

Comparative Analysis of High Lexicons in Balinese and Javanese Languages

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Abstract—The lexicon of a language reflects the richness and diversity of its vocabulary. This study compares high lexical items in Balinese and Javanese, focusing specifically on the *singguh* register in Balinese and the high registers in Javanese—namely *krama*, *krama andhap*, and *krama inggil*. The research investigates phonological and morphological transformations, as well as semantic shifts, that occur across corresponding lexical items. By systematically codifying the similarities and differences between these refined lexical items, the study aims to contribute to vocabulary development in both Balinese and Javanese, and potentially to the enrichment of the Indonesian lexicon. Employing a comparative-analytical methodology, this research analyzes refined lexical items drawn from a 230-word Swadesh list. The findings indicate that many Balinese refined lexical items exhibit notable similarities with their Javanese counterparts, suggesting a strong influence of Javanese—particularly from the *ngoko* and *krama* levels—on the Balinese *singguh* register. Overall, the *sor* (low) register in Balinese aligns closely with Javanese *ngoko*, while the *singguh* (refined) register corresponds to various levels of Javanese *krama*.

Index Terms—Javanese language, Balinese language, lexicons, speech level, comparative analysis

I. INTRODUCTION

Every language possesses a set of lexical items that can be arranged into phrases, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, and even extended discourse (Camblin et al., 2007). It is because the lexicon constitutes a fundamental component of language, containing all information related to the meanings and usage of words within a given language (Kardana et al., 2020; Levy et al., 2021; Pengembangan et al., 2019; Widiastara et al., 2023). The quantity and nature of lexical items vary across languages, depending on the communicative needs of their respective speech communities. Societies with

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relatively simple modes of life tend to employ a more limited and straightforward lexicon, whereas more complex societies typically require and utilize a correspondingly more elaborate lexical repertoire. Thus, the lexicon of any given language may reflect the richness and diversity of its vocabulary.

In terms of lexicons, particularly those with high lexical density, Balinese and Javanese exhibit numerous similarities. It is mainly attributable to the long-standing and sustained historical relationship between the two ethnic groups, dating back to the periods of the Kediri, Singhasari, Majapahit, and Mataram kingdoms. Such close ties inevitably led to mutual influences, not only in language but also in culture and literature (Erawati, 2015; Erawati et al., 2023; Jayana, 2024; Wijana, 2021).

A considerable body of work has already been devoted to the study of lexicon in both languages. The Balinese lexicon has been explored by various scholars, as reflected in sources such as *Kamus Indonesia–Bali* (Sukayana et al., 2015; Sutjaja, 2006) and *Kamus Bali–Indonesia* (Partami et al., 2016). Lexical items in Balinese are typically classified into two categories: *sor* and *singgih*. The term '*sor*' denotes a low or rough register, while '*singgih*' refers to a high or high register (Suwija, 2017). These terms are used not only to describe individual lexical items but also to refer to the levels of politeness in sentences (Arnawa et al., 2022). These terms are used not only to describe individual lexical items but also to refer to the levels of politeness in sentences. Van der Tuuk (1897), in his *Kawi-Balinesch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* (*Kawi Balinese Dutch Dictionary*). His works document Balinese vocabulary, including the high registers of the language. Arka (2005) employs a lexical approach to study the interaction between Balinese speech syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. Putri and Nurita (2021) highlight the causes and endeavours to preserve endangered lexicons. Budasi and Adi Ana (2025) study the maintenance of Balinese lexicons through traditional games.

Similarly, numerous studies have also addressed the Javanese lexicon. For instance, in *Tingkat Tutur Bahasa Jawa* (*Javanese Speech Levels*), Poedjasoedarma et al. (1979) state that the Javanese lexicon is categorized into *ngoko*, *madya*, *krama*, and *krama inggil/krama andhap*. The lexicon is divided into *ngoko*, *krama*, *krama ngoko*, and *krama inggil* (Yogyakarta, 2011), following the tradition established by Poerwadarminta (1939), the pre-independence compiler of *Bausastra Djawa*. Sasangka (2019) offers a six-part classification: *neutral lexicon*, *ngoko*, *madya*, *krama*, *krama inggil*, and *krama andhap*.

Comparative research between the Balinese and Javanese languages has also been undertaken by several scholars, including Islaqudin (2019), Lailiyah and Wijayanti (2022), and Mayani (2016). One of Mayani's (2016) findings reveals that phonological, semantic, and politeness-level shifts of Javanese lexical items in Balinese occur both formally and informally. Notably, many Javanese low-register lexical borrowings have shifted into high-register forms in Balinese. Islaqudin's (2019) research indicates that Balinese and Javanese are linguistically related, sharing approximately 24% of their vocabulary, and are believed to have diverged around 279–283 BCE. Meanwhile, Lailiyah and Wijayanti (2022) estimate the lexical similarity at 30.5%, suggesting that both languages belong to the same sub-branch of the Austronesian family.

