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LEXICAL VARIATION OF MADURESE SPOKEN IN BANGKALAN, MADURA

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Abstrak. Bahasa Madura merupakan bahasa yang digunakan oleh masyarakat etnis Madura, baik yang tinggal di Pulau Madura maupun yang tinggal di luar pulau Madura. Bahasa Madura memiliki beberapa dialek yang terdiri dari beberapa variasi yang dijumpai dalam satu daerah, seperti di Kabupaten Bangkalan. Tujuan penelitian ini adalah untuk memperoleh gambaran variasi leksikon bahasa Madura dan status isolek di Kabupaten Bangkalan. Penelitian ini menggunakan 335 glos yang terbagi menjadi 12 medan makna untuk menjaring data di lapangan. Terdapat tiga informan untuk masing – masing daerah penelitian (DP). Penghitungan dialektometri digunakan dalam penelitian ini untuk menentukan status isolek. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa terdapat 216 perbedaan leksikon dari 335 berian glos. Hasil penghitungan dialektometri perbedaan leksikon pada DP 2 : DP 4, DP 3 : DP 4, dan DP 4 : DP 1 mencapai hasil 95.37%, 89.35%, dan 90.74%, artinya bahwa variasi leksikon yang digunakan di DP 4 adalah beda bahasa. Sementara itu, hasil prosentase di daerah bandingan lainnya menunjukkan hasil di bawah 20%, artinya tidak ada perbedaan. Secara singkat dapat disimpulkan bahwa status perbedaan leksikon pada variasi bahasa Madura di Kabupaten Bangkalan adalah beda bahasa, terdapat kantong bahasa atau *enclave* bahasa Jawa.

Kata Kunci: *bahasa Madura, dialektologi, geografi dialek, dan variasi leksikon*

Abstract. Madurese is the language used by the Madurese ethnic community, both living on the Madurese island and living outside the island. It has several dialects containing variations found in one area, such as in the Bangkalan Regency. The purpose of this study was to obtain an overview of the variations of the Madurese lexicon and its isolect status in the Bangkalan Regency. This study employed 335 glosses divided into 12 meaning fields to collect data. Three informants for each research area (DP) were used. Dialectometric calculations to determine isolect status were used. The results indicated that there were 216 lexical differences from 335 glosses. The dialectometric calculation of the lexical differences in DP 2: DP 4, DP 3: DP 4, and DP 4: DP 1 shows 95.37%, 89.35%, and 90.74%, meaning that the variations of the lexicon used in DP 4 are different languages. In contrast, the percentage of the comparison areas is under 20%, meaning that there is no difference. It implies that the lexical difference of the Madurese language variation in the Bangkalan Regency is a different language, a language pocket, or *enclave* of Javanese language.

Keywords: *Madurese language, dialectology, dialect geography, and lexicon variations*

INTRODUCTION

Madurese language is one of the regional languages with a large number of speakers. Madurese speakers are around 7.8 million people (Ananta, et al., 2015; Zein, 2020), making the Madurese language the fourth largest regional language in Indonesia. Madurese language is spoken not only by those living in Madurese island but also by those living in Java island.

The spread of the Madurese language in various regions in Indonesia results in language variations. Consequently, Madurese language variations occur in Madurese speakers, especially those living on the Madurese island (Misnadin & Kirby, 2020). These variations in linguistics are known as dialects or isolects, a neutral term for dialects or languages (Hudson, 1976). Dialect is a linguistic system used by a society to distinguish it from neighbouring communities, which use a different system although closely related.

Yule (2010) and Meyerhoff (2018) emphasize that dialect refers to features of grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation. Dialect, in this sense, can be interpreted as a manifestation of differences in linguistic elements that are motivated by regional factors. Nevertheless, these differences do not make speakers do not understand each other.

Bangkalan dialect, for instance, is a variation of the Madurese language spoken by people living in the Bangkalan regency. The Bangkalan dialect itself has several variations in mentioning something in the same context. For example, the word *you* has several variations as *[bə'əŋ], [kakƐh],* and *[hƐdəh]*. The word *tomorrow* has two variants, *[ləgʱuʔ]* and *[dʱəkki']*. Another example includes the word *morning dawn*, which has three variants, *[bəŋ - rabʱəŋ], [burəbu],* and *[pʱajjər]*.

