

**A SOCIOLINGUISTIC INVESTIGATION OF ACEHNESE WITH
A FOCUS ON WEST ACEHNESE: A STIGMATISED DIALECT**

Zulfadli

Bachelor of Education (Syiah Kuala University, Banda Aceh, Indonesia)

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Australia)

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وَمِنْ آيَاتِهِ خَلْقُ السَّمَوَاتِ وَالْأَرْضِ وَأَخْتِلَافُ أَلْسِنَتِكُمْ
 وَالْوَسَائِكُمْ إِنَّ فِي ذَلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِّلْعَالِمِينَ ﴿٢٢﴾

And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth
 and the diversity of your languages and your colors. Indeed in
 that are signs for those of knowledge. Q.S. Ar-Rum (The Romans) 30, ayah 22

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates differences between two Acehese dialects, the high status North Acehese and the stigmatised West Acehese, and explores the social interpretations of these differences. The linguistic subsystems that differentiate the two dialects are analysed and attitudes of Northern and Western Acehese speakers towards the dialects are investigated. To obtain primary data from native speakers, intensive fieldwork in The Province of Aceh was carried out. An Acehese wordlist from Daud & Durie's (1999) *Kamus basa Acèh = Kamus bahasa Aceh = Acehese-Indonesian-English thesaurus*, -which is mainly based on North Acehese, was used to elicit a comparative wordlist in West Acehese. Three different methods were used in the data collection: participant observation, semi-structured interviews, and the matched guise test. The data from the questionnaire of the matched guise test was analysed statistically in order to determine the significance of the results.

There are salient differences between North and West Aceh dialects regarding several key phonological features and lexical items. It is also found that Acehese has a more complex vowel system in comparison to Bahasa Indonesia. Although the Acehese vowel system includes all the vowels of Bahasa Indonesia, North and West Acehese exhibit different vowel correspondences in Indonesian loanwords and in some cases replace Indonesian vowels with the vowel /u/, which is unusual amongst the world's languages.

Some differences characterise North Acehese as a 'refined,' 'standard,' and 'prestigious' Acehese variety and West Acehese as a 'rough,' 'vulgar', and stigmatised variety. However, these characterisations need careful discussion in this context. Due to the negative opinion towards their dialect, West Acehese speakers accommodate their language style to North Acehese when they communicate with people of non-West Acehese background. However, the strong negative judgement that the majority of Acehese people express towards West Acehese in interviews and observations is not clearly reflected in the results of the matched guise test. The disconnect between attitudes to language and attitudes to people, and the array of different attitudes to different aspects of the language, is most pronounced in this case and has been the subject of repeated testing and further investigation.

In conclusion, this thesis demonstrates that within Aceh, dialect differentiation and linguistic stigmatisation are primarily based on lexical semantics, whilst

phonology plays a role, but morphology and syntax are unimportant. Some distinctive features of West Acehnese, that are perceived by the speakers of North Acehnese, are salient and others less salient, even to the point that people may not even notice the differences. Certain distinctions may suggest that the speakers of West Acehnese are confused, some may lead to mild amusement, whilst others signify West Acehnese speakers as having a speech impediment. Most importantly, however, it is shown that the stigmatisation of West Acehnese is based on a mere handful of different lexemes, which invite the negative attitudes of North Acehnese speakers that this dialect is rude and impolite, and its speakers are regarded as ‘crude’, ‘rough’, and unintellectual. The results show that North Acehnese is a more prestigious dialect than West Acehnese. I speculate that *power* is the reason for North Acehnese having a higher position than West Acehnese in the Acehnese linguistic stratification: in general, Acehnese speakers in North Aceh hold more social, political and economic power than Acehnese speakers in West Aceh.

DECLARATION

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

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Date: 8 December 2014

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Preliminary Remarks

Acehnese is spoken in the Indonesian province of Aceh, located on the northern tip of Sumatra, the second biggest island in Indonesia. This study is an investigation of the West Acehnese dialect, a stigmatised dialect of Acehnese, spoken in the Province. Salient features that distinguish this dialect from the Northnese Aceh dialect are identified and discussed. A range of attitudes towards this dialect, together with associated behaviours, are also identified and discussed, drawing on evidence from observation and elicitation. This chapter sets the scene for the study.

1.2 Acehnese society: Socioeconomic and cultural considerations

1.2.1 Acehnese society

Aceh is a special autonomous province in Indonesia that has been relatively isolated and inaccessible until 2004 due to two decades of war over its independence. Following the signing of a peace accord in 2005 and subsequent restructuring, life in Aceh has returned to normal, which means that linguistic research is possible.

In 2004, a devastating tsunami destroyed much of the infrastructure in the Province, along with the lives of people living in coastal areas, particularly in the western part of the Province, from Banda Aceh to Meulaboh in West Aceh. Approximately 120,000 Acehnese lost their lives in the disaster, the majority of whom were Acehnese speakers. Acehnese dialect-speaking areas affected most

by the tsunami were Greater and West Aceh. Durie (2008) comments on the tsunami and the linguistic tragedy in affected areas:

It was with a sinking heart that I heard even the first reports of the tsunami. I knew only too well that many thousands of Acehnese lived within a few metres of sea level. My worst fears were confirmed as the media reports came in over the following days. The massive dislocation of people caused by the Indian Ocean Tsunami, combined with the complete destruction of the very oldest and most densely differentiated dialect areas, was a linguistic tragedy as well as massive humanitarian disaster.

Because the tsunami mostly affected coastal areas, where many Acehnese speakers lived, many non-Acehnese languages went relatively unscathed: either they were not directly affected or they escaped from the disaster. For example, the people in Simeulue Island, where mostly non-Acehnese speakers live, were able to reach higher ground before the tsunami hit.

Aceh is surrounded by the Indian Ocean on the west and the north, and the Strait of Malacca to the east. It borders the province of Sumatera Utara (North Sumatra) to the southeast (see Figure 1.1 of Sumatra Island, where the Province of Aceh is located on the north tip of the island). The population of Aceh, based on the population census conducted in 2010 by Badan Pusat Statistik (the Bureau of Statistics or BPS The Province of Aceh), is 4,494,410 people living within an area of 5,677,081 Ha (BPS, 2010).

At present, Aceh is divided into 18 regencies (*kabupaten*) and five municipalities (*kota*) headed by a Regent (*bupati*) and a Mayor (*walikota*) respectively. Regencies or municipalities in Aceh consist of several sub-districts or *kecamatan* led by a *camat* (a head of a sub-district). Administrative entities below sub-districts are known as *kemukiman* and consist of several villages or *kampung* (*gampông* in Acehnese). A *kemukiman* is led by an *Imuem Mukim*, and a *Kecik*,

or *Geuchik* in Acehnese heads a village. From the governmental entities mentioned above, the leaders of the province, district/municipality, and village are elected directly by the people. The head of the sub-district is appointed by the Regent (*bupati*) or Mayor (*walikota*), and an *Imuem Mukim* is selected by leaders of *kemukimans* in each district/municipality.

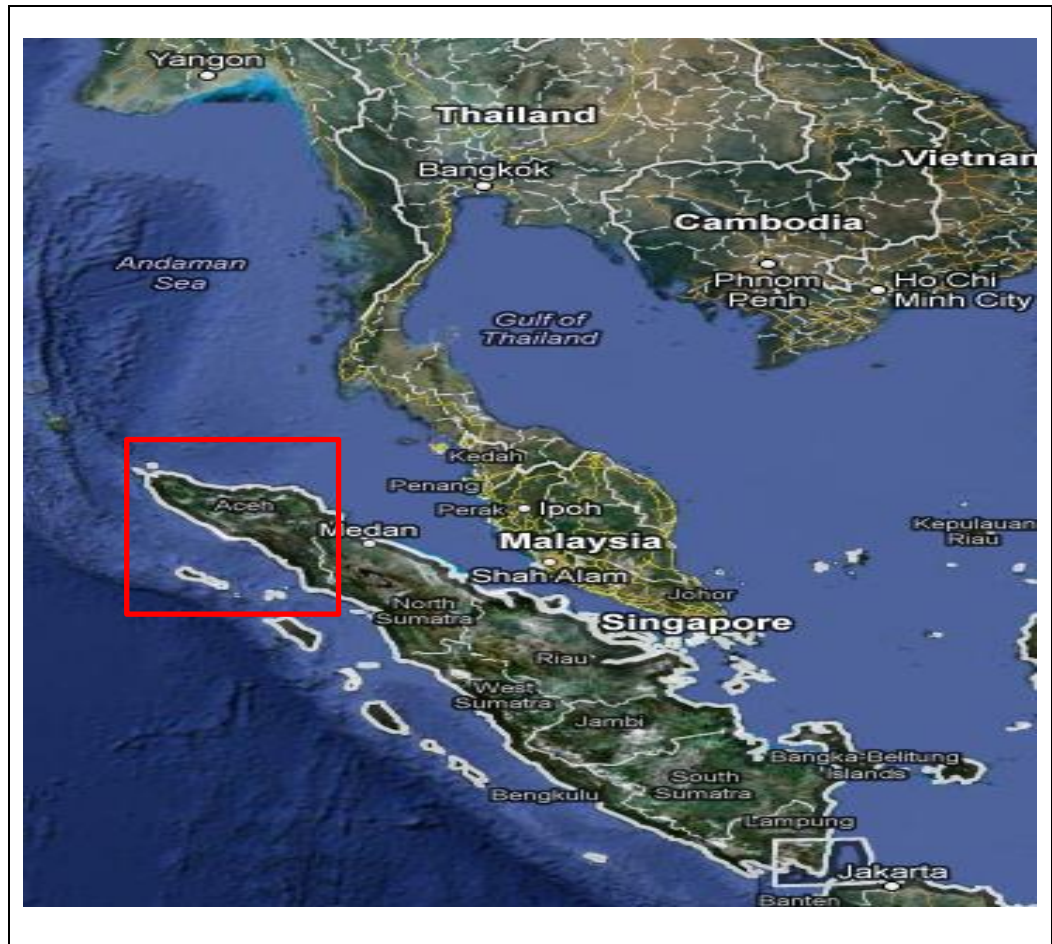


Figure 1.1: Map of Sumatra (Adapted from Google map)

Aceh has been dubbed *Tanah Rencong* (land of *rencong*, which is the traditional weapon of the Acehnese) and *Serambi Mekkah* (Veranda of Mecca), reflecting the role played by Aceh as the first and main gateway through which Islam was introduced into the Indonesian archipelago. The Acehnese people have adopted Islam as their way of life (Sugihen, 1982), and Aceh has been referred to as “a channel to the heartland of Islam” (Reid, 2006, p. 2). Due to its close

relationship with Islamic practice and because Aceh is a devout Islamic province, the Indonesian Government has granted autonomy to the Province in education, religion, and cultural affairs. The central government has also allowed the Province to implement Sharia Law (Islamic Law) since 2001 (see Aspinall, 2007; Rajagukguk, 2006). It is the only province in Indonesia that has the right to practice this law. In addition, the Province of Aceh has been given special budgeting concessions to support the prosperity and well-being of Acehnese people.

In line with the strong Islamic values of the Province, Acehnese women, relatively speaking, appear mainly in the background. In the event that there are guests in the house, the women usually gather in other rooms, separated from the men. Mixed gender gatherings are discouraged in Acehnese culture. In addition, men are freer to socialise. These customs are stronger in rural areas than in the city. However, such conventions do not prevent women from talking in public, nor do they need to feel shy about communicating with men. Even though it seems that women are socially constrained within certain aspects of Acehnese culture (they are spatially separated from men; for example, men occupy the front area in a mosque, whereas women are relegated to the back area as postulated in Islamic law), this does not mean that they are unable to fulfil important social and political roles. Many Acehnese women have historically become leaders (queens, admirals, war commanders, generals, chieftains, and even *ulama* 'Islamic cleric', such as Teungku Fakinah). Nowadays, there are also female leaders, for example the recent Banda Aceh mayor, Illiza Sa'aduddin Djamal.

The implementation of Sharia Law in the Province of Aceh has also regulated, among other things, the dress code in the community. Adult males should not wear shorts in public and adult females should cover their head and wear loose clothing, covering the whole body. Furthermore, school students wear Islamic uniforms (males wear long pants and females wear the hijab, long-sleeved dresses and long skirts). Non-Muslim female students, however, do not have to wear the hijab in public or at school, but they are encouraged to wear appropriate clothes which do not expose their body parts. Non-Muslim male students should also wear clothes which are not against Islamic norms. Visitors to Aceh are also encouraged to obey the dress code of the Province. If they are non-Muslims, they are still expected to wear appropriate modest clothing, especially in public spaces.

It is an Acehnese cultural trait that, most of the time, Acehnese people do not express their personal feelings and thoughts. It is not common in the Acehnese culture, for example, to openly express feelings to loved ones, nor are the Acehnese accustomed to expressing gratitude. In fact I have often heard Acehnese people say that there are no native expressions for achieving this in the Acehnese language. However, the Acehnese culture has changed slightly in recent times and many people, particularly in younger generations, have come to see a need to say 'thank you' and 'I love you'. In these cases, Acehnese has borrowed such words from Bahasa Indonesia. Therefore, the Acehnese can say *teurimong geunaseh* (from Bahasa Indonesia *terima kasih* 'thank you') and *lon cinta gata* (from Bahasa Indonesia *saya cinta kamu* 'I love you').

The attitude that one should not share one's true thoughts and feelings may also be noticed in the care taken to avoid saying something that makes other people

lose face or producing expressions that may be offensive. However, if in the appropriate context Acehnese people will happily share their feelings with other people. The appropriate context involves, among other things, being a close, trusted friend, affirming that what they say will not harm them or others, and assuring them that what they say will not be passed on to others.

1.2.2 Population and socioeconomic life in Aceh

Kota (urban area), in the Acehnese context, refers to an area of business where people meet for trade. Sometimes this area also functions as a governmental administrative venue. Because shopping, business and government activities take place in the *kota*, this area is more crowded, especially during the day, than a *desa* 'rural area'. At the same time, this *kota* is usually selected as the capital of each regency/municipality. The biggest town in Aceh, for example, is Banda Aceh, the capital of the Province of Aceh, with a population of 223,446 living on 5,617 Ha (BPS, 2010).

People in Aceh, both in *kota* and *desa*, come into contact with their neighbours in places such as *meunasah* 'small praying building' or mosques. As Muslims, almost all Acehnese people pray five times a day and perform these prayers routinely at mosques or *meunasah*. Every Friday afternoon, big crowds gather in every mosque, but not in *meunasah*, because the Muslims pray *Jummah*, which is an obligation prayer for men in the congregation. Women are not obliged to perform the Friday prayer. Acehnese people also gather in the market, where traditional shops and stores are still common. The interaction that takes place here, between buyers and sellers, maintains and strengthens community ties.

People in villages mostly communicate in Acehese. In more linguistically diverse towns such as Banda Aceh, Lhokseumawe, and Langsa, people also speak Acehese, but some people will use Bahasa Indonesia if they think the background of the interlocutors is not Acehese. If an Acehese person goes to the police and reports a crime, for example, the use of the language depends on the speaker and the interlocutor. If the speaker is an older person, they will usually initiate the conversation in Acehese and the police will follow suit, if they can speak the language. If the police officer is not Acehese or cannot speak Acehese, he/she will usually ask a colleague, who understands Acehese, to serve the person. However, if an Acehese speaker is younger and female, this person will generally use Bahasa Indonesia, regardless of whether the police officer is of Acehese origin or not. The phenomenon of language choice between Acehese and Bahasa Indonesia, as mentioned above, also occurs in government offices or institutions, especially in diverse towns. In small towns and villages, Acehese is more regularly used. The *imam* (Islamic leader) in village mosques will mostly use Acehese in sermons, but in bigger towns they often use Bahasa Indonesia. In a court of law, Bahasa Indonesia is the only language. If the witness, for example, wants to give evidence and he/she cannot speak Bahasa Indonesia, the court usually provides an interpreter.

1.2.3 Workforce and population in Aceh

Aceh is predominantly rural with almost three-quarters of the workforce, or 1,342,574 people, living in rural areas (BPS, 2011). From the regencies and municipalities situated in the Province of Aceh, North Aceh is regarded as an industrial area because many large factories are located in this regency. These

large companies include gas, fertilizer, and paper craft, which are state-owned enterprises.

The Pidie, East Aceh, Greater Aceh and regencies in the central Aceh areas, as well as regencies in western and southern Aceh are well-known for their agricultural and husbandry resources. In these regencies, there are rice mill factories, which are usually family owned and have three to five people working at each mill. Greater Aceh, however, has a cement factory, which is run by a private company, Sabang is a famous tourism destination for many international tourists who visit the island. The people in Banda Aceh and surrounding areas also like to visit Sabang, especially on weekends.

The half a million Acehnese people who live in urban areas mostly work in the public and social services sector (173,291 people), followed by the trade, restaurant and accommodation sector (145,655 people), and the subsistence farming, plantations, and fishing sector (75,113 people) (BPS, 2011). In rural areas however the majority of Acehnese people work in the subsistence farming, plantations, and fishing sector (823,122 people), followed by the public and social services sector (185,413 people), and the trade, restaurant and accommodation sector (153,528 people) (BPS, 2011). See the full breakdown in Table 1.1 below.

The Acehnese people who work in farming usually grow crops for personal consumption and store reserves. They often sell their excess crops to rice mills nearby for cash so they can buy manufactured items or fish etc., or exchange their excess with others. In plantation industries, such as palm oil and rubber, people sell the raw materials to collecting agents because they do not process these materials themselves. The fishing industry is mostly run by traditional

fishermen who use simple equipment and small boats. The catch is usually sold at traditional fresh fish markets. There is no fish processing factory in Aceh. However, the Acehnese generally preserve their fish by drying them in the sun.

Table 1.1 : Acehnese workforce in main industry sectors in urban and rural areas

Main industry sectors	Urban	Rural
Subsistence farming, plantations, and fishing	75,113	823,112
Mining	1,924	9,815
Manufacturing	27,124	45,385
Electrical, gas, and water	2,395	1,571
Construction	39,879	74,055
Trade, restaurant and accommodation	145,655	153,528
Transportation, warehousing, and communication	26,937	42,236
Finance and real estate	17,581	7,459
Public and social services	173,291	185,413
Sub-total	509,899	1,342,574
Total		1,852,473

(Source: Statistics of the Province of Aceh Office, 2011)

The distribution and density of the population in the Province of Aceh, based on regencies/cities, is presented in Table 1.2 below, followed by Figure 1.2, which is a map indicating areas of relative density. From these, we can see that areas in northern Aceh are more densely populated compared to the western parts of the province. Of the top 10 most densely populated regencies/cities (in bold letters in the table below), all of them (except Sabang, which is an island) are located in northern Aceh, from Greater Aceh to Aceh Tamiang in the far east.

Table 1.2 : Population density per regency/city in the Province of Aceh

No.	Regency/City	Area (ha)	Population	Population density (people/km ²)
1.	Simeulue	182,735	80,674	48
2.	Aceh Singkil	185,803	102,509	39
3.	South Aceh	417,659	202,251	53
4.	South East Aceh	416,963	179,010	42
5.	East Aceh	542,709	360,475	60
6.	Central Aceh	445,404	175,527	41
7.	West Aceh	275,872	173,558	59
8.	Greater Aceh	290,256	351,418	118
9.	Pidie	316,924	379,108	133
10.	Bireuen	179,631	389,288	200
11.	North Aceh	269,466	529,751	161
12.	South West Aceh	188,205	126,036	54
13.	Gayo Lues	554,991	79,560	14
14.	Aceh Tamiang	211,973	251,914	130
15.	Nagan Raya	354,491	139,663	42
16.	Aceh Jaya	387,725	76,782	20
17.	Bener Meriah	190,401	122,277	84
18.	Pidie Jaya	94,795	132,956	303
19.	Banda Aceh	5,617	223,446	3,642
20.	Sabang	12,209	30,653	129
21.	Langsa	20,341	148,945	568
22.	Lhokseumawe	15,344	171,163	668
23.	Subulussalam	117,571	67,446	48
Total		5,677,081	4,494,410	78

(Source: Statistics of the Province of Aceh Office, 2011)

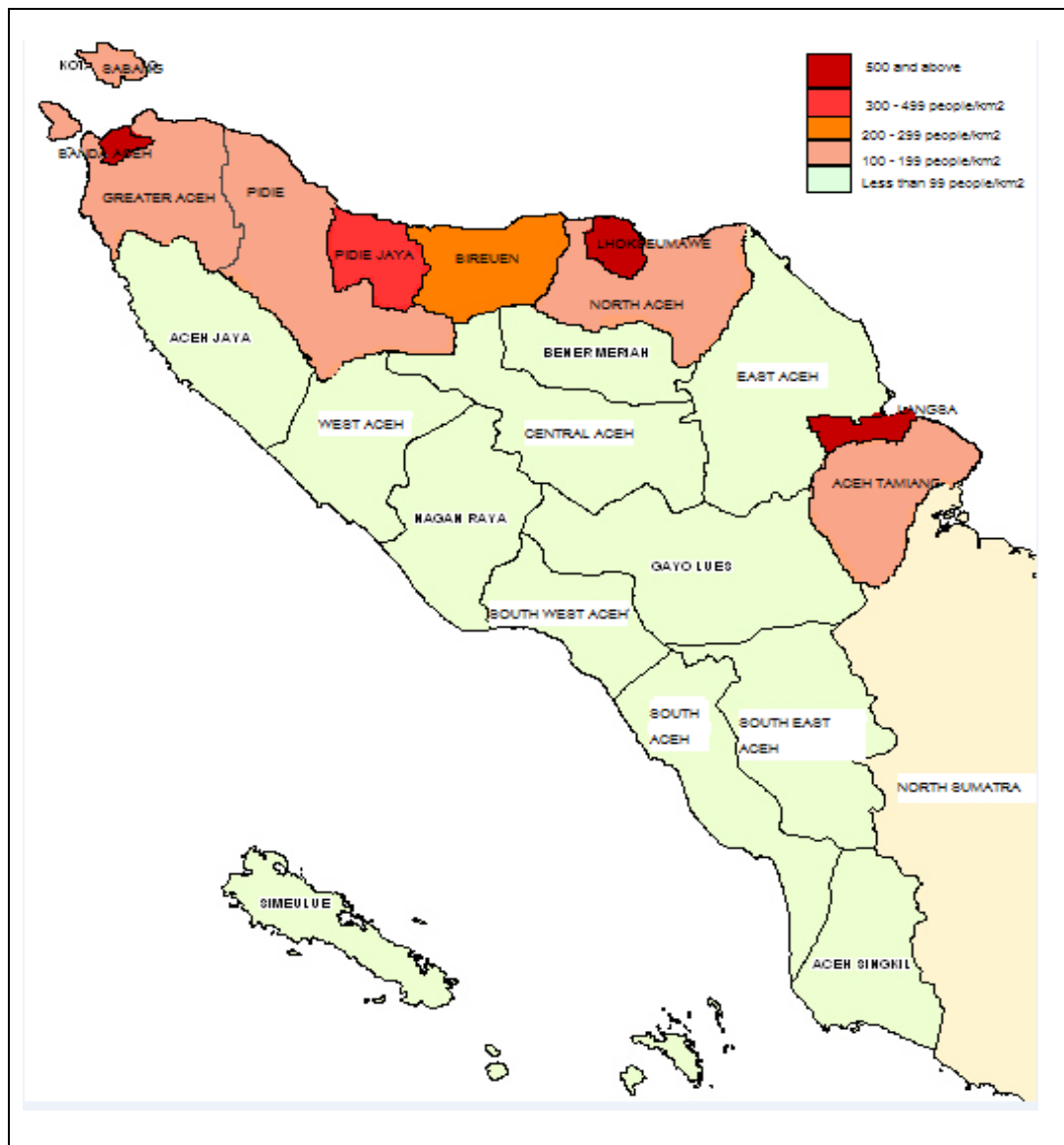


Figure 1.2 : Map of Aceh based on population density (modified by author from the original map downloaded from http://bk.menlh.go.id/?module=florafauna&opt=floraktkab&id=1#_expcol)

In respect of income and education levels across the Aceh population, it is hard to ascertain exact figures because statistical data is not recorded. However, the majority of wealthy people in Aceh appear to be from parts of northern Aceh. This is also evident when driving from Banda Aceh to the border with the Province of North Sumatra to the east, where traffic on the road is more congested. In these parts of Aceh we can also find bigger towns, which are closer to one another, and many large houses that can be seen from the road.

However, if we drive from Banda Aceh to the south, almost everything is the opposite to what we find on the north coast.

The socioeconomic life of people in northern Aceh seems to be better than that of the people in areas of western Aceh. Banda Aceh, Lhokseumawe and Langsa, which are located in northern areas, have more hubs for education, business, and administration than the western areas do. In Banda Aceh, for example, the majority of university students, business owners, and government employees are from the north coast. High-ranking and strategic leaders in Aceh Government offices or other private sector offices and institutions are mostly people from Banda Aceh and areas of northern Aceh. In fact, to the best of my knowledge, among the governors of the Province of Aceh since 1945 until now, there have been none from western Aceh area background.

Historically, some Acehnese kingdoms were ruled from locations on the northern coast of Aceh, up to the late fifteenth century, such as the Samudra kingdom and the Pasai kingdom, which later on were merged to become the Kingdom of Samudra Pasai (see Sugihen, 1982). Sugihen (1982, p. 18) says that the Kingdom of Samudra Pasai had become the base for Islam and the central activities of scholarship, trade and commerce for at least 150 years. This suggests that northern Aceh has had extensive social, political, and economic power for a long time. In the 1980s and 1990s, the North Aceh district was given the nickname *petrodollar* because this district was booming with liquefied natural gas resources.

Socioeconomic and occupational status differences across northern and western regions, however, do not noticeably influence the use of the Acehnese language among different groups in the community. Acehnese dialects are used by

everyone regardless of their regional background or social status. The West Aceh dialect, for example, is used by people in the west coast region, whether they are rich or poor, elite or grass-roots community members. A similar situation is also found in other dialect areas of Aceh. Of course, there are minor differences in the way in which people of different social/socioeconomic status speak, for example people of high profile, devout Muslim families or descendants of the royal family speak differently than labourers and peasants. However, these are slight differences, manifested primarily in small variations of lexical choice and are not significant for this study.

