

Jawareh in Sociolinguistic Study

Supriatnoko

Politeknik Negeri Jakarta

e-mail: supriatnoko@gmail.com bispro.pnj.ac.id

Abstract: The purpose of this study is to prove the term *Jawareh* as code mixing event or as dialect of Javanese and Sundanese languages in Cirebon. Considering that the population of Cirebon consists of Javanese speakers and Sundanese speakers, this mention is specifically addressed to the two speaking communities, not to speaking communities outside Cirebon. It is only found in Cirebon. This research is field research that uses a qualitative approach and a synchronic review. The linguistic elements that were captured were spoken sentences or utterances of the language used by the two groups of speakers in Cirebon. Sources of data in this study are informants. The results of this study found that the term *Jawareh* attached to the Javanese and Sundanese-speaking communities in Cirebon because in their spoken sentences or utterances it was found that the use of the Javanese lexicon and the Sundanese lexicon were code mixing events. The results of this study also found that *Jawareh* cannot be classified as a Javanese dialect or a Sundanese dialect in Cirebon. The term *Jawareh* was allegedly conveyed by Sundanese speakers from outside Cirebon to Javanese speakers and Sundanese speakers in Cirebon as local wisdom and a sense of brotherhood among the residents of West Java.

Keywords: Cirebon, *Jawareh*, lexicon, code mixing, sociolinguistic study.

INTRODUCTION

Manaf, et al (2021) state that code mixing is mixing the use of other languages to expand language style or variety of language, use of words, clauses and so on. Code mixing is one aspect of language dependence in a bilingual society. In line with the opinion above, Nababan (1991: 32; Setyawati, 2010) writes that code mixing is when a person mixes two or more languages or various languages in a speech event (speech act or discourse).

According to Muysken in Harya (2018), code mixing can be divided into three types, namely insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization. Insertion, namely the process of mixing code through insertion related to lexical borrowing or foreign phrases that are inserted into a structure of another language. Example: Jadi orang *tuh* jangan suka *nge-judge*." Alternation, namely alternation code mixing we usually find at the clause level. Example: Gara-gara pandemi, saya jadi lebih sering bersyukur, *kayak, I count my blessings*." Congruent lexicalization tends to be applied randomly to two languages that have similar structures. Example: *Meeting* hari ini akan membahas tentang *urgent agenda* yang akan dilakukan *within this week*."

According to Suandi (2014: 140) the code-mixing event used by speakers can be divided into three types based on the origin of the absorption elements as follows. First, mix the code into (inner code mixing). Inner code mixing is code mixing that occurs when the speaker or speakers absorb elements of the native language that are still related. Second, mix the code to the outside (outer code mixing). Outer code mixing is code mixing that occurs when the speakers or speakers absorb other language elements that are not related (foreign language). Third, mix code mix (hybrid code mixing). Hybrid code mixing is code mixing in which it has absorbed elements of the native language (regional language) and at the same time absorbed elements of foreign languages in speech events.

The term *Jawareh* is only known in Cirebon area. This term is a matter of debate both among the general public and among the academic community. Noer (2009: 18) states that *Jawareh* is a term that refers to the mixing of vocabulary from two languages, namely Sundanese and Javanese. On the other hand, Fadlilah (2016; and William, 2022) is of the view that *Jawareh* is a dialect Cirebon language, which was formed from a combination of Javanese and Sundanese. This debate becomes interesting to study sociolinguistically, that *Jawareh* is code mixing or as a dialect.

It should be noted that *Jawareh* speakers in Cirebon live in the border area between Central Java and West Java, in the southeastern part of Cirebon Regency it is bordered by Kuningan Regency, and in

the southern part of Cirebon regency with Majalengka Regency. Residents in Kuningan Regency and Majalengka Regency are Sundanese speakers and residents of Cirebon Regency which borders the two districts are Sundanese speakers and Javanese speakers. These two speakers are used to using both languages in communicating. The event of language contact between the two languages is thought to be the beginning of the birth of the term Jawareh. The name Jawareh was allegedly conveyed by a Sundanese speaker from the speakers of the bordering district. So far, there is no known name Jawareh by Javanese speakers outside Cirebon (Supriatnoko, 2020: 116).

