

Mapping of Javanese subdialects in Cirebon and Indramayu

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KEYWORDS	ABSTRACT
Cirebon Indramayu Javanese Subdialect Language Mapping	This study aims to identify and map the subdialects of Cirebon-Indramayu Javanese based on word/phrase forms and their meanings, and to analyze their dialectal relationships. This study is a sociolinguistic study, using a direct method (field survey), which involves collecting data by directly visiting respondents. Based on the research findings, there are 57 dialectal vocabulary items from Cirebon-Indramayu Javanese originating from four sub-districts in Cirebon Regency and six sub-districts in Indramayu Regency: Gegesik, Susukan, Kapetakan, and Tukdana (Cirebon Regency), and Kedokanbunder, Kertasemaya, Krangkeng, Sakagumiwang, Sindang, and Balongan (Indramayu Regency). Based on the results of the vocabulary and meaning study of the 57 vocabularies, 4 subdialects of Cirebon Javanese and 6 subdialects of Indramayu Javanese were identified and mapped, namely the Cirebon dialect: (1) Gegesik subdialect; (2) Susukan subdialect; (3) Kapetakan subdialect; and (4) Tukdana subdialect. The subdialects for Indramayu Javanese are: (1) Kedokanbunder subdialect; (2) Kertasemaya subdialect; (3) Kerangkeng subdialect; (4) Sakagumiwang subdialect; (5) Sindang subdialect; and (6) Balongan subdialect. The Javanese subdialects in several areas in Cirebon and Indramayu are proven to have quite significant differences and contain elements of absorption from Javanese and Sundanese dialects.

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Introduction

Language has become an important part of human life. Language can no longer be separated from all areas of life because it acts as a means of communication that can reach many insights (Vaara & Fritsch, 2022). Language naturally becomes a skill that needs to be developed through four activities, namely 1) writing, 2) reading, 3) speaking, and 4) listening (Widyaningrum & Hasanudin, 2019). There are many languages in the world that can be mastered by someone, so in the use of language there are terms foreign language and mother tongue (Fauziati, 2017). Mother tongue is more often known as regional language. Regional language can be said to be a language used by various communities with different cultural backgrounds as an identity (Haerudin et al., 2024). Regional languages also have a variety of languages or distinctive dialects (Puspandari & Basthomi, 2022). In general, regional languages are considered as languages used by a tribe as a symbol of communication in the lives of people in that tribe (Siregar, 2022).

Indonesia itself is a country with many ethnic groups and cultural richness, including regional languages (Salim, 2017). These regional languages are spread from Sabang to Merauke, from Miangas to Rote (Mulyani et al., 2019). However, over time, speakers of regional languages have decreased, even becoming a minority in their own region or social environment (Ariyani et al., 2021). According to Abidin & Junaidi (2024), regional languages in Indonesia have experienced a lot of simplification of words, especially from 2014 to 2023. Seeing this situation, it is not surprising that knowledge of regional languages has decreased over time.

Knowledge of regional languages should be one form of cultural wealth that needs to be maintained and preserved (Mantri, 2021). Preservation of regional languages can be done by preserving the use of regional languages, disseminating information about regional languages, and preventing shifts in regional languages, so that the preservation of national culture and speakers of regional languages in the future will continue (Zulaeha, 2017). In this regard, a basic understanding of the language situation and its changes as a whole is needed because language can be considered to help obtain a more comprehensive picture of national identity.

In the above case, information from the language map will be able to guide us to understand proportionally the status of diversity in one country in the Republic of Indonesia (Lauder, 2007). Such as information about the West Java region which is dominated by Sundanese except for the part along the north coast east of Jakarta, whose population uses Javanese in several dialects, namely the Indramayu and Cirebon dialects (Lapian, 1986). West Java Province has different languages such as Sundanese and Javanese. Javanese is divided into various subdialects. The classification of Javanese dialects is also written in the book *Encyclopedia of Ethnic Groups in Indonesia* by Hidayat (2015), stating that Javanese is included in the Austronesian language family, the West Malayo-Polynesian group. The dialects in question are the Refined Javanese, Cirebon, Tegal, Indramayu, Solo, Pasisir, Surabayaan, Malang-Pasuruan, Banten, Pamanukan dialects.

