that the action is performed for someone else’s benefit. Syntactically, the beneficiary of the action occupies the subject position in the sentence.

4.2.6 Comparison of prefixes in the Jatón isoclect and Tondano and Javanese languages

Three out of the five prefixes in the Jatón isoclect in this study ({ma-}, {ka-}, and {pa-}) are also found in the study of morphological processes in Tondano language conducted by Watalangi et al. (1985: 11–12). Their findings indicate that prefix {ma-} functions as a verbalizer, prefix {pa-} forms nominal constructions, and prefix {ka-} conveys meanings of unintentionality and intensity. However, the prefixes {mina-} and {pinaki-} are not mentioned in the research. Furthermore, these prefixes are also absent in Javanese affixation, as documented by Poedjosoedarmo (1979: 186–193). Therefore, as the prefixes in Jatón isoclect are not influenced by the Javanese language, it is concluded that they are original morphological elements of the Tondano language. The claim that prefixes such as {ma-}, {ka-}, and {pinaka-} are native to Tondano requires strengthening with comparative evidence. A more robust analysis should be based on a direct comparison of morphological systems. As an illustration, the prefix {ma-} (as in *ma’kabar* ‘to report’ has a function and form that are parallel to the prefix {ma-} or {mma-} in Tondano for the meaning of doing or being, while in Modern Javanese, this function is often filled by the prefix {N-} (as in *nembang* ‘to sing’). Although the prefixes {ka-} and {pinaka-} also occur in Old Javanese vocabulary, their vitality and productivity in the Tondano

derivational system, as reflected in the Jatón word formation patterns, are strong indicators that this morphological source is Tondano, not Javanese. Thus, the claim of Tondano influence can be argued more convincingly based on the suitability of its form, function, and productivity in the current Jatón language system.

4.3 Infixes

4.3.1 Infix {-im-}

Infix {-im-} in Jatón signifies that an activity or event has been completed, with the subject serving as the actor. Examples are given in (6):

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|------------|-----------|------------------|
| (6) | {-im-} + {kelan} | ‘to walk’ | {kimelan} | ‘already walked’ |
| | {-im-} + {ko:ʔ} | ‘to drink’ | {kimo:ʔ} | ‘already drunk’ |

The verbs *kelan* ‘to walk’ and *ko:ʔ* ‘to drink’ are marked as completed actions. However, in certain contexts, infix {-im-} can also indicate an ongoing activity. Examples are given in (7):

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|------------|-----------|---------------|
| (7) | {-im-} + {siwo} | ‘to make’ | {simiwo} | ‘is making’ |
| | {-im-} + {kajon} | ‘to swing’ | {kimajon} | ‘is swinging’ |

This dualistic nature of infix {-im-} may pose challenges for learners of the Minahasan language, as they must memorize these distinctions to avoid incorrect usage.

4.3.2 Infix {-in-}

Infix {-in-} in Jatón functions to indicate completed events. Unlike other infixes, {-in-} specifically signifies that the subject is the experiencer or the recipient of an action performed by an external agent. Examples are given in (8):

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-------------|------------|---------------------|
| (8) | {-in-} + {səwuan} | ‘to water’ | {sinəwuan} | ‘has been watered’ |
| | {-in-} + {suwu} | ‘to attack’ | {sinuwu} | ‘has been attacked’ |

These examples illustrate that, syntactically, the subject position in a sentence is occupied by a noun that undergoes the event described by the verb containing the infix -in-. For instance, in the sentence *Kemban nitu sinəwuan* ‘The flower has been watered’, the noun *kemban nitu* ‘the flower’ serves as the experiencer of the action.

4.3.3 Infix {-um-}

Infix {-um-} in Jatón serves as an insertion that indicates an activity about to be undertaken. Examples are given in (9):

- | | | | | |
|-----|------------------|-------------|-----------|-----------------|
| (9) | {-um-} + {suwa} | ‘to anchor’ | {sumuwa} | ‘will anchor’ |
| | {-um-} + {goson} | ‘burnt’ | {gumoson} | ‘will be burnt’ |

The two examples demonstrate that verbs containing {-um-} form intransitive sentences, meaning they do not require an object.