The language contact events that occurred between Javanese speakers and Sundanese speakers also led to the birth of Javanese dialects in Cirebon from Javanese origins, and in its development made Javanese origins, and in its development made Javanese language in Cirebon difficult to be understood by Javanese speakers in other areas, especially by Javanese speakers in Jogjakarta and Surakarta. On the other hand, Javanese speakers in Cirebon have difficulty understanding Javanese in Jogjakarta or Surakarta. Geolinguistic theory states that dialect is a variation of language in groups of people who are in a certain place, region, or area. The Javanese language brought by its speakers from their native region and settled in Cirebon gradually underwent changes in accordance with wave theory both phonologically and lexically.

METHOD

This research is the research that uses qualitative descriptive approach and a synchronic review. This type of research describes the facts of the empirically living conditions of the speakers, so that the resulting data is in the form of speech or written data as it is as information from the object being observed and does not consider the right and wrong of the use of language by the speakers (Astari, et al., 2019; Rahman, 2019). The linguistic elements that were captured were spoken or written sentences used by the two community groups of speakers in Cirebon, collected in the form of recordings and notes to obtain a form of mixed code and dialect speech. Sources of data in this study are informants.

This study uses the listening method with recording techniques and note-taking techniques. Then the methods and techniques of data analysis used the *agih* method with the direct element division technique to describe the form of code mixing (Sudaryanto, 1988).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

Jawareh in Oral and Written Communication Events

The term Jawareh is an acronym for “Jawa Sawareh”, a figurative term which means “to use part Javanese and part Sundanese.” In actual oral or written communication events, speakers convey speech or writing consciously mixing Javanese vocabulary with Sundanese vocabulary not in the sense of “partially equal” but between speech or writing found insertions or borrowing of both Javanese and Sundanese vocabulary. Javanese speakers and Sundanese speakers who live in border areas between Cirebon Regency and Kuningan Regency and between Cirebon Regency and Majalengka Regency are accustomed to mixing the vocabulary of the two languages in oral and written communication events. They do not question the origin of the vocabulary they use belongs to Javanese or Sundanese. This event clearly shows code-mixing events (Nababan, 1991: 32; Setyawati, 2010; Harya, 2018; Suandi, 2014: 140).

The following is examples of conversation between Cirebon residents living in border areas that sociolinguistically shows code-mixing events.

Example (1)

A : Sira arep ngendi? (Where are you going?)

B : *Arek* *tuku* *pais monyong* ning *Bi* Darsih. (I want to buy poci cake at Bi Darsih).

Example (1) there is a code-mixing event that B does. A asks the purpose in Cirebon dialect Javanese language and B answers in Sundanese with Javanese vocabulary in Cirebon dialect inserted. Here we find the use of Sundanese vocabulary: *arek*, *pais monyong*, and *Bi*. The word *Arek* in English means *will* or *want*; the word *pais monyong* in English is *poci cake*; and *Bi* stands for the word *Bibi*, a term for women or older women.

Example (2)

- A : Umahe Aan ning Desa Leuwidingding. (Aan's house in Leuwidingding village).
 B : *Urang poho uey*, Desa Leuwidingding kuh *di mana*? (I forgot, where is Leuwidingding village located?)

Example (2) there is a code mixing carried out by B. A tells that Aan's house in Leuwidingding village is in Cirebon dialect Javanese language and B asks where is Leuwidingding village in Sundanese and includes Javanese vocabulary in Cirebon dialect: *kuh* in English means *that*. Here we find the use of Sundanese vocabulary: *urang*, *poho*, *euy*, *where*. The word *urang* in English means *I/me*; the word *poho* in English means *forgotten*; the word *euy* in English means *this*; the word *di mana* in English means *where* the question word about place.

Example (3)

- A : *Geuning* sira duwe akeh kartue (Well, you have a lot of cards).
 B : Dipai *mang* Katim. (given by Mang Katim).

Example (3) there is a code mixing performed by A and B. A asks B curiously if B has many cards, using Cirebon dialect Javanese language and includes Sundanese vocabulary: *geuning* which in English means *well*. B answered that in Cirebon dialect, in which Sundanese vocabulary tucked away: *mang*, short for *mamang*, in English means *uncle* or *an older man*.