Although a range of comparative studies on the two languages has been conducted, none has specifically examined the high lexicons of Balinese and Javanese in a comparative framework. A focused comparison of these high lexical registers would yield intriguing insights. For example, some lexical items considered *singgih* in Balinese are only categorized as *ngoko* in Javanese. Words such as *tangi* 'wake up', *watuk* 'cough', *mangkat* 'depart', *ngadeg* 'stand', and *margi* 'walk' or 'road' exist in both languages with identical forms and meanings. However, while they are *ngoko* in Javanese, they are treated as high in Balinese. Notably, the reverse does not occur—*sor* lexicon in Balinese does not become *krama* in Javanese. This asymmetry is likely due to the historically close relationship between Javanese and Balinese kingdoms, in which certain informal Javanese words were adopted into Balinese as polite forms. This phenomenon may be interpreted as either an expression of deference by Balinese rulers toward their Javanese counterparts or as a consequence of the historical political dominance of Javanese kingdoms over those of Balinese (Zoetmulder, 1983).

Nevertheless, not all high lexical items in Balinese bear similarities to or correspond with *ngoko* lexical items in Javanese; many high terms in Balinese are original to the language. It can be observed in words such as *mekoratan* 'to defecate', *laib* 'to run', and *suir* 'to whistle'. In Javanese, the terms used to convey the meaning to defecate are *ngising* (*ngoko*) and *bebucal* (*krama*); for run, the equivalents are *mlayu* (*ngoko*), *mlajeng* (*madya*), and *mlajar* (*krama*); while to whistle, the term *singsot* or *sisot* is used—both of which are neutral lexical items and lack *krama* equivalents.

The '*sor*' lexicon in Balinese semantically denotes a low register. It is typically used by either the first person or second person in casual, intimate, or socially unmarked interactions. In contrast, the *singgih* lexicon denotes refinement. It is employed in formal or socially distant communication, where interlocutors are less familiar with one another and maintain a certain level of social distance. In a similar vein, Sasangka (2013) classifies the Javanese lexicon into several registers: *ngoko*, *madya*, *krama*, and *krama inggil/krama andhap*. The *ngoko* register, which parallels *sor* in Balinese, is used for informal, everyday interactions among close acquaintances or equals. The *krama* register, akin to the *singgih* register, is used in daily communication where speakers maintain a respectful distance or formality. The *madya* lexicon is considered moderately high, although it is often regarded as insufficiently polite or lacking in decorum. Meanwhile, the *krama inggil* lexicon represents a high register reserved exclusively for addressing or referring to others (second or third singular person). In contrast, *krama andhap* is an equally elevated form of speech but used solely for self-reference (first singular person).

This study compares high lexical items in Balinese and Javanese, with a particular focus on the *singguh* register in Balinese and the high registers in Javanese—including *krama*, *krama andhap*, and *krama inggil*. The research explores formal and semantic correspondences between the two languages, including phonological shifts and semantic extensions. The primary contribution of this study lies in its detailed classification of lexical relationships between Balinese and Javanese, based on data drawn from basic vocabulary questionnaires and lexicographic documentation.

By adequately codifying these similarities and differences, the high lexicons of both languages may serve as valuable resources for vocabulary development in Balinese and Javanese, and potentially for enriching Indonesian vocabulary—especially in the context of ongoing efforts by the Agency for Language Development and Cultivation to expand the Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia (KBBI). Accordingly, this paper presents the forms of high lexicons in both languages, analyzes their similarities and differences, and identifies the markers of lexical refinement specific to each language.

II. METHODOLOGY

This study employs a comparative analytical methodology to examine the high lexicons in Balinese and Javanese. The results were obtained using a questionnaire derived from the Swadesh list, which comprises 230 lexicons. Comparative analysis is a scientific approach that investigates two or more languages to reveal similarities and contrasts in their phonological systems, morphological structures, lexical semantics, and grammatical patterns, both historically and typologically (Comrie, 1989; Heine & Kuteva, 2005; Rankin, 2003). This approach is particularly important for studying how these two genealogically and culturally related languages build and employ lexical variants that indicate politeness levels or *unggah-ungguh* in speech.

The comparative analysis in this study involves several systematic steps. First, data collection was conducted by compiling a list of high-frequency words in Balinese and Javanese languages, based on responses to a 230-Swadesh list. Second, a process of lexical matching was conducted to identify lexical correspondences between the two languages, based on similarities in both form and meaning. Third, the matched items were classified according to levels of formality or speech register in Javanese (e.g., *ngoko*, *madya*, *krama*, *krama inggil*, and *krama andhap*) and the dichotomy of *sor* and *singguh* in Balinese. Fourth, phonological and semantic mapping was conducted to trace patterns of sound change (e.g., *pethak* > *petat*) and meaning shifts or extensions (e.g., *jero*, meaning 'house' in the Balinese language, but 'inside' in the Javanese language). Finally, historical inference was employed to determine whether the similarities were due to common inheritance from Old Javanese, borrowing, or independent innovation, thereby situating the findings within a broader Austronesian historical-linguistic context.

III. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

A. Findings

The following table presents a comparison of selected high lexicons in Balinese and their equivalents in Javanese across various speech levels. This comparison encompasses both semantic classification and the identification of lexical correspondences across the various Javanese registers: *ngoko*, *madya*, *krama*, and *krama inggil/andhap*. The aim is to assess the extent to which *the Balinese lexicon* aligns in form and meaning with its Javanese counterparts, and to identify potential shifts in pragmatic and social value that may have occurred through processes of borrowing and lexical adaptation.