4.3.4 Comparison of infixes in the Jatón isolect and Tondano and Javanese languages

The three infixes this study found exhibit similarities in form, meaning, and number with those in Wantalangi et al. (1985: 13). Infix {-in-} conveys the meaning of a past passive verb; {-im-} denotes a past active verb, and {-um-} signifies an action to be performed in the future. Though infixes {-im-} and {-um-} are also found in *seselan* (Javanese word for infixes) (Tiani 2015: 3), this is a natural linguistic phenomenon, as both Javanese and Tondano languages belong to the Austronesian language family, making it plausible for them to share certain linguistic features. Although the three infixes {-um-}, {-in-}, and {-im-} occur in Javanese, Tondano, and Jatón, their functions and productivity differ significantly. In Javanese, the infixes {-in-} and {-um-} are still productive, while in Tondano, the infixes {-um-}, {-in-}, and their phonological variant {-im-} are active morphological features. The crucial difference in meaning lies in their distribution and grammatical purposes; for example, in Tondano and Jatón, the infixes {-um-} and {-im-} are often allomorphs (variant forms) whose use depends on the initial phoneme of the stem, a rule that does not apply in Javanese grammar.

4.4 Suffixes

The Jatón isolect exhibits a considerable number of suffices, including {-N}, {-la}, {-an}, {-mow}, and {-mokan}. Additionally, the isolect features three suffices that function as possessive pronouns, namely {-ku}, {-mu}, {-na}, and {-nea}. In Indonesian, these suffixes correspond to {-ku}, {-mu}, and {-nya} (EYD V, 2022).

4.4.1 Suffix {-N}

In Jatón, suffix {-N} forms transitive verbs, with an imperative meaning. Examples are given in (10):

(10)	{səla}	‘big’	+	{-N}	{səlan}	‘enlarge’
	{wəru}	‘new’	+	{-N}	{wərun}	‘(make) new’

When attached to adjectives such as *səla* ‘big’ and *wəru* ‘new’, suffix {-N} shifts their word class, converting them into imperative verbs that express commands.

Additionally, suffix {-N} has allomorphic variations, {-an} and {-ən}, which occur when the base form ends in a consonant sound. Examples are given in (11):

(11)	{-N} > {-an}					
	{lambuŋ}	‘cloth’	+	{-N}	{lambuŋan}	‘put on cloth’
	{awəs}	‘enough’	+	{-N}	{awəsan}	‘make enough’
	{-N} > {-ən}					
	{rintək}	‘small’	+	{-N}	{rintəkən}	‘(make) small’
	{kiar}	‘to dig’	+	{-N}	{kiarən}	‘dig out’

In most cases, the suffix {-N} changes to {-i} if the base form ends in the nasal consonant phonemes /n/, /m/, dan /ŋ/. Examples are given in (12):

(12)	{alin}	‘to bring’	+	{-i}	{alini}	‘bring’
	{edon}	‘to take’	+	{-i}	{edoni}	‘take’
	{woləm}	‘to paddle’	+	{-i}	{woləmi}	‘paddle’

{mangom}	‘to wear’	+	{-i}	{mangomi}	‘put on’
{kajon}	‘to hang’	+	{-i}	{kajoni}	‘hang’

However, some words retain the {-an} variation despite ending in a nasal consonant. For instance, the base form *lambuŋ* ('to wear') becomes *labuŋan* ('put on'). This phenomenon suggests that while Jatón exhibits regular phonological patterns, it also demonstrates a degree of arbitrariness in its morphological structure.

4.4.2 Suffix {-la}

In addition to the suffix {-N}, Jatón also features suffix {-la}, which conveys an imperative meaning. However, unlike {-N}, {-la} is used in a more subtle and persuasive manner. In Indonesian, its function is equivalent to suffix {-lah}, which is commonly used to soften commands or requests. Examples are given in (13):

- (13) {siwo} ‘to make’ + {-la} {siwola} ‘make (please)’
 {teaʔ} ‘do not’ + {-la} {teaʔla} ‘do not (please)’

