Changes in Basic Meanings from Proto-Austronesian to Acehnese

Dohra Fitrisia*1,2
Dwi Widayati1

1University of Sumatera Utara, Medan, INDONESIA
2University of Syiah Kuala, Banda Aceh, INDONESIA

Abstract

Changes in meaning or semantic changes are the area of diachronic linguistics. The Acehnese language is a derivative of the Proto-Austronesian (PAN) language that has had changes in the meaning of its lexicon that have become the object of this interesting study. It is aimed at explaining examples of changes in meaning in the Acehnese etynom based on four basic types of changes of meaning categorized according to Crowley and Bowern (2010). The data was taken from the English Finder list of Reconstruction in Austronesian Languages reconstructed (Wurm & Wilson, 1975). The selected data from the results of this study was then confirmed by six native speakers’ expert in the actual use of the Acehnese language. The results showed that some original meanings from PAN have become broader, some narrower, some have bifurcated and some have shifted in meaning.

Keywords: Acehnese, changes in meaning, broadening, narrowing, bifurcating, shifting.

1. INTRODUCTION

Acehnese is one of the local languages in Indonesia which has the most number of speakers in Aceh Province (Asyik, 1987). There are changes in the original meanings that the Acehnese language inherited from Proto Austronesian (PAN) that are studied by India chronic linguistics, which attempts to study a language at different times to observe the way in which that language has changed and examines probable causes of the changes in that language. This is in contrast to synchronic linguistics, which seeks

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* Corresponding author, email: fitrisiadohra@yahoo.com

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to study a language over a period when the meaning did not change. According to Crowley and Bowern (2010), the changes that occur in a language are absolute and natural. These changes at the linguistic level include phonological changes (including phonetics), lexical changes, grammatical changes and semantic changes. This study is aimed at explaining changes in meaning in the Acehnese lexicon, especially in the nouns.

The Acehnese language belongs to the Austronesian languages, but it has its nearest relatives in the Chamic language from South-East Asia (Crowley & Bowern, 2010; Keraf, 1984). Blust (2013, p. 78) also adds that Acehnese is a derivative of the Austronesian languages and also has a resemblance to the Chamic language, and unlike most languages of western Indonesia, Acehnese has at least ten contrasting vowels, and as many distinct diphthongs, as well as voiceless aspirated stops and murmured voiced stops. A number of related studies have been conducted on the changes in meaning from Proto Austronesian (PAN) to various languages, such as Banjarnese (Effendi, 2013), Cebuano Philippines (Maxilom, 2008) and the Lio language (Mbete, 2001). A study of Acehnese by Nuzwaty (2016), describes the sound changes from PAN to Acehnese with variations in the sub-types as a result of assimilation.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The Acehnese language belongs to the West-Austronesian languages. Despite the fact that Acehnese is situated in Sumatra, its nearest relatives are the Chamic languages of the South-East Asian region (Cowan, 1983). As a derivative of PAN, the Acehnese language also has changes of meaning in its lexicon. The changes of meaning are associated with socio-cultural factors. Meanwhile, the tracking of symptoms of language change is difficult to obtain with high certainty, especially at the semantic level (Mbete, 2001, p. 80). A Proto-language including its semantic picture is not a real reality because this language has disappeared over time. However, the reality of the contemporary language is believed to be a continuation of the past, and these languages are the result of the historical processes so that the present reality can serve as a tracking ground for assumed changes that have occurred in the past (Crowley, 1983).

The Acehnese language is in the Western Austronesian language group based on the grouping of the Austronesian languages referring to the basic framework of S. J. Esser, which is supplemented with Dyen’s record (Keraf, 1984) (see Figure 1).

Furthermore, the changes of meaning are categorized into several types according to Crowley and Bowern (2010, pp. 200-201) as follows:

(1) Amelioration and pejoration: amelioration is a technical term for words that meaning changes to be more positive overtime, meanwhile pejoration is the opposite. Thus the word ‘silly’ originally meant ‘blessed’, but nowadays it is not a positive word. There are words which acquire positive connotations and others which acquire negative connotations.