The classification of the Cirebon-Indramayu dialect of Javanese is interesting to study or map for several reasons. First, these two neighboring areas use almost the same language (Javanese) and dialects that are almost the same. The words of wong Dermayu (Indramayu people) can be understood by wong Cirebon (Cirebon people) and vice versa. Problems with dialects, idioms, or accents have little impact. This is different from other Javanese dialects, such as the Banyumas dialect whose meaning must take a long time to be understood by people from Indramayu and Cirebon. Other dialects such as Semarang, Yogyakarta dialect, and Solo feel refined and foreign, Malang and Surabaya dialects which feel difficult to understand. The Javanese dialect and Cirebon-Indramayu language are actually diverse, namely having similarities in *undak-usuk*, *penggupa-ungguh* (levels), and vocabulary that are not much different (Diniyah & Rahardjo, 2016). In Indramayu and Cirebon, people only know two languages, namely rude language (*ngoko*) and polite language (*krama inggil*). At the social level, some of the vocabulary used in Indramayu and Cirebon is different, but the number is small. For example, "reang" (I, in the Indramayu dialect) and "isun" (I, in the Cirebon dialect). The suffix "-kan" is used in "-aken" (in the Indramayu dialect) and "-enang" (in the Cirebon dialect), for example the word "Tuliskan" becomes "Tulisaken" (Indramayu dialect) with "Tulisenang" (Cirebon dialect).

This subtle difference does not refer to the administrative-governmental realm, but to the cultural realm. Several villages in Indramayu district (Krangkeng to Karangampel) tend to use the Cirebon dialect, as do the areas around Jagapura to Palimanan (part of Cirebon district) which tend to use vocabulary similar to Indramayu. In the vocabulary "waiting", Indramayu is usually pronounced as "ngenteni", as is Palimanan. This is different from Cirebon which is pronounced as "ngenteni".

Second, in 2003, the Regional Regulation (Perda) of West Java Province Number 5 concerning the Language and Literature of West Java recognized the existence of three regional languages, namely the Sundanese dialect, the Cirebon dialect, and the Malay-Betawi dialect. This Perda seemed to confirm that there was no diametrical conflict between the Javanese language of the Indramayu dialect and the Cirebon dialect, even as if declaring itself as a new regional language, namely the Cirebon language which stands alone.

Research on how important regional language knowledge is in Indonesia has been widely studied by previous researchers. As explained by Hidayat et al. (2021) if regional languages or what can also be called mother tongues should not be forgotten just because of the influence of the times and globalization. Regional languages as a language of identity and as a culture need to be introduced to children to foster their love for the social environment and the region where they grow up. The importance of understanding and being able to understand regional languages is very important for society, especially young people, so that regional languages in the archipelago do not become extinct.

Then, research by Benu et al. (2023) also revealed that knowledge of regional languages in the public sphere is very necessary to understand the diversity that exists in a region. Knowledge of regional languages

is not only used to increase a person's insight into a region, but is also used as a basis for maintaining the language itself. In the study that examined the language in Kupang City, it was shown that knowledge and use of regional languages intend to maintain an ideology that needs to be maintained, the power, and vitality of the language of a region.

Based on this description, subdialect mapping can be conducted for many regional languages, including Cirebon-Indramayu, which is particularly interesting because these subdialects are nearly identical, particularly in vocabulary and language varieties. Therefore, the purpose of this subdialect mapping is to describe the differences and similarities in vocabulary and language varieties used in the Cirebon and Indramayu regions.

Method

This research is a field research using a survey method. This field survey method involves going directly to the field or local environment to obtain the necessary data directly (Syahrizal & Jailani, 2023). This method is included in qualitative research (Safitri et al., 2023). Qualitative research methods are research procedures that produce descriptive data in the form of written or oral words from people and the actions of the objects being studied (Rindayati et al., 2022).

This is in line with Moleong's opinion (2021), that qualitative research is scientific research that has access to interpret several phenomena in a natural social context. In line with this view, Nasution in Ajat (2018) argues that qualitative research is essentially observing people in their environment, interacting with them, and trying to understand their language and interpretation of the world around them. This research was conducted in order to produce a process of interaction and in-depth communication between researchers and the phenomena to be studied.

This makes qualitative research very appropriate for use in research on various factors of language. Linguistic and non-linguistic factors themselves allow for the growth of dialects, subdialects, and speech differences (Djawa et al., 2019). Linguistic factors from phonological, morphological, and syntactic elements are very likely to blend with non-linguistic factors, especially from a sociolinguistic perspective (Faiz et al., 2020). Elements such as the geographical position of a region, historical background, social background, economic background, and the way of life of its people are non-linguistic factors that give rise to the growth of various aspects of language including dialects (Simanullang & Surip, 2023).

The Indramayu dialect of Javanese language, which has differences with other Javanese dialects, has these backgrounds. It seems that the same is true in the Indramayu dialect region, which also has subdialects in several regions, as well as speech differences below it. Zulaeha (2010) added that the process of the occurrence of neighboring dialects or languages is also determined by the entry of vocabulary analysis, structure, and pronunciation.