TABLE 1
HIGH LEXICONS IN BALINESE AND JAVANESE LANGUAGES

Balinese Language		Javanese Language				Meaning
Sor	High	Ngoko	High			
			Madya	Krama	Krama Inggil/andhap	
<i>kokoan</i>	<i>Watuk</i>	<i>watuk</i>	-	-	<i>cekoh</i>	cough
<i>ngoyong</i>	<i>Meneng</i>	<i>meneng</i>	-	<i>mendel</i>	-	silent
<i>adep</i>	<i>Adol</i>	<i>adol</i>	<i>Mande</i>	<i>sade</i>	-	sell
<i>jits</i>	<i>Silit</i>	<i>silit</i>	-	-	<i>wajidan</i>	anus
<i>bibih</i>	<i>lambé</i>	<i>lambé</i>	-	-	<i>lathi</i>	lips
<i>gigi</i>	<i>untu</i>	<i>untu</i>	-	-	<i>waja</i>	teeth
<i>bungut</i>	<i>cangkem</i>	<i>cangkem</i>	-	<i>tutuk</i>	<i>lisan</i>	mouth
<i>lu'ung</i>	<i>becik</i>	<i>becik/apik</i>	-	<i>sae</i>	<i>prayogi</i>	good
<i>meme</i>	<i>biyang</i>	<i>emak, embok</i>	-	<i>biyung</i>	<i>ibu</i>	mother
<i>gunung</i>	<i>gunung</i>	<i>gunung</i>	-	<i>redi</i>	<i>arga</i>	mountain
<i>bo'ok</i>	<i>rambut</i>	<i>rambut</i>	-	-	<i>rikma</i>	hair
<i>lime</i>	<i>tangan</i>	<i>tangan</i>	-	-	<i>asta</i>	hands
<i>api</i>	<i>geni</i>	<i>geni</i>	-	-	<i>latu</i>	fire
<i>peteng</i>	<i>wengi</i>	<i>bengi</i>	-	<i>dalu</i>	-	night

The findings above indicate that most *sor* lexical items in Balinese differ in form from their *ngoko* counterparts in Javanese. For example, the Balinese words *kokoan* 'to cough', *ngoyang* 'to be silent', *adep* 'to sell', *bibih* 'lips', *bungut*

'mouth', *bo'ok* 'hair', and *lu'ung* 'good' are all categorized as *sor* in the Balinese language. In contrast, Javanese expresses these meanings using *watuk* 'to cough', *meneng* 'to be silent', *adol* 'to sell', *lambé* 'lips', *cangkem* 'mouth', *bo'ok* 'hair', and *apik* 'good'—all of which belong to the *ngoko* register. On the other hand, the data also reveal that many *singguh* lexical items in Balinese share both form and meaning with *ngoko* lexical items in Javanese. Words such as *watuk* 'cough', *meneng* 'silent', *adol* 'sell', *silit* 'anus', *lambé* 'lips', *untu* 'teeth', and *cangkem* 'mouth' are classified as *singguh* in the Balinese language. However, these same forms are categorized as *ngoko* in the Javanese language. This suggests a shift in pragmatic value when such lexemes are borrowed or adapted between the two languages.

Furthermore, the findings show a structural difference in the lexical systems of the two languages. The Balinese lexicon is typically divided into just two levels: *sor* and *singguh*. Meanwhile, Javanese includes a more stratified system with *ngoko*, *madya*, *krama*, and *krama inggil/andhap*. Functionally, *sor* and *singguh* in Balinese correspond roughly to *ngoko* and *krama* in Javanese. It can be seen, for example, in the lexical items for 'mouth.' In Balinese language, *bungut* (*sor*) and *cangkem* (*singguh*) are used, whereas Javanese language uses *cangkem* (*ngoko*), *tutuk* (*krama*), and *lisan* (*krama inggil*). Another example can be found in the lexical representation of the concepts 'good' and 'mother.' In the Balinese language, good is expressed as *lu'ung* (*sor*) and *becik* (*singguh*), while the Javanese language uses *apik/becik* (*ngoko*), *sae* (*krama*), and *prayogi* (*krama inggil*). For the mother lexicon, the Balinese language uses '*meme*' (*sor*) and '*biyang*' (*singguh*), while the Javanese language uses '*emak/embok*' (*ngoko*), '*biyung*' (*krama*), and '*ibu*' (*krama inggil*).

B. Discussion

This subsection will address the following key points: (1) the similarities between high lexicons in Balinese and *ngoko* lexicons in Javanese; (2) the similarities between high lexicons of Balinese and Javanese; (3) instances of semantic expansion within the Balinese high lexicon; (4) connections between Balinese high lexicons and Old Javanese lexicon; and (5) original Balinese high lexicons that have no equivalents in either *ngoko* or *krama* registers of Javanese.