1.2.4 Social stratification in Aceh

Acehnese do not have a strongly stratified social system such as, for example, the Javanese caste system. However, Acehnese people certainly show their respect to the descendants of the royal family and well-known Islamic families. People who are knowledgeable or teach Islamic studies at universities are generally accorded more respect. However, such social differences do not necessarily mean that people from certain backgrounds cannot enter into a relationship with another group of Acehnese people, for example, in getting married. Families may certainly oppose their children marrying someone from a different place of origin, but this is generally because parents do not want to be separated from their children. The parents would like to have someone take care of them when they grow older and weaker. As a result, marriage between people from different regional dialect backgrounds is seldom seen in rural areas across districts in the Province of Aceh. However, this is not the case if the married couples or their parents have lived in Banda Aceh, in which case parents usually

have no objection to their children getting married to people from different regions or other backgrounds.

Movement within Aceh has been greatly facilitated by post-tsunami aid and road building efforts. As a result, social interrelationships and inter-marriage between North and West Acehnese have become more common. There has been more protracted language contact between dialects in villages in both regions, and I have observed some softening in parents objecting to their children having spouses from other regions. Business relationships have also developed between North and West Aceh, in the sense that many traders from North Aceh can now sell their products (e.g. poultry products) directly to West Aceh, for example. However, the implications for language change of this more extensive social contact are not yet known since there has been no published research regarding this issue.

New access roads between the North and the West regions crossing the mountainous areas through Geumpang (Pidie district) to Meulaboh, West Aceh and Takengon, Central Aceh district to Nagan Raya district, have also significantly contributed to the mobility of the Acehnese in the region. But I was informed during my fieldwork to Aceh that these roads are not very popular now due to safety and security concerns. Therefore, people prefer to access both regions via Banda Aceh.

Furthermore, the mobility of people across regions is mostly motivated by continuing studies in tertiary education institutions, particularly those of Banda Aceh. As part of such movements, students stay longer in the capital city of the Province. Apart from work placement, marriage and settling down in Banda

Aceh, a few Acehnese do move to other regions, but people usually only go to other districts only for short visits.

After the post-tsunami reconstruction, people in West Aceh have become more confident sending their children, especially daughters, to higher education institutions in Banda Aceh because transportation has improved so drastically. Mobility and inter-relationships with other Acehnese have resulted in increased language contact, including between the dialects of North and West Aceh. Students from different language dialect backgrounds usually socialise in schools or universities and share accommodation, which may influence language use, for instance, in increasing the use of Bahasa Indonesia or North Acehnese.

West Acehnese is stigmatised as a language variety, while North Acehnese is seen as prestigious, but these attitudes do not relate to any clearly identifiable social stratification. However, the stratification is otherwise evident in Aceh. People from royal and Islamic clerical family backgrounds are usually more respected and therefore treated differently, for example. Decades ago, there were some constraints when it came to marrying someone with a different status and/or background. Parents from the royal family tended to choose the same royal lineage for their daughters, for example. However, nowadays I observe that this is not as strict, as long as the individuals are of good character and are financially well-established. More recently, I have found many Acehnese have not objected to their children getting married to foreigners, subject to them converting to Islam.

1.3 History of Aceh settlement

People in Aceh jokingly say that ACEH stands for Arab, China, Europe, and Hindustan (India), which represent their ancestors who were believed to originally come from these four different countries and regions. This belief is certainly groundless. Based on linguistic evidence, the Acehnese do not descend from those countries. Interestingly, the Department of Home Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia puts forth the following official view on its website ("Provinsi Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam," 2009): "*Suku Aceh merupakan salah satu suku yang tergolong ke dalam etnik melayu atau ras melayu, dan sering diakronimkan dengan Arab, Cina, Eropa, dan Hindustan (ACEH)*", meaning "The Acehnese are one of the ethnic groups that belong to Malay ethnicity or the Malay race, and its name is usually realised in the acronym Aceh derived from Arab, China, Europe, and Hindustan (ACEH)". People usually illustrate their claim by observing that there are words in Acehnese which are borrowed such as *iman* 'faith,' *cawan* 'bowl,' and *ret* 'road' from Arabic, Chinese, and English languages respectively. Other examples of borrowing include *agama* 'religion' from Sanskrit and *doorsmeer* 'car wash place' and *rébewéh* 'driving license' from Dutch.

Various linguists have demonstrated that Acehnese is an Austronesian language, with a close relationship with the Chamic language (see for example Shorto, 1975; Cowan, 1981, 1991; Durie, 1985; Thurgood, 1999). Ion & Errington (1993) suggest that there has been little information concerning the precise origin of the Acehnese people. What can be learnt, based on archaeological and anthropological facts, is that the Acehnese ancestors originated from the Champa kingdom on the Indochina Peninsula (Ion & Errington, 1993, pp. 61-62).

Niemann (1831), as quoted by Said (1981, p. 11), states that, based on his findings, many Acehnese words are similar to those in Cham, consistent with the theory that Acehnese ancestors came from Champa on the Indochina Peninsula. The same conclusion was drawn by Blagden (1929), as quoted by Said (1981, p. 11), who found that the wordlists from Van Langen's Acehnese dictionary were similar to words in Khmer (Cambodia). In addition, Durie (1990) argues that there are regular correspondences between Proto-Chamic and Proto-Acehnese with Acehnese having low-mid vowels corresponding to Proto-Chamic mid-vowels. That the Acehnese language is historically and genetically related to Cham, spoken on mainland Southeast Asia, and heavily influenced by Mon-Khmer, has been supported convincingly by Thurgood (2007).

The claimed relationship between Acehnese and the Chamic languages is evidenced in phonological, morphological, and syntactic data (Cowan, 1981, p. 523). In addition, at the lexical level, there are many words which appear similar in both languages such as *cicem* (Acehnese): *cim* (Chamic) 'bird', *manə*' (Acehnese): *mönuk* (Chamic) 'hen, chicken', *get, gət* (Acehnese): *gət* (Chamic) 'good, well' (Cowan, 1981) or *atot* (Acehnese): *atuk* (Chamic) 'joint', *dro* (Acehnese): *drei* (Chamic) 'self' (Akbar, Abdullah, Latif, & Ahmaddin, 1985, p. 7). A short, comparative wordlist of about 150 words can be found in Cowan (1948).

Although this argues that there is a relationship between the Acehnese and Chamic language, Abdul Gani Asyik (personal communication, July 23, 2010) suggests that the idea that the Acehnese and their language fully originated from Cham appears doubtful, because there are many basic Acehnese words which do

not relate to the Chamic language. However, he believes there is a Chamic influence in Acehnese.

As to how this language came to Aceh, we need to consider when this happened, and whether the ancestors of the Acehnese people migrated to Aceh directly from the Indochina Peninsula or via the Malay Peninsula. However, because there is insufficient evidence, it is difficult to draw absolute conclusions on this matter (Thurgood, 1999, p. 23).

Thurgood (1999, p. 20) suggests that the migrations from Champa, also known as the kingdom of Lin-yi, to the northern part of Sumatra Island resulted from the war that took place in the kingdom. Thurgood argues that based on the linguistic record, these people fled central Vietnam to Aceh when Vietnamese from the north took over the Cham territory by force. These Vietnamese gradually began to occupy Cham and therefore forced the Chamic migration towards the south. This event took place around the tenth century (Thurgood, 1999, p. 20). When the Vietnamese took over the northern Cham capital of Indrapura in 982, the Cham moved their capital to Vijaya in the far south. And some of them, according to Thurgood, left the mainland and fled to Sumatra. These were the ancestors of the “modern Acehnese” (Thurgood, 1999, p. 20). After the southern capital of Cham also fell, much later in 1471, some of the people fled to Hainan, Guangzhou, Malaka, Aceh, Java, Thailand, and Cambodia (Thurgood, 1999, p. 22).

Durie (1985, p. 3) quotes Collins (1975) when he argues that the Acehnese “migrated from a common Aceh-Chamic region in the Indo-Chinese peninsula to the Malay peninsula, from where they migrated after a time to Aceh.” Thus, he suggests that this migration might have been via the Malay Peninsula. This is

supported by the fact that the Acehese spoken in Greater Aceh or Daya (today *Lamnoe*) has the similar uvular ‘r’ as Malay varieties spoken in Perlis, Kedah, Penang, and Perak (Omar, 1977).

Aceh was internationally recognised as an important trading partner for other countries for at least a thousand years because of its strategic location in the Malacca Strait (Lebar, 1972) as quoted by Sugihen, 1982, p. 12). Therefore many people from different countries visited, stayed and became involved with the local Acehese. Naturally, some settled and had families in Aceh. Among these migrants were Arabic, Chinese and Hindi speakers, which has perhaps given rise to the ‘ACEH’ etymological myth. Even though there were many overseas visitors to Aceh, such as the Dutch, the Chinese, and the Arabs, as mentioned earlier, the Acehese language has not been as influenced by them as we might have expected.

The Acehese language is, however, greatly influenced by Bahasa Indonesia. As well as grammar, there are many lexical items from the national language absorbed by Acehese. These loanwords from the official language of instruction have enriched the vocabulary of local languages. The main reasons why there are so many Indonesian words are, among others, the intense and long-term language contact with Malay or Bahasa Indonesia and the active role of the Indonesian Government in promoting Bahasa Indonesia as the language of unity and integrity for the republic.

1.4 Outside linguistic influences on the Acehese

There are at least four main languages that have historically been in close contact with Acehese: Arabic, Dutch, English and Bahasa Indonesia. I notice that Arabic has had a historic role and, more significantly something of a

contemporary role in that many students from Arabic departments of Islamic institutes or students from Islamic boarding schools in Aceh use this language as a practical means to communicate with their fellow students. The Acehnese people have also been in direct contact with native Arabic people who came to Aceh to teach Arabic, or to distribute aid after the tsunami in 2004. My observation is that the influence of the Arabic language on people outside Islamic institutes or schools is not significant. English is similar to Arabic in that it is used ‘exclusively’ by students studying in English departments at universities, or in schools where English is offered. It was also used by parents or children who had returned from English speaking countries to continue their study, and the parents continued to practise English with their children. After the tsunami, however, English became more popular and widespread. Nowadays, many Acehnese people speak English well and the Acehnese language has continued to borrow English words via Bahasa Indonesia in recent years.

1.4.1 The Arabic language

Arabic has been considered one of the main foreign languages that came into contact with Acehnese. It is suggested that Islam was introduced by Muslim traders from Arabia, Persia, and India into the Indonesian archipelago from the seventh century through Aceh (Al-Usairy, 2003; Tjandrasasmita, 1984). This means that the Acehnese had direct contact with Arabs and other Muslims from different countries. Because the Koran is written in Arabic, along with a lot of other Islamic teachings and practices, it is inevitable that the Acehnese learn to read this language. Arabic is also taught at Islamic schools (*madrrasah*) or Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren*).

The presence of Arabic words or terms can be found in daily conversation in the Acehnese community, for example, *Assalamu'alaikum* 'peace be upon you,' *Alhamdulillah* 'all praise due to Allah (Lord),' *Mashallah* 'what Allah wishes,' etc. Even though the majority of Acehnese are Muslims and can read Arabic, it does not necessarily follow that they can speak or understand the language. The words borrowed from Arabic and adopted into Acehnese can be unassimilated, such as the examples given above, or they may be assimilated into spelling and the phonological systems of Acehnese. For example, the words *cukô* 'Thankful (to Allah)' from Arabic *syukr* (شكراً) and *meuseujid* 'mosque' from the word *masjid* (مسجد) have undergone phonological changes and have been assimilated into the local language. Yusuf (2006, p. 11) notes that "borrowed words from Arabic that end with [b] and [d] are devoiced to [p] and [t], respectively". She provides the example *adab* [adap] 'etiquette' and *walid* [walid] 'father.' These changes occur because in Acehnese word final voiced stops are not permitted, and therefore *adab* and *walid* have been phonologically adopted into the local language as *adap* [adap] and *walet* [walet] respectively.

There are many words in Acehnese which are borrowed or derived from the Arabic language that serve as an indication that Arabic has played an important language role in the enrichment of Acehnese vocabulary. Examples such as *cukô*, mentioned above, or *ca-e* 'poem,' may indicate that they were borrowed by the Acehnese at an earlier time, compared with Bahasa Indonesia and its counterparts which are closer to the original words *syukur* [ʃukur] and *syair* [ʃa'ir]. In Acehnese, however, phonological change has shifted /ʃ/ to /c/.

Arabic has also influenced Acehnese culture in the way this language has evolved through many stages in the use of Arabic characters in writing.

Acehnese has been found historically to have used and developed Arabic script. This Arabic script is called Malayan Arabic or *Jawoe* or *Jawi*. Goddard (2005, p. 179) notes that *Jawi* has been used in Malay and other related languages including Acehnese (Grijns et al., 1989, p. 128) since the fourteenth century when Islam was introduced in the Malay empire centred in Malacca. Because the script was using Arabic characters, in the Acehnese context, it had been modified with some letters that represented Acehnese sounds not present in Arabic.

There were some other original works written in Arabic and Persian on Aceh. Iskandar (2007, p. 7) notes that a manuscript kept in the library of the University of Leiden, written in “Arabic and Persian by famous poets with interlineal Malay translation,” was composed in Lam Pisang, a village somewhere near Banda Aceh. Iskandar (2007, p. 7) argues that this manuscript could be talking about either the Aceh period (1500 onwards) as it was found in Lam Pisang (Aceh Besar), or that it was “a copy of a manuscript belonging to the literature of Pasai (1300-1524).” Another manuscript kept in the library, Iskandar (2007) continues, was the *Hikayat Bayan Budiman*, composed by Qādhī ḥasan in 1371 A.D.

The sultanate of Samudera Pasai reached its political, economic, and cultural peak in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, during which time, many Persian literary works were translated into Malay (Iskandar, 2007, p. 7). However, the influence of Persian intellectual and spiritual literature and culture began to ebb. This began with the change towards Aceh functioning “as the Muslim-Malay cultural centre (1524-1900)” (Iskandar, 2007, p. 14).

Jawi script is no longer used for writing Acehnese text, since the advent of roman script as the official way of writing in the Province. In the seventeenth

century, Dutch colonial officials, such as H.N. van der Tuuk, first recommended that the roman writing system be used; by 1920 this system was widespread, together with the introduction of “western-type schooling, economic progress and the nationalist movement which stressed the need for social and cultural innovation” (Grijns et al., 1989, p. 128).

Fathurahman (2008) argues that Arabic script still has a place in the community in Malaysia, as it can be found in the tradition of scholarship. Goddard (2005, p. 180) notes that *Jawi* script is still used today as part of the curriculum in Malaysian schools. There is even a newspaper in Malaysia which is published in this traditional script. In some parts of Indonesia, a few people still use the *Jawi* script, but for less important reasons (Fathurahman, 2008). In Aceh, for example, the use of Arabic script or Arabic *Jawoe/Jawi* is encouraged by the government of the Province of Aceh to accompany the Latin script for naming local governmental offices, stores, and other public facilities. The use of *Jawi* in Aceh became more extensive after the province implemented Sharia law about ten years ago. It seems that this implementation is reflected in, among other things, the use of *Jawi* script with Arabic characters. And in Brunei Darussalam, a neighbouring country on the island of Borneo, this script is used extensively on street signs, etc.

1.4.2 The Dutch language

According to Said (1981, p. 208), the Acehnese contact with Dutch people began when Dutch was first introduced into the Aceh Sultanate during the reign of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah Said Al Mukammal Ibnu Sultan Firman Syah, who was in power from 1589 to 1604. Dutch siblings, Cornalis de Houtman and Frederick de Houtman, were the first to set foot on Acehnese soil on 21 June

1599 for the purpose of trade. It needs to be emphasised here that during the Dutch colonisation in Indonesia, Aceh was never fully colonised or subdued.

Even though the Acehnese had contact with the Dutch for many centuries, it is surprising that so few Dutch words have been adopted by Acehnese. The reason for the Acehnese people not wanting to learn or even become involved in the Dutch language may be due to the fact that the Dutch were colonisers. Most importantly, there was rarely intermarriage between the Acehnese and the Dutch, There are also no records indicating that the Acehnese were fluent in Dutch, although some non-Acehnese Indonesians were.

During the early occupation of Indonesia, the Dutch attempted to introduce their language to the Indonesian people, but failed. Jones (2007, p. xxx) states that “during the time of the Dutch East Indies Company (circa 1600 to 1800), serious attempts to promote the use of Dutch were unsuccessful” because Malay and Portuguese were already the *linguae francae*. Jones (2007, p. xxxi) suggests that use of the Dutch language in Indonesia only began in the nineteenth century and lasted until the 1940s .

After Indonesia’s independence, the use of Dutch decreased. However, Jones (2007, p. xxxi) also argues that it was not immediate, and did not die out completely because some Indonesian elderly people and scholars were still speaking Dutch, and because academic references were still written in the Dutch language. Therefore, Dutch borrowings were still needed at that time. But Jones (2007, p. xxxi) claims that nowadays “Indonesian borrowing from Dutch is a thing of the past.”

In the Acehese context, some loanwords from Dutch can be found today. However, further research needs to be conducted to investigate whether any of these borrowings from the Dutch infiltrated Acehese directly or only via the Indonesian language. The Dutch word commonly used in Aceh today is *doorsmeer*, which refers to ‘greasing’. This word is originally from *doorsmeren*, to ‘grease or anoint.’ A recent example of *doorsmeer* exhibiting semantic extension is its use in Acehese to mean ‘car wash place’. However, this word or expression is not commonly used in Bahasa Indonesia anymore.

When I was a child, I listened to my grandfather talking about a car accident. He said that the driver was then in jail because he did not possess a *rébewéh* meaning ‘driving license’ from the Dutch word *rijbewijs*. The word *rébewéh* is obsolete among the younger generations in Aceh today. However, *lakban*, derived from the Dutch word *plakband* ‘scotch tape’, is still used. Similar to the Acehese, Bahasa Indonesia also has these words (that is, Bahasa Indonesia does not use *rébewéh* nowadays, whereas *lakban* is still widely used).

The explanation above suggests that Dutch impact on Acehese is not significant. There are just a few academic and technical/bureaucratic terms that were introduced, most of which are no longer commonly used. It also suggests that there is no indication of Dutch phonological or grammatical influence in Acehese.

1.4.3 The Indonesian language

The place of origin of Malay-speaking people was from the east and southeast of Sumatra, particularly coastal areas and some off-shore islands (Sneddon, 2003, p. 7). Evidence of old Malay language exists in the stone inscriptions from the Sriwijaya Kingdom dating from AD 682 to 686 (Sneddon, 2003, p. 36). Old

Malay from the Sriwijaya Kingdom is believed to be related to modern Malay (Sneddon, 2003, p. 37). A gravestone inscription, found in Pasai in Aceh in 1380, was written in Malay (Teeuw, 1959, p. 149), and with some words in Sanskrit, similar to the Sriwijayan Kingdom inscriptions (Sneddon, 2003, p. 52).

The influence of Malay in Aceh can also be seen in the letters sent overseas by Aceh sultanates. These were all written in Malay Jawi script (see Gallop, 2007). The first letter dating from 1615 by Sultan Iskandar Muda, who ruled Aceh from 1609 to 1636, was sent to King James I in England regarding trade affairs. The second letter was sent by Sultan Alauddin Mughayat Syah (Iskandar Thani), who ruled the Aceh kingdom from 1636 to 1641, to Frederik Hendrik, Prince of Orange (1584-1647), dating from 1639, concerning the plan of joint attack on Malaka and trading matters in the region. Sultanah (Queen) Tajul Alam Safiatuddin Syah, who ruled the Aceh Darussalam kingdom from 1641 to 1675, sent a letter to King Charles II of England on 12 October 1661, to congratulate him on becoming a new king as well as to indicate improved relations between the two empires (Gallop, 2007).

The other royal letter that Gallop (2007) mentions was sent by Sultan Alauddin Ahmad Syah to the Danish East India Company in Tranquebar, South India, dated 1733 AD. This letter was written in Persian. No letters written in Acehnese have been found. This is understandable, as the Malay language was the lingua franca in the region at that time. According to Durie (1985, p. 2), Malay was the language of scholarship, royalty and trade in northern Sumatra from the fifteenth century (see also Durie, 1996; Reid, 2005). Therefore, for foreign affairs correspondence, for example, the authorities preferred to use Malay rather than Acehnese. Gallop (personal communication, September 30, 2009) says that to the

best of her knowledge Malay may have been the language of the court in Aceh until the nineteenth century; therefore all of the documents, letters and other texts were written in this language. She continues by saying that this indicates the Acehnese language had probably been the spoken language until then. It shows that even though Aceh had been ruled by various kings for hundreds of years, the Acehnese language, from recorded evidence, had never been an official language for correspondence, either in Jawi script or in Roman script.

In Indonesia, Malay was later adopted as Bahasa Indonesia or the official Indonesian language, which is the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. It is used from Sabang, the westernmost part of Indonesia to Meurauke, the easternmost part of the country. Alwi et al. (1993, pp. 1-2) state that Bahasa Indonesia has played an important role in the country, because it is spoken widely among Indonesian people, it is widespread throughout the nation, and it is used as the medium for science, literature and the arts, and cultural expression. Historically, the initial declaration of the use of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language was made in 1928. This declaration, commonly known as *Sumpah Pemuda* ‘Youth Pledge,’ says: “*Kami poetera dan poeteri Indonesia mendjoenjoeng bahasa persatoean, bahasa Indonesia*” (Alwi et al., 1993, p. 1). The oath means ‘We, the young generation of Indonesia, respect the language of unity, Bahasa Indonesia.’

Following Indonesia’s independence in 1945, there was a mass ongoing campaign to promote Bahasa Indonesia as the symbol of nationalism. Renandya (as cited by Widodo & Fardhani (2011, p. 133)) argues that the Indonesian language is a sign of nationalism and patriotism for unity and solidarity of the nation. According to Yusuf (2013, p. 3), Bahasa Indonesia has become the

official language in Aceh since the province became a part of Indonesia in 1950 (Reid, 2005). Furthermore, in the 1970s, the New Order government of the Republic of Indonesia has urged its population to use good Bahasa Indonesia to promote national unity (see Arka, 2013), including in Aceh. The central government has since mandated Bahasa Indonesia as the national official language for use in schools, government offices, and other formal places or situations (Abdullah, 1999, p.124).

This mass campaign has resulted in using the national language in almost all aspects of public life, and therefore the use of local languages has decreased dramatically. The influence of Bahasa Indonesia is also noticeable in almost all local languages (Abdullah, 1999, p.124). This has had a negative impact on local languages, as the central government has failed to promote indigenous language throughout the country. Anderbeck (2010, p. 98) expresses her concern about the stability of vernacular languages in Indonesia by arguing that “many minority languages in Indonesia are at risk with respect to the powerfully dominant Standard Indonesian.” While there are some studies on indigenous languages being carried out by *Proyek Penelitian Bahasa dan Sastra Indonesia* (‘Research Project on Indonesian and Literature’) under the Department of Education and Culture, the project which started in 1974 seems to focus on the documentation of language and literature in Indonesia, rather than policy or language planning.

According to the Explanation of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia, the government should be promoting the use of local languages (Ayatrohaedi, 1999, p. 65). In Section 36 of the Constitution it states that local and indigenous languages which are well-preserved and spoken in the regions by native speakers are to be treated with respect by the government. Furthermore,

the government has an obligation to preserve these languages. Section 36 also states that local and indigenous languages are considered part of Indonesian culture.

The campaign to promote the Indonesian language in all formal and academic environments also took place in Aceh. As mentioned previously, Bahasa Indonesia is used as the instructional language in schools, in courtrooms, and also at official events by speakers in the Province (see also Yusuf, 2013, p.1). Teachers have been encouraged to use Bahasa Indonesia, instead of Acehnese, in their classrooms. During formal speeches Acehnese expressions are only inserted for emphasis or for humour. As a result, people view Bahasa Indonesia as the formal language compared to Acehnese; thus children have less access to Acehnese at school.

As a result of the mass introduction and role of the Indonesian language in the Acehnese speaking community, people have borrowed many words from the national language. This has had a phonological impact on Acehnese, for example, the typical Acehnese /s/, which sounds like the dental fricative [θ], now tends to be realised as the alveolar fricative [s], particularly among younger people who live in urban areas. In addition, Alamsyah et al. (2011) found that the typical Acehnese family prefers Bahasa Indonesia to Acehnese at home. There are many factors which have influenced their switch to Bahasa Indonesia, rather than Acehnese; for example, by speaking Bahasa Indonesia to children at home, it will help them to understand their lessons at school. Besides, Bahasa Indonesia 'neutralises' different dialects within the Acehnese language (Alamsyah et al., 2011, p. 39). It is therefore inevitable that people of North and

West Aceh will be in contact with Bahasa Indonesia; however, they still speak Acehnese of their own variety every day.

1.5 Acehnese language distribution

Acehnese is the most widely spoken language in the Province of Aceh, although Bahasa Indonesia is gaining ground and will likely eclipse the use of Acehnese soon. The majority of Acehnese speakers live in coastal areas of northern Sumatra, but they have also spread along the outer southern, western, and northern coastal fringes of Aceh. Akbar et al. (1985) suggest that Acehnese is the mother tongue of about 71% of the population.

Dialect differences and language distribution usually occur as a result of the spreading or migration of speakers. A long standing principle of historical linguistics is that the region which was home to the ancestral form of a language can typically be traced by identifying the area with the greatest diversity (Sapir, 1916). Hay et al. (2008, p. 96) also note that “countries that have been settled for a longer time tend to have more regional variation among their speakers than do newer countries.” They give the example of the variations of English that can be found in England, where settlement and population have existed for a long time, in comparison to language differences in New Zealand. These authors argue that the differences in English pronunciation can be found over a “relatively short distance” (p. 96).

Durie (1985, p. 4) also notes that the difference in dialects in the Greater Aceh and *Lamnoe* areas “differ even between neighbouring villages; over greater distance the differences can be so much as to make communication difficult”. I suggest that the Acehnese homeland is Greater Aceh. It spreads to the south and

the east, and from there along the coastline. The rationale for my suggestion is that the variation within Acehnese spoken in this area is very high, as within just a few kilometres people speak and pronounce some words differently. Starting from here, the language spread throughout Aceh. Notably, there is much less regional variation in the Acehnese which is spoken on the northern and western coast of Aceh.