4.4.3 Suffix {-an}

Unlike suffix {-N} which has {-an} as an allomorph variation in certain base forms, {-an} can also function as an independent suffix with a distinct meaning. As an allomorph of {-N}, {-an} conveys an imperative meaning. However, when used as a separate suffix, {-an} inflects the basic form, transforming it into a verb that denotes possession or the act of having the qualities of the base form. Examples are given in (14):

- (14) {ipus} ‘tail’ + {-an} {ipusan} ‘(to have a) tail’
 {poʔot} ‘stomach’ + {-an} {poʔotan} ‘(to have a) big stomach’
 {kəter} ‘power’ + {-an} {kəteran} ‘(to have) power’

4.4.4 Suffix {-mow}

Suffix {-mow} signifies events that have already occurred or conditions and situations that have begun but are still in progress. Examples are given in (15):

- (15) {itəm} ‘black’ + {-mow} {itəmw} ‘has been black’
 {ure} ‘long’ + {-mow} {uremw} ‘has been long’
 {kəraʔ} ‘pale’ + {-mou} {kəraʔmw} ‘has been pale’
 {lima:ʔ} ‘go’ + {-mou} {lima:ʔmw} ‘has been going’

The examples illustrate events that occurred in the past; however, the actions or occurrences were still ongoing at the time they were mentioned.

4.4.5 Suffix {-mokaŋ}

Suffix {-mokaŋ} in Jatón functions as an aspect marker; to indicate that an activity is about to be performed. Examples are given in (16):

- (16) {woʔdo} ‘tomorrow’ + {-mokan} {woʔdomokan} ‘(later) tomorrow’
 {pəra} ‘dry’ + {-mokan} {pəramokan} ‘(later) be dried’

4.4.6 Suffixes {-ku}, {-mu}, {-na}, and {-nea}

Jaton also features suffixes that indicate possession in nouns. These include {-ku}, which marks the first-person singular possessive, {-mu}, which denotes the second-person singular possessive, {-na}, which signifies the third-person singular possessive, and {-nea} which represents the third-person plural possessive. Examples are given in (17):

- (17) {wale} ‘house’ + {-ku} {waleku} ‘my house’
 {neʔe} ‘leg’ + {-mu} {neʔemu} ‘your leg’
 {londey} ‘boat’ + {-na} {londeyna} ‘his/her boat’
 {mamaʔ} ‘mother’ + {-nea} {mamaʔnea} ‘their mother’

4.4.7 Comparison of suffixes in the Jaton isolect with Tondano and Javanese languages

The findings of this study are also supported by Watalangi et al. (1985). However, their study did not classify the allomorphs of suffix {-N}, which include {-an}, {-ən}, and {-i}; instead, they were uniformly treated as suffixes. Though suffix {-i} exists in Javanese, it functions as a marker for active verbs. In contrast, in the Jaton isolect, then form {-i} is allomorph of the suffix {-N}, which conveys an imperative meaning in verbs. Therefore, it can be concluded that the suffixes in the Jaton isolect are not influenced by Javanese, as they are original morphological elements of the Tondano language.

4.5 Circumfixes

This study identifies three circumfixes in the Jaton isolect, namely {ka-an}, {mə-an}, and {pə-an}. These circumfixes are classified as single circumfixes; however, they are realized in two different positions simultaneously, appearing at both the beginning and the end of the word. The function of the circumfix {ka-an} in Jaton language described does have similarities with Javanese. In Javanese, the circumfix {ka-an} also functions to form nouns from adjectives (e.g., *becik* ‘good’ > *kabecikan* ‘goodness’) and verbs (e.g., *aksi* ‘do’ > *kaaksi* ‘action/behavior’). However, the difference lies in its function of forming intensity; in Javanese, the meaning of intensity or excessive state is more often expressed by other constructions, such as repetition, so this function in Jaton may be a specific development or influence.

4.5.1 Circumfix {ka-an}

Circumfix {ka-an} is a combination of affixes that transforms base forms from the adjective and verb categories into nouns. Examples are given in (18):

- (18) {ka-an} + {rətuk} ‘friendly’ {karətukan} ‘friendliness’
 {ka-an} + {eŋkol} ‘turn’ {kaeŋkolan} ‘turn (noun)’

The word *rətuk* ‘friendly’ belongs to the adjective category, while the word *eŋkol* ‘to turn’ is a verb. Both words become nouns when affixed with the circumfix {ka-an}.