(a). Similarities Between High Lexicons in Balinese and Ngoko Lexicons in Javanese

High lexicons in Balinese can be classified into two types: (1) those that are entirely identical to *ngoko* lexicons in Javanese in both form and meaning, without undergoing any phonological or morphological changes, and (2) those that are like Javanese *ngoko* lexicons, but have undergone slight modifications. Based on data collected through a questionnaire consisting of 230 lexical items, it was found that 65 high Balinese lexical items correspond to *ngoko* Javanese forms. Among these, 50 items are identical in form and meaning, while 15 items have undergone some degree of modification, either through phonological addition or deletion. The following examples illustrate both types.

TABLE 2
IDENTICAL FORMS IN HIGH BALINESE AND JAVANESE *NGOKO* LEXICONS

Balinese Language		Javanese Language				Meaning
Sor	High	Ngoko	High			
			Madya	Krama	Krama Inggil/andhap	
<i>adep</i>	<i>adol</i>	<i>adol</i>	<i>Mande</i>	<i>sade</i>	-	sell
<i>bais</i>	<i>cokor</i>	<i>cokor, sikil</i>	-	-	<i>sampeyan, samparan</i>	feet
<i>gigi</i>	<i>untu</i>	<i>untu</i>	-	-	<i>waja</i>	teeth
<i>bungut</i>	<i>cangkem</i>	<i>cangkem</i>	-	<i>tutuk</i>	<i>lisan</i>	mouth
<i>lime</i>	<i>tangan</i>	<i>tangan</i>	-	-	<i>asta</i>	hand
<i>mejalan</i>	<i>mangkat</i>	<i>mangkat</i>	<i>Kesah</i>	<i>bidhal</i>	<i>tindak</i>	depart
<i>bangun</i>	<i>tangi</i>	<i>tangi</i>	-	-	<i>wungu</i>	wake up
<i>kokoan</i>	<i>watuk</i>	<i>watuk</i>	-	-	<i>cekoh</i>	cough
<i>api</i>	<i>geni</i>	<i>geni</i>	-	-	<i>latu</i>	fire
<i>cunguh</i>	<i>irung</i>	<i>irung</i>	-	-	<i>grana</i>	nose
<i>jera</i>	<i>umah</i>	<i>omah</i>	-	<i>griya</i>	<i>dalem</i>	house

A close examination of the data in Table 2 reveals that many high lexicons in Balinese share identical forms and meanings with *ngoko* lexicons in Javanese, without undergoing any phonological or semantic change. Words such as *adol* 'to sell', *cokor* 'foot', *cangkem* 'mouth', *untu* 'teeth', *tangan* 'hand', *mangkat* 'depart', and *tangi* 'wake up' exhibit complete formal and semantic equivalence across both languages.

Despite these similarities, two significant differences can be observed in their actual use. First, there is a phonological distinction. In Balinese, words like *untu* 'teeth', *tangan* 'hand', *mangkat* 'depart', *tangi* 'wake up', and *watuk* 'cough' are pronounced using the retroflex stop /t/, resulting in pronunciations such as /untu/, /tangan/, /mankat/, /taji/, and /watu/. In contrast, the equivalent Javanese forms retain the alveolar voiceless plosive /t/ (i.e., /t/ rather than /t/), thus preserving the standard pronunciation found in *ngoko* speech. Second, there is a functional difference in terms of speech level and social register. In Balinese, these lexemes are classified as *singguh* and are typically used to express politeness and deference toward the interlocutor. In Javanese, however, the same lexemes belong to the *ngoko* level, which is employed in informal, intimate, or equal-status communication. It illustrates a shift in pragmatic function: lexicon that conveys familiarity in Javanese may carry connotations of politeness or formality in Balinese.

Meanwhile, high lexicons in Balinese that resemble *ngoko* lexicons in Javanese, but have undergone slight modifications, are exemplified by the data presented in Table 3 below.

TABLE 3
MODIFIED HIGH LEXICONS IN BALINESE COMPARED TO JAVANESE *NGOKO*

High lexicons in the Balinese Language	<i>Ngoko</i> Lexicons in the Javanese Language	Meaning
<i>Matangi</i>	<i>Tangi</i>	wake up
<i>matembang</i>	<i>Tembang</i>	sing
<i>malinggih</i>	<i>Linggih</i>	Sit
<i>jagut</i>	<i>Janggut</i>	chin/beard
<i>baduur</i>	<i>Dhuwur</i>	high/above
<i>babuyut</i>	<i>Buyut</i>	ancestor
<i>memeri</i>	<i>Meri</i>	duck

The data above illustrate that the high Balinese words *matangi* ‘wake up’, *matembang* ‘sing’, and *malinggih* ‘sit’ are closely related to the Javanese *ngoko* forms *tangi*, *tembang*, and *linggih*. These similarities become evident once the Balinese verbal prefix *ma-* is removed, revealing that the base forms in both languages are identical.