Interestingly, variations also appear within the Bangkalan regency. For example, the community living in Tajungan village, Kamal district in Bangkalan Regency, shows variations for the word *face*, *cold,* and *two*. While the variants of *face* are *[rai]* and *[muah],* the variants of *cold* are *[adʱəm]* and *[cələp]*. Additionally, the word *two* is expressed as either *[loro]* or *[duəʔ]*.

Such variations indicate that the Kamal district is an area where dialects exist within the Bangkalan regency. The existence of the dialect is possible because the Bangkalan regency is located at the western end of the Madurese island. In other words, the Bangkalan regency is the gateway to the Madurese island, both from land and sea routes. Hence, it is most likely that the community interacts and has language contact with other speakers from outside the region, especially the Kamal district, which is located at the port that connects the Madurese island with Javanese island. Another assumption is that there is an enclave or language pocket other than the Madurese language in Bangkalan regency. A language enclave refers to a particular type of a linguistic minority "characterized by the fact that speakers (or a group of speakers) of a dominant language (i.e., the majority language), and speakers of a minority language live together within an administrative and/or sociohistorical unit" (Mattheier, 2001: 489).

To ensure if the village is an enclave or a variation of the Bangkalan dialect, the researchers compared it with neighboring or communicating areas. The unique phenomenon described above triggers the present researchers to conduct a study on the geography of the Madurese dialect in the Bangkalan regency. The existing literature (e.g., Muttaqin, Sahiruddin, & Rodliyah, 2019; Setiawati et al., 2019; Miqawati, 2019) did not cover the language variation in the Bangkalan regency context. Therefore, a study on dialect geography in the Bangkalan regency is essential to map out Madurese speakers' isolect or dialect status, especially in Tajungan village.

The main focus of the present research is on the lexicon aspect, one of the most basic linguistic elements in determining dialect. The variations are presented in the language map and calculated using the dialectometric calculation method. In addition, the category of language differences, dialects, sub-dialects, speech, or no difference is provided to inform where the variations fall into.

RESEARCH METHOD

This research was conducted using a descriptive qualitative approach since the focus was 'to describe a phenomenon and its characteristics' (Nassaji, 2015). The research setting was the Bangkalan regency. The observation area (from now on abbreviated as DP), an area that shows the use of homogeneous isolects, was determined by using several criteria proposed by Mahsun (2005), including the area that is not close to or neighbouring a big city, the population has low mobility, has a maximum population of 6000 people, the age of speakers is at least 30 years.

Numbers were used to mapping the DP. The number of observation areas employed the inward circular technique. The DP numbering system is determined based on the shape of the map in the research area. As the map of the Bangkalan regency is round, an inward circular numbering system was preferably employed.

Figure 1. Map of Observation Points

Based on the map above, there are four observation areas; DP 1 Ujungpiring Village, Bangkalan Subdistrict, DP 2 Arosbaya Village, Arosbaya Subdistrict, DP 3 Tlangoh Village, Tanjung Bumi Subdistrict, and DP 4 Tajungan Village, Kamal Subdistrict.

A purposive sampling technique was used to select the informants. There were three informants in each DP. Thus, the total number of informants in this study was 12 people from all DPs. In addition, an expert informant or an expert on the language of the research target area was employed to help verify the information provided by the informants.

Since the present study focused on the lexical variation, a list of questions as an instrument to collect glosses was used. The instrument was initially used by Nothofer and modified in Indonesian by Laksono (2004). The list of questions included 335 glosses covering 12 fields of meaning.

The data collection process was divided into several stages, including the preparation stage as observation, preparing instruments, selecting observation areas, and informants. The next stage was the interview, conducted simultaneously with the informants in each observation area. During the interview, all the information provided by the informants was recorded and note down. The recorded data were then transcribed phonetically and analysed.

Five stages of data analysis suggested by Mahsun (2005) were used, first is to tabulate the data using a verb map I and a verb map II; second is to look for words that have different lexicon between the regions being compared; third is to determine the isolect status using dialectometric calculations; fourth is to make an isogloss file map for comparison to see the distribution of the lexicon, and fifth is to make interpretations.