Example (4)

- A : Mukti, *Abah* ana ning uma bli? (Mukti, is your father at home or not?)
 B : *Abah* lagi ning lokasi proyek *neangan* mandor (My father at the project site is looking for foreman)

Example (4) there is code mixing in sentences A and B. A asks the whereabouts of parent in Cirebon dialect and includes Sundanese vocabulary: *abah* in English means *father* and B replies that father is at the project site, also in Cirebon dialect Javanese language. Here we find the use of the Sundanese vocabulary *abah* in English means *father* and the word *neangan* in English means *looking for*, which is tucked away in Cirebon dialect.

Example (5)

- A : *Mih*, *punten* kula bade wangsung. (Mom, sorry I want to go home)
 B : *mangga*, ari ira *arek balik mah* (Please, if you are going home).

Example (5) there is a code mixing in sentences A and B. A says goodbye to mother to go home in Cirebon dialect Javanese language and B invites A to go home also in Cirebon dialect. Here we find the use of the Sundanese vocabulary *mih*, which stands for the word *mimih* in English which means *mother*, *mom*; the word *punten* in English means *excuse me*, or a statement asking for permission; the word *mangga* in English means *please*; the word *arek* in English means *will* or *want*; the word *balik* in English means *to go home*; and the word *mah* a particle means *affirmation* which is inserted in Cirebon dialect.

Example (6)

- A : Nok, sahang seprapate pira? (Miss, how much is a quarter pound of pepper?)
 B : Ari *ngical mah duabelas*, ka Bu Haji sepuluh ribu bae. (If I sell it is usually twelve, for Mrs Haji only ten thousand).

Example (6) there is a code mixing done by B. A asks B in Cirebon dialect about the price of pepper. B answers question A in Cirebon dialect. In sentence B, it is found that Sundanese vocabulary insertion is *ngical mah duabelas*. The word *ngical* in English means *to sell*; the article *mah* in English in the context of the sentence means *usually*; the word *duabelas* in English means *twelve*.

Example (7)

- A : Kang Mukti *resep nonton bola* tah? (Kang Mukti likes watching football, right?)
 B : *Resep atuh sabab pemain na* wadon. (It's good because the players are women).

Example (7) there is a code mixing done by A and B. A ask what B likes in Sundanese. In that sentence, Javanese vocabulary is inserted in Cirebon dialect. The word *tah* in English means *right*, as an affirmation and B also answers in Sundanese, which includes Javanese vocabulary in Cirebon dialect *wadon* in English means woman.

Example (8)

- A : Gebang *geus keliwat acan nya*? (Is this past Gebang?)
 B : *Sabar*, Sindanglaut *oge can* anjog (Patience, Sindanglaut hasn't arrived yet)

Example (8) there is code mixing carried out by A and B. A asked about he trip whether they have passed Gebang area in Sundanese and B also answers in Sundanese which includes Javanese vocabulary in Cirebon dialect: *keliwat* in English means *to pass/skipped*. B also answers in Sundanese, *sabar*, *oge*, *acan*. The word *sabar* in English means *patience*; the word *oge* in English means *too*; the word *can* in English means *not yet* and inserted Javanese vocabulary Cirebon dialect: *anjog* in English means *arrive*.

Example (9)

A : *Wilujeng angkat, wilujeng dugi ka tujuan* (Goodbye, safe to the destination).

B : *Hatur nuhun, pangdongae*. (Thank you for your prayers)

Example (9) there is code mixing done by B. A conveys feelings of happiness and prays to B in Sundanese. In the sentence found the word *wilujeng* in English means *safe*; the word *angkat* in English means *to go*; the word *dugi* in English means *come/arrived*; the conjunction *ka* in English means *to*; the word *tujuan* in English means *destination/place to go* and B answered also in Sundanese. It was found that the word *hatur nuhun* in English means *thank you*. Here we find vocabulary insertion in Cirebon dialect: *pangdongae* in English means *for your prayers*.

Example (10)

A : *Punten neng, upami jalan ka Wilulang nu palih mana?* (Sorry miss, if I go towards Wilulang, which one?).

B : *Mas balik deui aya parapatan belok ka kenca tembusna ka Wilulang* (Brother back to the direction again, there is a seal turn left through to Wilulang).