The word *jagut* ‘chin’ or ‘beard’ appears to have evolved from *janggut*, likely through the deletion of the nasal phoneme /ŋ/. Similarly, *baduur* ‘high’ or ‘above’ likely derives from *dhuwur*. This derivation may have involved an initial addition of the prefix *ba-*, forming *badhuwur*, followed by the elision of /w/, resulting in *baduur*. Other examples include *babuyut* ‘ancestor’ and *memeri* ‘duck’, both high Balinese lexemes that likely stem from *buyut* and *meri* in Javanese. The form *babuyut* may have been created through the addition of the prefix *ba-*, a standard morphological device in Balinese used to form words associated with states or qualities. As for *memeri*, this is most likely the result of initial reduplication rather than the addition of the prefix *me-*, which in Balinese typically functions as a verbal prefix. Since *memeri* is a noun meaning ‘duck’, the morphological process involved is more consistent with reduplication rather than verbal derivation.

(b). *Similarities Between the High Lexicons of Balinese and Javanese*

High lexicons in Balinese can be grouped into two categories about their counterparts in Javanese: (1) Balinese high lexicons that are entirely identical to Javanese high lexicons, both in form and meaning, without undergoing any phonological or morphological changes, and (2) Balinese high lexicon that is similar to high Javanese lexicon but has undergone certain modifications, such as sound shifts, affixation, or morphological adaptations. The following are several illustrative examples of both types.

TABLE 4
IDENTICAL HIGH LEXICONS IN BALINESE AND JAVANESE

Balinese Language	Javanese Language			Meaning
	High	Madya	Krama	
<i>Ayam</i>	-	<i>Ayam</i>	<i>Sawung</i>	chicken
<i>Griya</i>	-	<i>Griya</i>	<i>Dalem</i>	house
<i>Tumbas</i>	-	<i>Tumbas</i>	<i>Mundhut</i>	buy
<i>Toya</i>	-	<i>Toya</i>	-	water
<i>wana</i>	-	<i>Wana</i>	-	forest
<i>mantuk</i>	<i>mantuk</i>	<i>Wangsul</i>	<i>Kondur</i>	return
<i>Ibu</i>	<i>mbok</i>	<i>Biyung</i>	<i>Ibu</i>	mother
<i>luhur</i>	-	<i>Inggil</i>	<i>Luhur</i>	high/above
<i>raka</i>	<i>kang</i>	<i>Kangmas</i>	<i>Raka</i>	older brother
<i>seda</i>	<i>tilar</i>	<i>Pejah</i>	<i>Seda</i>	die

A close examination of the data in Table 4 reveals that all high lexicons in Balinese share formal and semantic equivalence with high lexicons in Javanese, without undergoing any changes in form or meaning. However, these correspondences are realized across various speech levels in Javanese, ranging from *madya* to *krama* and *krama inggil/andhap*. For example, the Balinese high term for ‘chicken’ is *ayam*, which corresponds to *ayam* in *krama* Javanese and *sawung* in *krama inggil*. The word for ‘house’ in Balinese is *griya*, which also appears in *krama* Javanese as *griya*, and in *krama inggil* as *dalem*. For ‘buy’, Balinese uses *tumbas*, which matches *tumbas* (*krama*) and *mundhut* (*krama inggil*) in Javanese. The Balinese terms *toya* ‘water’ and *wana* ‘forest’ correspond directly with the same forms in *krama* Javanese, without higher-register variants. *Mantuk* ‘return’ in Balinese corresponds to *mantuk* (*madya*), *wangsul* (*krama*), and *kondur* (*krama inggil*) in Javanese. The word *ibu* ‘mother’ in Balinese is used in high contexts and aligns with *mbok* (*madya*), *biyung* (*krama*), and *ibu* (*krama inggil*) in Javanese. For ‘above’ or ‘high’, Balinese uses *luhur*, while Javanese uses *inggil* (*krama*) and *luhur* (*krama inggil*). *Raka* ‘older brother’ in Balinese is matched with *kang* (*madya*), *kangmas* (*krama*), and *raka* (*krama inggil*) in Javanese. Finally, *seda* ‘die’ in Balinese aligns with *tilar* (*madya*), *pejah* (*krama*), and *seda* (*krama inggil*) in Javanese. These examples demonstrate that, although Balinese and Javanese high lexicons exhibit strong parallels, the Javanese equivalents span multiple speech levels, whereas Balinese typically maintains a single high form.

Meanwhile, specific high Balinese lexicons resemble their Javanese counterparts but have undergone slight phonological or morphological modifications. The following examples illustrate these cases.

TABLE 5
MODIFIED HIGH LEXICONS IN BALINESE DERIVED FROM HIGH JAVANESE

High lexicons in the Balinese Language	High Lexicons in the Javanese Language	Meaning
<i>petat</i>	<i>Pethak</i>	white
<i>nyurat</i>	<i>Nyerat</i>	write
<i>kaon</i>	<i>Kawon</i>	lose
<i>naka</i>	<i>Kenaka</i>	finger nail
<i>wimba</i>	<i>Imba</i>	eyebrow
<i>bakta</i>	<i>Beta</i>	bring
<i>kakiang</i>	<i>Kaki</i>	grandfather
<i>mataken</i>	<i>Taken</i>	ask (question)
<i>masiram</i>	<i>Siram</i>	bathe
<i>ngamanahin</i>	<i>Manah</i>	think

The data presented in Table 5 shows that the Balinese high lexicons *petat* ‘white’ and *nyurat* ‘write’ exhibit strong similarities to the *krama* Javanese forms *pethak* ‘white’ and *nyerat* ‘write’. The Balinese *petat* /pətat/ is likely derived from the Javanese *pethak* /pətak/, with the glottal stop /k/ at the end of *pethak* varying with the retroflex stop /t/, resulting in *petat* /pətat/. Similarly, *nyurat* is assumed to derive from *nyerat* /ɲərat/ in Javanese, with the change from /ə/ to /u/ reflecting a typical vowel variation between mid-central and high-back vowels.