This research is a field of sociolinguistics, examining language use according to the social context of its users. The research was conducted descriptively, to determine the extent of the relationship between language use and speakers who describe the area of use of the language. Furthermore, this research uses a qualitative approach. The qualitative approach aims to explore the speech of a regional language in a particular area, related to the patterns of social life of the community of its speakers.

This study uses a direct method (field survey), namely a data collection method by visiting respondents directly (Ayatrohaedi, 1985). The data collection technique in this study uses recording or interview techniques with respondents who live on the border between Cirebon Regency and Indramayu Regency. The interviews conducted in this study focused on the similarities and differences of the Cirebon-Indramayu subdialects, especially the vocabulary or accent used by respondents.

Data analysis in this study is in the form of recording the names of words, names of objects, phrases, and sentences that show the uniqueness of the Javanese language in the Indramayu-Cirebon dialect of West Java Province. The data analysis used in this study employed the matching method. According to Mahsun (2014), the matching method is a method used to determine the identity of a particular linguistic unit by using something external to the language as a determining tool and not part of the language itself. The comparative relationship technique is used, an analysis technique that involves comparing linguistic units. This relationship aims to identify differences, similarities, and similarities between the linguistic units being compared.

This data analysis was then carried out to differentiate the names of objects, words, and phrases in the border sub-districts in Cirebon and Indramayu Regencies. The sub-districts in question are Gegesik, Susukan, and Kapetakan in Cirebon, while the sub-districts in Indramayu are Kedokanbunder, Kertasmaya, Krangkeng, Tukdana, Sukagumiwang, Sindang, and Balongan in Indramayu Regency.

Results and Discussion

Language is the most important component of human life, and every person is inseparable from it (Miskiyyah, 2024). Besides their differences, languages also have similarities. These similarities and differences give rise to dialects and even subdialects. The Cirebon and Indramayu languages share similarities. According to Rosidi (2010), Regional Regulation No. 5 of 2003 recognizes three regional languages in West Java: Sundanese, Cirebon, and Betawi. Some people are dissatisfied. The people of Indramayu want "Indramayu" to be recognized as a regional language and taught in formal schools in the region. A Research conducted by Wibowo (2025) entitled "A Comparison of Cognate Dialect Features in Javanese, Sundanese, Cirebon, and Indramayu" conveys that the condition of the Cirebon and Indramayu languages is often compared with Javanese and Sundanese. Cirebon and Indramayu are often considered two different languages. According to Wibowo (2025), this has been repeatedly emphasized by various confessions from various cultural circles. Apart from these confessions, Cirebon and Indramayu have many similarities in terms of phonology, lexicon, morphology, and syntax. Both also absorb some vocabulary from Javanese and Sundanese. With this phenomenon of vocabulary absorption, the study of the comparison of the vocabulary of Javanese, Sundanese, Cirebon, and Indramayu dialects is interesting to study. He also stated that although Cirebon and Indramayu Regency have West Javanese coastal varieties, in terms of basic vocabulary they show differences significant enough to be considered as separate varieties dialectally (or at least at a higher level of difference). Based on this, the phenomenon of Javanese subdialects in Cirebon–Indramayu is interesting to study in more depth. However, before discussing the Javanese subdialects in Cirebon and Indramayu, we will first discuss the two regions.

One of the differences is dialect, namely the presence of phonological interference, such as the research on the Analysis of Phonological Similarities of Javanese in the Indramayu Dialect with the Lumajang Dialect (Subaweh et al., 2022), Analysis of the Differences in Everyday Language between the Teminabuan Gunung and Teminabuan Pantai Regions in Phonological Studies (Yasmemi, 2021) and the Differences in Javanese in the Cirebon Dialect with the Berebes Dialect (Fatimatu Zahro, 2019). The differences between these studies and this research are the research object and the theory used.

Indramayu Regency is located in the northern part of West Java Province. Geographically, Indramayu Regency is located at 1070.52' – 1080.36' East Longitude and 060.15' – 060.40' South Latitude with an area of approximately 209,942 ha, with a coastline of approximately 147 km stretching along the northern coast of the Java Sea between Cirebon Regency and Subang Regency, where 4 miles of the coast are under the authority of the Regency and administratively borders with: North: Java Sea. South: Majalengka, Sumedang, and Cirebon Regencies. West: Subang Regency East: Java Sea and Cirebon Regencies

The development of administrative areas in Indramayu Regency until 2011 consisted of 31 Districts, 309 Villages, and 8 Sub-districts. Fig. 1 are several areas directly adjacent to the sea along the northern coast of Indramayu, amounting to 11 sub-districts with a total of 38 village areas (Indramayu Regency Government, 2015).