The circumfix {ka-an} serves multiple functions. In addition to nominalizing adjectives and verbs, it can also modify verbs to express ability, such as the verb *ato* ‘to see’ becomes

kaatoan ‘can see’. Furthermore, circumfix {ka-an} can inflect adjectives to convey a sense of extremeness. Examples are given in (19):

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----------|-------------|----------------------|
| (19) | {ka-an} + {lelo} | ‘to miss’ | {kaleloan} | ‘miss (s.o) so much’ |
| | {ka-an} + {lɛgi} | ‘sweet’ | {kalɛgian} | ‘very sweet’ |
| | {ka-an} + {pasuʔ} | ‘hot’ | {kəpasuʔan} | ‘very hot’ |
| | {ka-an} + {lat} | ‘late’ | {kəlatan} | ‘very late’ |

These examples demonstrate that the addition of circumfix {ka-an} conveys a sense of extremeness. Additionally, a closer analysis reveals that {ka-an} has an allomorphic variation, {kə-an}, which occurs when the base form contains the vowel /a/ as the nucleus in the prepenultimate syllable. Furthermore, from a syntactic perspective, circumfix {ka-an} indicates that the subject in a sentence functions as the experiencer of the state described by the adjective. For instance, in the sentence *Sia kaleloan mamaʔna* ‘He/ She misses her mother very much’, the subject *Sia* (He/She) experiences the intense emotion expressed by the adjective.

4.5.2 Circumfix {pa-an}

Circumfix {pa-an} forms passive verbs which shows the meaning of the subject as an experiencer. Examples are given in (20):

- | | | | | |
|------|--------------------|-------|-------------|---------|
| (20) | {pa-an} + {lətup} | ‘lie’ | {palətupan} | ‘lied’ |
| | {pa-an} + {liwagh} | ‘ask’ | {liwaghən} | ‘asked’ |

In terms of function and meaning, the circumfix {pa-an} serves as the opposite of the transitive prefix {ma-}. When applied, it transforms the base form into verb such as *malətup* ‘to lie’ and *liwagh* ‘to ask’.

4.5.3 Circumfix {mə-an}

Circumfix {mə-an} functions to indicate a mutual relationship or reciprocal meaning as illustrated in (21):

- | | | | | |
|------|------------------|-----------|------------|----------------------|
| (21) | {mə-an} + {lo:} | ‘to see’ | {məlo:ʔan} | ‘look at each other’ |
| | {mə-an} + {siwo} | ‘to make’ | {məsiwoan} | ‘make each other’ |

The reciprocal meaning conveyed by circumfix {mə-an} indicates that, syntactically, the subject consists of multiple participants. For example, in the sentence *Sea məlo:ʔan waki lalan* ‘They are looking at each other on the road’, the subject *Sea* ‘they’ represents more than one person engaging in a mutual action.

4.5.4 Comparison of circumfixes in the Jatón isolect with Tondano and Javanese

Since previous studies on the morphology of the Tondano language have not provided comprehensive description of circumfixes, the three circumfixes that this study identify can only be compared with those in Javanese. Herdiyanto (n.d.: 64–66), in his article *Konfiks dalam Bahasa Jawa*, highlights the structural similarity between two circumfixes in the Jatón isolect and those in Javanese, namely {ka-an} and {pə-an}. However, these circumfixes do not exhibit semantic equivalence. In the Jatón isolect, the circumfix {ka-an} functions to derive adjectives

and verbs into nouns, as well as to inflect base verbs into verbs that convey meaning of capability and intensity. Conversely, in Javanese, this circumfix denotes locative nouns and intransitive verbs. Furthermore, the circumfix {pə-an} in the Jatón isolect serves to form passive verbs, whereas in Javanese, it functions to indicate location, as inferred from its base noun. Therefore, it is concluded that the circumfixes in the Jatón isolect are native to the Tondano language, as they are not influenced by Javanese.

4.6 Comparison of affixation processes in Jatón a Tondano

A comparison based on the translation of Jatón and Tondano revealed that Jatón affixes exhibit equivalence in both form and meaning with those in Tondano. This finding suggests that the affixation process in Jatón is not influenced by Javanese.