The status of the lexical differences was gained from the percentage of the differences (Mahsun, 2005). As proposed by Mahsun (2005), the dialectometric formula was written as below:

$$\text{Index d\%} = \frac{\text{sx } 100\%}{\text{n}}$$

d: vocabulary distance in percentage
s: the number of the lexical differences is one OP compared to other OP
n: the total number of lexical differences.

After calculating the data, the status of a variety was obtained and was classified into five types as follow:

Table 1. Lexical Variety Classification

Index Percentage	Category
Under 20%	No difference
21-30%	Different speech
31-50%	Different Sub-dialect
51-80%	Different dialect
81-100%	Different language

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

A. Lexical Variation of Madurese Spoken in the Bangkalan Regency

Based on the verbal map 1, 216 lexical differences of 335 glosses were found, which were divided into 12 meaning fields. The lexical differences were in the gloss numbers 2, 4, 11, 12, 14, 16, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 61, 63, 66, 67, 68, 70, 72, 74, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 9, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 133, 134, 136, 141, 142, 144, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 175, 176, 177, 178, 180, 181, 183, 184, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 209, 210, 216, 218, 219, 221, 222, 223, 225, 227, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240, 243, 248, 250, 251, 257, 258, 259, 260, 262, 263, 267, 269, 271, 272, 273, 275, 280, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 294, 295, 301, 302, 304, 307, 309, 311, 312, 314, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 333, 335.

The lexical variations appeared in each observation area. The following is an example of the forms of lexical variations found based on the language data.

1) Twenty-five (A. 16)

   Just like 'twenty', gloss 'twenty-five' also has two variants, namely [səgʱəmi'] and [slawƐ]. The first variant [səgʱəmi'] was used in DP 1, 2, and 3, while DP 4 used the [slawƐ] variant to realize the gloss 'twenty- five'.

2) Morning (B. 24)

The gloss 'morning' has three variants, namely [ləggʱuh], [gʱu - ləggʱu], and [isuʔ]. Variant [ləggʱuh] was found in DP 1 and 2, variant [gʱu - ləggʱu] was found in DP 3, and variant [isuʔ] was found in DP 4.

3) Night (B. 27)
There are three variants used for gloss 'night' namely [maləm], [pətəŋ], and [bəŋi]. Variant [maləm] was found in DP 1 and 3, variant [pətəŋ] was found in DP 2, and variant [bəŋi] was found in DP 4.

4) Tomorrow (B. 30)
To realize the gloss, 'tomorrow', [ləgʱuʔ], [dʱəkki'], and [məne] were used. Variant [ləgʱuʔ] was used in DP 1 and 2, while variant [dʱəkki'] was used in DP 3. As for variant [məne] was used in DP 4.

5) Head (C. 33)
There were two variants used to realize gloss 'head', namely [cƐʈak] and [ndas]. For variant [cƐʈak] it was found in DP 1, 2, and 3, while variant [ndas] was only used in DP 4.

6) Nose (C. 37)
There were two variants found in DP for realizing gloss 'nose', namely [ƐlƆŋ] and [cƐŋor]. Variant [ƐlƆŋ] was used in DP 1, 2, and 3, while variant [cƐŋor] was used in DP 4. Variant [ƐlƆŋ] was the most widely distributed variant, this occurs because apheresis was followed by regressive assimilation. This can be described as follows (cf. Nothofer, 1975 in Laksono, 2004): *hiluŋ> iruŋ> eruŋ> lƆŋ.* As for variant [cƐŋor], there has been a shift in meaning because in PMJ *cuŋur* refers to 'top lip of an animal, mouth' > BJB: *cuŋur, coŋur, cƆŋƆr* 'nose, mouth of an animal' (*tjoengoer/tjongor* 'nose', Pigeaud, 1938 in Laksono , 2004).

7) Nipple (C. 51)
There were three variants used to refer to gloss 'nipple' including [pəntel], [kOtƐl], and [moceʔ]. For variant [pəntel] was used in DP 1, 2, and DP 4, but in DP 2 some used variant [kOtƐl] to realize gloss 'nipple. For DP 3, [moceʔ] was used.