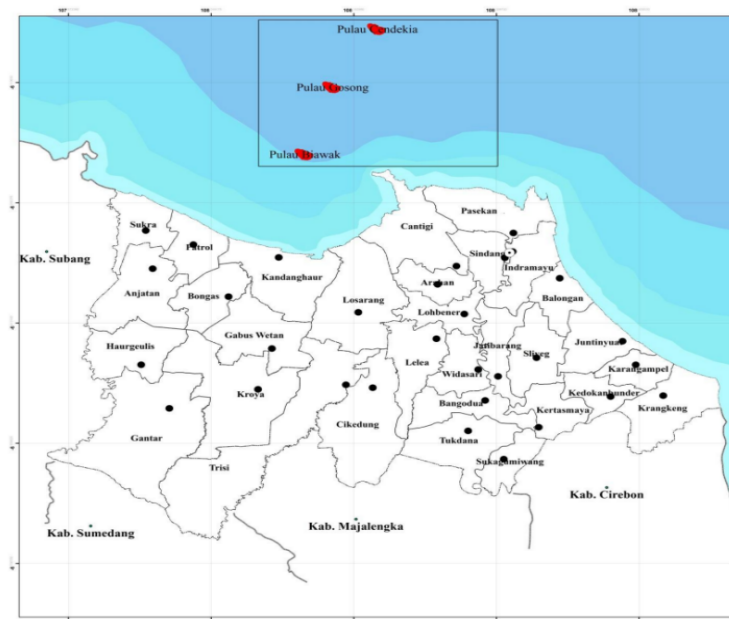


Fig. 1. Administrative Map of Indramayu Regency

Geographically, Cirebon Regency is located at 60 30' 58" - 7000' 24" South Latitude and 108o 19' 30"- 108o 50' 03" East Longitude. The Cirebon Regency area has varying altitudes. In general, this north coast area is dominated by lowlands. North: Cirebon City, Indramayu Regency, and Java Sea. South: Kuningan Regency. Northwest: Majalengka Regency. East: Cirebon City, Brebes Regency, Central Java Province

Based on the research that has been conducted, it can be seen that the Sub-districts in Indramayu Regency have languages with various variations and their distribution is uneven. The dialect variations have close differences and there are also significant differences. Observations were conducted in several sub-districts in Indramayu Regency, namely, Sukagumiwang Sub-district; Tukdana Sub-district; Sindang Sub-district, Balongan Sub-district, Kertasmaya Sub-district, Kedokanbunder Sub-district. In addition to Indramayu Regency, observations were conducted on the Indramayu-Cirebon border, namely Gegesik Sub-district, Kapetakan Sub-district, and Susukan Sub-district which are part of Cirebon Regency. Data collection in this study used on-site interviews with informants, namely indigenous people, traders, government employees, school children, and parties involved in developing information on sub-dialect variations in the research area. Based on findings, Javanese vocabulary usage in several areas of Cirebon and Indramayu has been shown to differ significantly and contain loanwords from Javanese and Sundanese dialects. To demonstrate this, we will discuss each of these words individually below.

1. Gegesik District Dialect (Cirebon Regency)-Kedokanbunder District (Indramayu Regency)

Gegesik is a district in Cirebon Regency, West Java Province. Gegesik District is located in the north of the border with Indramayu Regency, precisely directly adjacent to Kedokan Agung Village and Kapringan Village.

Kedokanbunder borders several sub-districts in Indramayu, namely, to the north it borders Karangampel Sub-district and Juntinyuat Sub-district; to the east it borders Krangkeng Sub-district; to the west it borders Kertasemaya Sub-district and Sliyeg Sub-district. Kedokanbunder also borders Cirebon Regency with Gegesik Sub-district to the south.

The use of Javanese in the Gegesik area of Cirebon and the Kedokanbunder area of Indramayu differs in vocabulary usage and formation, despite having similar meanings. Examples can be seen in Table 1.

Tabel 1. Jagapura District (Cirebon Regency)- Kedokanbunder District (Indramayu Regency)

No.	Jagapura District	Kedonkanbunder District	Indonesian Words
1.	Sapira	Pira	Berapa
2.	Endah Ora Gah	Endah Bae Gah	Sudahi saja
3.	Genang	Nganggo	Pakai
4.	Garep	Apanan	Akan
5.	Lunga	Miyang	Pergi/berangkat
6.	Nyelang	Nyilih	Pinjam
7.	Sukiki	Komengke	Besok lagi/nanti
8.	Age/Gage	Agean	Cepat
9.	Suwun	Kesuwun	Terima Kasih

Based on the findings of nine (9) words that have the same meaning in Indonesian, it turns out that the use of Javanese in Cirebon Regency, especially in Jagapura-Gegesik, and Javanese in Kedokanbunder have different vocabulary.