In addition, based on the survey conducted by Yusuf et al. (2012, p. 1), there are 104 Acehnese descendants in Kampung Aceh in Malaysia. Most of them still speak Acehnese to their children and they proudly identify as true Acehnese. According to Yunisrina Yusuf (personal communication, July 19, 2012), the Acehnese people in Kampung Aceh use a dialect which is influenced by Kedah dialect, and this dialect has certain sounds that are akin to the Greater Aceh dialect (e.g. the production of uvular fricative [ʁ]).

Within the four different dialects of the Acehnese language, the process of borrowing and adding is also taking place. Some stigmatised West Acehnese speakers try to borrow words which are more accepted, less confusing, and more polite to avoid ridicule by friends or other listeners. As a result, speakers will gradually introduce and keep using these ‘standard’ words and in turn they become new loanwords in the dialect. West Acehnese seems to have borrowed from the North Acehnese dialect and Bahasa Indonesia to replace some terms that are more appropriately used in the public domain, for example the use of *kantong* ‘pocket’ instead of *ipôk* which sounds rude to people of North Acehnese. Even though West Acehnese has less exposure to Bahasa Indonesia, compared with North Acehnese, it seems that it is more aggressive in the adaptation of Indonesian loanwords.

1.6 Acehese dialects

Arka (2008, p. 67) claims that the number of Acehese speakers is 2.4 million. As mentioned above, apart from within the Province of Aceh, Acehese is also spoken by those of Acehese descent who have lived in *Kampung Aceh* (Village of Aceh) in Yan district in Kedah, Malaysia (Yusuf et al., 2012, p. 1). According to Panyot Ceulot (2007), as quoted by Yusuf et al. (2012, p. 1), the Acehese who migrated to Malaysia have lived in the village since the late 1880s, largely due to economic hardship and political issues in Aceh.

From a study of Snouck Hurgronje (1892), Durie (1985, p. 4) suggests that Acehese consists of several dialects. According to Durie, the work of Snouck was based on the dialect of Acehese spoken near Banda Aceh. Durie also remarks that Snouck's 1892 article was "rich in dialect variants" of Acehese around Banda Aceh and coastal areas (p. 4).

Cowan (1981) divides Acehese into four main dialects: *banda* or Lowlands (*Baroh*) language, Upper Country (*Tunong*), Pidie/Pase, and Daya. This division at least provides a picture of dialect distribution in the region. However, Cowan does not offer any further explanation. From his work, it would seem that the Upper Country (*Tunong*) dialect may refer to the Acehese spoken in the west and south of the province because *Tunong* in Acehese means 'South'. Cowan also mentions Daya, which he separates from the Lowlands (*Baroh*) dialect. Daya, is believed to be spoken in Lhoong, a valley between Mount *Kulu* and Mount *Geurutée*, whereas Acehese spoken in Lamnoe is much closer to the *Baroh* dialect, which is similar to that spoken in Greater Aceh or Banda Aceh. Lhoong is geographically separated by Mount *Kulu* or Mount *Paroe* to the north

towards Greater Aceh. Meanwhile, Lamnoe is south of Lhoong and separated by Mount *Geurutée*.

Ali et al. (1983) claims that the Acehnese language is divided into several geographical dialects: Greater Aceh, Pidie, Peusangan, Pasai, East Timur, and West Aceh. They also consider Peusangan and Pasai, spoken in North Aceh, as separate dialects. Akbar et al. (1985), on the other hand, include the dialects of Peusangan, Pasai, and East Aceh in the North Aceh dialect because they have similar characteristics. Ali and his colleagues also mention the Pidie and Greater Aceh dialects, but not the West Aceh dialect.

Surprisingly, however, Akbar et al. (1985) suggested three dialects spoken in West Aceh: Kuala Daya, Lam No (or Lamnoe), and Lam Me dialects. These dialects, according to them, are located in Jaya district, which used to be the Jaya subdistrict of the West Aceh district. In my view, these last three Acehnese dialects should belong to the Daya dialect spoken in Lamnoe. The dialects of Kuala Daya and Lam Me are merely variants of the dialect of Daya.

Following the proposals of Cowan (1981), Ali et al. (1983), and Akbar et al. (1985) on the divisions of Acehnese dialects, Asyik (1987) divides Acehnese into four dialects: Banda Aceh, Pidie, Pase, and Meulaboh. Even though the number of dialects remains the same as proposed by Cowan, there are some differences in Asyik's classifications which seem to be more straightforward and clearer. He includes *Banda* into the Greater Aceh dialect, which covers Greater Aceh, Banda Aceh and Sabang, with some 452,000 speakers. Asyik also separates the Pidie and Pase dialects into two separate dialects; Pidie, which is used in the Pidie area (about 512,000 speakers), and the Pase or North Aceh dialect, which is used in North Aceh and East Aceh (about 1,400,000 speakers).

The other dialect mentioned by Asyik (1987) is the West Aceh dialect, covering western and southern Aceh, with about 540,000 speakers. This dialect is spoken in Aceh Jaya, West Aceh, and Nagan Raya districts, as well as one pocket in South West Aceh and two pockets in South Aceh, particularly in urban areas. The number of speakers of each dialect is approximate. These figures are based on the population of areas where the four dialects are spoken, and taken from the results of the population census in 2010 (BPS, 2010). Figure 1.3 below shows the approximate distribution of four main dialects of Acehnese, as suggested by Asyik (1987), on the map of the Province of Aceh.

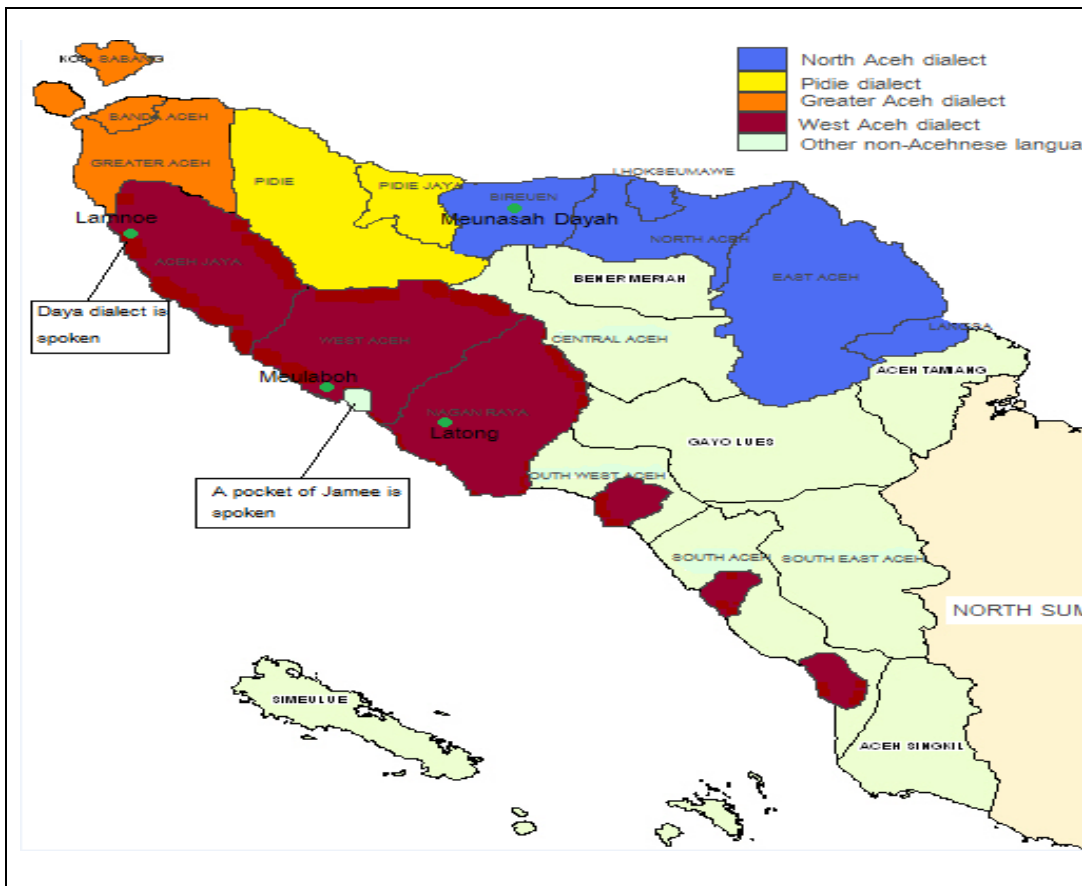


Figure 1.3 : Map showing four main Acehese dialects (modified from the original map downloaded from http://bk.menlh.go.id/?module=florafauna&opt=floraktkab&id=1#_expcol)

Asyik (1987, p. 8) suggests that the Daya dialect, which is spoken in a small area between Banda Aceh and Meulaboh, is considered as a small dialect in the West

Aceh geographic area. However, as a native speaker of the West Aceh dialect and having listened to the language of people in Lamnoe, I find that the Daya dialect is closer to the Greater Aceh variety. For example, the pronunciation of [ə] or [əa] for final /a/ which, according to Asyik (1987, p. 4), is similar to Greater Aceh dialect areas such as Banda Aceh, Ulee Lheue, Lhok Nga, Samahani and surrounding villages. I also observed that Daya is similar to the Greater Aceh dialect, especially in areas near Banda Aceh and Ulee Lheue, in regard to the consonant /r/. According to Asyik (1987, p. 4), it is pronounced as a voiced velar fricative [ɣ] here, whereas in the West Aceh dialect it is pronounced as a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ]. Therefore, based on Asyik's schema of dialect difference, I suggest Daya is closest to the Greater Aceh dialect.

The differences across dialects occur mainly in, among other things, aspects of the phonological system, grammatical rules and lexical distinctions. The four major dialects of Acehnese have their own unique and interesting characteristics, primarily lexicon and phonology. Al-Harbi (2002) notes that the pronunciation system and vocabulary dissimilarity have served as obvious and salient distinctions in Acehnese dialects. It can be seen, for example, in the use of *keh* in the North Aceh dialect, *balum* in the Pidie/Greater Aceh dialect, and *ipôk* in the West Aceh dialect for 'pocket'.

These differences have fundamentally resulted from geographic separation, rather than social boundaries in relation to internal community matters. In other words, in the Acehnese context, people do not use certain types of language as a result of their social status or authority in the community. There is no evidence to suggest that educated, rich, and/or elite people use a certain variant of language, while uneducated, poor people use a significantly different variant. It

therefore suggests that each speech community uses its own geographical variations regardless of class.

There may be some factors that enhance these differences in Acehnese. Borrowing from other main languages seems to have resulted in such differences. In addition, a shared linguistic boundary with another language or languages may also have changed some linguistic features across dialects, for example, the influence of Jamee language intonation on the West Aceh dialect. It is worth mentioning here that within these four dialects, each has its own variants which are usually referred to as sub-dialects. According to the people of North Aceh, the North Aceh dialect, for example, has a variant spoken in Peusangan, which some regard as the 'Peusangan dialect'. However, according to Asyik (personal communication, July 23, 2010) this differs only slightly from the North Aceh dialect. These distinctions can be seen in just some lexical items.

Acehnese spoken in Greater Aceh or Daya (currently *Lamnoe*) has a uvular, or, in some parts, velar, 'r'. The West Aceh dialect has a similar uvular fricative [ʁ] which in the North Aceh dialect corresponds with the alveolar trill [r]. The uvular fricative [ʁ] found in Greater Aceh and West Aceh is also evident in Malay variations spoken in Perlis, Kedah, Penang, and Perak (Omar, 1977). Further study may be needed on the correlation between the uvular fricative [ʁ] in the Greater and West Aceh dialects and in Malay, in order to determine the source of the uvular 'r' in Acehnese.

With the various characteristics of each Acehnese dialect, people can generally identify the dialect background of an Acehnese speaker when they listen to the language variation he/she uses. Towards certain speakers of different dialects, the Acehnese people have different reactions and opinions. Speakers of Pidie and

North Aceh dialects, for example, react unfavourably towards the dialects of West and Greater Aceh. Similarly, the West and Greater Acehnese speakers usually switch totally to the North dialect when they communicate with people who they believe are not from their dialect background.

From the four main Acehnese dialects discussed above, two constitute the focus of this study: North and West Acehnese. North and West Acehnese dialects are mutually understood, except for some confusion about the different lexical items, to be discussed in Chapter 5. The selection of North and West Acehnese participants as focus groups for this study is based on some considerations, including the fact that it has been easier to access published references and resources for the North Aceh dialect. Works and studies on North Acehnese can be used for comparison with the West Aceh dialect, which is my own dialect. This comparative study is easier to conduct due to my comprehensive understanding of West Acehnese as a native speaker of this dialect. The geographical boundaries are obvious: the North Aceh dialect is spoken on the north coast while the West Aceh dialect is spoken on the west coast. These dialects are separated by vast mountainous areas with no direct access to either district. The main access to West Aceh from North Aceh is along the coast via Banda Aceh. To explore these differences is therefore very useful.

Even though cultural norms and social values are not that different in these two speech communities, North Acehnese speakers usually feel that the Acehnese that is spoken by their counterparts in West Aceh is *kasar* 'rough'. This is because the use of some words or pronouns is viewed by North Acehnese speakers as vulgar or 'inappropriate' (see Chapter 5 for this discussion). This vulgarity and inappropriateness has caused the West Aceh dialect to become

stigmatised. On the other hand, the speakers of West Acehnese feel that the North Aceh dialect is *halus* ‘refined’, meaning that the use of words, intonation, and the way they talk sounds ‘nice’ and ‘polite’. These values have shaped the opinion of people in Aceh, including West Acehnese, that the Northnese Aceh dialect is a good and ‘standard’ Acehnese. North Acehnese speakers make fun of the West Acehnese pronunciation of ‘r’ as a uvular fricative [ʁ] because, according to them, it sounds ‘funny’ and not ‘regular’ or ‘normal’. This view can be understood in that they may not be familiar with this rhotic realisation because it is not found in their dialect or in Bahasa Indonesia.

In respect of the pronunciation of the uvular fricative ‘r’ in West Acehnese which is regarded as stigmatised by the speakers of the North Acehnese dialect, there are no issues of social class. There is no relationship between the behaviour of Acehnese people with such phonological variables and the class of speaker. In the West Acehnese dialect, this phonological feature is used by any level of social class, both in urban and rural areas. The stigmatised status results from attitudes held towards regional varieties rather than social class distinctions.

The people of West Aceh usually refer to speakers and the dialect of North Aceh as *ureung* or *bahasa blah deh*, ‘people or dialect of the other side’, meaning the northern region. The people of North Aceh, on the other hand, refer to West Acehnese as *ureung blah deh Geurutée*, ‘people of the other side of the *Geurutée* Mountain’. The *Geurutée* Mountain is located on the main road separating the border of the Greater Aceh area and the western Aceh area. The West Acehnese people are stereotyped by the North Acehnese as people who practise black magic, while the North Acehnese people are stereotyped by the West Acehnese as people of rebellion.

1.7 Other local languages in the Province of Aceh

Apart from Acehnese as the main vernacular language, the province has other local languages. However, the exact number of other local languages spoken in Aceh remains unclear. The identification of local languages in Aceh has been confusing. Some languages are totally ignored, while in other cases several different labels have been applied to the same language. For example, Esser (1951, p. 1) and Voorhoeve (1955, p. 5), as quoted in *Inilah Bahasa-Bahasa di Aceh*, written by a team at *Balai Bahasa* of Banda Aceh (BBBA, 2012), mention four different vernacular languages that can be found in Aceh. Even though three have been mentioned with the same name, they seem to have different opinions about the fourth language. Esser mentions Acehnese, Gayo, Alas, and Semalur, while Voorhoeve suggests Acehnese, Gayo, Simalur, and Sikhule (BBBA, 2012, p. 4). It is not clear whether Voorhoeve's 'Sikhule' refers to the Sigulai language, spoken in Sinabang Island or Singkel, spoken in southern Aceh. However, I have confirmed that Alas and Sikhule are two completely different languages.

There are 11 ethnic groups in the Provinsi of Aceh, each representing a different language: Acehnese, Gayo, Alas, Tamiang, Singkel, Aneuk Jamee, Kluet, Pulau (Islands), Jawa (Java), Batak, and mixed Acehnese and Aneuk Jamee (BBBA, 2012, p. 5). Batak language and Javanese are spoken by transmigrants (BBBA, 2012, p. 5). Hasan, however, has not included two languages—Devayan and Sigulai, spoken on Simeulue Island (BBBA, 2012, p. 5).

On the other hand, Akbar et al. (1985) identify 10 vernaculars spoken in the Provinsi of Aceh: Acehnese, Gayo, Alas, Singkel, Kluet, Pulau (Islands), Javanese, Batak, Devayan, and Sigulai. Akbar et al. (1985) did not separate the

Tamiang language and Aneuk Jamee language, considering that they were originally from the same root of Malay. These languages have each been influenced by their different neighbouring languages, so they seemed not to be the same language anymore. However, when I asked some people from those two different language backgrounds about this, they said that they could not communicate with each other like speakers from different dialects do. People from Aneuk Jamee language background, for example, did not understand when they heard people from Tamiang speaking in their language and vice versa. This suggests that even though these two languages came from the same root of the Malay language family, they have since become two separate languages.

Asyik (1987) and Djunaidi (2004) also suggest that Aneuk Jamee is a separate language from Tamiang. They say that these two languages are included in a different local language spoken in the Province of Aceh. According to Asyik (1987), the languages spoken in this province were Acehnese, Tamiang, Aneuk Jamee, Gayo, Alas, Kluet, and Simeulu (pp. 2-3). Djunaidi (2004) however identifies ten different languages spoken in the Province. He agrees with that proposed by Asyik (1987), but Djunaidi adds Devayan, Sigulai, Julu, and Haloban languages and did not mention Simeulu. I suggest that this omission is because, to the best of Djunaidi's knowledge, the languages spoken on Simeulu Island were in fact not Simeulu language, but instead were Devayan and Sigulai. However, Asyik (1987) may have missed this detail, due to the lack of information about languages spoken on this remote island at that time.

The most recent proposal by Santoso (2012) regarding the number of languages spoken in the Province of Aceh is eight in total. However, he did not list or elaborate on these languages. In *Inilah Bahasa-Bahasa di Aceh* (2012), where

Santoso was Head of the Office, it is stated that based on their survey using the dialectometric method; by combining the differences in terms of phonological and lexical aspects, they came to the conclusion that there are seven different languages spoken in the Province. These include: Acehese, Javanese, Minang, Batak, Devayan, Sigulai, and Gayo (Santoso, 2012, p. 21). It is important to note, however, that in general the other languages spoken in Aceh are different from the Acehese language. This means that the Acehese are not able to communicate with speakers of other languages, and vice versa. Acehese speakers sometimes refer to Devayan or Sigulai as ‘bird’ languages because they do not understand them.

Based on these findings and explanations above, I believe that in addition to Acehese, there are at least nine other different languages spoken and used in the Province of Aceh. Further research, however, is clearly required on this. Unlike Acehese, which is widespread across the province, other languages are spoken exclusively in localised regions. The map in Figure 1.4 below shows the locations of these nine languages, other than Acehese, spoken in the Province of Aceh. These languages are only used by people in the areas indicated in the map. Elsewhere, Acehese is used exclusively. In most cases, the majority only speak these languages plus some Bahasa Indonesia, not Acehese. In places where the language boundaries between Acehese and the other nine languages are shared, the Acehese people may or may not be familiar with the local language. Likewise, native speakers of local languages do not always understand the Acehese. In the communication across ethnic groups where those local languages are spoken and in Banda Aceh, where many speakers of different language backgrounds meet, Bahasa Indonesia is now generally used.



Figure 1.4 : Map showing distribution of non-Acehnese languages in Aceh

Out of all these local languages spoken in the Province of Aceh, there is only one language that seems to have played a notable role in influencing the Acehnese language and that is Jamee. Bahasa Jamee or *Aneuk Jamee* is a language spoken in Tapaktuan, South Aceh. Bahasa Jamee in this region encroaches on Acehnese “linguistic territory”. This Minangkabau-related language is spoken by people whose ancestors came from Padang, West Sumatra (Cowan, 1981). Bahasa Jamee is also spoken by some people in Peunaga or Meureubo areas, located approximately 5-6 kms from Meulaboh, the capital city of West Aceh. When people from this linguistic background meet the people from Padang, West Sumatra, they can communicate well.

Team *Balai Bahasa* Banda Aceh in BBBA (2012, p. 32) mention there are about 60,000 speakers of Bahasa Jamee. According to the information published by the Information and Communication of Culture and Tourism Office of Southwest Aceh District (BBBA, 2012, p. 32), the ancestors of these people historically

came from the *Minang* ethnic group in West Sumatra. They fled their homeland and migrated to the western coast of the Province of Aceh. This took place in the seventeenth century and was triggered by the *Paderi* civil war in Minangkabau, West Sumatra from 1805 to 1836. Their coming to the west coast of Aceh was welcomed by the native people because they shared the same faith as the local community - Islam. They lived and assimilated with the local people who referred to them respectfully as '*Jamee* guests.' They have maintained their identity by passing on their language from one generation to the next and this language is still used by the recent offspring of Minang in Aceh. During my research, I observed that parents in the various pockets of *Jamee* communities still speaking this language to their children.

1.8 Significance of the study

Among the works on the Acehnese language, there has not been any publication which thoroughly and comprehensively focuses on a dialect comparison of Acehnese, despite some researchers having identified dialectal differences. According to Durie (1985, p. 4), the study of Acehnese dialects was suggested by Snouck Hurgronje in 1892, which implicitly indicates he was aware of, and gave some consideration to, different dialects in the Province of Aceh at that time.

As mentioned earlier, Asyik (1987) introduces these different dialects with some examples from respective areas where they were spoken. But this is a brief explanation and description, as his research focused on the grammar of Acehnese sentences, based on the North Aceh dialect, of which he is a native speaker. In this study, I choose two of the four main dialects based on Asyik's (1987) classification.

It should be mentioned here that a team from Syiah Kuala University embarked on such research in the 1980s, but failed, as there was a lack of sufficient expertise in the field, an insufficient budget, and not enough time (Durie, 1985, p. 5). In 1985, mapping of the use of Acehese and its dialects in the Province of Aceh was undertaken (Akbar et al., 1985), but again it did not cover all aspects of dialectology. Akbar et al. (1985) drew the conclusion that different dialect characteristics are mainly based on phonological distinctions. Even though the study gave examples of lexical variation and syntax, most of these examples focused on sound differences. The study, however, is a good supplementary resource for my study as it has mapped the different dialect regions, regardless of the limitations mentioned in section 1.6. Thus, in order to comprehend and understand the spread of Acehese, as suggested recently by Thurgood (2007), there is an urgent need for comprehensive and thorough research on the state and degree of diversity of language in Acehese-speaking regions.

Asyik conducted comprehensive research on Acehese morphology (1972), Acehese phonology (1978) and Acehese grammar (1987), focusing on the dialect of North Aceh. Durie has published many valuable works on the Acehese language, for example, his complete, comprehensive analysis of Acehese grammar (1985). Durie (1985, pp. 6-7) focuses on the North Aceh dialect which, according to him, became the standard Acehese variety because it is “the most uniform and numerous in speakers” and has “prestige and importance”. This dialect, Durie argues, is seen as the *haloh* ‘refined’ Acehese, which uses the polite pronoun form *droe* ‘you’. Durie (1985, p. 7) also argues that the North Aceh dialect is “syntactically the most complex”. The works of Asyik and Durie have been very useful and have served as primary sources for

this study; I have used their analyses and findings for the comparative study with the West Aceh dialect.

The works on Acehese lexica written in Dutch are not significant in this study, because there are no particular dialect backgrounds mentioned. The Dutch works include *Lijst van atjehsche Woorden* ‘The Acehese wordlist’ by J. Dias (1879); *Maleisch-Hollandsch-Atjehsche Woordenlijst* ‘Malay-Dutch-Acehnese Dictionary’ by P. Arriens (1880); *Woordenboek der Atjehsche taal* ‘Dictionary of Acehese’ (Acehnese-Dutch), which is in Arabic script, written by K. H. van Langen (1889); *Atjehsch handwoordenboek* ‘Basic Dictionary of Acehese’ (in Acehese-Dutch) by J. Kreemer (1931); and *Atjehsch-Nederlandsch woordenboek* ‘Acehnese-Dutch Dictionary’ by Husein Djajadiningrat (1934).

The more recent lexical publications include the dictionary of Bakar et al. (2001) *Kamus Aceh-Indonesia* and the thesaurus of Daud & Durie (1999) *Kamus basa Acèh = Kamus bahasa Aceh = Acehese-Indonesian-English thesaurus*. Bakar et al. (2001) mentioned notes on some variations of lexical items based on different dialects, but they did not specify which dialects those words belong to in the dictionary. Daud & Durie’s (1999) work is based on lexical items drawn primarily from the Banda Aceh and North Aceh dialects, as Daud is from Greater Aceh where the Banda Aceh dialect is used, whilst Durie speaks the North Aceh dialect fluently.

This thesis lays the ground work for a comprehensive study of West Acehese parallel to that already undertaken of North Acehese. Since no work has previously been conducted on West Acehese, the present study may lead to future research and contribute to the study of other aspects of dialect difference.

1.9 Research questions and aims/objectives of the study

1.9.1 Research questions

There are three main research questions, as follows:

1. What linguistic subsystems and items (lexical items, semantics, phonetic variants, and intonation patterns) serve to differentiate North Acehese and West Acehese dialects?
2. What attitudes do speakers of North Acehese and West Acehese have towards the two dialects and their speakers?
3. What makes West Acehese a stigmatised dialect?

1.9.2 Aims/objectives of the study

There are seven aims/objectives, as follows:

1. To make a list of different lexical items used in North Acehese and West Acehese dialects.
2. To draw comparisons between different uses of the lexical items of the different dialects.
3. To identify phonetic differences and compare the phonological systems across the two dialects.
4. To state the different intonation patterns of North Acehese and West Acehese dialects.
5. To look at the interactive behaviour of the speakers from the different dialects when they meet and talk with each other.

6. To identify other linguistic subsystems that serve to differentiate the different dialects.
7. To investigate the relative prestige, usage, and attitudes towards the various dialects.

1.10 Organisation of the study

Chapter 1 has discussed the origin and background of Acehnese people and society. The history of the Province of Aceh has also been included in relation to an overview of the spread of dialects and their differences. The contact of Acehnese with other languages has been outlined, along with the nature of Acehnese society and the social settings in which different dialects are spoken. Scholarly works and other research relevant to this study have been included in this chapter and the research questions and aims/ objectives of the study have also been identified.