8) Armpit (C. 55)
The variants for gloss 'armpit' are [gʱəlincəp], [kələncʱap], [pƐʔ - kəpƐʔ], and [ceŋkla'an]. Variant [gʱəlincəp] was used in DP 1, variant [kələncʱap] was used in DP 2, variant [pƐʔ - kəpƐʔ] was used in DP 3, and variant [ceŋkla'an] was used in DP 4.

9) I (D. 79)
To realize the gloss 'I', [seŋkƆʔ], [əŋkƆʔ], and [eson] were used. Variant [seŋkƆʔ] was used in DP 1 and 2, while variant [əŋkƆʔ] was used in DP 3. In variant [əŋkƆʔ] there was no lexical difference because the variant has similarities, the difference was the loss of the 's' sound so that people in DP 3 only pronounce [əŋkƆʔ] without the prefix 's'. Then for variant [eson], it was used in DP 4. [eson] was a form of ancient Javanese language (BJK) (Zoetmulder, 1982 in Laksono, 2004).

10) You (D. 80)
To realize the gloss 'you', [bə'əŋ], [kakƐh], and [sirƆ] were used. Variant [bə'əŋ] was found in DP 1 and 2, variant [kakƐh] was used in DP 3, and variant [sirƆ] was used

in DP 4. The variant [sirↃ] was a variant adopted from the ancient Javanese language (BJK) to refers to the gloss 'you'.

11) Mother (E. 86)

Meanwhile, to realize gloss 'mother', 3 variants were used, namely [mamaʔ], [əmbuʔ], and [əmaʔ]. Variant [mamaʔ] was used in DP 1, variant [əmbuʔ] was used in DP 2 and 3, but in DP 3 there was a phonemic change, phoneme *u* changed to *o*, so the speakers in DP 3 used [əmboʔ]. For variant [əmaʔ], it was used in DP 4.

12) Grandfather (E. 93)

There were three variants used to realize the gloss 'grandfather', [mbah], [kai], and [pa'dʱe]. Variant [mbah] was only used in DP 1, variant [kai] was used in DP 2 and 3, and variant [pa'dʱe] was used in DP 4.

13) Grandmother (E. 94)

Like gloss 'grandfather', gloss 'grandmother' has three variants. They were [mbah], [nyai], and [ma'dʱe]. Variant [mbah] was used in DP 1 and 3, while variant [nyai] was used in DP 2. Then for variant [ma'dʱe], it was used in DP4.

14) Sick (F. 99)

There were two variants to refer to gloss 'sick', [sakƐʔ] and [lↃrↃ]. While variant [sakƐʔ] was used in DP 1, 2, and 3, variant [lↃrↃ] was used in DP 4.

15) Deaf (F. 113)

Like gloss 'crazy', gloss 'deaf' also has two variants, [təŋəl] and [gʱupək]. Variant [təŋəl] was used in DP 1, 2, and 3, while variant [gʱupək] was used in DP 4.

16) Speak (G. 116)

There were three variants used to realize gloss 'talking', [apətʱah], [akandʱəh], and [andr]. Variant [apətʱah] was spoken in DP 1 and 2, while variant [akandʱəh] was spoken in DP 3. Variant [andar] was used in DP 4.

17) Chew (G. 124)

There were three variants found for realizing gloss 'chewing', namely [akəcap], [akael], and [kcapan]. variant [akəcap] was used in DP 1 and 2, variant [akael] was used in DP 3, and variant [kəcapan] was used in DP 4.

18) Yawn (G. 126)

There were three variants used to realize gloss 'yawn'. They were [auwai], [awayan], and [oŋap]. Variant [auwai] was used by speakers of DP 1, while variant [awayan] was used in DP 2 and 3. Variant [oŋap] was used in DP 4.

19) Laugh (G. 133)

For gloss 'laugh', there were two variants used, namely [agʱələʔ] and [ŋguyu]. Variant [agʱələʔ] was used in DP 1, 2, and 3, while variant [ŋguyu] was used in DP4.

20) Cut (G. 150)

For the gloss 'cut', each DP had its own variant. In other words, there were four variations used to realize the gloss 'cut', namely [nↃgəl], [ŋↃt], [ŋətʱↃk], and [ŋeres]. Variant [nↃgəl] was used in DP 1, variant [ŋↃtↃŋ] was used in DP 3, variant [ŋətʱↃk] was used in DP 2, and variant [ŋeres] was used in DP 4.