Furthermore, the intonation used in the Jagapura Village subdialect in Cirebon Regency is high-pitched and emphasizes the words within or at the end of sentences. For example, the sentence "sapira rega gedange luh?" (How much are the bananas?) is pronounced with a high intonation (Sapiira regga gedange luuhhh?). Another example is the accent used by the people of Jagapura. For example, the word "luh" is often added at the end of a sentence for emphasis. Another example is the sentence "Age lunga luh" (Hurry up and go), which is usually pronounced with a high tone (Aggee lunga luuhh), demonstrating the emphasis in each word spoken. Particles in regional languages can be found, such as the Gegesik (Cirebon) and Kedokanbunder (Indramayu) subdialects, such as the particle "luh."

This has been researched by English pragmatic particle studies, for instance, have developed since 1970's (cf. Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Degaf, 2020; Schourup, 1985; Schiffin, 1987). Not surprisingly, some recent researchers also have started to study particles in different languages, like Japanese (Hayashi, 2010). The intonation used in the subdialect in Kedokanbunder is lower than in Jagapura Gegesik, for example in the sentence "Kobengi apanan lunga" (Tonight I will go) is read with a rising and falling tone, that is, at the beginning of the sentence it is quite high then drops at the end of the sentence to "Kkobenggii apanan lunga".

2. Dialect of Kertasemaya District (Indramayu Regency)-Susukan District (Cirebon Regency)

Kertasemaya is one of the Districts located in Indramayu Regency, West Java Province. The Kertasemaya District area has 13 Villages, and the District Capital is Tulungagung Village. The border areas of Kertasemaya District include: North: Sliyeg District. East: Kedokanbunder District. South: Sukagumiwang District and Kaliwedi District (Cirebon Regency). West: Bangodua District and Jatibarang District.

Susukan is one of the Districts in Cirebon Regency, West Java. Susukan District has 13 Villages. The affirmation and determination of the boundary lines of Susukan Village-Susukan District, Cirebon Regency, West Java are: North: Bunder Village, Susukan District. East: Rawagatel Village and Tegalgubug Village, Arjawinangun District, Indramayu Regency; Bojong Village, Susukan District, Cirebon Regency. South: Bojong Kulon Village; Kedongdong Village; Wiyong Village, and Tangkil Village, Susukan District, Cirebon Regency. West: Luwung Kencana Village and Ujunggebang Village, Susukan District, Cirebon Regency; Cidenok Village and Kudasari Village, Ligung District, Majalengka Regency.

Unlike Gegesik and Kedokanbunder, Javanese vocabulary in Susukan and Kertasemaya is nearly identical. The only differences are pronunciation style and intonation. Findings for these two regions are presented in Table 2.

Tabel 2. Similarity of Dialect Kertasemaya District (Indramayu Regency) and Susukan District (Cirebon Regency)

No.	<i>Kertasemaya & Susukan Dialect Words</i>	<i>Indonesian Accent</i>	<i>Notes</i>
1.	Kenceng	Wajan/penggorengan	Uses fast intonation and usually uses a high tone. There are several words that use hyperbole to exaggerate a real condition or picture (Lamuke sekebo-kebo; Udane sekates-kates).
2.	Iya naku	Ya tahu	
3.	Munggangapa	Bahkan jika	
4.	Pangot	Pisau	
5.	Penyu	Plastik	
6.	Esaken men	Sangat tidak jelas	
7.	Udane sekates-kates	Hujan deras	
8.	Lamuke sekebo-kebo	Nyamuk besar	
9.	Iya ningan	Ya begitu	
10.	Iya lewa	Ya mungkin	
11.	Uwoh	Buah	
12.	Oblok-oblok	Beragam Sayuran	

The use of sentences (number 7) "Udane sekates-kates" (very heavy rain) and sentence number 8, namely, "Lamuke sekebo-kebo" (large/many mosquitoes) both contain hyperbole or exaggeration. The very heavy rain is emphasized with "sekates-kates" meaning as big as a papaya (kates). The large or many mosquitoes are emphasized with "sekebo-kebo", meaning as big as a buffalo (kebo).

In sentence number 6, namely: "Esaken Men" (very unclear), the vocabulary "men" is an abbreviation of "temen" (Javanese meaning very).