In Chapter 2, the following theoretical frameworks will be discussed: Dialectology, Language Attitudes, Accommodation Theory, and Language Stratification and Diglossia.

Chapter 3 presents the research methodology used in this study. This includes a selection on research participants or respondents, the research instrument and research sites. The matched guise test technique is discussed in detail in this chapter, as it outlines the data collection and processing.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6 present the findings of the research data and the discussions accordingly. In Chapter 4, the dialect difference in the form of phonology includes the sound system, syllable structure, and phonetic aspects of the two dialects under discussion. Chapter 5 addresses the lexical differences found in

the two Acehese dialects. In Chapter 6, the reasons why code-switching occurs in Aceh plus the attitudes of Acehese speakers toward mainstream and stigmatised dialects are elaborated.

Chapter 7 concludes the comprehensive study of West Acehese as a stigmatised dialect. This chapter also includes the limitations of the study and recommendations for further research and policy in the future.

1.11 Summary

This chapter has outlined preliminary information on the Province of Aceh, its people and socioeconomic settings, as well as other local languages spoken in the region besides Acehese. The questions formulated for this research and the aims/objectives of the study have been presented. Finally, it outlines the organisation of the study. The following chapter will review the literature to support the theoretical frameworks for this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This literature review focuses on sociolinguistic aspects of the study, with the literature on Acehnese being covered in the previous chapter. Aspects of dialectology pertinent to the recognition/awareness of dialect difference, sociolinguistic or dialect identity, and the social construction and perception of dialect status (i.e. prestige, high/low, stigmatised, etc.) are discussed in this chapter. The other phenomena described in this chapter are diglossia and code-switching. The theoretical positions on attitudes of speakers, including the stereotyping of attitudes towards other varieties within a speech community, are also investigated.

2.2 Dialectology

The study of dialect or dialectology is based on the fact that there are and will always be differences in language usage between speakers of the same language (Francis, 1983, p. 1). When groups of language speakers are separated, geographically or socially, separate language varieties evolve. These ways of speaking may be shaped by their contact with other languages or arise partly in response to environment or may come about by internal change, among other factors. The emergence of dialects has been recognised ever since language has been observed (Wolfram, 1998, p. 1). In other words, language variation occurred long before human beings became aware of language studies. Acehnese has also branched into several different varieties which include North Acehnese and West Acehnese, the latter being the focus of this study. These two dialects

are readily mutually intelligible and, as their names suggest, they have arisen in different geographical regions of the province.

There has never been a language that is fixed without any variation whatsoever; at least every language has experienced change internally (Akmajian, Demers, Farmer, & Harnish, 2010, p. 273). Only languages with few speakers or limited geographical spread may show less or little internal variation. Thus different aspects of language can appear within the speech of a small group of speakers or a much broader group, for example, within a generation of speakers. On the level of groups of speakers of the same language, the differences may take place in the form of pronunciation, word choice, semantics, morphology, or the different usage of syntactic structure. When language use is different between one group of speakers of the same language and other users, those speakers are usually referred to as speaking a dialect of that language (Akmajian et al., 2010, p. 273).

The identification of people through dialect can be seen in a story of regional dialect observation, recorded more than three thousand years ago when the Ephraimites tried to cross the border to flee their country because of war. The Gileadites were fighting the Ephraimites along the border of Jordan. The Ephraimites tried to fool the Gileadite border security guards by pretending that they were Gileadites. It was hard to differentiate, from the look of the people, whether they were friends or enemies. However, the Gileadite guards used a classic way of recognising people through the way they spoke. When the guards asked them whether they were Ephraimites or not, and they replied no, they were asked to pronounce *shibboleth* which means ‘an ear of corn’ in Hebrew. The Ephraimite people could not differentiate between *sh* and *s*. As a result, they

were not able to pronounce *shibboleth* correctly in the Gileadite tongue and instead would say *sibboleth*. After figuring out that they had lied, the guards killed them. The story is recorded in Judges 12: 5-6, New Jewish Bible (see Chambers & Trudgill, 2004, p. 13; Wolfram, 1998, p. 1 for more discussion).

This story of the Ephraimites has been repeated in the Acehnese context during the civil war in the province in the 1980s and 1990s. During that time, some groups of Acehnese in the north, who the central government called ‘separatists’, fought for independence from Indonesia. It was, however, relatively secure and peaceful in other parts of the Province of Aceh, especially on the western coast. To maintain peace in the region and prevent the separatist group from entering West Aceh, people were encouraged to report any stranger coming into their neighbourhood. I heard that there were some strangers who were caught by community members and handed over to the police. These strangers were allegedly of the separatist group because the West Acehnese people found that they spoke Acehnese with the alveolar trill [r], which is a characteristic of the dialects of Acehnese spoken in Pidie and North Aceh. The West Acehnese people readily identify a person as coming from these areas solely on the basis of their use of trilled [r] in place of the West Acehnese uvular [ʁ], without needing any other differentiating dialect markers. Presumably this is because most Acehnese from Pidie and North Aceh are not able to produce the uvular [ʁ].

The regional basis of most dialect differentiation has inspired dialectologists to work intensively on “the geographical boundaries of the distribution of a particular linguistic feature by drawing a line on a map” (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 136). A line that marks the extent of regional distribution of a linguistic feature

is referred to as an *isogloss*. Different types of word pronunciations, lexical choice, syntactic constructions, phonetic and phonemic variations, and morphological structures are the most common linguistic features that are marked by isoglosses (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004). Dialect boundary lines or isoglosses may be used to locate the starting points of some linguistic features and how they diffuse from one place (a *focal area*) into other nearby locations (Wardhaugh, 2006).

The transition of linguistic features occurs across the isogloss boundary, between one dialect and the other, may vary in nature. Chambers and Trudgill (2004, pp. 104-105) suggest that there are both abrupt and gradual transition areas. In abrupt transition areas, the variation of dialects across the isogloss boundaries is clearly and sharply defined. This, however, is uncommon. Chambers and Trudgill (2004, p. 105) claim that most dialectologists have agreed that speech variation amongst community in the isogloss boundaries is “gradual, not abrupt”. The boundary used to determine different regional dialects is sometimes delineated by natural geographical objects such as a river and/or mountain. A political boundary may also be marked as a separated dialect line.

A dialect study carried out on New Zealand English (Hay et al., 2008) has been an inspiration for my study of West Acehnese. Even though there is no connection between New Zealand English and Acehnese, some of linguistic features of English spoken in New Zealand serve as good examples for the dialect distinction in the Acehnese language. There are some specific characteristics or markers of New Zealand English that are ‘very obvious to listeners’ of other Englishes (Hay et al., 2008, p. 47). This is also the case with the West Aceh dialect of Acehnese compared to the North Aceh dialect. The

salient differences between English language spoken in New Zealand and other dialects of English occur in phonetics and phonology, morphosyntax and lexical items (Hay et al., 2008). The Acehese varieties spoken in North Aceh and West Aceh have also been observed to be significantly different in some aspects of phonology, but especially in relation to certain lexical items and their semantic interpretations, whilst morphosyntax appears to be relatively unimportant.

The separation of dialects in Aceh results from a much greater time depth than New Zealand English. Hay et al. (2008, p. 4) suggest that around 2,000 Europeans settled in New Zealand in 1839. Based on the evidence of my ancestors' graves and family tree, it is confirmed that I am at least the seventh generation of my family to have lived in Nagan Raya, a West Acehese dialect area. It means that the Acehese settled here at least 500 years ago (see Section 1.3 for detail of the first Acehese settlement). In addition, West Aceh has been quite isolated until recently, so that interaction with the people of North Aceh was rare. This may have contributed to the differences between North and West Aceh dialects. The transportation system connecting the north and west of the Province of Aceh did not improve until the 1990s when the government had started to develop better infrastructures such as bridges and roads. People who wanted to travel to or from West Aceh found it very difficult at that time because road conditions were poor. At the same time communication technology was not sufficiently widespread or effective to facilitate communication between the north and the west.

Furthermore, Hay et al. (2008) report that speakers of New Zealand English have experienced some issues in communicating with English speakers of other countries, such as Americans, British, and even Australians, mostly as a result of

phonological change in the New Zealand English vowel system. Hay et al. (2008, p. 14) note that Australians sometimes like to ridicule speakers of New Zealand English by drawing attention to the New Zealand pronunciation *fish* [fi:] for *fish* [fi:], for instance. They also mention the difficulty that occurs in communication between New Zealand English speakers and other English speakers. An example is a case of misunderstanding involving a doctor from New Zealand who asked an Australian patient if he was better. The doctor was confused because of the negative reply, and the patient was surprised that the doctor had asked him if he was feeling *bitter*, until both realised there had been confusion between the words *better* and *bitter* (p. 14).

These communication difficulties are similar to those experienced by speakers of North and West Acehnese in my study. In this context, speakers from both dialects also have difficulties and misunderstandings in terms of different sounds and lexical items. This will be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

Many studies of regional dialects have also been conducted in Indonesia. The study of geographical dialects in Indonesia can be traced back to when Andries Teeuw (1958) began his language project in Sasak, Lombok (Zulaeha, 2010, p. 28). Teeuw actually conducted his first study on geographical dialects in 1951 (Hardjatno et al., 1995, p. 15). However, for two decades after this first recorded comprehensive study, the research on geographical dialects progressed slowly until Bernd Nothofer's (1975) studies on the dialects of Sundanese 1975 (Zulaeha, 2010, p. 28). Later on, Nothofer (1980; 1981) studied geographical dialects in West Java and Central Java as well as publishing a language map (Zulaeha, 2010, p. 28).

Ayatrohaedi (1978) also worked on Sundanese language dialects in Cirebon. According to Zulaeha (2010), while Ayatrohaedi was carrying out his research on the Sundanese, Grijns (1991) was conducting research on Malay dialects in Jakarta, but Grijns' study was not published until 1991. There was also a dialect study on the Balinese language carried out by I. Wayan Bawa in 1983 (Ayatrohaedi, 2002, p. 17). Suparman Herusantosa (1987) conducted research on a dialect of Javanese called *Bahasa Using* in Banyuwangi and Julianus Akun Danie (1991) worked on the dialect of North East Minahasa in 1987 and 1991 respectively (Ayatrohaedi, 2002, p. 17). Studies of Sundanese, Javanese, and Malay in Tangerang District, West Java were carried out by Multamia Lauder (1993) (Zulaeha, 2010, p. 28). In addition, Ayatrohaedi (2002, pp. 17-18) mentions other works on language mapping in Indonesia, such as Jantera Kawi (1977, 1993) who conducted research on the Dayak language of Borneo, and Mahsun (1994) whose research was on the geographical dialect of Sumbawa language.

The dialectologist, Ayatrohaedi, and the training provided by *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa*, have significantly contributed to the development of geographical dialect studies in Indonesia (Hardjatno et al., 1995, p. 15). Lauder (2007, p. 48) notes there were 140 dialect studies carried out by linguists and researchers in Indonesia from 1951 to 2007; however, only 41 of these studies have been published. Most were conducted on the languages of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, Sulawesi, and Nusa Tenggara. Only one dialect study was carried out in Papua (Lauder, 2007, pp. 48-53). Lauder also says that the 140 dialect studies that have been conducted in Indonesia only cover 30 distinct languages, just some 4% of Indonesia's 742 different local languages (based on the data from SIL International Indonesia Branch, 2006 as quoted by Lauder (2007)).

Inspired by other geographical dialect studies conducted in other parts of Indonesia, and with the effort and assistance of *Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa* mentioned above, one geographical dialect study was conducted by Akbar et al. (1985) in Aceh. That study focuses on the mapping of Acehnese, Gayo language, and Alas language; however, it has put a basic analysis and boundary of Acehnese geographical dialect study in place.

2.2.1 Social dialect

Speech communities are made up of a range of different groups. Even though people live in the same area and share similar values, there are always different social and class structures in the community. No society is free of social differences and these differences tend to influence the way we use language. Some people of a particular socioeconomic class often communicate using a “distinct form of language” (Akmajian et al., 2010, p. 274). The study of dialect and its variations, therefore, has been expanded beyond geography to take into account these social dimensions.

The social dimensions of language use may relate to factors such as personal belongings or ownership, status, etc (Meyerhoff, 2011). In this respect, sociolinguists usually take into account, among other things: level of education, income, ownership of property and occupations or professions held. Religion is perhaps the most important indication of social status in Aceh; this parameter is generally used by the Acehnese people, who are mostly Muslim, to determine whether someone has a respected status in society. As a majority Muslim community, the Acehnese people believe that when people are learned in religion and profoundly devoted to Islam, they usually become good husbands

and wives, they behave appropriately in public, and always stay on the right path regarding level of education, financial status, and professional occupation.

The reliability and validity of occupation as the main parameter of socioeconomic class have been a concern of Meyerhoff (2011, p. 159). She suggests that the measurement of social class should not be limited to home belongings, or ownership or occupations; these need to be combined with objective and subjective factors such as “personal wealth and value of home” and “people’s aspirations to social mobility, or their friendship networks” (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 159). It suggests that the social status of an individual should not only be arrived at based on material factors but that additional non-material aspects should be taken into account.

A new approach by dialectologists has developed since the 1960s. Dialect studies have evolved from focusing exclusively on regional differences in rural areas, with limited numbers of respondents and variables involved, to more extensive comparative studies between social classes within a particular community (e.g. Labov, 1966; Trudgill, 1974b). Phonological and morphological variables are usually found in speech communities with different social backgrounds. These differences can be reflected in patterns of linguistic behaviour. In Labov’s (1966) study, for example, there is a relationship between the presence and absence of the post vocalic ‘r’ and social class membership within New York City’s English-speaking community. His study found that upper middle-class people tended to pronounce the post vocalic ‘r’ more often, whereas speakers from lower classes did not.

2.2.2 Dialect and social identity

While we may be able to identify the place of origin and social status of a speaker through our knowledge of regional and social dialects, there is more that is happening in this process. African American English (AAE), for example, is “viewed by some as illogical speech, and even those who do not deny that it is systematic agree that it has no place in certain employment and educational contexts” (Green, 2002, p. 217). However, by using this variety a speaker may be asserting ethnic pride (Fromkin et al., 2011, p. 447).

The use of AAE, mostly by black Americans, does not mean that the speakers are not able to communicate in mainstream English. They are mostly encouraged by their environment to learn Standard American English (SAE) and become bidialectal, because the “AAE linguistic system has no validity as a legitimate communicative system in a society in which the language of power is mainstream English” (Green, 2002, p. 226). Therefore, speakers of AAE usually switch their language to suit the context of a particular social situation (Fromkin et al., 2011, p. 447). Becoming a bidialectal speaker of AAE and SAE gives African American speakers the opportunity to maintain their own language variety within their community and to affirm their identity sociolinguistically. In addition, they can adapt their speech to converse using the standard variety when required, without any difficulty.

Some people usually regard one variety as preferable and ‘better’ than other varieties. This can be illustrated in the use of the *-ing* form in English. As one of the variations of English, *-ing* in the final position of words such as ‘going, coming, drawing’, etc. is pronounced [ɪn] and [ɪŋ]. Some speakers of English prefer the variant [ɪŋ] rather than [ɪn], because they believe that it corresponds

better with the written representation of word-final <-ing> (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 161). The use of the [ɪn] form usually reflects a certain social identity, which is categorised as lower class, even though the use of [-ɪn] was prestigious in British English around 1900. The pronunciation of *-ing* has in fact been oscillating for years. Decades ago, the variants [ɪŋ] and [ɪn] were regarded as completely ‘free variants’. Speakers of English were mostly able to shift between the use of these two variants freely and without difficulty, without really paying attention to these shifts (Burling, 1970, p. 95). Of course this is only half the story, as most speakers of English still move between the two variants, even those who think the [-ɪn] variant is sub-standard.

Some groups of people feel pride in using their own language or dialect in order to show their identity. The term *historicity* is used for this behaviour of people who derive ‘a sense of identity’ through the use of a particular language variety (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 38). The sense of identity and belonging to a specific group or community through similar language usage is different to other bonds. People may feel more comfortable within their own groups of people who have similar backgrounds and relationships, and this feeling grows stronger when they are able to communicate by using the same language or language variant (Wardhaugh, 2006). The speakers of the West Aceh dialect have shown that they possess *historicity*. If they live in a non-West Aceh dialect area, such as Banda Aceh, the capital of the Province of Aceh, they generally use the North Aceh dialect. However, when they meet people who are speakers of the same dialect background, they revert to their original dialect. This behaviour may also be driven by a sense of loyalty that members of a certain speech community have towards their language variety, as discussed in section 2.2.3 below.

Regardless of being, feeling, or belonging to one's own group in society, a speaker of a dialect or language is generally aware of the diversity of speakers in a speech community. When there are many languages or dialects spoken in certain places, a speaker usually leans toward the use of an appropriate language variety when communicating with other interlocutors. In this case, someone may consider whether s/he wants to be a member of the ingroup or outgroup. Being accepted in one social group depends, to a large extent, on being able to use the language of the group. Within a speech community where people are using two or more languages or varieties, speakers should be able to figure out “who uses what, when, and for what purpose” in order to show that they are “socially competent” (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 96). Speakers of West Aceh demonstrate the capacity to adapt their communicative strategy by using the North Aceh dialect in Aceh society.

2.2.3 Uvular ‘r’ as a dialect marker (Aceh versus Europe)

Uvular ‘r’ is the most salient phonological feature identifying West Aceh as a stigmatised dialect by North Aceh speakers. Uvular ‘r’ is also a salient phonological feature in several European languages, where different attitudes are associated with its use. Section 2.2.3 discusses the diffusion of the uvular ‘r’ in Europe and the difference in attitudes of speakers, in contrast to attitudes that Acehese speakers hold towards the uvular ‘r’ of the West Aceh dialect.

Chambers & Trudgill (2004, p. 170) state that “one linguistic feature that has undergone a remarkable degree of geographical diffusion across language frontiers is the European uvular /r/”. There had originally been a regular alveolar trill [r] or flap [ɾ] consonant in all languages spoken in Europe, however a uvular [ʀ] emerged in Parisian French, pronounced as [ʁ]. It is believed that the

diffusion of uvular 'r' in Europe was originally sourced from French (see for example Chambers & Trudgill, 2004, p. 170; Trudgill, 1983). The diffusion began in Paris in the 1600s, then spread to other parts of France and later other parts of Europe (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004, p. 170). The uvular pronunciation of the phoneme /r/ has become standard in French, German and Danish, and in some varieties of Dutch, Swedish and Norwegian. Chambers & Trudgill (2004, p. 170) note that this Parisian French 'r' had arrived in Copenhagen and Sweden by 1780 and 1890 respectively. The pronunciation of the uvular [r] in Sweden occurred for about four decades until the 1930s, when it was replaced by the alveolar [r] in some phonological environments, for example, when in the final position of a word.

From Chambers & Trudgill's (2004, p. 170) maps, it is evident that the development and distribution of the uvular /r/ in Europe began in Paris and continued for about three centuries. They showed that its spread had been static in some parts, but there was a particular area of north-western Europe where the diffusion was still active, even after more than three hundred years. For example, the numbers of speakers pronouncing the uvular /r/ in southern and western areas of Norway increased throughout the twentieth century. And further, it can be seen from these maps that the uvular /r/ distribution had spread gradually in most parts of France and surrounding countries such as Belgium, Switzerland and south-western Germany (pp. 170-171).

The pronunciation of the uvular /r/ in Europe can also be found among some speakers of Italian, in some variants of Oslo Norwegian, North Frisian, in the north-east of England, and in parts of North Wales (Trudgill, 1974a, p. 221). However, the diffusion of the uvular /r/ did not only occur in Europe. According

to Trudgill (1974a, p. 221), the distribution of the uvular /r/ also occurs in some varieties of Afrikaans and Canadian French.

The uvular /r/ in Europe has been a feature of prestigious standardised variation, both in educated and non-educated speech. In other parts of the world, the uvular /r/ has also been commonly used, even though it has no upper class status associations, as has generally been the case in Europe. In Southeast Asia, for example, the uvular /r/ is found in some dialects of Malay, spoken on the Malay Peninsula in Perlis, Kedah, Penang, and Perak (see Omar, 1977; 1985). In addition to some of the Malay dialects in Malaysia, the uvular /r/ also exists in other languages including some varieties of Acehnese. The presence and absence of the uvular /r/ in Acehnese dialects is discussed in more detail in Chapter 4.

2.2.4 Standard and non-standard dialects

An official language of a nation may be derived from a standard dialect. Siegel (2010, p. 4) suggests that, given the features that a standard dialect has, it is generally referred to as a national dialect and spoken by the upper or middle class people of the country in question. In addition, he notes that standard dialect can also be used in a more ‘neutral’ context where many speakers of different dialect backgrounds can accept it (Siegel, 2010, p. 4). Therefore, the standard variety is usually chosen as the formal language of a country.

Of the four different main dialects of Acehnese spoken in the Province of Aceh, the North Acehnese is considered to be the neutral, general, and standard dialect because it is commonly used for public speaking and in formal venues. It is the North Aceh variety, for example, that is often heard in radio broadcasts, especially for news-reading on the official Republic of Indonesia radio station in

Banda Aceh. The local television station, Aceh TV, generally uses the standard dialect of North Aceh when broadcasters read the news in Acehnese.

Although North Acehnese has achieved this ‘standard’ status as a spoken language, it is not yet recognised as the written ‘standard’ of Acehnese. A criteria of the standard spoken language is that it may represent a formal written communication, which later on can be standardised in the form of dictionaries or grammar books (Siegel, 2010, p. 4). However, no Acehnese dialect has as yet been standardised in written form. There are some stories or folk stories (*hikayat*) written in the Acehnese language using the old Indonesian spelling system (see for example Syeh Rih (1958); Zainuddin (1960)) which shows inconsistent spelling of Acehnese words. Recently, it is very difficult to find literary works such as novels or stories, written in Acehnese. There are, however, some Acehnese who express their ideas in the Acehnese language on personal blogs such as Seumateh (2013). Again, he does not write vowels with diacritics in his writing to differentiate meanings. Some books and dictionaries on Acehnese exist. They are mostly written in English, and based on the North Aceh dialect; however, this dialect has not yet been determined as standard Acehnese, officially sanctioned by the Acehnese government.

The attitudes toward standard and nonstandard dialects mostly occur as a result of sociopolitical factors. Akmajian et al. (2010, p. 281) suggest that there is no single dialect which is inherently “more correct, better, or more logical than any other dialect of the language”. All dialects are equally valid and if ideas can be expressed in one dialect, they can also be done similarly in another (Akmajian et al., 2010, p. 281). However, the variations of language or dialect, considered as either standard or nonstandard, are evident in daily usage, regardless of

particular written rules of standard grammar. Montgomery (1995, p. 76), for example, states that the markers of standard and nonstandard variation of a language can be found in the use of pronouns, different forms of negation (not applicable to Acehnese dialect differences), and other linguistic aspects.

Regarding the Acehnese linguistic situation, linguists (see for example Durie, 1985; Asyik, 1987) suggest that North Acehnese is the ‘standard’ Acehnese language, a notion that is shared among North and West Acehnese people. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

2.3 Language attitudes

Ajzen (2005, p. 3) defines attitude as combining feeling and judgement. In regard to attitudes towards language, people usually do not only judge the language as a medium, they also evaluate the users of the language. Such attitudes are often expressed towards the language itself, the speakers or their ethnicity (Klerk & Bosch, 1994, p. 50). The attitudes towards a language may be based around spelling, grammar, lexical items, pronunciation or accent, as well as the speed with which someone speaks (Garrett, 2011, p. 2), and listeners can respond in immediate reflex ways to particular linguistic features, quickly evoking particular attitudes, judgements and connection or disconnection with the speaker.

The attitudes of people towards language usage are usually based on whether the status of the variant is high or low. When a sub-group of a speech community thinks it is higher in status it tends to believe that its language variety is superior, and therefore they feel favourable and positive towards it. There are, of course, other factors that may influence peoples’ attitudes towards language difference,

such as the country of origin of speakers, sociopolitical relationships between countries, and the reasons for speakers coming and staying in the destination country (Szecsy, 2008, p. 45). These factors will contribute to the attitude of people towards certain language varieties.

Studies of language attitudes have mainly explored the occurrence of stigmatisation of linguistic minorities (Giles & Billings, 2004). There are generally two theories, which approach the basic concept of attitudes quite differently: the mentalist view and the behaviourist view. In the mentalist point of view, the attitude is taken to be a disposition of an individual. Fasold (1984, p. 147) states that a “person’s attitude, in this [mentalist] view, prepares her to react to a given stimulus in one way rather than in another”.

Because the mentalist view establishes attitudes based on the accounts of subjects, rather than inferring attitude from observation of behaviour, this approach can be difficult to apply rigorously (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, p. 138). Agheyisi & Fishman (1970) note that even though this view has been criticised for its methodological problems, its followers have claimed that it has an advantage in that attitudes are independent variables which are not influenced by outside factors that may affect the responses (p. 138). This means that the judgements expressed by people about attitudes are based on what they feel and believe, without being influenced by other people. Such judgements may be valued as original and neutral.

In contrast to the *mentalist* approach, the *behaviourist* point of view argues that attitudes towards language are constructed solely through people agreeing on certain observations in the context of social situations (Fasold, 1984, p. 148). According to Fasold, this approach to be preferred because it does not need

“self-reports or indirect inferences”; rather, a researcher only needs to do some observations, tabulation and analysis of behaviour of the speakers (1984, p. 148). By carrying out this observation, the researcher will (at least to some extent) be able to answer the question of why people react in certain ways towards a language variety. Agheyisi & Fishman (1970, p. 138) argue that the *behaviourist* approach does not have difficulties in analysing data because attitudes are observable. However, Agheyisi & Fishman (1970, p. 138) continue by saying that this approach is usually criticised due to the implication that the attitude in question is considered a dependent variable. A combination of mentalist and behaviourist methods is used in this thesis in order to explore the attitudes of speakers of Acehnese towards the dialects of North and West Aceh.

As mentioned above, besides the attitudes towards a different language variety, people usually also pass judgment on the users or speakers of the language. Garrett (2011, p. 32) notes that “cognitive processes in language attitudes are likely to be shaped by the individual and collective functions arising from stereotyping in relations between social groups.”

