

Semantic Changes in Acehese from Proto-Austronesian

Nurmaidia

SMA Negeri 1

JL. Cot Mambong Km. 8 Nisam, Kabupaten Aceh Utara

Nangroe Aceh Darussalam

Indonesia

Robert Sibarani

Dwi Widayati

Nurlela

Post-Graduate Department of Linguistics

Faculty of Cultural Sciences

University of Sumatera Utara

Jl. dr. Mansoer No. 1

Medan-20155

Indonesia

Abstract

Nangroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) is one of provinces in western Indonesia and has several ethnic languages and one of them is Acehese which is the dominant language in this province. This article is aimed at studying the semantic changes from Proto-Austronesia into today's Acehese in which the changes are caused by some factors, such as psychological and sociological ones. Linguistically, these semantic changes also involve phonological ones. Sound changes appear by involving high back vowel [u] becoming low back vowel [o], or high back vowel [u] to low front vowel [E], or high back vowel [u] to mid-central vowel [e].

Keywords: semantic changes, Proto-Austronesia, Acehese

1. Introduction

There are some causes of how a language might change and one of the languages which changes over time is Acehese which is spoken by Aceh people in coastal and interior areas in Nangroe Aceh Darussalam (NAD) Province and sits in Chamic sub-family under the Austronesian language family (Adelaar, 2005:1). One of causes is its interaction with other languages and the interaction happens during trades among people of different languages. Another simple cause is that human being are constantly thinking up new words and expressions like telephones, computer, RADAR and so on. Language changes can occur in all aspects such as in phonology and in morphological, lexical, grammatical, and semantic levels. Phonological changes are usually regular, conditioned but usually also irregular. Morphological changes occur slowly while the lexicon and semantic change shape pen more rapidly. The proto language (or the old form) usually shares the same characteristics in the form and meaning in the modern form.

2. Review of Related Literature

The Changes that occur in a language may involve aspects of phonological, grammatical and or semantic aspects (Hock, 1988:10 and Crowley, 1983:138). Among these three aspects, phonological aspect is an aspect that is paid most attention while grammatical and semantic aspects are having less attention. Meaning changes occur in the form of broadening, narrowing, bifurcation, and shift (Crowley 2010:200). Broadening refers to the change in meaning that results in a word acquiring additional meaning to those that it originally had but it still retains those original meaning as a part of the new meaning. Narrowing causes the change in meaning when a word comes to refer the only part of original meaning. Bifurcation is the change by which a word acquires another meaning. Shift refers to the change when a word completely loses its original meaning and acquires a new meaning.

2.1 Factors of Linguistic Changes

There are two main factors why a language changes, as being stated relevantly by O'Grady (1989: 191), that they are psychological factor (analogy, folk etymology, and borrowing) and social factors.

2.1.1 Psychological Factors

Articulation is often made easier by modifying a sound so it is more like or unlike to its neighbors. For instance, in English, velar stop /k/ was palatalized before front vowels under the influence of their more forward place of articulation. The effect of this is palatalization and can be seen in the initial segments of the Old English (OE) words (the initial segment corresponds to /ʃ/ before front vowels but /k/ was palatalized).

| | |
|-------------|----------------|
| Old English | Modern English |
| Cinn | chin |
| Ce&osean | choose |
| C)iese | church |
| Cuman | come |
| Co&l | cool |

There is only front vowel in [(c)&] in OE. This type of modification to the sound pattern of a language can lead both a new types of allophonic variation and of loss of phonemic contrasts.

2.1.1.1 Analogy

Another frequent source of linguistic change is the regularization of exceptional or rare forms by analogy with the more common form. Analogy involves the inference that if two elements are alike in some respect, they should be alike in other as well. The development of the plural ending in English has been heavily influence by analogy. In OE, nouns belong to different classes, each with its own way of expressing plural. The plural of *hand*, for example, was *handda*, the plural of *stan* 'stone' was *stanas*, while the plural of *gear* 'year' was identical to the singular. Analogy took over and speakers of English began to associate the -(e) s ending with the plural in all but a small class of cases, such as oxen, men, and so on. This leads to the use of the *hands* as the plural of *hand* and *year* as the plural of *year*.