Other examples include *kaon* ‘lose’ and *naka* ‘finger nail’, which are high-level lexicons in Balinese believed to originate from the *krama* Javanese forms *kawon* and *kenaka*, respectively. The transformation of *kawon* to *kaon* likely involves the deletion of the semivowel /w/, which tends to be omitted in Balinese when flanked by adjacent vowels such as /a/ and /o/. The change from *kenaka* to *naka* can be explained by the elision of the initial syllable ke-.

Similarly, the Balinese high forms *wimba* ‘eyebrow’, *bakta* ‘bring’, and *kakiang* ‘grandfather’ appear to derive from the Javanese *imba* (*krama inggil*), *beta* (*krama*), and *kaki* (*krama*), respectively. The form *wimba* results from the addition of the consonant /w/ to the beginning of *imba*. *Beta* becomes *bakta* through the insertion of a glottal stop [ʔ] and a shift from /ə/ to /a/, yielding *bekta* → *bakta*. Likewise, *kaki* becomes *kakiang* through the addition of the nasal ending /aŋ/, resulting in /kakiŋ/.

The forms *mataken* ‘ask’, *masiram* ‘bathe’, and *ngamanahin* ‘think’ are also considered Balinese high lexicon and are assumed to derive from the Javanese *taken* (*krama*), *siram* (*krama inggil*), and *manah* (*krama*). In these cases, *mataken* and *masiram* are formed through the addition of the Balinese verbal prefix ma-, which is used to indicate an active verb where the subject performs the action. In *ngamanahin*, the base *manah* is modified by the simultaneous affixation of the prefix nga- and the suffix -in, forming a transitive verb that denotes an action directed toward an object.

From the analysis above, it becomes clear that Balinese high lexicon originating from Javanese high lexicon does not consistently correspond to a single level of Javanese speech. Instead, it draws variably from *madya*, *krama*, and *krama inggil/andhap* levels. In total, 49 Balinese high lexicons (28%) are identical in form and meaning to their Javanese high counterparts, while 17 items (9.71%) have undergone modifications involving phonological shifts, affixation, or morphological simplification.

(c). High Lexicons in Balinese as a Result of Semantic Expansion

In addition to the previously discussed correspondences and modifications, there are also high lexicons in Balinese that are believed to originate from Javanese, but which have undergone semantic expansion or shift. These items retain formal similarities with their Javanese counterparts but exhibit broadened or altered meanings in the Balinese context. This phenomenon is illustrated in the following table.

TABLE 6
HIGH LEXICONS IN BALINESE WITH SEMANTIC SHIFTS COMPARED TO JAVANESE

Balinese Language	Meaning	Javanese Language	Meaning
<i>Meneng</i>	Stop	<i>meneng</i>	silent
<i>panyuryan</i>	Eye	<i>pasuryan</i>	face
<i>Ngraos</i>	Say	<i>ngraos</i>	feel
<i>Jero</i>	House	<i>jero</i>	inside
<i>Ragane</i>	you (2 nd person)	<i>ragane</i>	his/her body
<i>Titian</i>	I (1 st person)	<i>tiang</i>	person
<i>Budal</i>	return home	<i>budal</i>	depart

The analysis reveals several lexicons in Balinese that, while seemingly related in form to their Javanese counterparts, have undergone semantic shift or expansion, resulting in different meanings across the two languages. These findings illustrate the dynamic nature of meaning evolution within related Austronesian languages, particularly in contexts of politeness and high registers. The word *meneng* in the Balinese language means ‘stop’ or ‘cease,’ whereas in the Javanese language, it is a *ngoko* term meaning ‘silent’. To express ‘stop’ in the Javanese language, speakers use *mandheg* (*ngoko*) or *kendel* (*krama*). *Panyuryan* in the Balinese language refers to ‘eye’, while no such form exists in the Javanese language. However, *pasuryan* (from *sura* ‘face’) appears in *krama inggil* Javanese, meaning ‘face’. Javanese language uses *mata* (*ngoko*), *mripat* (*krama*), and *paningal* or *soca* (*krama inggil*) for ‘eye’. *Ngraos* in the Balinese language means ‘say’ or ‘speak’, while in Javanese it means ‘feel’. Javanese language expresses ‘speak’ using *kandha* (*ngoko*),