When someone hears a low status or stigmatised language variety, he/she is likely not only to pass negative judgment on the language, but also on the the speakers. Szecsy (2008) argues that peoples’ attitudes towards a certain language may also lead to attitudes about the speakers if negatively regarded. However, it is often difficult to decide whether attitudes towards people also affect attitudes towards language variations; level of education and other social factors may also contribute to triggering attitudes about language. In a survey conducted by Smitherman & Villanueva (2000), as quoted by Szecsy (2008, p. 47), the authors found a correlation between the level of education and other social factors to

positive or negative attitudes towards language varieties. Szecsy (2008) argues that peoples' attitudes towards language are parallel to their attitudes towards speakers. Thus, if people have negative opinions about a certain language or language variety, they will feel the same towards its speakers (Szecsy, p. 47). It suggests that the judgmental feeling cannot be separated from the language, nor from its users.

When a group of people maintains that their language variety is superior, they may begin to stigmatise other languages and speakers. The idea gradually gains currency in society that some linguistic varieties and their speakers are superior or inferior. Some people will treat each other with disdain or admiration (Garrett, 2011), depending on the status of their language in that speech community. Speakers of West Acehnese are stigmatised by North Acehnese speakers. The majority of North Acehnese people regard the West Aceh dialect as *kasar* 'rough', impolite, and inferior, and therefore judge its speakers negatively, stereotyping them as 'crude'. The notions of *halus* 'refined' and *kasar* 'rough' are commonly used in Indonesian society when people are asked to give their opinion towards a certain language or language variety.

Regarding intergroup communication, Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey (1990, p. 314) quotes Ryan et al. (1984) and Giles & Ryan (1982) in proposing 'language-preference profits'. Based on this intergroup language preference model, there are four phenomena that relate to attitudes of the speakers. These are elaborated in more detail by Gudykunst & Ting-Toomey (1990, pp. 314-315) as follows:

1. *Profile A* involves a preference within both groups for the dominant group (this profile is subdivided into (A1), where the subordinate group's preference for the dominant group is due to 'self-hate', and (A2), where the subordinate group attributes its status to its 'negatively valued' group membership).

2. *Profile B* involves a preference for the dominant group in terms of status, but a preference for the ingroup in terms of solidarity.
3. *Profile C* involves situations where there is equal status between the groups, with an ingroup preference.
4. *Profile D* involves a preference for the dominant group in terms of status, but a solidarity preference for the subordinate group.

From the four profiles mentioned above, it seems that the language attitude phenomena observed in the Acehnese context, regarding attitudes of speakers of the West Aceh dialect towards those of the North Aceh dialect, falls under the *Profile B* category. It suggests that speakers of West Acehnese prefer to code-switch into North Acehnese in certain spheres because this is the dominant dialect and is regarded as *halus* ‘refined’ and ‘standard’. However, West Aceh speakers prefer to use their own variety of dialect within their own social grouping to show their solidarity, even though their dialect is stigmatised.

2.3.1 Stigmatised dialect

Stigmatised languages or dialects are often associated with marginalised minorities and lower socioeconomic groups. In the United States of America, for example, almost all the dialects spoken in some regions of the country have experienced stigma (Fromkin et al., 2011, p. 443). In many cases, it is a non-standard dialect that is stigmatised because people may think that such language is merely a corrupted form of the standard language (Siegel, 1999, p. 701). Some examples of stigmatised English dialects are working-class English, Appalachian hillbilly talk in the United States, African American English (AAE), and Hawai'i Creole English (Siegel, 1999, p. 701).

The northern Acehnese people also stigmatise the West Aceh dialect and make fun of it. Features that provoke laughter include the realisation of uvular /r/ and

distinctively different intonation patterns, in addition to other linguistic features (see the discussion in Chapter 4). The use of some words or terms in West Acehese that sound *kasar* ‘rough’ and unacceptable to North Acehese speakers has contributed to prevailing attitudes and opinions that this dialect is a ‘corrupted variety’ of Acehese. Non-West Acehese people sometimes feel embarrassed when they are asked to say words or terms from West Acehese that sound similar to crude or vulgar words in their dialect.

When some people listen to speakers of low prestige varieties, they promptly form conclusions about the personality of these speakers, and associate them with certain stereotypes such as ‘uneducated’, ‘impolite’, etc. Giles and Coupland (1991, p. 58) argue that it is very easy and quick for someone to “stereotype others’ personal and social attributes on the basis of language cues and in ways that appear to have crucial effects on important social decisions made about them.”

However, it raises a concern in the study of language attitudes. Even though the speakers maintain such stereotypes, they may consciously modulate their responses when surveyed because they generally do not wish to give negative judgements as a result of social constraints (Campbell-Kibler, 2010, p. 378). This concern may be ameliorated by applying, among other things, the matched guise technique (Lambert et al., 1960), so that a researcher will get authentic responses from subjects who may be self-conscious about their direct answers and evaluations (Campbell-Kibler, 2010, p. 378).

2.3.2 The matched guise technique

The matched guise technique was first introduced in the 1960s by Lambert et al. (1960) in investigating the attitudes of people towards particular language

varieties and their speakers. Lambert (1967) briefly elaborates the procedure of the test. The participants in the study listen to audio recordings of the same passage being read in different languages or language varieties and are then asked to rate selected personal attributes of the narrators. The test is constructed so that participants believe that each reading of the passage is done by different narrators. However, the readings of the target language varieties are in fact done by the same person. Differences in participants' character assessments of the narrators of the target varieties can then be interpreted as arising from stereotypical assumptions about the character of speakers of those varieties (Edwards, 2009, p. 89).

In matched guise testing, the participants are referred to as 'judges' and the different language varieties spoken by the one narrator are referred to as 'guises'.

The matched guise test can be applied in order to find out the "social characteristics" attributed to a speaker based on the usage of language, dialect, or linguistic variables (Drager, 2014, p. 61). This test is similar to someone receiving a phone call from a stranger or listening to a broadcaster on the radio (Lambert, 1967). The listener typically tries to form a mental image of this person based on the voice that he/she hears and the linguistic features that the person uses.

Respondents to the test are asked to rate the characteristics of the speaker of each voice recording. By listening to recordings of the guise speaker, the respondents describe the stereotypical associations of the speaker's particular ways of speaking with particular sets of personal attributes. If the respondents to the matched guise test provide different evaluations of the same speaker in

different guises reading the passage, language variations will then have been responsible for the differing personal judgements.

The matched guise test has since been used to look at the attitudes of people towards certain English accents and dialects in the United Kingdom (see Giles, 1970). In the study in South Wales and South-west England, Giles (1970) administered the matched guise to 177 secondary school students. The study used recordings of what appeared to be different voices reading the same passage in 13 different foreign and regional accents, except these voices were actually the same person. Students were told to evaluate each speaker for the accent the speaker used, the personality of the speakers, and their social status. The students were given a seven-point semantic differential scale to evaluate the speakers. The results show that the students regarded French and North American accents as relatively prestigious accents, higher than any accents spoken in the UK. It also shows that town and industrial accents were the least prestigious. Received Pronunciation (RP) English received strong positive judgment in the study. Cavallaro & Chin (2009, p. 144) mention that based on the matched guise studies conducted in the UK, RP English is generally rated at the top followed by other national accents such standard Scottish, Welsh, and Irish and then the rural accents (Yorkshire, Devon, Lancashire). The lowest value is accredited to urban accents such as Scouse, Brummie, and Cockney.

Beal (2006, p. 30) notes that studies conducted using the matched guise method showed very consistent results for the standard variety of British English, which is known as Received Pronunciation (RP). RP always received a positive evaluation for personality traits such as intelligence, whereas the “regional

accented guises scored higher for features such as friendliness and honesty” (Beal, 2006, p. 30).

Lawson & Sachdev (2000, p. 1347) note that the matched guise method has been used widely to investigate language attitudes. The investigations have been conducted in comparing the attitudes towards English dialects in English speaking countries, one language to the another, and regional language variations (see Garrett, 2011), for example, as in the studies of the Australian English accent in Australia (Ball, 1983), New Zealand English and other language varieties in New Zealand (Huygens & Vaughan, 1983), the investigation of attitudes towards Received Pronunciation (RP) English and standard American English in the USA (Stewart et al., 1985) and Aboriginal English (Sapinski, 1998).

In Arabic speaking countries, the matched guise technique has been used in Egypt and Morocco. El-dash & Tucker (1975) investigated the language attitudes of people in Egypt towards Classical Arabic, Colloquial Arabic, Egyptian English, British English and American English. In their study, El-dash & Tucker (1975) found that Classical Arabic speakers were highly rated for intelligence, religiousness, and likeability. The good leadership characteristics were favourably associated with the speakers of Classical Arabic and Egyptian English. Overall, the results showed that Classical Arabic and Egyptian English were ranked as high status varieties, followed by American English, British English, and Colloquial Arabic.

In Morocco, Bentahila (1983) used the matched guise test to investigate attitudes towards Arabic, French, and Arabic-French code-switching speakers. Bentahila (1983) found that French guise speakers were rated more favourably than

Moroccan Arabic guise speakers. The results of the test showed that French guises were mostly regarded higher in prestige, along with other characteristics, such as being modern, intelligent, important, educated, sociable, etc. Respondents judged Arabic guises favourably in religiousness and honesty. The Arabic-French guises, however, were all judged very negatively.

In the Asian context, McKenzie (2008) also uses the matched guise test in looking at the attitudes of Japanese students in Japan towards English. Anderbeck (2010) uses the technique in investigating language attitudes in Sumatra, Indonesia towards Jambi Malay and Bahasa Indonesia.

Studies using the matched guise technique have shown that the dominant language group generally receives a greater number of positive responses on dimensions such as intelligence, success, wealth, etc. The non-dominant language group is judged positively regarding friendliness, trustworthiness, etc. (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). Many studies on language attitudes using the matched guise test show that respondents who were non-standard speakers judged the guise speaker whose accent was similar to them as being more friendly, reliable, good-natured, humorous, generous, and talkative rather than the guise of the standard variety (see Cheyne, 1970; Giles, 1971). In other studies, it is found that the matched guise test respondents highly rated the guise speakers using standard dialects or varieties in the competence and status parameters; however, in terms of the personal integrity and social attractiveness parameters they rated the guise speakers with non-standard dialects or accents more favourably (see Edwards, 1977; Edwards & Jacobsen, 1987; Giles, 1973b; Lambert et al., 1960). Furthermore, there are other studies, such as Giles (1970; 1971; Hiraga, 2005), showing that standard English speakers were rated higher

in terms of intelligence and work, but lower in the solidarity and friendship aspects. In a study measuring the perceptions of African American students towards Black English (BE), Standard English (SE), and Code-Switching (CS), Doss & Gross (1994) found that the speaker of SE was rated more favourably than BE and CS speakers.

In a language attitude investigation between Singapore Colloquial English (SCE) and Singapore Standard English (SSE) in Singapore, Cavallaro & Chin (2009) found that out of all eight personality traits (fluent English, hardworking, ambitious, intelligent, confident, kind, friendly, and honest), only the honesty trait was rated equally for both SSE and SCE. The other seven traits were rated higher in SSE than in SCE. According to Cavallaro & Chin (2009), except for other six traits, the results for solidarity component (friendly and honest) were not as expected. They expect that these two personality traits were rated more favourably for SCE. Based on these unexpected results, they argue that the attitudes of people in Singapore towards the traits “do not follow the established trend” (Cavallaro & Chin, 2009, p. 151).

As identified by Garrett (2011, p. 57). The main advantage of the matched guise test is that it can neatly and rigorously reveal the private attitudes of people. In addition, the relative contribution of factors such as prestige, social attractiveness and dynamism can be established through the matched guise test, so that it will contribute to “our sociolinguistic understanding of language variation” (Garrett, 2011, p. 57). As an indirect method, the use of the matched guise technique can be a valuable addition to more direct methods in obtaining an in-depth understanding of language attitudes (Agheysi & Fishman, 1970). Such important information is sometimes very difficult to ascertain from certain speech

communities when they are asked directly about their attitudes towards a language variety (Milroy & Milroy, 1985, p. 368). In the Asian context, the indirect method should be considered an appropriate technique. Anderbeck (2010, p. 19) states that in Asian cultures asking people directly to evaluate other people is “not valued culturally”. This may suggest that, in Asian cultures and countries including Indonesia, the asking of direct questions is not likely to lead to accurate results, as people tend to colour their answers for the sake of politeness. People may generally be reluctant to give direct value judgements on other people, especially in more or less controlled or monitored situations.

On the other hand, there are also some controversies regarding this technique. The repeated reading of a passage in the recordings “may exaggerate the language variations and make them much more salient than they would normally be outside the experimental environment” (Garrett, 2011, p. 57). It is, Garrett (2011) continues, a matter of the respondents’ perception towards the investigated variables (e.g. a non-standard accent may be regarded as ‘bad grammar’) and their capability of identifying the background of the voice in recordings based on the perception of researchers (Garrett, 2011, p. 58). Details of the administration and method of the matched guise technique are discussed in Chapter 3, whereas the discussion of the results, which was conducted in Aceh, is presented in Chapter 6.

2.3.3 Language maintenance and shift

In some speech communities where one language variety is powerful and dominant, the majority of people speak this dominant language variety, which is generally used in official and business interactions. This language is usually considered appropriate for use in the *domains of necessity*, which are used in

important aspects of community living including in the neighbourhood, at school, and in the workplace (Edwards, 2012, pp. 91-92). Meanwhile another language variety, the traditional language spoken by, for example, immigrants, is sometimes not accorded much value; thus, parents or the older generations may tend not to pass on their language to their children. Maintaining the language that is in the domain of voluntary, sporadic, or idiosyncratic speech is not of concern or considered overly important (Edwards, 2012, p. 92). The pressure of mainstream language in such a speech community may threaten less robust languages and put them in an endangered situation, as discussed in section 2.7 below.

There are at least two responses that people may have in facing the pressure of prestigious or powerful language varieties over stigmatised languages or dialects. Some maintain the use of their language, while others may shift to a more dominant language. Linguists tend to refer to these responses as ‘language maintenance’ and ‘language shift’ respectively, the terms pioneered by Joshua Fishman (Mesthrie, 2001a, p. 492). Language shifts occur when a speech community learns and adopts a new language as the main language; meanwhile the maintenance of native language “in the face of competition from a regionally and socially more powerful or numerically stronger language” suffers (Mesthrie, 2001b, p. 493). According to Fishman (2009, p. 32), language maintenance and shift deals with a change or instability of language in its habitual use when speakers of different languages are in contact with each other, resulting in one of two consequences: either their psychological and social or cultural processes are maintained or they are shifted.

Speakers of a speech community either shift or maintain their language depending on psychological, social and cultural factors within an intergroup relationship, which is influenced by the setting of language contact (Fishman, 2009). In a study of descendents of non-English-speaking immigrants in the United States, Fishman (1966) found that some slowly shifted to English, causing the younger generations to start speaking English both in public domains and in their own speech community. However, some ethnic groups, such as the Jews and Hispanic groups, tried to slow this shift and maintain their languages. Schmid (2001, pp. 86-88) quotes Portes & Rumbaut (1996) on two conclusions towards language loyalty of Latino and other immigrant groups. Firstly those who had just arrived in the United States showed strong loyalty to their own language, regardless of their educational background and age. Secondly, “there is a strong eroding effect of native language retention over time” (Schmid, 2001, p. 88) which may lead to the next generations of such a community making less effort to maintain their language.

According to Edwards (2012, p. 91), family plays a very significant role in maintaining language, because when parents transfer the language to their younger generation it is maintained at some level; but if parents do not pass the *linguistic torch*, the language may die out. In most cases, however, it is not so simple. Speakers may want to adjust their speech/language in certain situations and contexts, in order to get a job or to be accepted in a society, for example. In this regard, Mesthrie (2001a, p. 492) argues that “language loyalties may underpin maintenance efforts but are in some circumstances also outcomes of the maintenance-shift dialect. Speakers readjust loyalties according to changing power dynamics of the linguistic market.”

The eroding process from language maintenance to language shift may take several generations, or it may be very sudden (see, for example, the case of the Kaurna community in South Australia, discussed in section 2.7 below.) In the intergenerational shift model introduced by Grosjean (1982), first generation speakers are mostly monolingual, speaking their mother tongue. Second generation speakers are bilingual in their first language and the dominant language spoken in society. And finally, third generation speakers usually become monolingual and speak the dominant language. According to Edwards (2012, p. 79), “short of unethical and draconian intervention, or of voluntary social segregation”, language shift cannot be avoided; and therefore the second or third generation of speakers may not be able to maintain their bilingualism.

Some factors that affect language maintenance and shift include social aspects, attitudes of groups of people in society, the use of languages in community, and language policy regulated by government (Grosjean, 1982). Fishman (1972, p. 96) argues that language maintenance does not necessarily function as a symbol of “group membership or group loyalty, particularly nationalism”. For example, evidence from ethnic groups in Venezuela shows that there is no parallel between vernacular language and group belonging in that particular society, instead property plays the most significant role in group belonging. Based on such evidence, Fishman (1972, p. 97), paraphrasing Hoffman (1934), states:

Language maintenance may depend most on nationalist ideologies in populations whose lives have otherwise been greatly dislocated and it may also depend least on such ideologies in those populations that have best preserved their total social context against the winds of change.

Fishman (1972, p. 97) believes that speech communities who live in urban areas or cities tend to shift their language more rapidly compared with communities

who occupy rural areas which are “more conservative and more isolated”. However, the prestige status of a certain language or language variety does not mean that it will necessarily be maintained or speakers will shift to this language (Fishman, 1972, p. 99). The meaning of the term ‘prestige’ still invites different arguments; a less prestigious or low status language may displace a prestigious language, such as the dialect of Low German in East Prussia that displaced Lithuanian, even though most people already spoke Standard German (Fishman, 1972, p. 99). Another case is Dhuwaya, stigmatised Australian koine, which is replacing the clan languages of Yirrkala (Amery, 1993). It suggests that the language maintenance and language shift phenomena may be different from one situation to the next, and that the attitudes of children and adolescents play a crucial part in these phenomena.

The Acehnese context in this study has its own uniqueness. The speakers of the stigmatised dialect of West Acehnese still maintain their own language variety but shift into the mainstream dialect of North Aceh, or even into Bahasa Indonesia in certain situations in order to accommodate the style of speech of their interlocutors. The detailed discussion of the phenomenon in the Acehnese context is presented in Chapter 5. This accommodation may exert pressure on the speakers of West Acehnese to shift their dialect over time. In addition, the younger generation of West Aceh dialect background speakers living in Banda Aceh tend to speak Bahasa Indonesia at home.

2.4 Accommodation theory

People may vary their speech when interacting with a speaker of a different language variety by adopting certain features of that variety. This is referred to as ‘speech accommodation’ (Giles, 1973a) or ‘communication accommodation’

(Giles et al., 1987 as cited in Giles et al. (1991, p. 7)). In the beginning, accommodation theory was used as a ‘socio-psychological’ model of styles of speech, before other experts across disciplines of language and communication came to use it in an interdisciplinary and integrated way, referring to relational aspects of communication and associated interaction (Giles et al., 1991, p. 2).

Accommodation can serve to minimise the perceived difference between speakers from various communities. Wardhaugh (2006, p. 114) argues that the practice of speech accommodation is used by certain individuals or groups of people who want to fit into a particular speech community, as they attempt to appear as though they are part of that community. Giles et al. (1991) point out there are many different languages where the convergence, in terms of ‘temporal, phonological, or language-switching dimensions’, has been reported as a strategy; for example, the convergence between different varieties of Hungarian, Taiwanese Mandarin, Japanese, Cantonese, Thai, and so on (p. 8).

Giles et al. (1991, p. 18) identify some motives for accommodation. Firstly, accommodation reflects the needs of some people to be integrated and identify as a member of the target group, so that they will be welcomed into a foreign community. Secondly, it may help to reduce linguistic differences so that the people who practise this strategy will be recognised as members of that speech community (p. 18). By adopting the accommodation technique, interaction with a new group of speakers will be much more comfortable and may influence the way other people with higher language status think of someone who performs this strategy. Thirdly, some people may want to use this strategy of convergence because of economic and social benefits, that is, by adapting to a language variety that is seen to hold more power. An example of such a phenomenon is

given by Giles et al. (1991) referring to results from Wolfram (1973), that Puerto Ricans and African Americans in New York City believe that African American English has 'more power and prestige' compared to the language variety of Puerto Ricans. Therefore Puerto Ricans need to adopt the AAE dialect (Giles et al., 1991, p. 20) in order to show that they are part of the community.

Besides the benefits that a speaker gets when he/she practises the convergence accommodation strategy, such as the approval and cooperativeness of interlocutors, there are also some 'potential costs' which include the possibility of loss of individual and socio-cultural identity, and long-term and extensive efforts not being reciprocated (Giles et al., 1991, p. 21). Another danger of this accommodation is that the speaker gets less time to practise his/her own language variety and may gradually shift to the speech of the interlocutors.

The second strategy used in accommodating communication is called 'divergence', which is when "speakers accentuate speech and nonverbal differences between themselves and others" (Giles et al., 1991, p. 8) or, in other words, "a strategy of accentuating differences" (Garrett, 2011, p. 106). Divergence usually happens in the situation when one social group strategically tries to expose its positive value and identity in order to show that the other group is not as valued (Garrett, 2011, p. 107). According to Giles et al. (1991, p. 11), the convergence and divergence strategies may lead to a shift towards a variety considered prestigious in the community or towards less prestigious forms. They also argue that convergence does not necessary occur on all available levels (Giles et al., 1991, p. 11) of linguistic features. Because in processes of convergence and divergence the speakers try to accommodate their speech features with their interlocutors to meet conversational expectations,

social identity and native linguistic patterns of the speakers may be subjected to pressure and change.

Auer & Hinskens (2005) mention two models of the motivations of accommodation which are 'change-by-accommodation model' and 'identity-projection model'. Llamas et al. (2009, p. 384) summarise these models by noting that the change-by-accommodation model is subject to the frequency of face-to-face interaction, and the extent to which one interlocutor adapts to another participant's behaviour; meanwhile, the identity-projection model maintains that the inclusion or exclusion of particular dialect properties is grounded in the interlocutor's desire to identify or not identify with the social group in question. The identity-projection model is more relevant to the study of the phenomenon of West Aceh speakers, who adjust to the North Aceh dialect when they communicate with speakers of non-West Aceh dialect background. The attitudes of the people of West Aceh who accommodate the dialect of North Aceh, is observed as an attempt to be socially accepted, to fit in with the interlocutor group. In this regard, Llamas et al. (2009) observe that speakers try to converge or diverge with respect to speech patterns they think are typical of other participants. The speakers may converge when seeking social approval and diverge when wishing to dissociate themselves from a speaker (based on their definition of the situation in intergroup terms), or when they feel a need for 'positive ingroup identity' (intergroup definition of the interaction) (Llamas et al., 2009, p. 385).

The duration of accommodation strategy practices can be short- or long-term. Extended accommodation may take place when initially itinerant minorities or individuals live among a sedentary majority (Marshall, 2004). This means that

the people of minority or 'low-class' language variation adopt the short-term accommodation strategy when they communicate with speakers of a standardised variety in a brief conversation such as during a visit, in a public space, on public transport, etc. However, if the minority wish to stay and live within a mainstream dialect environment, they tend to accommodate their speech towards the local people over the long term as well.

2.5 Code-switching

Di Pietro (1977, p. 3) defines code-switching as "the use of more than one language by communicants in the execution of a speech act". It suggests that in the code-switching situation there are two or more language varieties in use at the same time in a single conversation (see for example Appel & Muysken, 1988; Myers-Scotton, 2006; Jake & Myers-Scotton, 2009; Garrett, 2011). Therefore, when a speaker in a single conversation alternates between two or more languages or language varieties, he/she is practising code-switching. In addition, Poplack (1987) proposes that code-switching involves sequences of multiple words that are unassimilated (lexically, syntactically, and morphologically) to the structures within the language that is being code-switched (Poplack, 1987, p. 97).

Code-switching is not only regarded as a relatively stable condition of using two languages, it also refers to switching between different dialects, styles, and registers (see, for example, Koch et al. (2001) who regard the switching between Black English (BE) and Standard English (SE) as 'code-switching'). In contrast to Poplack's view above, as long as a speaker is able to use more than one language within an utterance, regardless of the integration level between the languages, it is still referred to as code-switching (Palmer, 2009). The use of two

different registers in a conversation has also been considered as codeswitching, such as the phenomenon of teachers in a Chinese preschool using babytalk, which is usually used by adults as a *voice of authority* to their children, to their younger students in order to soften their message (Farris, 1992).

In the Acehnese context, code-switching usually occurs between the Acehnese language and Bahasa Indonesia and between some dialects of Acehnese. Code-switching sometimes occurs on the level of words and short phrases, or between sentences or paragraphs. The speakers of West Acehnese, as the stigmatised dialect, code-switch into North Acehnese when non-West Acehnese people are present. It can be observed that the code-switching practised by West Acehnese at times involves not just some words or sequences of sentences, but a complete switch to North Acehnese.

The reasons for code-switching vary, depending on the needs of speakers or the needs of the particular situations in a conversation, for example the context, speaker, and topic. McConvell (1988) suggests that in the social arena there are two reasons for code-switching. Firstly, some people tend to code-switch when they want to redefine the communicative process as belonging to a different social realm. Secondly, they try to avoid a specific definition of a social realm by means of code-switching (McConvell, 1988). Wardhaugh (2006) states that code-switching can be practised by someone because of his/her preferences as well as being a marker of identity, especially for a group of speakers who pursue shared aims and who must do so with more than one language. Wardhaugh notes that code-switching motivations of speakers include “solidarity, accommodation to listeners, choice of topic, and perceived social and cultural distance” (2006, p. 104).

In addition, Myers-Scotton (1988) proposes that code-switching has two interactional purposes: unmarked and marked choice. According to Myers-Scotton, unmarked code-switching is practised by bilingual speakers in casual situations to show the identity of the speakers. However, marked code-switching is set to “change the social distance between participants”, aimed at expressing an ‘emotional move’ (Myers-Scotton, 1988, p. 203).

Someone can always benefit from choosing a particular code, depending on the situation and the context of communication in a speech community. This code choice is helpful for individuals who want to be accepted by one targeted community (Wardhaugh, 2006). Sweetland (2002), as quoted by Wardhaugh (2006), mentions a woman from a white family background in the United States of America who used the language styles of African American English to be accepted by black community groups, as she grew up in an African American environment (Wardhaugh, 2006). It shows that code choices can be used by certain people because they want to identify as an ‘insider’ or remain an ‘outsider’.