2.1.1.2 Folk Etymology

Sometimes, change originates in misanalysis of a word by speakers of a language. Typically, this misanalysis reflects the confusion of forms that are phonetically or semantically similar. The word *shamefaced*, for instance, from old English *sceamf* *Øst* 'bound by shame'). As the use of morpheme *fast* to mean 'bound' becomes less frequent, the second syllable is reinterpreted as the phonetically similar *faced* to retain its meaningfulness in this compound.

2.1.1.3 Borrowing

Many linguistic changes can be attributed to borrowing involving the acquisition of words, sounds, or rules from another language. Substratum influence is the effect of a politically or culturally non dominant language on a dominant language area. English for instance, has borrowed vocabulary items from Amerindian languages. In addition to thousands of place names (including the word Canada), other similar borrowings include moccasin, totem, tomahawk, pemmican, moose and skunk. Super stratum influence is the effect of a politically or culturally dominant language on another language or languages in the area.

2.1.2 Sociological Factors

Speakers may consciously or unconsciously alter the way they speak to approximate what they perceive to be a more prestigious or socially acceptable variable of speech. There have been numerous examples of this in the history of English, notably the loss of post vocalic /r/ along the coast of the United States. This change, which resulted in the pronunciation of words such as *far* [fa:], originated in parts of England in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Two factors accounted for its loss in part of this continent. First, the children of the New England gentry picked up the new pronunciation in British schools and subsequently brought it back to the colony, typically lacked syllable- final /r/. As a result, the innovation was widely imitated and ultimately spread along much of the east coast and into the south. A language may gain or lose lexical items. Additionally, the meaning or semantic representation of words may change.

Blust (2013:332) quoted Bloomfield who summarized the work of earlier generation of researcher on semantic change by presenting a typology with nine major divisions: 1) narrowing of meaning, 2) widening of meaning, 3) metaphor, 4) metonymy, 5) synecdoche, 6) hyperbole, 7) litotes, 8) degeneration, and 9) elevation. Crowley (2010:200) divides semantic change into four basic types namely broadening, narrowing, bifurcation (split) and shift. The term 'broadening' is used to refer to a change in a meaning that results in a word acquiring additional meanings to those that it originally had, while still retaining those original meanings as part of the new meaning (Rodman, 1988: 300). When the meaning of a word becomes broader, that word means everything; it is used to mean, and move. The middle of English word *doggeis* meant a 'specific breed of dog', but it was eventually broadened to encompass all members of the species *Canis familiaris*. The word *holiday* originally meant 'holy day' a day of religious significance. Today the word signifies any day on we do not have to work. Butcher once meant 'slaughterer of goats' (and earlier of bucks) but its modern usage is more general. Similarly, *picture* used to mean 'painted representation', but today you can take a picture with a camera. A *companionis* used to mean 'a person with whom you shared bread', but today it is a person who accompanies you. The *quarantine* once had the restricted meaning 'forty days isolation', and *bird* once meant 'young bird'. Narrowing takes place when a word comes to refer to only part of the original meaning. Crowley (2010:200) wrote the history of the word *hound* in English neatly illustrated this process. The word was originally pronounced [hund] in English, and it was the generic word for any kind of dog at all. This original meaning is retained, for example, in German, where the word *hund* simply mean 'dogs'. Over the centuries, however, the meaning of *hund* in English has become restricted to just those 'dogs used to chase game in the hunt', such as beagles. The meaning of *deer* once meant 'beast' or animal, as in German related word *Tier* still does. The meaning of *deer* has been narrowed to a particular kind of animal. To a speaker of seventeenth-century English, *meat* mean "food" and *flesh* meant 'meat', since that time, semantic change has narrowed the meaning of meat to what it is in modern English. The old English word that occurs in modern *starves* once meant 'to die'. Its meaning has narrowed to become 'to die of hunger', and in colloquial language 'to be hungry' as in *I'm starved*.