3. Dialect of Krangkeng District (Indramayu Regency)-Kapetakan District (Cirebon Regency)

Krangkeng is one of the districts in Indramayu Regency, West Java Province. The area of Krangkeng District covers 11 (eleven) villages. The border areas of Krangkeng include: North: Java Sea. East: Cirebon Regency. South: Gegesik Cirebon Regency. West: Kedokanbunder District, Indramayu Regency

Kapetakan is one of the outermost districts in Cirebon Regency, because it directly borders Krangkeng District, Indramayu Regency. Geographically, Kapetakan District is located in the northern part of Cirebon Regency. The area of Kapetakan District is divided into 9 (nine) villages, the boundaries of Kapetakan District are: North: Indramayu Regency. East: Java Sea. South: Suranenggala District (Cirebon Regency). West: Gegesik District. The Regional Dialects of Kapetakan Lor (Cirebon Regency) and Krangkeng (Indramayu Regency). There are several differences in vocabulary used in communication between the people of Kapetakan (Cirebon) and Krangkeng (Indramayu), although they have nearly identical meanings. Based on documented research data, examples of vocabulary are shown in Table 3.

Tabel 3. Krakeng District (Indramayu Regency)-Kapetakan District (Cirebon Regency)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Krangkeng</i>	<i>Kapetakan</i>	<i>Indonesian</i>
1.	Urab	Rumbah	Masakan Sayur Urap
2.	Beli	Ora	Tidak
3.	Tebak/Nebak	Badek	Menebak
4.	Kita	Isun	Saya
5.	Baka	Gapa	Jika
6.	Bokat	Nangtu	Barangkali/mungkin
7.	Mangkat	Miang	Berangkat
8.	Bener	Pakra	Benar
9.	Kepien	Kepriben	Bagaimana
10.	Genang	Kanggo	Untuk
11.	Banter	Gelis	Cepat

Eleven different vocabulary words were analyzed based on their meaning in a conversation between Kapetakan and Krangkeng. These words included: vegetables (Sayur Urap), No, Guess, I'm, If, Maybe/Perhaps, Depart, Right, How, For, Fast. In addition to differences in vocabulary choice, the Javanese language used by the Kapetakan and Krangkeng communities also differs in intonation and speaking style. Kapetakan communities speak faster and with a higher pitch than the Krangkeng dialect.

The Kapetakan dialect (Cirebon) is characterized by a higher-pitched prosody compared to Krangkeng (Indramayu). This aligns with Sitanggang (2021) research on (tone, contour fluctuation) in regional languages. It's ideal for focusing on intonation in the language of a particular ancestor or ethnic group.

Examples of sentences with different meanings include: In Kapetakan, "isun ora miang" (I'm not leaving), while in Krangkeng, it becomes "Kita beli mangkat" (I'm not leaving). The Javanese dialect in Kapetakan is more strongly influenced by Javanese, while the Javanese dialect in Krangkeng is more strongly influenced by Sundanese. This is evident in the words "urab," "nebak," "mangkat," "benar," and "banter."

4. Dialect of Sakagumiwang District (Indramayu Regency)-Tukdana District (Indramayu Regency)

Sukagumiwang is a district in Indramayu Regency, West Java Province. The Sukagumiwang area is divided into 7 (seven) villages. Sukagumiwang District is one of the districts located in the south of Indramayu Regency which is directly adjacent to Cirebon Regency and Majalengka Regency. The geographical location of Sukagumiwang District is very vital, because its location is likened to a golden triangle because it is directly adjacent to another Regency. The boundaries of Sukagumiwang District are: North: Kertasemaya District and Bangodua District. East: Cirebon Regency. South: Majalengka Regency and Cirebon Regency. West: Tukdana District.

Tukdana is one of the districts in Indramayu Regency that was divided from Bangodua District, Indramayu Regency, West Java. Tukdana District has 13 (thirteen) villages. The division of border areas in Tukdana District is as follows: North: Bangodua District. East: Sukagumiwang District. South: Majalengka Regency. West: Cikedung District and Lelea District. Dialects of the Tukdana Region (Cirebon Regency) and the Sukagumiwang Region (Indramayu Regency). Based on direct communication with people in these two regions, only four words were documented that differ significantly but have similar meanings: "Unclear," "Knife," "Kitchen Utensil (Frying Pan), and "Vegetable Soup." This data can be seen in Table 4.

Tabel 4. Sukagumiwang District (Indramayu Regency)- Tukdana District (Indramayu Regency)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Sukagumiwang</i>	<i>Tukdana</i>	<i>Indonesian</i>
1.	Esaken	Ora jelas	Tidak jelas
2.	Pangot	Lading	Pisau
3.	Susruk	Kodek	Alat Dapur (Penggorengan)
4.	Oblok-oblok	Jangan	Masakan Sayur berkuah

The use of Javanese subdialects in the Sukagumiwang and Tukdana regions is not significantly different in everyday communication. The differences are limited to a few words, but the meaning is the same. The intonation used in the Sukagumiwang and Tukdana subdialects tends to be relaxed, with the pitch rising and falling according to the speaker and the person being spoken to. The Sukagumiwang community often adds the word "mah" as an emphatic particle, typically used in the middle or end of a sentence, for example in the sentence "Pangot mah ning kana" (The knife is there). The word "mah" is an influence from Sundanese. In Sundanese, the word "mah" is an affirmative word in a sentence.