4.7 Reduplication

Reduplication processes in the Jatón language can be classified into several types, one of which is *dwilingga* reduplication (or full reduplication). This type of reduplication is characterized by the repetition of the entire root word form. For example, the root word *lépo* ‘dirty’ can be repeated as *lépo-lépo*, meaning ‘very dirty’ or ‘extremely dirty’. This process serves to emphasize or intensify the meaning of the root word. Another type is *dwipurwa* reduplication, which repeats only the first syllable of the root word, often accompanied by specific vowel changes. For example, from the root word *libur*, the word *lalibur* is formed by repeating the initial consonant and changing the vowel of the first syllable. This partial repetition pattern not only changes the word form but also creates different nuances of meaning, such as multiple or similar meanings, which distinguishes it from full reduplication.

4.8 Affixation-reduplication

Affixation reduplication involves the repetition of a base form with the addition of affixes, Examples are given in (22):

(22)	{iŋkoʔ}	‘to ask’	>	{maiŋkoʔ-iŋkoʔ}	‘begging’
	{nero}	‘to look for’	>	{mənero-nero}	‘looking for’
	{gənaŋ}	‘to remember’	>	{gənaŋ-gənaŋan}	‘remembering’
	{lawəʔ}	‘to throw’	>	{lawəʔ-lawəʔən}	‘throw (each other)’
	{lewoʔ}	‘evil’	>	{palewo-lewoʔan}	‘evil-wish’
	{ulit}	‘correct’	>	{paŋulit-ulitan}	‘always justified’

The examples demonstrate that affixation-reduplication in the Jatón isolect can involve base word repetition accompanied by affixation. This process may include prefixes, suffixes, or a combination of both. For instance, the base forms {iŋkoʔ} ‘to ask’ and {nero} ‘to look for’ receive the prefix {ma-}, forming {maiŋkoʔ-iŋkoʔ} ‘begging’ and {mənero-nero} ‘looking for’. Similarly, the base forms {gənaŋ} and {lawəʔ} take the suffix {-an}, resulting in {gənaŋ-gənaŋan} and {lawəʔ-lawəʔən}, which mean ‘remembering’ and ‘throw each other’, respectively. Additionally, the base forms {lewoʔ} and {ulit} undergo both prefixation {pe-} and suffixation {-an-}, producing {palewo-lewoʔan} ‘evil-wish’ and {paŋulit-ulitan} ‘always justified’.

4.9 Opening (of the word) reduplication

Another type of reduplication that this study found is opening (of the word) reduplication, which is also known as *dwipurwa* reduplication. *Dwipurwa* reduplication involves the repetition of the first syllables of a base form, accompanied by vowel modification. In Jatón, this process alters the vowel sound in the repeated syllable. Examples are given in (23):

- (23) {lutam} ‘to shoot’ > {ləlutam} ‘gun’
 {turaʔ} ‘to spear’ > {təturaʔ} ‘spear’

The base form {lutam}, in examples, consists of the syllables [lu] and [tam]. During reduplication process, [lu] is repeated with the vowel [u] changed to [ə] to [lə], forming {ləlutam}. Similarly, in the base form {turaʔ}, which consists of [tu] and [raʔ]; the syllable [tu] is repeated with [u] modified to [a], resulting in the reduplicated form of {təturaʔ}.

Semantically, *dwipurwa* reduplication in Jatón exhibits a derivational nature, as it transforms verbs into nouns.

4.10 Comparison of reduplication process in the Jatón isolect with Tondano and Javanese

A comparison of translation results between the Jatón isolect and the Tondano language reveals that the reduplication process in Jatón exhibits structural, semantic, and functional equivalence with reduplication patterns found in Tondano. This is evidenced by the use of prefixes, suffixes, and circumfixes in Tondano within affixed reduplication, as well as the distinctive feature of *dwipurwa* reduplication, which involves phonological modifications in the vowel sounds of the repeated initial syllable. The claim that reduplication in Javanese is more influenced by Tondano is convincing not because Javanese lacks it, but because its patterns and distribution are specifically aligned with the Tondano affixation system. For example, the combination of certain *dwipurwa* forms (such as *lalibur*) with Tondano prefixes (such as *ma-* or *-en*) creates grammatical constructions that are unusual in Javanese. This high degree of agreement between the semantic function, affix choice, and phonological rules of Javanese reduplication with the Tondano system rather than with the Javanese system is a strong evidence for its origin. Therefore, this finding suggests that Jatón’s reduplication process is not influenced by Javanese.