sanjang (madya), *atur/matur (krama andhap)*, and *ngendika (krama inggil)*. *Jero* in the Balinese language refers to 'house', while in the Javanese language it is a *ngoko* term meaning 'inside'. For 'house', the Javanese language uses *omah (ngoko)*, *griya (krama)*, and *dalem (krama inggil)*. *Budal* in the Balinese language means 'return home', while in the Javanese language, *budal* is a *ngoko* form meaning 'depart'. Javanese language expresses 'return' with *bali/mulih (ngoko)*, *mantuk (madya)*, *wangsul (krama)*, and *kondur (krama inggil)*. *Titinyang* in the Balinese language is a high pronoun for 'I' or 'me'. In the Javanese language, the similar form *tiyang* means 'person'. *Titinyang* likely derives from *tiyang* via initial reduplication. In the Javanese language, first-person pronouns include *aku (ngoko)*, *kula (krama)*, and *abdi dalem* or *adalem (krama andhap)*. *Ragane* in the Balinese language is a polite form for 'you' (second person), while in the Javanese language *ragane* is a *ngoko* expression meaning 'your body' or 'his/her body'. To express 'you' in the Javanese language, one may use *kowe (ngoko)*, *slirane* or *sampeyan (madya)*, and *panjenengan (krama inggil)*.

The findings indicate that several Balinese lexicons, although formally similar to Javanese forms, have diverged in meaning due to processes of semantic shift, metaphorical extension, or pragmatic recontextualization. These changes reflect both the internal dynamics of Balinese and its historical interaction with Javanese, particularly in the refinement of social registers.

In total, 11 lexical items (approximately 4.78% of the 230 items surveyed) were identified as having undergone meaning change or expansion from their presumed Javanese sources. It highlights the importance of semantic analysis in comparative lexicon studies, particularly in understanding how culturally embedded concepts, such as politeness and social roles, are encoded differently in closely related languages.

(d). *High Lexicons in Balinese Derived From Old Javanese*

Within the *singgih* register of Balinese, several lexicons are found to originate not from modern Javanese but from Old Javanese, also known as Kawi. The following table presents examples of high Balinese lexicon believed to have their roots in Old Javanese.

TABLE 7
HIGH BALINESE LEXICONS WITH ORIGINS IN OLD JAVANESE

High lexicons in the Balinese Language	Old Javanese Language	Meaning
<i>Garba</i>	<i>Garba</i>	stomach
<i>Karna</i>	<i>Karna</i>	ear
<i>tranggana</i>	<i>trenggana</i>	star
<i>candra</i>	<i>candra</i>	moon
<i>Asti</i>	<i>Esti</i>	elephant
<i>giri</i>	<i>giri</i>	mountain
<i>Mina</i>	<i>Mina</i>	fish
<i>surya</i>	<i>surya</i>	sun
<i>Pertiwi</i>	<i>Pertiwi</i>	earth/land
<i>Teguh</i>	<i>Teguh</i>	strong
<i>Jaya</i>	<i>Jaya</i>	win
<i>ari</i>	<i>ari</i>	younger siblings

It appears that several high lexicons in Balinese, such as *ngwarih* 'urinate', *garba* 'stomach', *karna* 'ear', *tranggana* 'star', *candra* 'moon', *asti* 'elephant', *giri* 'mountain', *mina* 'fish', *surya* 'sun', *pertiwi* 'earth', *teguh* 'strong', and *ari* 'younger sibling', are likely derived from Old Javanese (Kawi language). These lexical items reflect a continuity of classical forms that have been preserved and integrated into the *singgih* (high) register of modern Balinese.

The word *ngwarih*, for example, is believed to originate from the Old Javanese term *warih*, which means 'water'. In Balinese, however, the term *ngwarih* has undergone semantic expansion, coming to mean 'urinate', that is, to release water (from the body). This shift illustrates a metaphorical extension from the original meaning. Similarly, *asti* 'elephant' in Balinese is thought to derive from *esti* or *hesti* in Old Javanese, with a vowel variation at the word-initial position. The form *esti/hesti* is a classical term for 'elephant' that reflects Sanskrit influence. The word *teguh* also demonstrates a semantic shift. In Old Javanese, *teguh* means 'firm' or 'steadfast', while in Balinese it has come to mean 'strong'. Although not identical, these meanings are conceptually related, as both connote endurance and stability.

What is particularly noteworthy is that many lexemes from Old Javanese—especially those with Sanskrit roots—have been absorbed into the high register of Balinese, where they continue to serve polite, ceremonial, or high-status communicative functions. In contrast, Modern Javanese tends to relegate many of these exact words to either *ngoko* (informal) usage or archaic or literary domains (often detached from daily spoken use). This divergence suggests that Balinese has retained and ritualized a greater portion of the Old Javanese lexicon. At the same time, Javanese, in its modern form, has undergone more lexical simplification and levelling in everyday language use.

(e). *Original High Lexicon in Balinese With No Equivalent in Javanese Ngoko or Krama*

Based on the collected data, several high lexicons in the Balinese language appear to be genuinely native, meaning they do not correspond directly, either in form or in derivation, to equivalent forms in Javanese, whether in the *ngoko* or high (*krama*) registers. These lexemes demonstrate the autonomous development of high vocabulary within Balinese and its ability to express politeness, deference, or refinement through indigenous linguistic mechanisms. Below is Table 8, which presents examples of such lexicon.