In the context of language contact with bilingual speakers, people usually have choices about which codes they can use, depending on the interlocutors. Grosjean (1982, p. 129) calls this phenomenon *language choice* (see Figure 2.1 below for the illustration of language choice and code-switching). In the event that bilinguals speak to a monolingual, they will use the language of the interlocutor. In the Acehnese context, if the speakers know that the interlocutor is non-Acehnese and cannot speak Acehnese, they will use Bahasa Indonesia. When an Acehnese speaks to another Acehnese who also knows Bahasa

Indonesia, they will probably code-switch between Acehnese and Bahasa Indonesia.

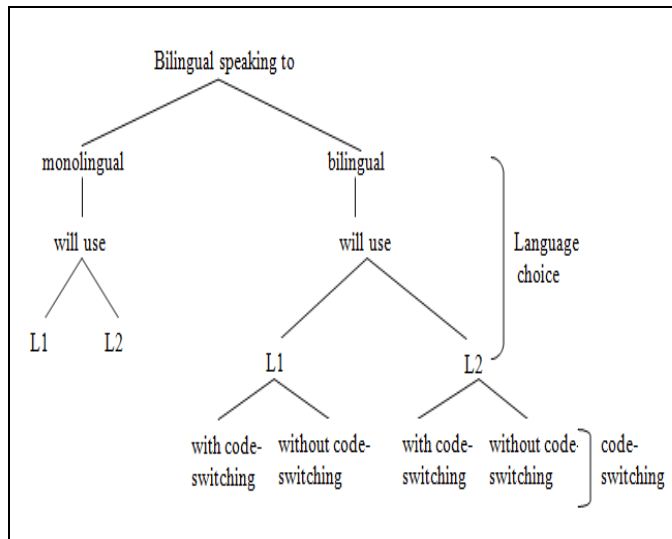


Figure 2.1 : Language choice and code-switching (Grosjean, 1982, p. 129)

Besides the language choice used by Acehnese who are the bilingual majority, speakers of the West Aceh dialect also have the ‘dialect choice’ when they communicate with people from non-West Acehnese dialect backgrounds. The choice of dialect in this context is used one-way only by the West Acehnese to code-switch to the North Acehnese dialect. The North Acehnese speakers, on the other hand, do not code-switch into West Acehnese. Therefore, it is easy to see that the code-switching in this context does not go back and forth between two dialects because there is only one group of speakers (West Acehnese) who acquire and use both the dialects. However, it is worth noting here that North Acehnese speakers do code-switch with Bahasa Indonesia.

Appel & Muysken (1988, p. 118) suggest that based on textual material, for instance narrative text, code-switching can be categorised into three types. Firstly, code-switching occurs in the form of tag-switches such as an exclamation, a question tag, etc. Hamers & Blanc (2000, p. 259) refer to the tag-

switch as “extra-sentential”. Secondly, code-switching occurs within a sentence which Appel & Muysken (1988, p. 118) call “intra-sentential” and this code-switch is often referred to as “code-mixing”. Thirdly, inter-sentential code-switching occurs between sentences. Furthermore, Grosjean (1982) classifies the code-switching phenomena at three linguistic levels: word, phrase, and sentence.

The code-switching of West Acehnese to North Acehnese, which is the concern of this research, is slightly different from the general code-switching framework. This speech community does not mix up their original codes with those of the North Aceh dialect. Instead, stigmatised dialect speakers of West Acehnese code-switch from their original dialect, and try to accommodate appropriate speech codes between these speakers and their interlocutors. West Acehnese speakers do a wholesale switch into North Acehnese, including the uvular [ɣ] sounds, intonation patterns, and vocabulary. The intention is generally to show their tolerance towards other language varieties, namely North Acehnese. In addition, such code-switching usually occurs only when speakers of West Acehnese come into contact with their North Aceh counterparts.

West Acehnese speakers code-switch or accommodate into North Acehnese in order to avoid some sensitive words or terms which are embarrassing to utter in front of North Acehnese people because of their meaning or usage. Haas (1957), as quoted by Akmajian et al. (2010, p. 304), illustrates how some speakers of different languages deal with sensitive vocabulary. American students, for example, who want to learn Brazilian Portuguese are faced with a dilemma. When they learn and pronounce a word like *faca*, which means ‘knife’, this sounds similar to the swear word ‘fucker’ in English. Akmajian et al. (2010, p. 304) also cited Haas (1957) as saying: “A Creek Indian informant avoided using

certain words of the Creek language when Whites were around. One of the words was *fakki*, meaning ‘soil, earth, clay.’”

When a conversation is taking place in a foreign environment or where a foreign speech community is present, some speakers will not use some words or terms that they know sound inappropriate or ‘offensive.’ If they cannot avoid using a particular word or term, they may say it carefully. An example discussed by Akmajian et al. (2010, p. 304), from Haas (1957), illustrates how this phenomenon can occur. Students with a Thai background try to avoid saying *phrig* publicly because it sounds like the American slang word *prick*, even though in Thai this means ‘pepper.’ As a result, Thai students generally use *lyn*, which refers to pepper, even though the real meaning is ‘phallus.’ It seems fine to use this latter word in particular contexts; for instance, when the conversation is taking place over a meal. However, the conundrum here is that *lyn* actually means the same as the word they want to avoid that sounds unpleasant to Americans within earshot (Akmajian et al., 2010).

Another measure taken by speakers with this issue involves shifting from their language variety to the mainstream one. Therefore, the confusion, misunderstanding, and loss of face in a conversation, especially in public, may be eliminated or eradicated. This is one of the reasons why the West Acehese speakers use Bahasa Indonesia, as a neutral language, or switch into North Acehese, as a mainstream dialect, in order to avoid negative reactions from their North Acehese interlocutors.

2.6 Language stratification and diglossia

The study of language stratification was pioneered by the linguist William Labov who conducted a series of sociolinguistic studies of New York City English in the 1960s. His investigation and observation of the use of consonantal [r] in postvocalic position in words such as *car*, *card*, *four*, *fourth*, etc. (Labov, 1966; 1972) is a well-known study, which suggests that the treatment of [r] among New York City speakers reveals their social stratification (i.e. whether they are upper, middle, or lower class).

Labov's study took place in three department stores representing upper class (Saks), middle class (Macy's), and lower class (S. Klein) speakers. Because Labov intended to gain data from the 'systematic sampling of casual and anonymous speech events', he considered sales people or other employees of the three department stores as representative of different social classes (Labov, 1966, p. 45). Pretending to be one of the customers, the interviewer asked natural questions of 68 people in Saks, 125 people in Macy's, and 71 people in S. Klein. The replies were expected to consist of words with [r] in a postvocalic position (e.g. fourth floor) 'in both casual and emphatic styles of speech' (p. 46).

The results of the study showed that employees or informants at Saks, regarded as upper class, most often used the postvocalic rhotic [r] compared with those who worked at S. Klein. The informants in Macy's initially produced less rhotic [r] in the casual style of speech, but then they pronounced the final [r] more clearly in emphatic style. These results suggested that the pronunciation of the clear rhotic [r] in the New York speech community was regarded as prestigious. These studies have shown that the relative frequency of certain linguistic features spoken in a community may indicate the social class of its speakers.

The studies on rhotic [r] in New York City carried out by Labov (1966, 1972) have contributed to an understanding of the Acehnese dialect phenomenon, in the sense that speakers with certain rhotic [r] are perceived as ‘non-standard’. It is observed that the North Aceh dialect, which has an alveolar [r], is more prestigious than West Acehnese usage, which has a uvular [ʁ] variety (see subsection 2.2.3 above and Chapter 6 for discussion).

Diglossia is another phenomenon that occurs in a multi-variety language environment. The term ‘diglossia’ was first introduced into the field of sociolinguistics by American sociolinguist Charles Albert Ferguson in 1959. Ferguson (1959) refers to diglossia as the existence of two varieties of the same language in the same speech community, each having its own role and function.

Ferguson’s (1959, p. 245) complete definition follows:

[Diglossia] is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any section of the community for ordinary conversation.

Ferguson (1959) selects four definitive language situations that he categorises as diglossia: Arabic, Modern Greek, Swiss German, and Haitian Creole. These languages have a ‘high’ variety (H) and ‘low’ variety (L) when they are used side by side in speech communities. In Arabic, for instance, classical Arabic is considered as a high (H), while other regional dialects and varieties are believed to be the low (L) varieties. Also, in Switzerland, speakers choose Standard German as the H variety and Swiss German as the L variety. In Haiti people

learn Standard French and use it in formal settings because this variety has the H status. In other non-formal, unofficial, and casual settings, Haitian Creole (L) is used. Katharévousa is referred to as the H variety in Greece, while Dhimotiki or Demotic is the L variety.

It can be seen that the H variety is always used in, for example, a religious sermon, letters, official speeches, academic lectures, electronic and print mass media, and poetry. The L variety, on the other hand, is commonly used when someone gives orders to servants, in a conversation amongst family members or close friends, and in operas, cartoons, and 'folk literature'.

Wardhaugh (2006, p. 90), notes that the H variety is regarded as more prestigious and powerful, meanwhile the L variety carries less prestige and power. People have strongly believed that the H variety deserves to be regarded as superior because it is "more beautiful, logical, and expressive than the L variety" (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 90). In addition, literary works are usually expressed using the H variety, and "almost none in the other" (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 90). Wardhaugh (2006, p. 91) believes that "the domains of use of the two varieties do not intersect, there will be an L word for use in L situations and an H word for use in H situations with no possibility of transferring the one to the other". However, Wardhaugh's claim that the literary works are mostly expressed in the H variety in a diglossic situation cannot be always used as a parameter. Amery (1993) refers to diglossia in use at Yirrkala in north-eastern Arnhemland. The traditional clan languages serve as H varieties, even though they do not have a literary tradition, whilst the new Koine Dhuwaya serves as the L variety, used alongside a range of H varieties. Amery refers to this

situation as “diglossia turned on its head” (Amery, 1985, p. 135) as there is just one L variety, but numerous H varieties; the opposite of the Arabic situation.

The formulation of diglossia has been discussed considerably since Ferguson by linguists such as John Gumperz and Joshua Fishman. Gumperz (1968 [1962]) promoted the idea that diglossia could be found not only in a society with H and L *languages*, but also in speech communities with numerous dialects wherein there is one H and one L *dialect*. Hudson (2002, p. 13) notes that Fishman has also contributed to the theory on diglossia in that his use of the concept does not only cover the usage of two different languages in a speech community, but the “theoretical integration of dialect variation, diglossia, and societal bilingualism as surface variants of the same underlying phenomenon”. Fishman’s (1967) proposal for such widening definition of diglossia to refer to two totally different languages has been based on the diglossic situation in Paraguay where most of the population in urban areas uses Spanish as the H variety and Guarani as the L variety.

It can be difficult to differentiate between the diglossic situation and bilingualism. However, Fishman (as quoted by Platt, 1977, p. 361) gives a clear-cut definition for these two linguistic phenomena, where diglossia is “a characterization of the social allocation of functions to different languages and varieties”, whereas bilingualism is “essentially a characterization of *individual* linguistic versatility”. Ferguson (1991, p. 222) remarks:

If we assume that there are two basic dimensions of variation in language, dialect variation correlating with the place of the speaker in the community and register variation correlating with occasions of use, then the H and L varieties of diglossias are register variants, not dialect variants.

In regard to the polyglossic situation in Singapore, the majority of Singaporeans, especially educated Chinese and Indian descendants, shifted their ‘native’ language usage into English in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Platt, 1977, p. 363). For these ethnic groups, Platt (1977) found that the availability of ‘speech repertoire’ was, from the highest variety, English, followed by Chinese or Indian variants, and finally Bazaar Malay. The latter was considered a low (L) variety, however, the former two native variants were considered high (H) varieties besides English, because these varieties were used in religious affairs by both of these groups (p. 363).

Table 2.1 : Speech varieties/domains of ‘English-educated’ Singapore Chinese (Adopted from Platt, 1977)

Domain	Speech variety
Family	Mainly ‘native’ southern Chinese dialect with mother. ‘Native’ southern Chinese dialects of colloquial SE3 with father. Mainly colloquial SE with siblings.
Friendship	‘Native’ southern Chinese dialect. Other southern Chinese dialect(s). Colloquial SE.
Religion: Christian	Mainly formal SE3 - some Chinese dialects.
Buddhist, Taoist	Mainly ‘native’ Chinese dialect.
Education	Mainly formal SE and Mandarin. Some colloquial SE.
Employment (e.g. government department, business office)	Mainly formal SE, some Mandarin, some colloquial SE and some use of southern Chinese dialect(s).
Transactions	Colloquial SE. Southern Chinese dialects. Some Bazaar Malay.

As can be seen from Table 2.1 above, Mandarin and formal Singapore English are regarded as the high varieties. Meanwhile, in Malaysia, Bahasa Malaysia and formal Malaysian English hold such positions, as can be seen in Table 22 below.

Table 2.2 : Speech varieties and domains of ‘English-educated’ Malaysian Chinese (Adopted from Platt, 1977)

Domain	Speech variety
Family	‘Native’ southern Chinese dialect with mother. Mainly ‘native’ southern Chinese dialect with father and siblings; some colloquial ME with siblings.
Friendship	Mainly dominant southern Chinese dialect or other southern Chinese dialect(s); some colloquial ME.
Religion:	
Christian	Formal ME or dominant Chinese dialect.
Non-christian	Native southern Chinese dialect.
Education	Formal ME and Bahasa Malaysia. Some colloquial ME.
Employment :	
Government	Bahasa Malaysia
Private business	Formal ME, Bahasa Malaysia, colloquial ME or dominant Chinese dialect.
Transactions	Some colloquial ME. Dominant southern Chinese dialect. Bazaar Malay (Bahasa Pasar).

It can be concluded that in a diglossic situation, there are two (or more) language varieties used by the same speakers in the same place, but within different domains. The H variety is used by speakers for religion, formal situations, education and media, while the L variety is used for family, transactions in traditional markets, and in casual situations. This situation is not however found within the Acehnese language. This means that even though Acehnese people view the North Acehnese dialect as ‘standard’ and prestigious, West Acehnese

do not use or speak either H or L in different domains. Similarly, speakers of the North Aceh dialect do not use these two dialects in their speech community. West Aceh however is used in non-West Aceh areas by West Aceh speakers in homogenous groups. Meanwhile, North Aceh is used throughout Aceh by North Aceh speakers.

The diglossic situation seems to occur in the Aceh context between Bahasa Indonesia and Aceh. Bahasa Indonesia, in this regard, may be used as the H variety and the Aceh is regarded as the L variety. However, this does not reflect the instability or transient aspect of the diglossic situation in big towns such as Banda Aceh, Lhokseumawe and Langsa, where parents mostly do not speak Aceh with their children anymore. Under these circumstances, Aceh has simply undergone a shift to Bahasa Indonesia.

2.7 Language endangerment

When a language is no longer passed on to children and the number of speakers of such a language decreases, the language becomes endangered. Grenoble & Whaley (2001, p. 465) identify two basic types of endangerment. Firstly, “a measurable decline in the percentage of children who learn to speak them [native languages] over the course of two or more generations” and secondly, when the overall number of speakers of a language is very small. Edwards (2012, p. 81) remarks: “the languages and dialects most at risk have always been those that are both small and stateless, and their fate has become even more precarious in modern times”.

A decrease in the number of speakers of a language may take many decades or generations. Fromkin et al. (2011, p. 518) are of the view that in many cases languages may go through the extinction process slowly. In fact, this can take

many generations such as in the case of some American Indian minority languages. However, this is not always the case, because some languages can decline in one generation. In the case of the Kaurna language spoken in South Australia (Amery, 2000, p. 64), the decline in use and status happened in a relatively short time, no more 25 years, due to the death of the elders, the rapid demise of Kaurna culture, and family structure dissolution, as well as relocation and dispersal of speakers.

Coluzzi (2009, p. 41) identifies language or dialect endangerment in countries where governments impose “one nation, one culture, one language”. This is the case in Italy where government elites encourage the populace to speak and write in the official language, which in turn motivates local dialect speakers to shift to standard Italian. Indonesia is another concrete example of a country that imposes a national language as the ‘standard language’ and ‘symbol of unity’. As a country with thousands of islands and hundreds of different languages spread all around the archipelago, Indonesia has managed to introduce the concept of a united national language to dilute cultural diversity. In this regard, Arka (2013, p. 75) is of the view that “language management in Indonesia is politically rooted in the national motto adopted from Sanskrit *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* (Unity in Diversity)”. In the Indonesian context, this is interpreted as a monolingualist blueprint for national unity by means of Bahasa Indonesia to the exclusion of minority languages.

The role of Bahasa Indonesia as a national language, has seriously impacted vernacular languages in more formal situations and has put them under immense pressure. According to Arka (2013, p. 77) “the minority languages, with their diminishing numbers of speakers, are constantly under pressure from languages

such as Indonesian and other dominant regional languages". This situation is becoming worse because not many linguists in Indonesia are interested in researching local languages. According to Lauder (2007), of approximately 1,000 linguists in Indonesia, the majority focus their studies on the Indonesian language, rather than minority vernacular languages. A similar number of Indonesian linguists also work on teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL). This would suggest that the fate of endangered languages in Indonesia may not be well documented. Given the number of speakers (about 2.5 million people), the Acehnese language may not be under threat at present. However, if the language shift trend continues in urban areas, as discussed in section 2.3.3, combined with the ongoing campaign for national language usage, arguably Acehnese is not in a stable position. The Marori language spoken in Merauke, West Papua, for instance, is highly endangered and close to extinction with only 119 speakers left (see Arka, 2013). The Marori language is but one example of the impact of government policy in promoting one national language. Given the urgent nature of the contemporary situation, linguists should arguably shift their research orientation to local languages.

To measure the degree of endangerment of a language, Fishman (1991) introduced a measurement scale called GIDS (Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale). This scale consists of eight grades and the degree of threat is rated from a higher score (indicating that the language is maintained and passed on to younger generation insufficiently or not at all) to a lower score (implying that the disruption of the language is regarded as minor). In 2003, a group of experts from the United Nations Agency, UNESCO, released nine factors of language vitality and endangerment parameters called the Major Evaluative Factors of Language Vitality (UNESCO, 2003). Under each of these evaluative

factors, there are five different points to measure the degree of language endangerment: the lower the point, the higher the degree of endangerment of the language ranging from 5, which indicates the language is safe and under control, to 0, which indicates the language is in danger of extinction.

It is difficult to rate the position of Acehnese under the measurements of language endangerment suggested above, because there has been no previous study conducted on this matter. However, based on the findings on the preference of using Bahasa Indonesia amongst younger people (see detailed discussion in Section 1.4.3), especially in big towns such as Banda Aceh (Alamsyah et al., 2011), one could assume that Acehnese may be rated with a low score.

2.8 Summary

This chapter highlights the importance and contribution of sociolinguistics to reaching a more informed understanding of dialectal variation. It includes the discussion of dialectology, along with its social aspects and sociolinguistic differences that have nurtured the attitudes of speakers of some dialects towards other dialects. This chapter has also discussed the notions of standard mainstream dialects and non-standard dialects in the Acehnese context.

Code-switching in its various manifestations needs to be addressed in this study because it occurs in unique ways, as certain dialect speakers practise complete code-switching to accommodate their language style as closely as possible to the standard language variety. Because the West Acehnese dialect is stigmatised by speakers of the North Acehnese dialect, lower varieties and higher varieties are easily defined. However, the different status of these two dialects does not

represent the standard diglossic situation, where the H variety is used in formal and official contexts and the L variety is used in casual discourse.

Having considered the theoretical background of this study, the following chapter will present and discuss the methodology, specifically the approach to research and data collection.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This study investigates the linguistic subsystems which differentiate the North and West Aceh dialects. It also looks at the attitude of people in Aceh towards the West Aceh dialect, and the accommodation and code-switching practised by West Aceh dialect speakers. Fieldwork in the Province of Aceh was carried out to obtain primary data directly from the native speakers of both dialects of the Acehnese language. In order to obtain the data on the dialect distinction and the attitudes of speakers, four different methods were used: participant observation, secondary data analysis, semi-structured interviews, and matched guise testing.

3.2 Selection of the sites for primary data collection

The selection of research sites for ethnographic participant observation and key informant interviewing to collect the primary data for dialect investigation and documentation in North and West Aceh (see Figure 3.1) was made. The villages should be native Acehnese-speaking and the Acehnese language should be used by all community members as the dominant language at home with their family members and within the society. However, due to the impact of Bahasa Indonesia, the national language spoken by the vast majority of Acehnese, there are no monolingual villages.



Figure 3.1 : Map showing Meunasah Dayah in Bireuen District and Latong in Nagan Raya District (Adapted from Google map)

I selected Meunasah Dayah village in the Bireuen district for the Northern dialect, and Latong Village in Nagan Raya for the Western dialect. I restricted the selection of the informants to those who were knowledgeable and informed about dialect varieties (based on my initial conversation with them before the decision was made. The informants from each dialect background understood

and were able to understand reasonably well other dialects (e.g. North Acehese informants knew West Acehese dialect, and vice versa) as well as their own, but their standard speech styles typically maintained the characteristic features of their own dialect. Therefore, the informants could to some degree talk about their own dialect with reference to the features that distinguish it from other dialects.

Meunasah Dayah village had very similar contexts for language use to Latong village in Nagan Raya. In both villages, people predominantly speak the Acehese language. No other language was used in daily conversation in these two villages, except when they spoke to people who came to visit and could not speak Acehese. These two villages were the ones selected for the dialect comparison.

There were some advantages, besides some disadvantages of choosing Latong village. Firstly, I am from this village. It is beneficial to locate myself as a linguist in my own speech community because I can communicate well without any social constraints. Not being an outsider, I am not seen as a researcher, but as a local. I also understand most differences between the dialects.

Bireuen and Nagan Raya are located in the heartlands of the North and West Aceh dialects used for the matched guise recordings for the language attitude test administered in Banda Aceh. The Acehese dialects spoken in these two research sites were used as the reference for playback to university students as informants of the language attitudes test in Banda Aceh. Below are brief background and overviews of the three research sites followed by information regarding the informants that were selected for primary data collection in Bireuen, Nagan Raya, and Banda Aceh.

3.2.1 Background of Meunasah Dayah village in Bireuen

The full name of Meunasah Dayah village is Gampong Bireuen Meunasah Dayah. It is located in the Kota Juang sub-district of Bireuen District, the Province of Aceh. Based on the data from the village secretariat, the population of the village is 1,460 males and 1,632 females. With a total area of 172 ha and 810 family heads, this village can be considered as a dense village. The occupation of the villagers varies, ranging from public officials and businessmen to farmers, labourers, etc.

3.2.2 Background of Latong village in Nagan Raya

Latong is one of several villages in the Seunagan sub-district and it is very close to the main town of Jeuram in the Nagan Raya district. It is within walkable distance to the town, as is Meunasah Dayah to Bireuen. However, this village is not as densely populated as Meunasah Dayah. It is worth mentioning here that the density of population in Nagan Raya and Bireuen districts is quite different (see Section 1.2.3 for detailed discussion of the reason why the population density is dissimilar). From the results of the population census in 2010, Nagan Raya has 42 people/km² and Bireuen has 200 people/km² (BPS, 2010)¹.

Latong is situated in a 354 ha area, 40 % of which is rice fields. The 120 families that live here occupy 60 % of the total area. This means that each family has approximately 1-2 ha land in addition to rice fields. With the extra land that the people have in Latong village, they grow fruit and vegetables and raise some animals in their yards. The population of the village consists of 756 males and 787 females. The various occupations of the people in Latong are

¹ BPS = Badan Pusat Statistik (Statistics Office of the Province of Aceh).

farmers, public officials, businessmen, etc, which are similar to Meunasah Dayah.

3.2.3 Banda Aceh and University Profiles

Banda Aceh, the capital city of the Province of Aceh, was the third site selected for data collection for language attitude study. As the capital and the biggest city in the province, Banda Aceh represents the site of most intense language contact. The population of Banda Aceh, based on the results of the population census in 2012 (BPS, 2013), was 238,784 with a density of 3,892 persons/km². It is the centre for education, business and government affairs, so Banda Aceh residents have various Acehese dialect backgrounds. However, North Acehese which has been unofficially perceived by the people as a ‘standard dialect’ is freely spoken in the capital city, so that it is expected to be understood in business and social situations.

Even though Asyik (1972; 1987) indicates that Acehese spoken in Banda Aceh belongs to the Greater Aceh dialect, I observed that most residents, however, do not speak this dialect in the city except in some pockets where ‘Greater Acehese natives’ reside such as in Lam Seupeung, located only around 2 kilometres away from the city centre. The natives in these Greater Acehese pockets still maintain their original dialect. But they usually accommodate their speech into North Acehese variety when they communicate with non-Greater Acehese. In general, people in Banda Aceh mostly speak the North Acehese dialect.

Contact with people from different dialect backgrounds in Banda Aceh usually takes place in housing complexes, markets, bus stations, transport hubs,

government offices, in places of business, social gatherings, and universities. Of these locations, universities have the highest exposure to a range of different dialects because a large number of people from across the various regions in the Province of Aceh continue their higher education at universities in Banda Aceh. Unlike government officials or business persons, who frequently are too busy to engage in regular and sustained interaction with speakers of other dialects, students in the education settings have much more prolonged contact with speakers from varied backgrounds during course discussions or on campus at the universities, thus they are involved in more in-depth direct interaction.

Many tertiary education institutions are situated in Banda Aceh including two major state-run universities, namely Syiah Kuala University and Ar-Raniry State Islamic University. There are also several private universities and institutes located in this capital city. The matched guise tests administered in this study were conducted at two state universities (Syiah Kuala University and Ar-Raniry State Islamic University), one state academy (Aceh Nursing Academy), and three private universities/academies (Serambi Mekkah University, STIKES U'budiyah, and AMIKI Academy).

Syiah Kuala University is the largest educational institution in the city. This university is well known to the Acehnese. It has been one of the first choices of higher educational institutions in the province for those who want to continue their studies. This makes the university a favorite destination for students across the Province of Aceh. In addition to Syiah Kuala University, Ar-Raniry State Islamic University is also a large state-owned university in the capital city. Table 3.1 below shows in detail the population of students at the university/academy where the tests were conducted.