There are differences in the names of objects in Sukagumiwang and Tukdana (Indramayu), even though they are in the same district. Various studies show that geographical factors influence or are a cause (Rosyadi et al., 2025; Afidah, 2019).

5. Dialect of Sindang District (Indramayu Regency)-Balongan District (Indramayu Regency)

Sindang District is one of the districts in Indramayu Regency, which directly borders Balongan District, Cantigi Pasekan District, and Indramayu District. Sindang District has 10 (ten) villages. The boundaries of Sindang District are: West: Subang Regency. East: Laut Jawa and Cirebon Regency. South: Majalengka Regency, Cirebon Regency. North: Java Sea.

Balongan District is one of the districts in Indramayu Regency, in general the land in Balongan District is used for ponds and agriculture. The boundaries of Balongan District are: North: Java Sea. South: Sukaup and Tegalurung. East: PT. Pertamina RU VI, Sukareja Village. West: Tegalurung and Singaraja Dialects of the Balongan Region (Indramayu Regency) and the Sindang Region (Indramayu Regency). These two regions are both located in Indramayu Regency, but they have several differences in the use of vocabulary with similar meanings. The data can be seen in the Table 5.

Tabel 5. Balongan District (Indramayu Regency)- Sindang District (Indramayu Regency)

No.	Balongan	Sindang	Indonesian
1.	Luh	Kuh	Itu
2.	Ngarti	Ngerti	Mengerti
3.	Waja	wajan	Pengorenggan
4.	Kodek	Cukit	Spatula
5.	Kodingin	Kodikit	Tunggu sebentar
6.	Dikuber	Dikuder	Diaduk
7.	Kudek	Ngundang	Mengejar
8.	Disisir	diiris	Dipotong/diiris
9.	Wedel	Wudel	Pusar perut
10.	Gage	Jage	Cepat
11.	Soglo	Goblog	Bodoh
12.	Betek	Liwet	jenis nasi liwet
13.	Glondongan	es cubes	Es batu
14.	Nginep	Ngendong	Menginap/Tidur
15.	Kola	Bak	penampung air mandi
16.	Prau	Jukung	perahu
17.	Laka algu	Song Songaran	Terserah
18.	Gombangan	Blukbukan	Tempat sampah
19.	Paso	Lenjong	Ember besar
20.	Milir	Sailing	Berlayar
21.	Teteh	Bisaan	Bisa
22.	Ayo	Kelingan	Lupa

Twenty-two words have been identified that have the same meaning but are spelled differently in the Javanese dialects of Balongan and Sindang in Indramayu Regency. The spelling differences vary, with some words differing only at the beginning, such as *luh* – *kuh*, *wedel* – *wudel*, and *gage* – *jage*. There are also differences in the middle, such as *ngarti* – *ngerti*. Differences occur at the end, such as *waja* – *wajan*, *kodingin* – *kodikit*, and *dikuber* – *dikuder*. Other words differ significantly despite having the same meaning. The differences in Javanese dialects and subdialects in Cirebon and Indramayu Regencies above arise for several reasons. As Holmes (1992) notes, language varies in three main, interrelated ways—over time, in physical space, and socially. Language variation over time stems from spatial (or regional) and social variation. All language change begins with variation. Linguistic change likely arises as soon as a new form develops and begins to be used alongside an existing one. Cirebon-Indramayu Javanese is divided into two main dialects: the Cirebon Javanese dialect and the Indramayu Javanese dialect, each of which has subdialects.

1. Cirebon Javanese Dialect

Regions: Gegesik, Susukan, Kapetakan, and Tukdana. Characteristics: 1) Strong Javanese influence 2) Distinctive vocabulary: a) Gegesik: The word "luh" is often used at the end of a sentence as an emphatic particle, with a slightly higher intonation. b) Susukan: Many words with hyperbolic meaning are used, for example, in the phrase "udane sekates-kates," which means very heavy rain, reinforced by the word "sekates-kates" (large like a papaya). c) Kapetakan: Distinctive vocabulary: "isun" (meaning "I"), "miang" (meaning "going"). Example usage in a sentence: "isun ora miang" (I'm not going). d) Tukdana: The vocabulary in Tukdana is strongly influenced by rough Javanese, with the word "kodek" (meaning a frying pan, spatula) found. Subdialek Jawa Cirebon: 1) Gegesik, 2) Susukan, 3) Kapetakan 4) Tukdana.