TABLE 8
HIGH LEXICONS IN BALINESE WITH SEMANTIC SHIFTS COMPARED TO JAVANESE

Balinese High Language	Javanese Ngoko Language	Javanese High Language	Meaning
<i>Mekoratan</i>	<i>ngising</i>	<i>bebucal</i>	defecate
<i>ngicén, mapica</i>	<i>menehi</i>	<i>nyukani, maringi, nyaosi</i>	give
<i>Ngamel</i>	<i>nyekel</i>	<i>nyepeng</i>	hold/grasp
<i>Ngentungang</i>	<i>mbuwang</i>	<i>mbucal</i>	throw away/discard
<i>Makayun</i>	<i>njaluk</i>	<i>nyuwun, mundhut</i>	ask (request)
<i>kadek, ica</i>	<i>ngguyu</i>	<i>gemujeng</i>	laugh
<i>Lime</i>	<i>tangan</i>	<i>asta</i>	hand
<i>Tengai</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>siang</i>	midday
<i>Gadang</i>	<i>ijo</i>	<i>ijem</i>	green
<i>oka, nanak</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>yoga, lare, putra</i>	child

The data in the table above indicate that the Balinese high lexicons are entirely distinct in form and show no resemblance to their Javanese counterparts, neither to *ngoko* nor to *krama* lexicons. For instance, *mekoratan* in the Balinese language means 'to defecate', whereas the Javanese language uses *ngising* (*ngoko*) or *bebucal* (*krama*) for the same meaning. The Balinese language *ngicen* and *mapica*, meaning 'to give', have no formal similarity to Javanese language equivalents such as *menehi* (*ngoko*), *nyukani* (*krama*), *maringi* (*krama andhap*), or *nyaosi* (*krama inggil*). The Balinese language *ngamel*, meaning 'to hold', contrasts with the Javanese language *nyekel* (*ngoko*) or *nyepeng* (*krama*). Similarly, *ngentungang* in the Balinese language, meaning 'to throw away', differs from the Javanese language *mbuwang* (*ngoko*) or *mbucal* (*krama*). The verb *makayun* in the Balinese language means 'to request' or 'to ask for', whereas Javanese language equivalents include *njaluk* (*ngoko*), *nyuwun* (*krama andhap*), and *mundhut* (*krama inggil*).

Other examples further reinforce this distinction. The Balinese language *kadek* or *ica* means 'to laugh', whereas the Javanese language uses *ngguyu* (*ngoko*) or *gemujeng* (*krama*). *Lime* in the Balinese language means 'hand', in contrast to the Javanese language *tangan* (*ngoko*) or *asta* (*krama inggil*). *Tengai* in Balinese refers to 'midday' or 'afternoon', while the Javanese language uses *awan* (*ngoko*) or *siang* (*krama*). *Gadang* in Balinese means 'green', while the Javanese language equivalents are *ijo* (*ngoko*) or *ijem* (*krama*). Finally, 'oka' or 'nanak' in the Balinese language means 'child', while the Javanese language uses 'anak' (*ngoko*), 'yoga' (*madya*), 'lare' (*krama*), or 'putra' (*krama inggil*).

These examples demonstrate that not all Balinese high lexicons originate from or are influenced by Javanese lexicons. Instead, many of them reflect genuine linguistic innovations or inheritances unique to Balinese.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that many Balinese high lexicons exhibit formal and semantic similarities with Javanese lexicons, suggesting that many of these Balinese high forms likely originated from Javanese. It is proved by the fact that out of 230 lexical items included in the questionnaire, 175 lexemes (76%) exhibit similarity with their Javanese counterparts. However, it is essential to note that not all these lexicons originate from the *ngoko* (low) register of Javanese; a substantial number correspond to the higher Javanese registers, namely *madya*, *krama*, *krama inggil*, and *krama andhap*. The detailed breakdown is that 65 Balinese high lexicons are identical to Javanese *ngoko* forms, 15 Balinese high lexicons show similarity to *ngoko* forms but with phonological modifications, such as the addition or omission of sounds, 49 lexicons are identical to Javanese *krama* forms, 17 lexicons are similar to Javanese high forms but have undergone phonological changes, 11 lexicons appear to originate from Javanese but have undergone semantic shifts in Balinese, 18 lexicons are presumed to derive from Old Javanese (Kawi), and finally, several Balinese high lexicons have no known equivalents in Javanese, indicating native innovation.

Thus, it can be said that *sor* lexicon (informal Balinese) is broadly aligned with Javanese *ngoko*, while *singguh* lexicon (high Balinese) corresponds to Javanese *krama*. In Balinese, the *singguh* register is employed to express politeness and deference between interlocutors (first and second persons). Meanwhile, in Javanese, politeness is not solely marked by *krama*. However, it must also be reinforced with *krama inggil* and/or *krama andhap* lexicons to convey honorific nuances in formal and hierarchical communication contexts.

The markers of high lexicon in both languages have not yet been adequately documented, particularly in the case of Balinese. It suggests the need for further research focused on identifying and analyzing the markers of high-register vocabulary, especially in Balinese. In contrast, the markers of high lexicon in Javanese have already been the subject of extensive scholarly investigation by several experts.

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