Example (10) there is a code mixing done by B. A asks B about the direction of the road in Sundanese. In this sentence, it is found that the word *punten* in English means *sorry/excuse me*; the word *neng* in English means *miss*; the word *upami* in English means *if*; the word *jalan* in English means *way/direction*; the conjunction *ka* in English means *to*; the word *nu* in English means *which*; the word *palih* in English means *part*; the word *mana* in English means *choice of direction* and B answers also in Sundanese. It was found that the word *balik* in English means *turning around*; the word *deui* in English means *again*; the word *aya* in English means *there is*; the word *parapatan* in English means *a crossroads*; the word *kenca* in English means *left*; the word *tembusna* in English means *to enter or penetrate*. Here we find vocabulary insertion in Cirebon dialect: *mas* in English means *brother*, the word *belok* in English means *turn*.

Sundanese dan Cirebon Dialect Javanese in Oral and Written Communication Events

Code-mixing sentences that occur in oral and written communication events in Cirebon people who are on the border as stated in part a above will appear to be Sundanese and Cirebon dialect Javanese language as follows.

Example (1)

Example (1) Jawareh

A : *Sira arep ngendi?*

B : *Arek tuku pais monyong ning Bi Darsih*

Example (1) Sundanese

A : *Maneh arek ka mana?*

B : *Arek meuli pais monyong di Bi Darsih.*

Example (1) Cirebon Dialect Javanese

A : *Sira arep ngendi?*

B : *Arep tuku poci ning Bi cilik Darsih*

Example (2) Jawareh

A : *Umahe Aan ning Desa Leuwidingding.*

B : *Urang poho euy, Desa Leuwidingding kuh di mana?*

Example (2) Sundanese

A : *Bumi na Aan di Desa Leuwidingding.*

B : *Urang poho uey, Desa Leuwidingding teh di mana?*

Example (2) Cirebon Dialect Javanese

A : *Umae Aan ning Desa Leuwidingding.*

B : Isun/Sun klalen jeh, Desa Leuwidinging iku ning endi?

Example (3) Jawareh

A : *Geuning* sira duwe akeh kartuwe.

B : Dipai *mang* Katim.

Example (3) Sundanese

A : Geuning maneh boga loba kartu.

B : Dibere ku mang Katim.

Example (3) Cirebon Dialect Javanese

A : Duh, sira duwe akeh kartuwe.

B : dipai Paklik Katim.

Example (4) Jawareh

A : Mukti, *Abah* ana ning uma bli?

B : Abah lagi ning lokasi proyek *neangan* mandor.

Example (4) Sundanese

A : Mukti, Abah aya di bumi teu?

B : Abah keur di lokasi proyek neangan mandor.

Example (4) Cirebon Dialect Javanese

A : Mukti, bapak ana ning uma bli?

B : Bapak lagi ning lokasiprojek ngluru mandor.

Example (5)Jawareh

A : *Mih, punten* kula bade wangsung.

B : *Mangga*, ari ira *arek balik mah*

Example (5) Sundanese

A : Mih, punten abdi bade uwih.

B : Mangga, bisi maneh arek balik mah.

Example (5) Cirebon Dialect Javanese

A : Mih, nyuwun sewu kula bade wangsul.

B : Ya wis, ari ira arep balik.

Example (6) Jawareh

A : Nok, sahang seprapate pira? Nona, berapa lada seperempat kilo?

B : Ari *ngical mah dua belas*, ka Bu Haji sepuluh ribu bae.

Example (6) Sundanese

A : Neng, sabaraha lada saparapat?

B : Upami ngical mah dua belas, ka Bu Haji sapuluh rebu wae.

Example (6) Cirebon Dialect Javanese

A : Nok, pira sahang seprapat?

B : Ari ngedol sih rolas, nggo Bu Haji sepuluh ribu bae.

Example (7) Jawareh

A : *Kang Mukti resep nonton bola* tah? (Kang Mukti senang nonton bola, bukan?)

B : *Resep atuh sabab pemain na wadon*.

Example (7) Sundanese

A : Kang Mukti resep nonton bola nya?

B : Resep atuh sabab pemain na awewe.

Example (7) Cirebon Dialect Javanese

A : Mas Mukti seneng nonton bal tah?

B : Ya seneng lah wong pemaine wadon.

Example (8) Jawareh

A : Gebang *geus* keliwat *acan nya?* (Apakah ini sudah melewati Gebang?)
 B : *Sabar*, Sindanglaut *oge can* anjog

Example (8) Sundanese

A : Gebang *geus* kaliwat *acan nya?*
 B : *Sabar*, Sindanglaut *oge can* nyampe.