Table 3.1: Student Population of Six Universities/Academy in Banda Aceh (BPS, 2013)

No.	University/Academy	Student Population		Total
		Male	Female	
1.	Syiah Kuala University (in Odd Semester)	13,571	14,247	27,818
2.	Ar-Raniry State Islamic University	3,526	4,284	7,810
3.	Aceh Nursing Academy	729	2,192	2,921
4.	Serambi Mekkah University	4,612	7,599	12,211
5.	STIKES U'budiyah	58	1,697	1,755
6.	AMIKI Academy	628	572	1200

As the home-base for many big universities, Banda Aceh has become a favourite place for students from all over Aceh. Consequently they came from different dialect backgrounds. Therefore, West Acehese speakers have had exposure to North Acehese, and vice versa. And both North and West Acehese speakers also get exposed to other dialects. By considering this fact, the subjects for the investigation of language attitudes and code-switching phenomena which is focusing on two Acehese dialects (North and West Acehese) were chosen from Banda Aceh and especially from the ranks of students enrolled at universities.

3.3 Data collecting and processing

3.3.1 Data collection

There are four methods used to obtain data in this study:

1. For primary data collection: participant observation, matched guise testing, and semi-structured interviews were used

2. For secondary data: sentence examples were taken from Asyik (1987, pp. 135-146) for intonation pattern analysis.

3.3.1.1 Participant observation in North and West Aceh

In order to get primary data of linguistic features for dialect comparison, I went to Bireuen, a North Aceh dialect region and Nagan Raya, a West Aceh dialect area to observe the speech community and live with them. Based on the nature of the participant observation in this study, the method was designed to collect the qualitative data from two different dialect areas, the North Aceh dialect on the north coast and the West Aceh dialect on the west coast of Aceh. I spent some time in the field in North Aceh and West Aceh, anticipating that I would be regarded with suspicion as an outsider, especially in North Aceh. People in villages in Aceh mostly know each other. When a new person is seen to live in their village, they can immediately notice his/her appearance. I realised that I was regarded as a newcomer in their village because they had never seen me before. However, after I was there for two or three days I got involved in social activities such as hanging out with the locals at coffee shops, praying at the village mosque, etc. In conversations, the villagers wondered about my presence in their village and I informed them of the reason, therefore, most of the villagers were aware that I was conducting a dialect comparative study. During my three month stay in the village, I eventually felt that they did not treat me as a 'stranger' anymore.

Bowern (2007, p. 35) suggests that a researcher usually starts to get his/her first data in fieldwork through some prepared wordlist such as the Swadesh list of basic vocabulary, or other similar lists with some adaptation to the vocabulary that is commonly used in the area. For this study, the wordlist consisting of

approximately 2,700 Acehnese lexemes taken from Daud and Durie's thesaurus (1999) was adapted. This wordlist was chosen because it consists of frequently used lexical items and these words are mostly from the North Aceh dialect, as mentioned earlier. In addition, the thesaurus is the most recent publication listing Acehnese words.

A wordlist can help a researcher study phonology, including variation (Bower, 2007, p. 108) when conducting a fieldwork. The wordlist that I had compiled was compared for the North and West dialects in this study, in particular relating to lexical, morphological, syntactic, phonetic, and semantic differences. For this purpose, I selected two informants from each dialect background. Informants from North Acehnese background who originated from the Bireuen district were selected; meanwhile, West Acehnese informants came from the Nagan Raya district. The origin of informants needed to be considered to prevent the results from being influenced by other dialects. The informants all were born and raised in their respective dialect environments. The first North Acehnese informant was a 63 year-old female and the second a 38 year-old male, whereas the first West Acehnese informant was a 64 year-old male and the second a 45 year-old female. None had completed primary school education, but they were all literate in Bahasa Indonesia.

I interviewed these informants one at a time. In Bireuen, North Aceh the interview was conducted during the night because the informants were only available during that time. In Latong, Nagan Raya, however, the informants were available to be interviewed during the day. During the interview, I prompted the informants to say the wordlist that I prepared by describing them in sentences, so that when they said or mentioned the words I could hear how they pronounced

them naturally. I also asked them to construct example sentences by using those aforementioned words. The wordlist and other sentence or expression examples from one dialect background was then compared and/or confirmed with the informants in order to look at the differences of the dialects, including the different meanings involved in context-specific usage. Through these interviews I wanted to identify and confirm some linguistic features in the dialects which may be used differently.

The conversation during interviews was recorded and notes were also taken. In addition, some special photos were also shown if needed in order to compare images of particular objects to other dialect informants, in order to facilitate their understanding of the objects spoken about, so that they could speak the names which may be dissimilar across dialects. Showing the photos is regarded as necessary, so that the researcher does not prejudice the response and the language informants would say the words naturally in their own dialect without interference from other dialects.

During the data collection in Meunasah Dayah, Bireuen I stayed with one of my informants, an aged woman who spoke pure North Acehnese. Her son and his wife with three children lived just next door. This environment allowed me to observe, watch and listen to authentic conversation and language use by community members in more detail. I also had the opportunity to ask the woman many questions regarding the wordlist, so that I had good data on extended meanings of the words. In addition to the woman, I also interviewed another male informant to confirm the uniformity of the pronunciation of words and their usage from the same wordlist. In Nagan Raya, I employed a similar technique with the two West Acehnese informants.

During the data collection in the field (Bireuen and Nagan Raya), in-depth unstructured and informal interviews with people in the two different dialect areas were also conducted. This gave me the opportunity to check again the wordlist that I found obviously different from the two dialect areas. Therefore, for this purpose, I chose someone in Meunasah Dayah village who was able to spend much time and could discuss with me at length with regard to the data that I had obtained. This person acted as my main North Acehese ‘consultant’. He is thirty-eight years old, and married with three children.

This particular informant in Meunasah Dayah, Bireuen, had spent his childhood and adolescence up to his senior high school in his hometown, where Acehese had been his first language. Acehese at that time was sometimes used as the language of instruction in schools besides Bahasa Indonesia. He had grown up in the North Aceh dialect environment and had never left his village until he continued his studies at one of the state-owned universities in Banda Aceh. He met many friends from various places in Aceh and was exposed to other dialects, including West Acehese, in his neighbourhood and on campus. In his social interaction with others in Banda Aceh, he was aware of dialect differences and, in particular, the ‘unique’ nature of the West Aceh dialect. However, he claimed that he was never influenced by other Acehese dialects during his time in Banda Aceh. After completing his five-year study, he returned to Bireuen and has lived there until this day.

Data collection in Nagan Raya had also been conducted. I stayed in Latong village, where I was born and grew up. I interviewed the informants one at a time and asked them to say the words from the wordlist by giving clues so that they could guess the words that I intended them to say. If they still did not

understand I usually assisted by using Bahasa Indonesia. They gave their answers by pronouncing the words based on their daily pronunciation.

Being accepted as a ‘family member’ by the North Acehese speakers, intense consultations with the informants and long discussion with the language ‘consultant’ were the reasons why it took me more time to stay in Bireuen. In Nagan Raya, it took me less time (only two and a half months) to gain data on West Acehese. I did not need to seek much detailed information on this dialect as I am one of the native speakers. In this case, I played the same role as the North Acehese ‘consultant’ mentioned above. Within the two months and a half, I also had the opportunity to share my findings with other people in the region. Most importantly, I used my time in Nagan Raya to gain the data on the attitudes of West Acehese speakers who shifted their dialect to North Acehese when they stayed in Banda Aceh (more detail is discussed below).

I also have a role as a language ‘consultant’ of West Acehese. My age of 37 years old is not that much different from the ‘consultant’ informant from North Aceh dialect, and I am married with three children. I also spent my childhood in my hometown. Similar to the situation of the informant in Bireuen, Acehese is my first language. It was also used by my teachers, who were Acehese, as the language of instruction. However, I mostly heard Bahasa Indonesia, as the language of instruction, when I attended senior high school, as many teachers could not speak Acehese. Therefore, I used the Acehese language, in particular the West Acehese dialect, for most of my early life until I was in my late teens.

I first heard the North Aceh dialect when I was at junior high school. I had a teacher from North Aceh and although she mostly spoke in Bahasa Indonesia

with her students, sometimes she communicated in North Acehese. When we listened to her, we could discern the alveolar trill [r], which impressed us at that time because it sounded different. When I was at senior high school, I had two teachers from the north coast, from Sigli and North Aceh respectively. I knew very little about Acehese dialects in those days. I was aware, however, of the different pronunciation of /r/. In social interaction, there was no difference between the teachers from my own background and those from the north coast. They were all treated the same and we spoke in the West Aceh dialect while they retained their own dialects. It needs to be noted that West Acehese people do not accommodate their dialect to North Acehese when they are in their own territory or when they communicate with their own community in non-West Acehese places (see Chapter 6 for more detail on the accommodation discussion).

I moved to Banda Aceh after completing senior high school and started to study at Syiah Kuala University, where I was exposed to other Acehese dialects and mastered English as my third language in addition to my second language, Bahasa Indonesia. Because I did not feel comfortable when communicating with non-West Acehese students on campus and other people in my neighbourhood, I began to switch to the North Aceh dialect. I shared a house with other students from different language backgrounds, including North Aceh, Pidie, and West Aceh dialects. The students of Greater Aceh did not usually rent a house in Banda Aceh; they stayed with their family because they were not far from campus. However, I was also exposed to the Greater Aceh dialect and had conversations with these people because I lived on the border of Banda Aceh and Greater Aceh. With my background as a speaker of West Acehese, this experience gave me exposure to, and understanding of, other dialects. My own

experience in accommodating my speech into North Acehese when I communicate with non-West Acehese speakers and my attitudes towards the Acehese dialects has to a large extent informed this study.

I was assisted in carrying out this research by being an insider. I am Acehese and physically, as well as socially, I do not stand out as a foreigner. As a result, although people in the field regarded me as a visitor in their village, they did not pay much attention to my appearance, except for the first two or three days as a new person in their community (as discussed earlier). In the interaction with villagers, I continued to take notes on how language was used, including the intonation patterns, word choice, etc, in natural social interaction.

My role in this research as a native speaker of the Acehese language has also brought with it other benefits. Firstly and foremost, I am a linguist who knows and understands in detail the language that I am working on. Thus I can detect any small dialectal differences. Secondly, I have been exposed to the North Aceh dialect for many years and, as with other West Acehese living in Banda Aceh, have adopted the use of this dialect in my daily life in Banda Aceh. This gives me a good understanding of the data I collected in North Aceh because I am familiar with the language. Thirdly, Ajo et al. (2012, p. 276) suggests that native speakers are the most suitable and motivated individuals to undertake language documentation.

However, my role as an 'insider' in this study may also have some disadvantages. Firstly, as a native speaker of the language, I may take the language for granted and miss some linguistic features which people from outside would notice. Secondly, the speakers of North Acehese knowing that I am an Acehese native, they may not wish to share information about the

language aspects that probably show differences with the West Acehese to me. They may feel that I should have known these distinctions so that they do not think they need to talk about such differences with me. Thirdly, the informants, especially from North Aceh, may not reveal what they feel and believe about West Acehese because they do not want to offend me. I find myself that I had accepted the stigmatisation of West Acehese and the assumptions that North Acehese is inherently ‘better’ in some respects, though these assumptions have been challenged through undertaking this study. This is the fourth disadvantage of my being an insider. In my mind I already believe that the North Aceh dialect is regarded as ‘standard’ and the West Aceh dialect is perceived as ‘non-standard’, although an outsider may not necessarily judge these two dialects in the same way.

As a native West Acehese speaker, I have proposed that I become one of the sources of the wordlist data collection and language attitude testing for this dialect background. However, I also asked some people in my village about the wordlist for this study, so that what I had described in West Aceh dialect was confirmed and generally accepted.

3.3.1.2 Secondary data for intonation pattern analysis

I used secondary data from Asyik (1987) to look at the different intonation patterns between North and West Acehese. In his work, Asyik (1987) describes the patterns of intonation in sentences in the North Aceh dialect. He also provides some sample sentences based on this dialect. Asyik (1987) suggests six types of North Achenese intonation which are: intonation in ‘Subject-Predicate’ sentences, intonation in subjectless sentences, intonation in ‘Predicate-Subject’

sentences, topicalisation intonation, intonation in Yes/No questions, and intonation in questions with question words (p. 135-146).

I used thirty sample sentences from Asyik (1987) and I tried to compare them with the patterns of intonation in the West Aceh dialect. Asyik (1987) has drawn and illustrated the intonation patterns ‘manually’. In this study, I tried to take this work much further and aimed for greater precision. I asked and recorded a North Aceh speaker and a West Aceh speaker to read out those thirty sentences in the way they felt they would actually produce them in a natural context. I recorded my North Aceh colleague reading those sentences in his dialect pattern; meanwhile, in West Aceh I read the sentences in West Aceh style and recorded them to represent West Aceh. They were single recordings of one sentence each.

The recordings from these two speakers were then played to another five native speakers from each dialect background to ascertain the degree to which they sounded correct and natural, in the sense that they were representative of typical and usual use in a conversation. This needed to be done in order to avoid the potential occurrence of idiosyncratic individual differences of intonation patterns in the recordings. For a comparison of different intonation patterns in those two dialects, I analysed the recordings by using computer software, as discussed in more detail in Section 3.3.2 below.

3.3.1.3 Semi-structured interview

Semi-structured interview methods were used to record and collect the data regarding the reasons why the Acehese, especially from West Aceh dialect background, exhibited the tendency to switch from their particular dialect to the

more prestigious dialect. To meet the suggested criteria, a series of questions were designed and asked in relaxed conversations regarding the respondents' language background and the phenomenon of certain groups of speakers changing their original dialects, which were regarded as lower status and 'non standard'. See Appendix D for details of questions asked during interviews.

Those who participated in semi-structured interviews had lived in Banda Aceh for at least three years. They were randomly chosen based on the criteria that they had previously studied or they are still studying in Banda Aceh. During this stay in the city, they had gotten in touch with people from different dialect backgrounds. The number of people in this category was 94, including 36 males (38.3%) and 58 females (61.7%). Their age range was 21-35 years old and the mean age was 25 years. The distribution of respondents' place of origin can be seen in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2 : Background of respondents for Language Attitudes test.

No.	Background	No. of people	Percent
1.	Banda Aceh/Greater Aceh	21	22.3
2.	North Aceh	26	27.7
3.	West Aceh	34	36.2
4.	Pidie	13	13.8
	Total	94	100.0

From my day-to-day observations, I learned that people, especially those who spoke a non-North Aceh dialect, shift to the North Aceh dialect to follow the majority. This interaction sought answers to the question as to why some Acehnese speakers, especially those from minority speech communities, shift

from their original dialect to North Acehese. It was a short and brief interview which took approximately ten minutes each and was recorded.

3.3.1.4 Matched guise test

As was discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, matched guise testing was used in an Indonesian context by Anderbeck (2010) in her study of language use and attitudes of people in two Jambi Malay communities in Sumatra towards one language variety versus another. Her study aims at examining the preference of language use by the people in the two areas and understanding their attitudes towards language varieties used in the communities. In her study, she found that young and educated speakers of Jambi Malay had lower usage of their own language variety (Jambi Malay) and that they had less positive attitudes towards it. However, she found that women used it more and held more positive attitudes towards the Jambi Malay than men.

Anderbeck's (2010) design of the matched guise technique used in her study is slightly different from the one that I use in this study. She recorded four guise speakers reading one passage in Bahasa Indonesia and another in Jambi Malay. Each speaker, therefore, read two passages and the respondents had to listen to eight recordings plus one additional "placebo" male voice she inserted in the fifth recorded segment to prevent the respondents from recognising the guise speakers. When these nine recordings were played to the respondents, Anderbeck (2010, p. 101) identifies the potential problem that "the length of the test may have discouraged informants, whereby they simply said 'yes' repeatedly to get the test over with."

With the above problem in mind, I modified the matched guise test for my study. I only recorded one person reading one passage of story in both dialects and all respondents or judges listened to the same guise (single group of judges matched guise test model/design). For the purpose of my research, recordings of West Aceh and North Aceh dialect guises were used to obtain responses toward the speakers of each dialect. The respondents, as the judges of the test, listened to the same speech samples or recordings of the guise twice with additional voice recordings of one or more other speakers, known as ‘fillers’, inserted between the guise segments. These fillers were required in order to prevent the judges from recognising the voice of the guise speakers.

The guise recordings were played in random order for data analysis to prevent judges or respondents from recognising the voices. The complete order of the speakers in each test recording was as showed in the table below.

Table 3.3 : Order of matched guise test recordings being played to respondents

Visit	Recording				
	1	2	3	4	5
First Visit test	guise #1 (researcher in North Acehnese dialect guise)	filler #1 (in West Acehnese)	filler #2 (in North Acehnese)	guise #2 (researcher in West Acehnese dialect guise)	filler #3 (in North Acehnese)
Second Visit test	guise #1 (researcher in North Acehnese dialect guise)	filler #1 (in North Acehnese)	guise #2 (researcher in West Acehnese dialect guise)	filler #2 (in North Acehnese)	-
Third Visit test	guise #1 (researcher's colleague in North Acehnese dialect guise)	filler #1 (in North Acehnese)	guise #2 (researcher's colleague in West Acehnese dialect guise)	filler #2 (in West Acehnese)	-

The first matched guise test recordings consisted of 5 speakers: 4 males and 1 female. The duration for each recording was 2 minutes, which is the duration suggested for this testing; respondents had to listen to the recordings for at least 12 minutes because there were some pauses in the recordings. I also inserted the target guise recordings in the first and fourth slots. However, the test administrators told me that during the test implementation the participants got bored and felt exhausted. They also observed that respondents did not sit and listen as intently as they had done for the first three recordings. Therefore, in the second test investigation I put the target guise recordings that I would use for data analysis on the first and third order out of four recordings. One recording played for approximately 1 minute 20 seconds, so that it took about 7 minutes (including the pauses) to listen to. In the third test administration, I also put the guise recordings on the first and third order. Each recording took around 1 minute 30 seconds in average, so it needed approximately 7.5 minutes listening time in total for all recordings including the pauses.

After respondents listened to these recordings, they were asked to judge the personality of the guise speaker, whom they did not know was the same person, by completing the variables provided in the questionnaires. As mentioned above regarding the nature of the matched guise test method, the assessment of this speaker was merely based on the voice recording that they listened to.

Twenty six questions were each graded into six Likert-scale points rating the personality traits supplied in this matched guise test (see Appendix C). These twenty six factors were represented the dimensions of 'superiority,' 'attractiveness,' and 'dynamism' adapted from Zahn & Hopper (1985) and modified with some additional factors suitable for the Aceh context.

Due to the unexpected results in the first administrations of the test, a second test administration was required in order to confirm whether the first visit results were random. The overall results of the second test were not significantly different from the results previously obtained, so it was decided to readminister the test for a third time. The guises used in the first visit test consisted of the researcher and other three ‘fillers’ recordings. In the second visit, the guises were also the researcher and two ‘fillers’ recordings.

In the first and second visit tests, the guise speaker recordings were my voice reading texts in two dialect variants: my own (West Acehnese) with its typical markers and in North Aceh dialect with its distinctive features. However, the voices of the ‘fillers’ were in the speakers’ own dialects.

The text recorded for the test in the first visit was adopted and modified from Abdullah et al. (2010, pp. 63-65) (see Appendix A). However, the second recorded text was written and created by me. I intentionally used a different text in the second visit test to create the flow of the story with significant dialect marker distinctions. The text was modified in such a way that each sounded distinctively like North Acehnese and West Acehnese respectively, after I had encoded them with characteristic dialect markers (see Appendix B). The main objective of this modification for the second field trip was to ascertain the extent to which the previous results were random, taking into account that there were some unexpected results found during the first trip, as discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

Respondents or judges for the matched guise tests were selected based on the following criteria: they were from either North or West Acehnese dialect

backgrounds. They knew that there were different dialects in Acehnese and had been in contact with speakers of North Acehnese or West Acehnese.

The students who were studying at universities in Banda Aceh were most suitable for this study. There are two main reasons why they are good candidates for the testing of language attitudes. Firstly, they are quite varied in relation to their place of origin throughout different parts of Aceh. Secondly, they are speakers with extensive exposure to other dialects, because they have interacted in the heterogeneous environment for a long time. Therefore, it was easy to select the respondents from the universities who were from North or West Acehnese dialect backgrounds and who had had interaction with speakers of the respective counterpart dialect.

The first test was administered to 53 students at Syiah Kuala University, Banda Aceh. These respondents consisted of 22 males and 31 females whose ages ranged from 18-23 years old. After data analysis, some responses to questions in the matched guise questionnaire showed unexpected results. It was thought that respondents would have more negative opinions, that is, they would strongly believe that the West Aceh dialect was inferior in some personality traits, as evident from observed casual behaviour.

Because the responses from the respondents in the first test did not show much differentiation between attitudes towards the North and West Acehnese dialects, I sought to check the validity of the first set of results with a modified set of recordings. In the second test, I tried to focus on the respondents from the first visit. However, it was difficult to get in touch with all these students again because many had finished their studies and left Banda Aceh leaving no contact details. As a result, only 12 respondents were found. Therefore, some additional

new respondents were recruited for the second test. As a result, 130 participants took part in the second test including 58 males and 72 females with ages ranging from 18-23 and a mean age of 20 years. All of these respondents were students at Syiah Kuala University.

However, the results of matched guise test in the second visit did not show significantly different from the first visit either. The unexpected results in the first and second tests may be compromised by my voice in the recordings. Some of the students/respondents may have recognised my voice because they were studying at the same university where I am and were employed as a teacher. Alternatively, they might have found out about my study from other respondents who took the test earlier. Considering those possible restraints, another test was required. The matched guise testing used in this study was, therefore, carried out three times in the field.

To limit the possibility of compromised results as far as possible, the guises and respondents used in the third visit test were changed. I used another West Acehese speaker as a guise speaker reading the same text as I used in the second visit. He was 34 years old and originally from West Aceh. He got exposed to North Acehese dialect when he continued his study at Syiah Kuala University in Banda Aceh in 2001. He was married to a North Acehese and had lived in North Aceh since 2008. He was the most competent person who could be used for the guise speaker, as he had good command and understanding of North Acehese dialect. He also claimed that he was still perfect with his West Acehese dialect and always used it when he met his West Acehese friends, or when he regularly returned to West Aceh for a visit.

In addition to the guise speaker, the judges or respondents of this third test were also changed. The respondents were completely different compared with the first and second visit respondents. In the first and second tests, the respondents were all studying at Syiah Kuala University. For the third visit, however, the respondents were drawn from other different universities in Banda Aceh (as showed in table below).

Table 3.4 : Third visit matched guise test respondents

No.	University	Number of respondents
1.	AMIKI Academy	25 students
2.	Serambi Mekkah University	27 students
3.	Ar-Raniry State Islamic University	31 students
4.	STIKES U'budiyah	20 students
5.	Aceh Nursing Academy	23 students
Total		126 students

These students were unknown to me and the other guise speakers in the recordings and to my matched guise test project. They were students at different universities in Banda Aceh who without any doubt would not have known any of the respondents from the earlier testings. There were 126 students who participated in the third investigation, including 52 males and 74 females with age ranges of 18-23 years old and a mean age of 20.

These students were chosen through their lecturers' assistance. These lecturers were approached and asked to talk to the students in their classes who were from North and West Aceh dialect backgrounds. If the students were available and willing to take time to be respondents in this study appointments were made for the matched guise test administration.

Even though the respondents for the first and second visit tests were different from the third test, there were, however, some similarities between them. In addition to similar age as mentioned above, they were also all students at university levels and they were aware of the existence of two dialects of North and West Acehnese.

To ensure the validity of the recordings for data analysis, each recording of guises' voice in two dialects was played to three 'native' speakers, which I referred to as 'referees'. After listening, they were asked whether the speaker in the recording was a genuine and fluent speaker of the relevant dialects. This needed to be done in order to make sure that the recordings sounded similar to the North and West Acehnese speakers' style and nature. The North Aceh referees confirmed that the guise voices very much sounded like the dialect, and so did the West Aceh referees.

It needs to be noted that finding a guise speaker for this study who could speak fluently and perfectly in two different dialects was impossible providing that, as far as I had searched and concerned, there were no Acehnese who are truly bidialectal. In addition, there was no one from North Acehnese background switching between North Acehnese and West Acehnese, speaking West Acehnese, or in any way adapting his/her speech to accommodate West Acehnese speakers. I had asked many North Acehnese to produce or imitate the West Acehnese, with a view to use their utterances for the matched guise test purpose, but unfortunately I hardly found any. It was very obvious to me that all of them could not produce West Acehnese correctly, in particular they were unable to pronounce the distinctively West Acehnese uvular fricative [ɣ].

The persons that I used in the matched guise tests in the three visits were West Acehese speakers. They were capable of using and producing some markers of the North Acehese. These speakers usually code-switch into North Acehese when they communicate with non-West Acehese people. There are, of course, some features of North Acehese which are not really noticeable for code-switching West Acehese speakers, who are unaware of, and unable to produce North Acehese consonant clusters with [h] as the second element (as discussed in detail in Chapter 4). This clearly suggests that West Aceh dialect speakers are not truly bidialectal either. This was of course an inevitable situation. Siegel (2010, pp 2-3), based on his own experiences, says that he has not been able to completely adopt Australian English even though he has been living as an Australian for more than two decades.

However, for the purpose of this study, the guise speakers tried to read the North Aceh passage as natural as possible and paid attention to the less salient features of this dialect that may be usually missed to accommodate in normal talk. During the process of the short recordings, my colleague and I had done our best to record and produce the quality of the sound and speech as closest as possible to the North Acehese characteristics and styles. Therefore, when the judges or respondents of the matched guise test listened to the recordings, they could not easily notice the guise speakers.

During all three administrations of the matched guise in Aceh, I employed some of my students, so that I did not meet directly with the test respondents. The speakers in the recordings and I were not involved at all in the investigations; therefore the respondents did not feel intimidated to respond to the questions in the questionnaire. Before the tests were administered, I briefed all the test

administrators and explained the standard procedures they should follow so that the process of the investigation could run well and smoothly. I also instructed them to take notes on any respondents' reactions when they listened to the recordings and to report them in writing to me after the tests were completed. By this, I got the picture and information about the respondents' responses and attitudes towards the speakers in the recordings during the tests.