(2) Broadening is used to refer to an enlarging in meaning from its original meaning; thus it still retains the original meaning as a part of its new meaning. The word ‘bird’, for example, derives from the earlier form ‘bride’ whom originally referred only to young birds while still in the nest; however, today it has been broadened to refer to any and all birds.
(3) Narrowing causes a change in meaning when a word comes to refer to only part of its original meaning. The word ‘meat’ in English, for example, used to refer to any kind of food at all, but now it only refers to food that derives from the flesh of slaughtered animals.

(4) Bifurcation describes the change by which a word acquires another meaning which relates in some way to the original meaning. A case in point is the phrase ‘pitch black’ in English; some people do not realize that the word ‘pitch’ comes from the name of a very black substance like tar. The English speakers simply regard ‘pitch’ as meaning ‘very’ or ‘completely’. That is why for these people the word ‘pitch’ in saying ‘pitch blue’ and ‘pitch yellow’ has split into two quite different meanings.

(5) Shift refers to the change of meaning so that the word completely loses its original meaning and acquires a new meaning. For example, the word ‘silly’ in English is cognate with selig ‘blessed’ (a German word) and it is derived from Seele ‘soul’. Thus there has been a shift from meaning ‘blessed’ to meaning ‘stupid’ in modern English.

Figure 1. Language grouping in Indonesia by S. J. Esser (1938) in Saidi (1994, p. 21).

The fact of language change in meaning, for example, raises a question: Why do the meanings of words in languages change? Humans are creative creatures who think up new expressions or words. A number of major reasons for language change, according to Crowley and Bowern (2010) include the ethnic character of people, the climate and the geography, the sub-stratum which involves the idea that if people migrate into a new area, some language is acquired from the original inhabitants of the area and from functional needs while some changes take place in language because a particular language must change or shift and split in order to meet new demands that its speakers place on it.
3. METHOD

This study is a part of Linguistic Historical Comparative Studies which use a qualitative descriptive method. The data source is the English Finder list of Reconstruction in Austronesian Languages reconstructed (Wurm & Wilson, 1975). In presenting the data, cognate sets were used which share the same characteristics in terms of form and meaning in PAN and in Acehnese. The selected data from the results of the study, namely the cognate sets form, was then confirmed to the informants in the actual use in the Acehnese language. Six native speakers of Acehnese were selected based on certain criteria, such as being physically and mentally healthy, understanding and having mastered the culture in an Acehnese speaking area of Aceh, and also rarely leaving their village. The current Acehnese orthography in this paper follows Pillai and Yusuf (2012) and Yusuf and Pillai (2013).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There are four basic changes of meaning in the Acehnese language that can be represented, i.e. broadening, narrowing, bifurcation and shifting. They are further explained in the next sub-sections.

4.1 Broadening

The broadening of meanings occurred because additional meanings in Acehnese were added to the original meanings of the words concerned, for example:

PAN *utak ‘human brain’

The proto meaning is human brain. The broadening of meaning occurs because its original meaning has had another meaning added that denotes negative behavior.

(1a) Pakôn ka rhom rumoh lôn? Cûkôp hana utak kah!
    Why did you throw (something) at my house? Enough you (no) brain/idiot!

(1b) Utak leumo na bak kah.
    You only have a cow’s brain.

The original meaning of utak as the ‘human brain’ is also interpreted as having the meaning of negative behavior, namely ‘impolite’. The meaning describes attitude and intelligence in example (1a); it does not indicate a person who has no brain because ‘no’ is missing. Then, in example (1b), it does not mean that someone uses a cow’s brain, but it refers to someone’s attitude like an animal’s or a cow’s behavior.