Example (8) Cirebon Dialect Javanese

A : Gebang *wis* kliwat *during ya?*
 B : *Sabar*, Sindanglaut *gen* *during* anjog

Example (9) Jawareh

A : *Wilujeng angkat, wilujeng dugi ka tujuan.*
 B : *Hatur nuhun*, pangdongae.

Example (9) Sundanese

A : *Wilujeng angkat, wilujeng dugi ka tujuan.*
 B : *Hatur nuhun*, piduana.

Example (9) Cirebon Dialect Javanese

A : *Sugeng pangkat, sugeng dugi teng tujuan.*
 B : *Matur suwun/Kesuwun*, pangdongae.

Example (10) Jawareh

A : *Punten neng, upami jalan ka Wilulang nu palih mana?*
 B : *Mas balik deui aya parapatan* *belok ka kenca tembusna ka Wilulang.*

Example (10) Sundanese

A : *Punten neng, upami jalan ka Wilulang nu palih mana?*
 B : *Akang/Aang balik deui aya parapatan mengkol ka kenca tembusna ka Wilulang.*

Example (10) Cirebon Dialect Javanese

A : *Taken nok, lamun dalan nuju Wilulang iku sebelah endi?*
 B : *Mas puter arah maning ana prapatan* *belok kiwe tembuse Wilulang.*

Javanese Dialect in Cirebon

The Javanese language used by speakers in Cirebon has gradually changed from the Javanese language brought before, both phonologically and lexically. This is thought to be due to the disconnection of Javanese communication between Javanese speakers in Cirebon and Javanese speakers in their native areas for a long time and this can be made possible if examined through wave theory (*Schmidt's Wave Theory*).

(1) Phonological Change

The Javanese language used by speakers in Cirebon or called Cirebon dialect Javanese language or briefly called *Basa Cerbon* is phonologically discovered because of the sound change. The following is an example of a phonologically changing vocabulary.

Table 1 Phonological Changes

NO	JAVANESE	CIREBON DIALECT JAVANESE	ENGLISH
1	boyok	boyok, beyek	waist
2	dawa	dawa, dawo, dao	long
3	etung	etung, etang, itung	count
4	gancam	gancam, nggancam, ngrancam	delirious
5	ingsun	ingsun, isun, sun	I
6	kiyen	kiyen, sekiyen, sakiyen, sakiye, sekiye	now
7	mlumah	mlumah, mluma, mlumo	lie down

8	regel	rebel, ribel, rigel, tibel, tigel	fall down
9	trenggalung	trenggalung, tenggalung	weasel
10	tubles	tubles, nubles, tumbles, cubles, nyubles, nyumbles	stab

(2) Lexical Change

The lexical change here is the Javanese vocabulary that undergoes a morphological process in the form of symptoms of morphemic changes such as affixation and reduplication. The following is an example of a vocabulary that undergoes a morphological process.

Tabel 2 Lexical Changes

NO	JAVANESE	CIREBON DIALECT JAVANESE	ENGLISH
1	arep	arep, pan, pengen	will
2	beluk	beluk, gero, ulam, undang	call
3	bengen	bengen, bengiyen, gemiyen	formerly
4	gonggo	gonggo, sarangganti, gontang, blandingan	spider
5	Iga	iga, dadawalang	rib
6	karo	karo, bari, lagan, lan	and/with
7	Kebuk	kebuk, gabes, paru-paru	lungs
8	mlumah	mlumah, gleng, glenter, ngabrag-ngabrag, ngatang-ngatang	Lie down
9	tarik	tarik, gered, gedeg	pull
10	ungker	ungker, entung, kepongpong, igel-igel	cocoon

Theoretical Proof

Based on Muysken's opinion in Harya (2018) that code mixing can be divided into three types, namely insertion, alternation, and congruent lexicalization, so it can be proven that the 10 examples of conversation in section 3a above can be classified into types of insertion and alternation. This study found that there was code mixing through insertion with Sundanese lexical borrowing which was inserted into speech, both in the form of words and clauses.

Based on the opinion of Suandi (2014: 140) code mixing can be divided into three types based on the origin of the absorption elements as follows. First, mix code into (inner code-mixing), Second, mix code out (outer code-mixing). Third, mix code mix (hybrid code-mixing), so that this research can prove that the 10 examples of conversation above can belong to in the type of outer code-mixing, namely code mixing that occurs because speakers absorb other language elements that are not related.