The lexical variations appeared in each observation area are summarized in Table 2 below.

Table 2. Lexical Variation in Four Observation Areas

No	Gloss	Variants			
		DP 1	**DP 2**	**DP 3**	**DP 4**
1	Twenty Five	[səgʱəmi']	[səgʱəmi']	[səgʱəmi']	[slawƐ]
2	Morning	[ləggʱuh]	[ləggʱuh]	[gʱu - ləggʱu]	[isuʔ]
3	Night	[maləm]	[pətəŋ]	[maləm]	[bəŋi]
4	Tomorrow	[ləgʱuʔ]	[ləgʱuʔ]	[dʱəkki']	[məne]
5	Head	[cƐʈak]	[cƐʈak]	[cƐʈak]	[ndas]
6	Nose	[ƐlƆŋ]	[ƐlƆŋ]	[ƐlƆŋ]	[cƐŋor]
7	Nipple	[pəntel]	[pəntel] / [kOtƐl]	[moceʔ]	[pəntel]
8	Armpit	[gʱəlincəp]	[kələncʱap]	[pƐʔ - kəpƐʔ]	[ceŋkla'an]
9	I	[seŋkƆʔ]	[seŋkƆʔ]	[əŋkƆʔ]	[eson]
10	You	[bə'əŋ]	[bə'əŋ]	[kakƐh]	[sirƆ]
11	Mother	[mamaʔ]	[əmbuʔ]	[əmboʔ]	[əmaʔ]
12	Grand Father	[mbah]	[kai]	[kai]	[pa'dʱe]
13	Grand Mother	[mbah]	[nyai]	[mbah]	[ma'dʱe]
14	Sick	[sakƐʔ]	[sakƐʔ]	[sakƐʔ]	[lƆrƆ]
15	Deaf	[təŋəl]	[təŋəl]	[təŋəl]	[gʱupək]
16	Speak	[apətʱah]	[apətʱah]	[akandʱəh]	[andar]
17	Chew	[akəcap]	[akəcap]	[akael]	[kəcapan]
18	Yawn	[auwai]	[awayan]	[awayan]	[oŋap]
19	Laugh	[agʱələʔ]	[agʱələʔ]	[agʱələʔ]	[ŋguyu]
20	Cut	[nƆgəl]	[ŋƆtƆŋ]	[ŋətʱƆk]	[ŋeres]

B. Lexical Variation Map and Isolect Status of Madurese Spoken in the Bangkalan Regency

Mapping in dialectological study is to visualize field data in the form of maps so that the data is depicted in a geographical perspective and general statements generated based on the geographical distribution of differences in elements that are more dominant than the mapped area is visualized (Mahsun, 2005). The map of lexical differences was carried out after conducting the dialectometric calculation.

Isolect status among DPs in dialectological research is the most critical aspect that must be described. The description of distinguishing elements such as the lexicon and its mapping are the main goals of dialectology (Nadra & Reniwati, 2009) and the Bangkalan regency is no exception. As previously explained, 5 DPs were compared to determine their isolect status, including; DP 1: DP 2, DP 2: DP 3, DP 2: DP 4, DP 3: DP 4, DP 4: DP 1. The overall lexical dialectometric calculation results to determine the isolect status between comparative DPs can be seen in Table 3 below.

Table 3. The Results of Dialectometric Calculation

No	DYD	%	Isolect Status
1	DP 1: DP 2	10.18	No difference
2	DP 2: DP 3	19.90	No difference
3	DP 2: DP 4	95.37	Language
4	DP 3: DP 4	89.35	Language
5	DP 4: DP 1	90.74	Language

Based on the Table 3 above, the isolect relationship between the observation areas can be mapped in dialectometric as follows:

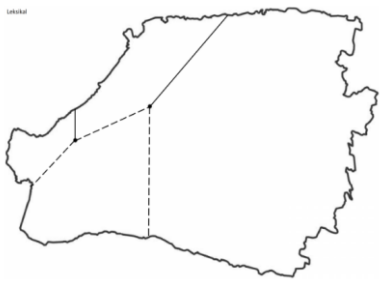

Figure 2. The Isolect Relationship between the Observation Areas

The results of the lexical dialectometric calculation shown in Table 3 are also supported by a map of the lexical isogloss file, which serves as evidence that if an area has a different language status, the isogloss file will look thicker than other areas. The following is a map of the isogloss file.