PAND *tuha ‘old’

The original proto meaning was ‘old’. The broader meaning happens because the original meaning tuha refers not only to ‘parents’ but today also to ‘a board for traditional governance’ amongst the Acehnese which is called tuha peut ‘old four’. They are four people who are elected officially and respected in the Acehnese socio-cultural community.
(1c) Tanyoe wajéb ta-hormati ureung tuha tanyoe.
We must respect our parents.

(1d) Perkara nyoe wajéb ta-tanyong bak ureung tuha gampông nyoe.
You must ask the Village Board of Governors about this.

The examples show that *tuha* in (1c) refers to ‘parents’, while *tuha* in (1d) refers to *tuha peut* that is ‘a board of traditional governance’ in the Acehnese community.

PANDLO *zaNgut ‘beard’ janggôt*

The proto meaning is a beard which grows on a man’s chin. The broader meaning happens because the original meaning ‘beard’ or *janggôt* in Acehnese has other meanings.

(1e) Janggôt ayah panyang that ka.
Father’s beard is very long.

(1f) Tulông ka-peugléh janggôt jagông nyoe.
Please (you) clean this corn.

The examples show that the word *janggôt* in Acehnese refers to the meaning of ‘beard’ for people as in (1e) and also to the other meaning ‘the silk of corn’ as in (1f).

PAN *ulu ‘top, source, beginning’ (Acehnese: ulèe)*

(1g) Pakon ulèe kah brôk that?
Why don’t you use your head?

(1h) Pat ka puduek ulèe? Bak aki?
Where do you put your head? (In) your feet?

The examples above imply the head of a person that refers to the reasonable attitude of the person or his/her mind as in (1g). The meaning expanded extends into the head as a part of one’s body in (1h). However, the meaning of proto originally meant the source of the first or the beginning or the top.

PAN *ain ‘wind’ (Acehnese: angen)*

The word *angen* originally meaning ‘wind’ refers to good or bad behavior (attitude).

(1i) Uroe nyoe angen brat that.
Today, the wind is very strong.

(1j) Pakôn uroe nyoe angen kah hana gôt?
Why is your mood not good today?

(1k) Nyan ka meuangen badan lôm.
I feel (that) my body has a fever.

The proto meaning is ‘wind’. The broadening of meaning occurs because its original meaning extends into another meaning that denotes behavior or attitude as in (1j) as well as the meaning of *meuangen* which means a person’s body is possessed by evil spirits or illness as in (1k).

PAN *burông ‘bird’ (Acehnese: burông)*
The original proto meaning of the word is ‘bird’ but in Acehnese it can also means ‘ghost’.

(1l) Lágak thät bulè bùrôn nyan.  
That bird has beautiful feathers.
(1m) Hái bék kə-jak u rumoh tuha nyan, na bùrôn.  
Hey, don’t (Neg) you (2sg) go to that old house, there are ghosts (there).

The examples show that in the Acehnese language the word bùrôn not only means ‘a bird’ but also ‘a ghost’ or ‘witchcraft’.

4.2 Narrowing

The narrowing of meaning happens when the meaning of a word is only part of its original meaning. Some examples in the Acehnese language are described as follows:

PAN *tumpāŋ ‘pile, heap’ (Acehnese: tumpôk)

(1n) Nyoe tumpôk kayè lỗn.  
This is my heap of wood.
(1o) Si gam nyan di-poh meutumpôk.  
The man who was struck, fell down.

The proto meaning of tumpôk extends into a picture of the position of one’s fall, such as in (o).
PAN *buluh ‘bamboo (species), grass, cook, stuff +bamboo’

(2d)  *Bak bulôh nyen jeut keu ta-peugôt leumang keu uroe raya.*  
This kind of bamboo can be used for make rice cakes (*leumang*) for our holiday.