The event of language contact between Javanese in Cirebon and Sundanese allowed the Javanese in Cirebon to absorb Sundanese vocabulary so that the Cirebon dialect of Javanese was enriched with Sundanese vocabulary. The absorption of Sundanese in Javanese speech in Cirebon dialect is one of the things that makes Cirebon dialect Javanese language different from the original Javanese in Yogyakarta and Surakarta. It is at this level, that is suspected, that speakers in Cirebon place *Jawareh* as a dialect of the Javanese language in Cirebon.

CONCLUSIONS

Javanese in Cirebon is one of the dialects of the Javanese language. Speakers in Cirebon prefer to call it Cirebon Language or *Basa Cerbon*. This mention is an indication of the identity of Cirebon people from the speakers in other areas. When it arrived in Cirebon, the Javanese language that lived between Sundanese and Sundanese speakers absorbed the vocabulary from the Sundanese language and made the vocabulary of Cirebon dialect Javanese language. Therefore, many Cirebon dialect Javanese utterances are inserted with Sundanese vocabulary. The younger generation of speakers today do not recognize anymore if the speech they use comes from the two languages, Javanese and Sundanese.

Finally, from this research and based on sociolinguistic studies, it can be concluded that Jawareh cannot be classified as Cirebon dialect Javanese language or Sundanese dialect in Cirebon, but as a code-mixing event, which is then considered commonly used by speakers as a Cirebon dialect Javanese speech. The term Jawareh was allegedly conveyed by the Sundanese-speaking community from Cirebon border to the Javanese-speaking community and the Sundanese-speaking community in Cirebon as local wisdom and a sense of brotherhood among the residents of West Java, becoming a marker of the identity of the speakers who are different from Javanese and Sundanese languages.

REFERENCES

- Astari, G.P., Hasyim, M., Kuswarini, P. (2019). Penerjemahan Metafora Novel “Lelaki Harimau” ke dalam “L’homme Tigre”. *Jurnal Ilmu Budaya* 7 (1), 83-93.
- Fadlilah, Afi. (2016). Bahasa Sunda dan Penggunaannya dalam Interaksi Jual Beli di Pasar Sindang Kabupaten Cirebon. *SASDAYA, Gadjah Mada Journal of Humanities*, Volume 1, Nomor 1, 71-86.
- Harya, Trisna Dinillah. (2018). “[Sociolinguistics \(Code: Code Switching and Code Mixing\)](#)”. Dalam *Jurnal Lentera: Jurnal Ilmiah Kependidikan*, Vol.11, 87–98.
- Manaf, Eva Yuliana, Ikhwan M. Said, dan Asriani Abbas. (2021). Alih Kode dan Campur Kode Bahasa Wolio ke dalam Bahasa Indonesia di Satuan Kerja Perangkat Daerah Kota Baubau. *Jurnal Ilmu Budaya*, Volume 9, Nomor 1, 219-231.
- Nababan, P.W.J. (1991). *Sosiolinguistik Suatu Pengantar*. Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama.
- Noer. Nurdin. M. (2009). *Menusa Cerbon: Sebuah Pengantar Budaya*. Cirebon: Dinas Pemuda Olahraga Kebudayaan dan Pariwisata Kota Cirebon.
- Rahman, F., Akhmar, A.M., Amir, M., Tammasse. (2019). The Practice of Local Wisdom of Kajang People to Save Forests and Biodiversity: A Cultural-Based Analysis. *IOP Conference Series: Earth and Environmental Science*, 270 (1), 012038.
- Setyawati, Rukni. (2010). “Campur Kode dalam Rubrik Ah...Tenane pada Harian Solopos. Edisi 29-30 Januari dan 1 Februari 2010”, dalam *Jurnal Jalabahasa*, Volume 6, Nomor 1.
- Suandi, I Nengah. (2014). *Sosiolinguistik*. Yogyakarta: Graha Ilmu.
- Sudaryanto. (1988). *Metode Linguistik Bagian Pertama: Ke Arah Memahami Metode Linguistik*. Cetakan ke 2. Yogyakarta: Gadjah Mada University Press.
- Supriatnoko. (2020). *Dari Pasambangan ke Cerbon: Menelusuri Variasi Bahasa*. Bantul: Penerbit Bildung.
- William, Stefan. (2022). Mengenal Dialek Bahasa Cirebon. Diunduh dari <https://pusakapusaka.com/mengenal-dialek-bahasa-cirebon.html>.