2. Indramayu Javanese Dialect

Regions: Kedokanbunder, Kertasemaya, Kerangkeng, Sukagumiwang, Sindang, and Balongan. Characteristics: 1) Strong Javanese influence, 2) Distinctive vocabulary. a) Kedokanbunder: The word "gah," for example in the phrase "Endah Bae Gah..." (which means "Enough already") is a particle often used at the end of sentences. The word "apanan" (which means "will") is strongly attached to the root word "apan," for example in the sentence "Apanan miyang?" (Where are you going?). The word "miyang" (which means "go") is influenced by Sundanese (miang = "go"). The word "komengke" (which means "tomorrow again" or "later") is a combination of the words "mengko" and "mengke," both meaning "later." b) Kertasemaya: The vocabulary "kenceng" (meaning wok or frying pan), the vocabulary "munggangapa" (meaning even if), a combination of the words "munggang" and "apa." The vocabulary "esaken men" (meaning: very unclear) is a combination of the root words "esa" (unclear) and "temen" (very). The vocabulary "oblok-oblok" (meaning: mixed vegetables). c) Kerangkeng: The vocabulary "keprien" (meaning: how), the Cirebon dialect "keprihen" (how). The vocabulary "genang" (meaning: for), and "banter" (meaning: fast). d) Sakagumiwang: The vocabulary "pangot" (meaning: knife) and "susruk" (frying utensil/spatula). e) Sindang: The vocabulary "kuh" (which means: that, as a demonstrative word), for example in the sentence "diiris kuh..sayurane" (cut those vegetables). The vocabulary "es cubes" (ice cubes), "song songaran" (up to you), "blukbukan" (trash can), and "sailing" (sailing) are typical vocabulary of the Sindang subdialect. f) Balongan: The vocabulary "luh" which means: that, as a demonstrative word), for example in the sentence "diiris luh..sayurane" (cut those vegetables). The vocabulary "kodek" (frying utensil/spatula), the vocabulary "kodingin" is a combination of the basic words "engko" and "ningin" which means later or a moment, the vocabulary "wedel" (while in Sindang "wudel") means the navel, the vocabulary "glondongan" (ice cubes), and "tete" has the meaning of being able/able. These vocabulary are typical vocabulary of the Balongan subdialect. Indramayu Javanese subdialects: 1) Kedokanbunder, 2) Kertasemaya, 3) Krangkeng, 4) Sakagumiwang, 5) Sindang, 6) Balongan.

Conclusion

This study shows that the Gegesik (Cirebon)-Kedokanbunder (Indramayu) subdialect has several differences in syllables. The intonation of the two dialects is also different, where the Gegesik dialect is faster and longer, while the intonation of the Kedokanbunder dialect is slower. The Susukan (Cirebon)-Kertasemaya (Indramayu) subdialect also has differences in the meaning of each word, there are differences in additional words according to the context of the conversation, there are exaggerated meanings of words. The intonation of the subdialect is the same as the relaxed variety, the tone goes up and down according to the context of the conversation and the interlocutor. The Kapetakan (Cirebon)-Kerangkeng (Indramayu) subdialect has a fast intonation and a tone that goes up and down according to the context of the conversation and the interlocutor. However, the tempo of pronunciation in Kerangkeng is slower while the pronunciation in Kapetakan is faster. The Sukagumiwang-Tukdana (Indramayu) subdialect has several differences but the meaning is the same. The intonation used is slow with rising and falling tones according to the speech and the interlocutor. There is no significant difference in the Balongan-Sindang (Indramayu) subdialect. The intonation used in Balongan District is louder and there is emphasis in each sentence, while Sindang District is more relaxed and there are many insertions of Indonesian words. Finally, there are differences in the background of the Indramayu-Cirebon Javanese subdialect and there are differences in several choice words that determine a meaning. This shows differences in speech, place or geographical location, and community habits that are adjusted to their respective regions.

Declarations

Author contribution : Irfan Efendi served as the principal investigator who designed the overall research framework, formulated the research objectives, directed the implementation of field data collection, and coordinated the preparation of the final research manuscript. Yusida Gloriani was responsible for linguistic data analysis, particularly in phonological and lexical comparisons between Javanese subdialects, and contributed to the writing and refinement of the discussion section of the research results. Kanijah carried out field data collection in the Cirebon and Indramayu areas, conducted interviews with local speakers, transcribed linguistic data, and compiled a corpus of raw data for further analysis. Cahyo Hasanudin oversaw data mapping and visualization, including dialect mapping, clustering analysis, and interpretation of the spatial

distribution of linguistic variations found. Liga Alhaqi Audi Putra Nusantara assisted in data processing and documentation, compiled bibliographic sources, ensured the accuracy of the linguistic examples used, and supported the editing and final formatting of the research manuscript.

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