The meaning of PAN *buluh* refers to all kinds of bamboo. However, *bulôh* in Acehnese refers to bamboo, too, but it is only one kind of bamboo which is used to make *leumang* (a traditional food). The Acehnese use *trieng* for all kinds of bamboo, hence, is a narrowing of the PAN meaning in Acehnese.

PAN *putu* ‘cake’

(2e)  *Ka peugôt putu mantong keu buka puasa uroe nyoe.*  
(You) can just make *putu* for breaking the fast today.

The original meaning of PAN *putu* is all of kinds of cakes which are made from some kind of flour. Meanwhile, *putu* in the Acehnese language is the name for only one kind of cake which is made from rice flour. *Putu* is a traditional confectionary that is eaten with coconut milk. There is a narrowing of the PAN meaning of *putu* to be only one kind of traditional cake in the Acehnese community.

PAN *bavaŋ* ‘onion, bulb’; PANDLO *bawiN* ‘tuber, onion’

(2f)  *Ka bôh bawang limông neuk bah meurasu kuah nyen.*  
(You) put five onions into that sauce, so it is tasty.

The meaning in PAN of *bavaŋ* or PANDLO *bawiN* is ‘a tuber or bulb’ in general, but the meaning narrows into *bawang* ‘onion’ in Acehnese.

4.3 Bifurcation

Bifurcation occurs because one word acquires another meaning which is related to its original meaning. Bifurcation or a semantic split can be found in a number of words in Acehnese, as shown in the following examples:

PAN *piŋgan* ‘dish, vessel, jar, cup’

(3a)  *Ka jeut atô piŋgan bak meja.*  
You can arrange the plates/cutlery on the table.

The original proto meaning of *piŋgan* is ‘dish, vessel or jar’. The semantic split occurs because the original meaning splits into *piŋan* in Acehnese meaning a plate for eating from or cutlery i.e. utensils for eating with, hence this is another meaning of PAN *piŋgan* which is still related to the original meaning.

PAN *daJay;* PANDLO *dayaj* ‘girl; maiden’

(3b)  *Tari-tari that aneuk dara lôn, lagêe dayang keudêh.*  
My daughters are very beautiful, like angels.
PAN *daJaŋ in the Acehnese language became dayang. The original meaning of *daJaŋ is a ‘girl or a maiden’, but in the Acehnese language dayang refers to the maidservant of a princess, one who serves the princess’s needs. Meanwhile, the Acehnese use the word aneu k inong to mean ‘a girl’. There is a split of meaning of PAN *daJaŋ to be aneu k inong which is still related to the meaning of dayang who are beautiful girls. That is why Acehnese people assume that aneu k inong has the same character as dayang which means ‘a beautiful girl’ or ‘an angel’.

PAN *kulambu ‘veil; curtain’

(3c) Bèk tuwo ka tôp keulambu nyan mangat bèk di kap lé nyamok.
Don’t forget to close the mosquito net so you don’t get bitten by the mosquitos.

The meaning of proto PAN *kulambu is ‘a veil or a curtain’. However, the word keulambu in the Acehnese language means a mosquito net used to protect people from mosquitoes while they are sleeping in bed. There is a semantic split in meaning of the PAN *kulambu in the Acehnese language. The original meaning of PAN *kulambu is ‘veil or curtain’ which functions to cover or protect something, which has a related meaning to keulambu in the Acehnese language meaning a mosquito net to protect people from mosquitoes while they are sleeping.

PAN *tilik ‘to look, to watch, to see’

(3d) Ka-leuh ka-tilék bit-bit? Gót pue hansi inong nyan?
Have you seriously investigated? Is that woman good or not?

The meaning of proto PAN *tilik is ‘to look, to watch or to see’. However, tilék in the Acehnese language also reflects actions taken to investigate an event or a thing or occurring at a particular time. There is a semantic split of the PAN meaning in the Acehnese language where the meanings of ‘to see’ or ‘to watch’ or ‘to look at’ is different from the Acehnese meaning ‘to investigate’ or ‘to look into’ although the meanings are still related.