The third kind of semantic change is bifurcation. This term describes the change by which a word acquires another meaning that relates in some way to the original meaning. For instance, the word *pitch black* in English comes from the name of a very black substance like tar. The speakers of English today regard *pitch* as meaning 'very' or 'completely'. The original meaning of *pitch* has changes into two quite different meaning. Last, the semantic change means that a lexical item may undergo a shift in meaning. The English word *bead* originally meant 'prayer'. During the middle ages the custom arose of repeating prayers (that is, beads) over and over and counting them by means of little wooden balls on a rosary. The meaning of bead shifted from 'prayer' to the visible sign of a prayer. The word *knight* once meant 'youth', but was elevated in meaning in time for the 'age of chivalry'. *Lust* used to mean simply 'pleasure' with no negative or sexual overtones. *Lewd* was merely 'ignorant' and immoral meant not customary'. *Silly* used to mean 'happy' in old English. By the middle English period it had come to mean 'naïve' and only in modern English does it mean 'foolish'.

3. Research Method

This historical and linguistic comparative research is carried out using descriptive qualitative research. Data of this research was taken from English Finder list of Reconstruction in Austronesian Languages reconstructed by Dempwolf as modern Austronesian comparative linguistic begins with Dempwolf (1934, 1937, and 1939). The datum was in the form of cognate sets which share the same characteristics in terms of form and meaning of PAN and Achehnese using comparative method. The selected cognate sets are then interviewed or confirmed in the actual use in Achehnese community.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 Narrowing

The PAN *abu is primarily formed with a change of high back vowel [u] to low front vowel [E] at the open ultima syllable. Such a lowering and fronting vowel forms the word *abE* in Achehnese. PAN *abu refersto 'ash' (all material from land, ground, or other solid materials which have become small particle on the land or in the water). In Achenese, the word *abE* only refers to the material from land or ground; whereas, materials coming out from land but existing in water are called *lɔɲn* 'the material in the form of soft ash that is settled under water in basin or container', *adE* 'soft ash that is settled on stones which is usually take place under water in a river', *lɔɲop* 'soft clay material that can be found on the ground.

It is, in fact, apparent that the meaning of the word *abEin* Acehnese becomes narrow to the only thing that refers the material from land, ground or other solid material which have become small particle. Other data such as PAN *tukais derives the word *tuka*. PAN *tukais means 'to sell' and 'to barter'; the word *tuka* only means 'barter'. This fact shows that PAN *tukais has undergone the narrowing of meaning. The PAN *bawaN has inherited linearly the Acehnese word *bawaN*. The PAN *bawaN means 'all kind of tubers' whereas the word *bawaN* means 'onions'. This means that PAN *bawaN has changed its meaning becoming narrowing because the former was only used to refer 'all kind of tubers' while the later reference means 'onion'. The narrowing of meaning is also found in PAN *putu meaning 'all kinds of cakes which are made from flour'; while, the word *putu* in Acehnese only means 'special cake which is made from rice flour'. The former meaning of PAN has experienced the narrowing of meaning. The PAN *bankay shows the change of diphthong [ay] to become monophthong [e] in Acehnese. Such change produces the word *banke*. The PAN *banke means 'dead body of human or animal'. In Acehnese, the word *banke* only means 'dead body of animal' whereas the dead body of human is usually termed 'mayat'. It is not polite to say *banke* for humans who were passed away. The PAN *banke has showed the narrowing of meaning.

The PAN *putoh has the same form in Acehnese and means 'to have finished'. In Acehnese, the word *putoh* means 'the activity of harvesting rice being done either in togetherness or in mutual aid (cooperation)'. The former meaning of PAN is 'to finish doing the all works'. Acehnese has other words to refer to 'all works which have been done', for examples, *lheu* [lhɔch] as in the phrase *bagah bacut mangat bagah lheu* 'to hurry up in order to finish soon', and *lheu* which is used to relate to all kinds of works that have completely been done. The PAN *tuDuN 'bamboo hat' is formed from the change of voiceless alveolar stop [t] with voiceless alveolar fricative [s]. This change is derived from the word *suduN* and the word *suduN* refers to 'a big hat that is usually used to cover head when farmers go to the paddy field'.

4.2 Broadening

The broadening from PAN *likuD to Acehnese *likedis* carried out through the change of high back vowel [u] to mid-central vowel [e]. The PAN *likud means 'back' and the *likedis* 'kitchen, back, restroom'. Other examples of this type are the PAN *utak 'brain' and *ulu 'head' which are then received as *utakandulEin* Acehnese. The word *ulE* undergoes a change of high back vowel [u] becomes low front vowel [E] in the open ultima syllable. In Acehnese, the word *ulE* has several meanings, namely, head, people who lead, group of people, and mind.