Figure 3. A Map of the Lexical Isogloss

The lexical isogloss file map was compiled from the isogloss file map per meaning field, showing that many lines separate DP 4 from other DPs. This is also evident in most of the isogloss file maps per meaning field, showing the number of lines separating DP 4 from other DPs also clearly dominates.

Based on Table 3, it can be seen that there are three comparative DPs with different language statuses with a percentage above 88%. It is known that a language or dialect of a language is caused by geographical location, history, speech attitudes, culture and religion (Nadra & Reniwati, 2009 in Hartuti, 2017) and other supporting factors such as marriage and livelihood. These factors usually affect the use of a regional language. This is what happened in comparison areas such as DP 2: DP 4, DP 3: DP 4 and DP 4: DP 1. The area shows a significant difference compared to DP 4.

This difference can occur because the DP 4 is geographically located in the Kamal District, a port that connects Java by sea. This geographical location is indeed very influential on the people of the Bangkalan Regency, especially the Kamal District. The opportunity for interaction and communication with other language-speaking communities has unwittingly affected the language spoken by the people of the Bangkalan Regency, especially the Kamal District. More profoundly, DP 4 is also geographically a village directly opposite Gresik regency.

In addition to the geographical factors described above, another extralinguistic factor that is no less important is the historical factor. Based on interviews and data searches, Tajungan village was originally a small island separated from the island of Madura. Then, there were several fishermen from Java, the majority of whom came from Gresik regency who was stranded on the small island and then settled. As time went on, a group of other fishermen arrived until the marriage took place and flourished. Then the island was added with soil from other villages until it became land and merged with the village in Kamal District, namely West Gili Village.

Based on the factors described above, the differences in isolect status shown in DP 4 can be concluded that the Javanese language emerged. Given that the Gresik

community is a Javanese ethnic group. Another thing is also supported by the variations of the lexicon shown by the village community. For example, gloss 'nose', the speech community of the region uses [*cƐŋor*] to refer to 'nose'. Variant [*cƐŋor*] is a new Javanese language meaning the *nose* or *mouth of an animal* (tjoengoer/tjongor 'nose', Pigeaud, 1981 in Laksono, 2004).

In addition to the variation of the new Javanese language discussed above, the speech community in the village also shows the use of another variation of the Javanese language, namely the gloss 'you'. The Village Speaker uses [*siro*] to refer to the gloss 'you'. Variant [*siro*] is a form of the ancient Javanese language still preserved (Zoetmulder, 1982 in Laksono, 2004).

Furthermore, based on dialectometric calculations and findings of variations in the lexicon of the new Javanese language and the ancient Javanese language, this DP 4 is positioned as Javanese. Furthermore, DP 4 is an enclave or enclave of the Javanese language. Enclaves or Javanese language pockets use the Javanese language in areas where other languages are spoken (non-Javanese). Thus, this illustrates that in addition to the Javanese language enclave in Javanese island, namely the Patuanan area, Indramayu Regency, Panyutran, and Sidomulih in Ciamis Regency (Nothofer, 1990), there is also a Javanese enclave in the Madurese island.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study include the determination of isolects based on dialectometric calculations. In addition, the vocabulary distance calculation is calculated based on the meaning field. Based on the results of the respondents in the 335 glosses, 217 lexical differences were found. Furthermore, based on the overall lexical dialectometric calculation from the regional compared, it was found that there was a language difference between DP 2: DP 4, DP 3: DP 4, DP 4: DP 1.

In other words, in Bangkalan Regency, there are other languages used by the Bangkalan people. This can be seen from lexicons, such as old Javanese and the new Javanese language used by the community in DP 4 or Tajungan village. Therefore, the Bangkalan Regency has *enclave* of Javanese language. Extralinguistic factors manifested in geographical conditions and historical factors that later led to cultural acculturation resulted in the Javanese language enclave in the Bangkalan Regency, Madura.

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