PAN *bulaj; PANDLO *bulay ‘white or albino’

(3e) Lakoe binoe bulèk nyan putéh that.
The husband of that foreign woman is very white.

The meaning of PAN *bulaj or PANDLO *bulay is ‘white’ or ‘albino’. However, in Acehnese bulèk refers to western people who have white/light colored skin. The word for white in Acehnese is putéh. There is a semantic split in meaning from *bulaj or *bulay to be bulèk, but they still have a related meaning, namely a white or white/light skinned person.

PAN *buñbuñ ‘pipe’ (tube; flute)

(3f) Bèk tuwo ka-mèè buñbuñ watèe ka-jak keumawe.
Don’t forget to bring the fish trap (buñbuñ) when you go fishing.

The original proto meaning of PAN *buñbuñ is ‘a pipe (a tube or a flute)’. The semantic split occurs because the original meaning splits into buñbuñ in the Acehnese
language, namely a trap to catch fish in the river or the sea. Meanwhile, *buḡbuy and 
bubẽe still have a related meaning, that is a thing with a tubular shape.

PAN *tapaJ, PANDLO *tapay ‘ferment’

(3g) Khanduri maulôd singoh ta-peugôt tapève yak.
For the feast (maulod) tomorrow, let’s make tapève (fermented cassava).

The original meaning of PAN *tapaJ or PANDLO *tapay is ‘ferment’. It is inherited in the Acehnese language, i.e. tapève, which is the name of a food which is made from cassava or rice by means of fermentation. There is a semantic split from PAN *tapaJ or PANDLO *tapay to tapève in the Acehnese language. However, *tapaJ or *tapay and tapève have a related meaning – that is ‘food made by using fermentation’.

4.4 Semantic Shift

A semantic shift occurs when one word acquires another meaning which is not related to its original meaning. This semantic split can be found in a number of words in Acehnese, as shown in the examples below.

PAN *rabah ‘feel, sense’

(4a) Ci ka-raba di miyub lemari nyan, mungkén na rhet gunci hinan.
Try looking under that cupboard; maybe the key fell down there.

The original meaning of PAN *rabah is ‘to feel’ or ‘sense’ which is inherited in the Acehnese language. However, the meaning of PAN *rabah is changed to raba in Acehnese meaning to ‘touch or ‘to look for’. There is a semantic shift of meaning from PAN *rabah ‘to feel’, to raba in Acehnese is ‘to touch or ‘to look for’.

PAN *lapik ‘bed, mattress’

(4b) Ci ka-lapék makông kuah nyan bah bèk suum that.
Try tasting the top layer of that soup so that it is not too hot.

The meaning of proto PAN *lapik is ‘bed’ or ‘mattress’. It is changed into lapék which means ‘a thing functions as a layer/cover’ in the Acehnese language. There is a semantic shift from the original meaning of PAN *lapik ‘bed’ into lapék ‘layer, cover’ in Acehnese.

PAN *buNtiŋ ‘child’

(4c) Mie nyan ka padam gô buntêng.
That cat has been pregnant many times.

The meaning of proto PAN *buNtiŋ is ‘child’ which is inherited in the Acehnese language, that is buntêng. The word buntêng means ‘pregnant’ in Acehnese, but it refers to ‘pregnant animals’. It is considered impolite to use buntêng for people. Instead, the word mumêe is used in Acehnese to mean ‘pregnant (for human)’. There is a shift in meaning from *buNtiŋ ‘child’ into buntêng ‘pregnant (for animal)’ in Acehnese.
PAN *sila ‘land (beach, moor)’

(4d) Siła pajóh bu, běk malèe-malèe.
    Please (go ahead and start to) eat, don’t be shy.

(4e) Siła gari lòn ku putah, kitaŋ nyoe?
    The saddle of my bike is broken, how come?

(4f) Tulóng aneuk mit duek meusila mandam.
    Please children, sit down by folding your legs.