4.11 Compounding

The process of composition or compounding in language involves two base forms while maintaining syntactic behaviour to that of a single word (Chaer, 2008: 208). In Jatón, several word formations can be classified as compound words. For instance, the adjective {kəte} ‘hard’ and the noun {watu} ‘stone’ combined to form {kəte watu}, meaning ‘a stubborn person’. Similarly, the noun {tow} ‘person’ and the noun {rere} ‘stick (from coconut leaves)’ merge into {tow rere}, referring to a coconut snake – a snake that inhabits coconut trees. Additionally, the noun {tonko} ‘beak’ and noun {ate} ‘heart’ form {tonko ate}, denoting a tree pest.

4.12 Comparison of the compounding process in Jatón isólect with Tondano and Javanese

A comparison of translation results between Jatón and Tondano indicates that the process of compounding in Jatón exhibits similarities in usage, form, and meaning with that of Tondano. This finding suggests that Jatón's compounding process is not influenced by Javanese.

5 Conclusion

The morphological analysis of Jatón reveals that its word formation processes encompass affixation, reduplication, and compounding. Affixation includes five prefixes ({ka-}, {pa-}, {mina-}, and {pinaki-}), three infixes ({-in-}, {-im}, and {-um-}), nine suffixes ({-N}, {-la}, {-an}, {-mow}, {-mokan}, {-ku}, {-mu}, {-na}, and {-nea}), and three circumfixes ({ka-an}, {pa-an}, and {mə-an}) with each contributing to a different grammatical function. Reduplication in Jatón is categorized into *wisesa dwilingga* and *dwipurwa*, involving affixation and vowel modifications, respectively. While *wisesa dwilingga* repeats the base form with the addition of affixes, *dwipurwa* repeats the first syllable of the base form with vowel modification. Additionally, the compounding process forms new meanings by combining base words. These findings demonstrate that Jatón's morphological structures align with those of the Tondano language, indicating no significant influence from Javanese. Specific evidence supporting the claim of Tondano influence in Jatón reduplication: 1.) Phonological evidence: The vowel change pattern in Jatón *dwipurwa* reduplication, such as in *lalibur* from *libur*, exactly follows the phonological rules of Tondano (e.g., *lalango* from *lango*), a pattern not found in the Javanese phonological system. 2.) Combinatory evidence: Reduplication in Jatón productively combines with typical Tondano affixes such as the prefix {ma-} (e.g., <affix>Tondano + <reduplication>Tondano*), forming grammatical constructions that do not parallel the affixation-reduplication patterns in Javanese. 3.) Semantic-functional evidence: The semantic function of certain reduplication constructions, such as the meaning of 'resembling' or 'specific intensity' in partial reduplication, has a more direct and systematic counterpart in the Tondano lexicon compared to the equivalent in Javanese, which often uses a different morphological strategy.

Based on the results and discussion in this study, this research can be strengthened by presenting the examples of compound words in the Jatón language that are proven to form new meanings that are different from their constituent elements. These example sentences clearly demonstrate how the combination of two basic words in the Jatón language creates a new and specific concept of meaning.

The findings of this study contribute to the broader understanding of morphological processes in Jatón as the subdialect of Tondano language in Minahasan language family. By demonstrating that Jatón's morphological structures align with Tondano rather than Javanese, this research provides empirical evidence of linguistic convergence in contact setting. Furthermore, these results have significant implications for language preservation, typological studies, and historical linguistics. The identification of Jatón's morphological patterns offers a foundation for further research in comparative linguistics, particularly in examining the extent of Minahasan influence on Jatón. Additionally, the findings support efforts in language documentation, helping to preserve Jatón as a linguistic heritage with the Minahasan region.

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