4.3 Bifurcation or Split

The bifurcation of meaning from PAN to Acehnese can be found in *DayaN 'girl' into *dayang* 'women who serve the King's princess', *piNa 'bowl or food container' into *pinggan* 'bowl or food container' and *bulay 'albino' into *bulek* 'western people'. In PAN *bulay the split happens when diphthong [ay] changes to monophthong [e].

4.4 Shift

The shift of meaning from PAN into Acehnese can be seen from the following data, such as, *kalaN 'glue' and *buNtiN 'pregnant' which are transformed into current Acehnese as *kalaN* 'grime' and *bunteN* 'after giving birth when the pregnancy is over'. In the first example, the shift occurs when there is a change of high front vowel [i] to become mid-front vowel [e].

5. Conclusion

Some words in Acehnese are inherited from Proto-Austronesian (PAN) but these PAN words have slightly undergone semantic changes. Linguistically, these semantic changes also involve phonological ones. Phonologically, sound changes appear by involving high back vowel [u] becoming low back vowel [o], or high back vowel [u] to low front vowel [E], or high back vowel [u] to mid-central vowel [e].

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Muhammad Ali Pawiro for his valuable help in editing on the first draft of this article. This article also exists in its current form because of his valuable feedback and critical commentary. Nevertheless, any mistakes that might remain are entirely my own responsibility.

References

- Adelaar. (2005). *The Austronesian Languages of Asia and Madagascar*. Canada: Routledge.
- Blust, R.A. (2013). "Variation and Retention Rate Among the Austronesian Languages". Makalah dalam Seminar Internasional Austronesia III di Denpasar Bali.
- Crowley, T. (1983). *An Introduction to Historical Linguistics*. Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea Press.
- Crowley, T. (2010). *An Introduction to Historical Linguistics*. Port Moresby: University of Papua New Guinea Press.
- Dempwolf (1934). *English Finderlist of Reconstructions in Austronesia Languages*. Canberra: The Australian National University.
- Hock, H. H. (1988). *Principles of Historical Linguistics*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- O'Grady, W. (1989). *Contemporary Linguistics*. New York: State University of New York at Stony Brook.
- Rodman, F. (1988). *An Introduction to Language*. Sydney: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Appendix 1: Additional data of Acehnese Semantic Changes

| Semantic changes | PAN | Acehnese |
|----------------------|---|---|
| Narrowing | *manuk 'all kinds of fowls' *barut 'to wrap all parts of body' *buluh 'all kinds of bamboo' *tukais 'to sell or barter' *bawaN 'all kinds of tubers' *putu 'all kinds of cakes made from flour' | <i>manok</i> 'chicken' <i>barot</i> 'to wrap up' <i>buloh</i> 'special kind of bamboo'. <i>tuka</i> 'barter' <i>bawaN</i> 'onions'. <i>putu</i> 'certain cake made from rice flour'. |
| Broadening | *tuNpok 'pile' *dapuy 'hearth or fireplace' *tuha 'old people' *bapa 'father' or 'a greeting to the older and respected man in a society in formal situation such as in in office and school'. *buNa 'flower' *kaka 'sister' | <i>ok</i> 'a group of people who discuss or gossip something; proportion or size or quantity. <i>dapuy</i> 'hearth or fireplace, kitchen' <i>tu</i> 'old people, parents (father and mother), assistant of village chief, and family member that ask for marriage proposal' <i>bapak</i> 'father' <i>fa</i> 'flower of a plant, interest (service or merit given for the borrowing money), and plants for decoration' sister' or 'a polite greeting to an older women or to unknown women. |
| Bifurcation or split | *kuruN 'fence' *suliN 'pipe' | <i>kuroN</i> 'to put in a cage' <i>suleN</i> 'flute' |
| Shift | *pahit 'sour' *galak 'furious' *lantak 'hit' *buku 'knot' *sila 'land or ashore' *taki 'guard' | <i>phet</i> 'bitter' <i>galak</i> 'love or like' <i>lantak</i> 'eat in crude way' <i>buku</i> 'book' <i>sila</i> 'seat of a bicycle' <i>taki</i> 'lie' |