The original meaning of PAN is *sila ‘land’ (beach, moor). It is also inherited in the Acehnese language, namely *sila. However, the meaning of the word *sila in Acehnese has a different meaning from PAN *sila. The word *sila in Acehnese can mean ‘please’, or ‘the saddle of a bike’ or ‘a way to sit (folding ones legs)’. Thus, there is a semantic shift from PAN *sila to become *sila with various meanings in Acehnese.

PAN *lantak ‘hit’

(4g) Hai, pakön awak kah lantak mandum bu maulød nyan?
    Hai, why are you eating the rice so greedily?

The meaning of PAN *lantak is ‘hit’. Meanwhile, the meaning of lantak in Acehnese is ‘eating in a rude/impolite/greedy way’ to describe the manner of eating. Therefore, there is a meaning shift from PAN *lantak ‘hit’ into lantak in the Acehnese language which means ‘eating something in a rude/impolite/greedy way’ (especially for rice).

PAN *buku ‘knot (due to swelling, lump)’

(4h) Jeut lòn pinjam buku kah siat?
    Can I borrow your book for a while?

The original proto meaning of PAN *buku is ‘knot’ for ‘a swelling or a lump’. The semantic shift occurs because the original meaning shifts to mean ‘book’ or buku in Acehnese.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Acehnese as one of the derivative languages from the Proto Austronesian (PAN) language inherits its original features in the form and meanings of its words. Meanwhile some basic changes of meaning have occurred in the Acehnese language, some examples of which were selected and discussed to show changes in patterns due to (1) broadening, (2) narrowing, (3) bifurcation, and (4) shifting; which are the basic types of changes that occur. The results from this study identified some etymons of PAN which have been inherited in the Acehnese language, but their basic meanings have changed. Some of the etymons of PAN which have broadened in meaning include *utak, *tuha, *zaNgut, *ulu, *ain, *buruŋ, and *tumpaŋ. Some etymons of PAN in Acehnese which have narrowed in meaning include *ketam, *abu, *manuk, *buluh, *putu, and *bavaŋ. Meanwhile, some etymons of PAN in Acehnese which have had a semantic split include *plŋgan, *dayaŋ, *kulambu, *tilik, *bulaj, *buŋbuŋ, *tapaj or
Finally, some etymons of PAN in the Acehnese language which have had a semantic shift are words such as *rabah, *lapik, *buNtiŋ, *sila, *lantak, and *buku.

The changes in meanings indicate a change in the history of the Acehnese language arising from culture, climate and the geography of Aceh. Factors of migration of people or speakers of the language from the region of origin to other regions have occurred in the history of Aceh resulting in the occurrence of language shifts. In addition, the movement of speakers can affect the areas in which a language or dialect shift or difference occurs.

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THE AUTHORS

Dohra Fitrisia is a lecturer at the Department of English Education in the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education at Syiah Kuala University, Banda Aceh, Indonesia. She finished her Bachelor’s degree at Syiah Kuala University in 2003 and obtained her Master’s degree in TESOL from the University of Sains Malaysia, Penang, Malaysia, in 2008. She is currently doing her Doctoral degree program in linguistics at the Faculty of Cultural Sciences, the University of Sumatera Utara Medan, Indonesia. Her research interests include English Language Teaching (ELT), Teaching English to Young Learners (TEYL), semantics and linguistics.

Dwi Widayati is a senior lecturer at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Sumatera Utara. Her e-mail addresses are: dwi_dayati@yahoo.co.id and dwiwidayati@usu.ac.id. She finished the Bachelor’s degree at the Faculty of Letters, University of Sumatra Utara in 1987 and Master’s degree at Gajah Mada University in 1994. Then she completed her Doctoral degree from the Graduate School of Linguistics in 2009. Her research interests include Comparative Historical Linguistics, Dialectology, and Ecolinguistics.