The test administrators had also been briefed on their roles during the test. Their roles involved informing the respondents before the recordings were played that they were about to hear different people (5 in the first test and 4 in the second and third tests) reading stories in Acehese. In addition, the respondents were reminded about the meanings of the questions in the questionnaire and told how to respond to them correctly when they gave their judgments.

Speakers in the recordings read the passage as similar as possible to the features such as "speech-rate vocal intensity, pitch and personality throughout the recordings" as suggested by Giles (1970), as quoted by Garrett (2011, p. 40). They were asked to judge the personality of the guise speaker, whom they did not know was the same person, by evaluating the speaker's voice based on the factors provided in the Likert-scale questionnaires (see Appendix C). The sentences in the questionnaire were purposely constructed in positive and negative statements so respondents would have to judge the speakers from both perspectives.

Respondents were told that it was as if they were listening to someone on the end of the phone line whom they had not met before and they would have to guess what that person was like based on their voice. By telling respondents they

would be listening to different people in the recordings, they would not be conscious that there were two similar guise persons.

3.3.2 Data processing

After the fieldwork and questionnaire survey had been conducted, the data was analysed and discussed to arrive at the differences in linguistic subsystems which serve to differentiate the four Acehese dialects. In addition to the wordlist I compiled before the fieldtrip to Aceh, some examples from previous studies on Acehese (for example Durie, 1985; Asyik, 1987) are also used in this study. Because other linguists have selected the North Aceh dialect as the basis for their research, the examples of Acehese (e.g words, phrases, and sentences) they provided, therefore, can be used for comparison with the West Aceh dialect. The results of data presented in this study, however, have been drawn from the speakers/informants of each dialect during my fieldwork.

Furthermore, to examine the sub-linguistic differences between the North and West Acehese, I needed to look at the patterns of intonation in these two dialects. The recordings of some thirty sample sentences from Asyik (1987), which are located particularly in the intonation section, as discussed in Section 3.3.1.2 above were analysed by using PRAAT software version 5.3.22 (Boersma & Weenink, 2012). The precise patterns of intonation from sentences adopted from Asyik (1987) for both dialects were thus obtained.

Simple statistical analysis is used for both the semi-structured interviews data and matched guise test. The tool that works quite well is the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software. The SPSS aims to produce patterns of differences from respondents' views regarding certain Acehese dialect and its

speakers. In addition, this software gives statistical results of the degree of significant difference for some aspects of personality traits of the guise speakers used in this study, where the borderline levels of statistical significance (p-values) are $p < 0.05$ (the difference is significant with one * symbol) $p < 0.01$ (the difference is very significant with two ** symbols), and $p < 0.001$ (the difference is highly significant with three *** symbols). In the discussion section, the statements are tested based on the responses given by respondents in each visitation. The evaluation of the gender variable in the matched guise test is based on the different responses from both male and female participants rather than the gender of the guise speaker.

3.4 Summary

This chapter has elaborated the research methods and instruments used in this study in order to obtain primary data from the Province of Aceh in Indonesia. Participant observation, secondary data analysis, semi-structured interviews, and the matched guise test have been described. Information on the background of the research locations has also been given. At the end of the chapter, the method of data processing and analysis was described. The next chapter will discuss the phonological differences between North and West Acehnese dialects.

CHAPTER 4

PHONOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES ACROSS ACEHNESE DIALECTS

4.1 Introduction

“Whenever we meet someone from some other part of the world, we tend to notice their accent before we notice any unusual words or phrases that they might use” (Hay et al., 2008, p. 47). Because accent deals with the “pronunciation aspects of dialect” (Coupland, 2007, p. 5), and may occur in the smallest unit of language, people can easily pick up speech sounds produced in an unusual way. In other words, phonological features of a language or language variety are one of the most obvious markers of difference. Coupland (2007, p. 17) is of the view that “accent features, intonation features and so on can lead to inferences, correct or not, about a speaker’s social origins or communicative competence.” This chapter, therefore, assesses phonological features that differentiate North Aceh and West Aceh dialects as well as similar features that may occur. However, before such differences are explored, the bigger picture of Acehese sound systems in general is presented. I do this from the perspective of the North Aceh dialect because: it is the best documented, has the fullest phonological system and is also the de facto ‘standard’ Acehese variety.

Members of the Acehese speech community may or may not be aware of the presence of certain phonological variations of their own language variety because these are not necessarily the manifestation of significant perceived differences. The perceptions of Acehese speakers with regard to such differences are usually more evident at the phonetic level. There can be several

levels of awareness operative , for example: (1) speakers are not consciously aware of the difference, (2) speakers may consciously notice differences in some situations, and (3) speakers consistently notice them and they take these differences as emblematic of the social/geographical/class differences between dialects.

4.2 Acehnese sound system

The richness of dialects in Acehnese is an interesting phenomenon. Within a ten kilometre radius you will sometimes find that a different dialect occurs, especially in the Greater Aceh district. In an introductory remark on Paradisec website where audio files of recordings of Acehnese were delivered for online storage, Durie (2008) noted that “in the Greater Aceh and Daya regions each village has a different dialect. Children shouting to each other across a river can often easily tell which side of the river a voice comes from, by the accent.” The differences from one dialect to another take place not only in terms of lexical choices but also phonological aspects. The dialect differences in Greater Aceh are sometimes so significant that Acehnese people can identify the origins of speakers’ sub-dialect backgrounds. However, the exact numbers are not well documented, so they are always referred to as ‘speakers of the Greater Aceh dialect’.

Acehnese dialects are differentiated phonologically and lexically, rather than grammatically (Asyik, 1972, p. 4). Vowels are very complex in Acehnese. Both consonants and vowels play an important role in phonological differentiation between the dialects (Durie, 1990). Therefore, the Acehnese consonant and vowel phonemes, their phonetic realisation, and the possible role they may play in dialect differentiation need to be discussed here.

4.2.1 Acehnese vowel system

Acehnese has an especially rich vowel inventory. The vowel system proposed by several linguists (see below), who have based the majority of their studies on the dialect of North Aceh, distinguishes three to four vowel heights, between back rounded and unrounded vowels and between nasal and oral vowels. Furthermore, there is also a rich set of diphthongs. In his description of the Acehnese vowel system, Snouck Hurgronje (1892) divided them into nine simple vowels. Cowan (1981, p. 525) followed and adopted the vowel system introduced by Hurgronje which are: three front vowels: high, mid-high, and mid-low; three back unrounded vowels: high, mid-high, and low; and three back rounded vowels: high, mid-high, and mid-low. This analysis is based on the Greater Aceh dialect on which Hurgronje conducted his research. He had limited access to data from other dialects; however, he was aware that there were other dialects spoken in Aceh (Durie, 1985).

According to Durie (1990, p. 3), the vowel system proposed by Snouck Hurgronje (1892) has also been adopted by many other scholars including Djajadiningrat (1934) and Kreemer (Kreemer, 1931) in their dictionaries. Durie (1985) also largely adopted the vowels from Snouck Hurgronje. However, he found an extra back unrounded mid-low vowel /ʌ/ based on his observation of the North Aceh dialect. Recent studies (Al-Harbi, 2003; Asyik, 1987) make further minor modifications to Acehnese vowels.

Asyik's (1987) vowel system is similar to that suggested by Durie (1985), except for some slight differences discussed in the following sections where relevant. Al-Harbi (2003) elicits his data from speakers of the Pidie dialect and his findings are similar to Asyik's (1987).

This study will use the vowel system proposed by Asyik (1987), which is almost identical to that proposed by Durie (1985). The use of their shared vowel system is adopted for three main reasons. Firstly, they include all vowels in Acehese that they found in eastern Aceh and some Greater Aceh speaking areas. Secondly, the vowels that they suggest are pertinent to this comparative study of North Aceh and West Aceh dialects. Thirdly, their analysis is the most recent found for the Acehese language, and Yusuf (2013) also adopts Asyik's (1987) vowel description for her comparative study of Acehese vowels used in the North Aceh dialect compared with the Acehese spoken in Kedah, Malaysia. Finally, the vowels suggested correspond to the interactive voice-speech IPA chart created by Eric Armstrong (2009), which contains the same North Aceh dialect vowel inventory I have identified.

4.2.1.1 Oral monophthong vowels

Durie (1985) divides Acehese vowels according to ten primary positions that represent the total number of Acehese oral monophthongs. These oral monophthongs, which “can occur in both closed and open syllables” (Yusuf, 2013, p. 32), consist of four degrees of opening and three localised distinctions (Durie, 1985, p. 9). Asyik (1987) generally agrees with the vowel system proposed by Durie, except for the following observations. He observed that /ʌ/ is realised as [ɔ] in some dialect areas of Greater Aceh, in particular in Ulee Lheue. This means that /ʌ/ is absent in the Greater Aceh dialect where people employ /ɔ/. Asyik also considers Durie's mid-high back unrounded vowel to be mid-high central /ə/ in North Aceh dialect. Durie (1990, p. 3) observes the presence of /ɤ/ in many Acehese dialects, but he does not mention schwa /ə/.

Based on the North Acehese system, therefore, Acehese has ten oral monophthongs: three high vowels /i, u, u/, three mid-high vowels /e, ə, o/, three low-mid vowels /ɛ, ʌ, ɔ/, and one low vowel /a/. The vowel /ʌ/ is a back unrounded vowel (Asyik, 1987, p. 17). The chart of oral monophthong vowels proposed by Asyik is presented in the following table.

Table 4.1 : North Acehese Oral monophthong vowels (Asyik, 1987)

High	i	u	u
High-mid	e	ə	o
Low-mid	ɛ	ʌ	ɔ
Low		a	

Regarding the contrast of /ʌ/ : /ɔ/ in Acehese, Durie (1985) notes that Snouck Hurgronje did not observe this difference in 1892 because he took his sampling from a dialect which lacked the distinction between /ʌ/ and /ɔ/, and this dialect was located somewhere near Banda Aceh (Durie, 1985, p. 17). For the purpose of my study and to observe in more detail the exact sample of vowel sets, I recorded three native Acehese speakers (2 of North Aceh background and 1 of West Aceh background) uttering those vowels and analysed them. The results of the vowel sets can be seen in the formant plot in Figure 4.1 below. It must be noted that although the plot is based on three speakers, each word in the recording was only repeated once, therefore conclusions must be drawn very cautiously. However, the plot may suggest that the closeness of the /i/ - /e/ and /u/ - /o/ pairs does not resemble a dialect feature. More likely it has resulted from individual differences between speakers. It can be noticed in the chart that the two North Aceh speakers (illustrated with brown and light brown lines) have less distance between front and back vowels on the formant second axis in

comparison with the West Aceh speaker (illustrated with a dark brown line). This may be a dialect difference. But when it comes to the distance between /i/ and /e/ and between /o/ and /u/, one of the North Aceh dialect speakers is very similar to the West Aceh speaker, but another North Aceh speaker has a much greater vowel separation than either of the other two speakers. In order to obtain more precise and reliable results for the oral vowel formant plot, further investigation with a bigger sample is needed.

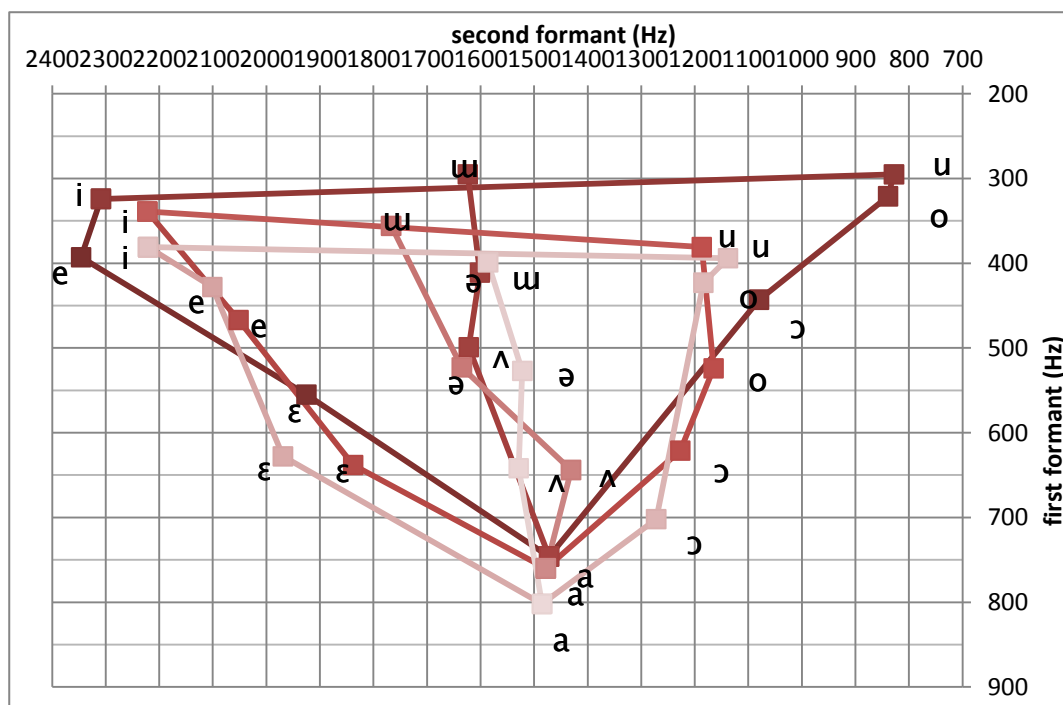


Figure 4.1 : Formant plot of Acehnese oral monophthong vowels from three different speakers

4.2.1.2 Nasal monophthong vowels of Acehnese

Durie (1985) analyses seven nasal monophthongs in Acehnese with three different degrees of opening. Therefore, this means one degree height in the oral monophthongs is not nasalised and there is no high-mid nasal series corresponding to the oral monophthongs (Durie, 1985, p. 9). Asyik (1987) also

suggests that Acehnese nasal vowels consist of all the oral monophthong vowels, except those on the degree of high-mid locations /e, ə, o/ (Asyik, 1987, p. 17).

The nasal monophthong vowels of Acehnese are shown in the table below.

Table 4.2 : Nasal monophthong vowels of North Acehnese (Asyik, 1987)

High	ī	ū̄	ū̄
Low-mid	ē̄	ā̄	ō̄
Low		ā̄	

To demonstrate the contrast of oral and nasal vowels, examples of phonemes are organised in minimal pairs or near minimal pairs (where examples are applicable and available) below.

Table 4.3: Oral and Nasal Vowel Minimal Pairs

Oral vowels	Nasal vowels
<i>sah</i> [Sah] ‘legal, valid’	<i>s’ah</i> [Sāh] ‘to whisper’
<i>ok</i> [ɔʔ] ‘fish (baby language)’	<i>’ok</i> [ʔʔ] ‘to have intercourse (vulg.)’
<i>boh u</i> [bɔh u] ‘coconut fruit’	<i>ôñ</i> ‘u [on ũ] ‘old and dry coconut leaf’
<i>cawö</i> [cawΛ] ‘to stir up’	<i>maw’ö</i> [māwΛ̄] ‘rose’
<i>èk</i> [ɛʔ] ‘excrement’	<i>’èk</i> [ɛʔ] ‘a buffalo calf’
<i>eu</i> [u] ‘see’	<i>’eu</i> [ũ] ‘yes’

4.2.1.3 Oral diphthong vowels of Acehnese

In addition to monophthong vowels, Acehnese also has oral and nasal diphthongs. There are seventeen diphthongs in Acehnese. These can be classified into two sets of diphthongs, those with the second element /ə/ and those with the second element /i/. The diphthongs with the second element /ə/ consist of six oral monophthongs which are /iə, uə, uə, əə, ʌə, ɔə/. The diphthongs with /i/ also consist of six oral diphthongs /əi, ui, ʌi, oi, ai, ɔi/ (Asyik, 1987, p. 18).

Durie (1985, p. 20) adds that Acehese diphthongs are “treated as unit phonemes and not as sequences because of their syntagmatic and paradigmatic substitutability with monophthongs”. In Durie’s chart (1985, p. 17) of Acehese oral diphthongs, he does not include /ʌə/, but Asyik (1987, p. 18) does (see table 4.4. below).

Table 4.4 : Oral diphthong vowels of Acehese (Asyik, 1987)

High	iə	uə	uɪ
High-mid		əi	oi
Low-mid	ɛə	ʌə	ɔə
Low		ʌi	ɔi
		ai	

In contrast to oral monophthong vowels, some oral diphthongs in North Acehese can only occur in open syllables (see Yusuf, 2013, p. 32; Durie, 1985, p. 21). Table 4.5 below shows the occurrence of some oral diphthong vowels of North Acehese in both open and closed syllables, and some which only occur in open syllables.

Table 4.5 : North Acehese Oral Diphthong Vowels in Open and Closed Syllables
(Adopted from Pillai & Yusuf (2012, p. 1032))

Vowel	Open Syllable	Closed Syllable
/iə/	<i>wie</i> [wiə] ‘left’	<i>wiet</i> [wiət] ‘break’
/uə/	<i>jeue</i> [ɟʷuə] ‘netting’	<i>jeuet</i> [ɟʷuət] ‘become, may, can’
/uə/	<i>hue</i> [huə] ‘pull’	<i>huek</i> [huəʔ]
/ɛə/	<i>adèe</i> [adɛə] ‘to dry’	-
/ʌə/	<i>lagö</i> [lagʌə] ‘particle for surprise’	-
/ɔə/	<i>bajoe</i> [baɟɔə] ‘dowel, pin, peg’	-
/əi/	<i>hei</i> [həi] ‘to call’	-
/ui/	<i>apui</i> [apui] ‘fire’	-
/ʌi/	<i>lagöina</i> [lagʌina] ‘very’	-
/oi/	<i>dhôi</i> [dhoi] ‘ash’	-
/ɔi/	<i>boi</i> [bɔi] ‘nickname from the name Boihaqi’	<i>boinah</i> [bɔinah] ‘property’
/ai/	<i>sapai</i> [sapai] ‘arm’	-

4.2.1.4 Nasal diphthong vowels of Acehese

Asyik (1987, p. 18) identifies five nasal diphthongs: four with second element schwa /ə/ which are /ĩə, ãə, õə, ẽə/ and another with second element /i/ which is /ãi/. Durie (1985, p. 17), however, identifies five nasal diphthongs with the second element being the schwa /ə/; these are /ĩə, ãə, õə, ẽə, ɔə/. This suggests that Asyik (1987) does not identify /ɔə/, and Durie (1985) does not identify /ãi/. Durie (1985) does not provide any example in Acehese of his finding on the nasal diphthong /ɔə/. But, Durie (personal communication, February 4, 2014) says that “the vowels after nasal consonants were nasal phonemes, and so /ɔə/ had to be included in the list”. As a native of Acehese, however, I myself cannot see that this diphthong is phonemically distinctive. I also asked North

Acehnese speakers about this, and their responses confirm my claim. Additionally, in their Acehnese dictionary, Daud & Durie (1999) did not list /ɔ̃ə/ as a different nasal vowel, instead following Asyik's (1987) analysis.

Table 4.6 below shows the nasal diphthongs identified by Asyik (1987).

Table 4.6 : Nasal diphthong vowels of North Acehnese

High	ĩə	ũə	ūə
Mid	ēə		
Low		āi	

In West Acehnese the nasal diphthong vowels with /ə/ as the second element are not present. There is only one nasal diphthong in this dialect, /āi/, as in the example *meuh'ai* [mũhāi] 'expensive.' With the exception of /āi/, nasal diphthongs in North Acehnese correspond to nasal monophthong vowels in West Acehnese (see examples in table 4.7 below for comparison.)

Table 4.7 : Comparison of nasal diphthong vowels in North and West Aceh dialects

North Acehnese	West Acehnese
<i>'iek</i> [ĩəʔ] 'urine'	<i>'ik</i> [ĩʔ] 'urine'
<i>'eue</i> [ũə] 'crawl'	<i>'eu</i> [ũ] 'crawl'
<i>'uet</i> [ũət] 'swallow'	<i>'ut</i> [ūt] 'swallow'
<i>ch'èe</i> [chẽə] 'to make hole in ear lobe'	<i>ch'è</i> [chẽ] 'to make hole in ear lobe'
<i>ch'o'e</i> [chõə] 'nasal sound'	<i>ch'o</i> [chõ] 'nasal sound'

There is a homonym in West Acehnese regarding these nasal diphthongs. The word *'eue* [ũə] 'crawl' and *'eu* [ũ] in North Acehnese, for example, is pronounced [ũ] in West Acehnese. In this dialect, [ũ] means either 'crawl' or 'yes.'

Previous studies of Acehnese based on the North Aceh dialect have not included the realisation of such diphthongs in the West Aceh dialect. Table 4.7 shows that nasal diphthongs with the second element /ə/ are not found in the West Aceh dialect. More detailed discussion on the absence of some diphthongs in West Acehnese is presented in section 4.3.1.

4.2.2 The consonants of Acehnese

Acehnese also has a fairly rich consonant inventory, though fricatives are not well represented. Asyik (1987, pp. 14-16) presents a system of twenty-five consonants in Acehnese, with a voicing distinction for stops. It is difficult to find precise consonant representations in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) chart. This will be discussed in more detail in 4.2.2.2 and 4.2.2.3.

Table 4.8 : North Acehnese Consonants (Asyik, 1987)

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo- palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops					
Voiceless stops	p	t	c	k	ʔ
Voiced stops	b	d	ɟ	g	
Fricatives					
		f	s	ʃ	h
Nasals					
Ordinary Nasals	m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Funny Nasals	ɱ	ɳ	ɳ̠	ɳ̡	
Lateral					
		l			
Trill					
		r			
Glides					
	w		y		

Asyik (1987, pp. 14-15) notes some particular production features of Acehnese consonants, which are: (1) Acehnese /t/ is not like regular alveolar [t], but is

slightly retroflex, and (2) “the Acehnese [r] can be considered as a trill, but it is not a perfect trill as found in Spanish”.

Durie (1985) also makes an important observation regarding the [S] sound in Acehnese. To pick up a precise symbol from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) chart to represent /S/ in Acehnese is a challenge. Durie (1985, p. 12) categorises this /S/ as a “laminal alveo-dental fricative with a wide channel area.” To produce the /S/ sound, Catford (1977, pp. 141-82), as quoted by Durie (1985, p. 12), identifies the following parameters:

[S] can be approximated by holding the tongue tip in the position for English [θ] and then, without moving the tip, raising the back part of the blade until it forms a constriction against the alveolar ridge. CHANNEL TURBULENCE (Catford, 1977) is generated from the alveolar ridge up to the teeth. Because of the wide channel area channel turbulence is low in intensity: less hiss is generated than for narrow English [s]. There is also dental WAKE-TURBULENCE (Catford, 1977) because the airstream is channelled from the alveolar ridge down onto the teeth.

However, Durie (1985) is of the view that the parameters suggested by Catford for the Acehnese [S] sound are not completely accurate. According to Durie (1985) the “tongue tip for [S] extends further forward, creating channel turbulence at the teeth.” He also adds that the further back position of tongue tip of the lower articulator for Acehnese [S] is critical (p. 15).

Durie suggests that /S/ in Acehnese sometimes tends to be ‘slightly affricated.’ In some areas of Greater Aceh, /S/ is pronounced as a “lamino alveo-dental stop, the tip of the tongue touching the teeth just as for the fricative” (p. 15).

The consonant chart in Table 4.8 above is based on North Acehnese. Most of consonants in this table also exist in West Acehnese, except for alveolar trill /r/ (see below), /f/, /ʃ/, and ‘funny nasals’ /m̃, ñ, ɲ̃, and ŋ̃/ as discussed in more

detail below. One of the striking differences between these dialects is in the articulation of the single rhotic. In North Aceh it is an alveolar trill [r], whilst in West Aceh it is a uvular fricative [ʁ]. This is a completely regular and invariant feature, because the alveolar trill is absent in West Acehnese and the uvular fricative is absent in the North Aceh dialect. The consonant chart for the West Aceh dialect is presented below.

Table 4.9 : West Aceh consonant phonemes

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Alveo-palatal	Velar	Uvular	Glottal
Stops	vl p	t	c	k		ʔ
	vd b	d	ɟ	g		
Fricatives	vl	s			r=[ʁ]	h
Nasals	vd m	n	ɲ	ŋ		
Lateral	vd	l				
Glides	vd w		j			

Note: vl = voiceless, vd = voiced

4.2.2.1 *Single consonants phonemes of North and West Acehnese*

Based on manner of articulation, consonants of North Acehnese dialect can be divided into six categories: stop, fricative, nasal, lateral, trill, and glide (Asyik, 1987, p. 15). There are nine stops; five of which are voiceless and the rest are voiced. Both North and West Acehnese voiceless stops are /p, t, c, k, ʔ/ and voiced stops are /b, d, ɟ, g/. Trill and ‘funny’ nasals are absent in West Acehnese. Asyik (1987) states that the phoneme /f/ is not quite a labio-dental in Acehnese. According to him, it is very close to bilabial (p. 14). I argue that there is no /f/ in spoken Acehnese. All /f/, as well as /v/ consonants taken from borrowed words,

will be /p/ in Acehnese. Therefore, written names of persons with ‘f’, for example ‘Fatimah,’ will be /patimah/ ([patimah]) in Acehnese, or ‘vespa’ will be /pespa/ ([peSpa]). This is the reason why Durie (1985) does not include /f/ in his consonant phonemes chart (p. 19).

Regarding the consonant /ʃ/, I argue that it cannot be considered as a consonant as it only appears in Acehnese in the context of two interjections involving shooing an animal away: [huʃ] and [ʃuk] (see Asyik 1987, p. 14). I cannot think of another example of this consonant in the Acehnese language. A potential source for [ʃ] in Acehnese is borrowing from Arabic. However, Arabic [ʃ] regularly becomes a consonant cluster /ch/ in Acehnese. So, after leaving out /f/ and /ʃ/ from Asyik’s list, there are two fricatives in Acehnese: /S/ and /h/.

Durie (1985) and Asyik (1987) differentiate the consonant nasals in Acehnese into ‘plain nasals’ /m, n, ŋ, and ŋ/ and ‘funny nasals’ /m̂, n̂, ŋ̂, and ŋ̂/ (the diacritics above the ‘funny nasals’ symbolise their distinction from ‘plain nasals’). What do they mean by ‘funny’ nasals? Durie (1995, p. 412) explains that they “are of slightly longer duration than ‘plain’ nasals, but the principal perceptual feature which distinguishes ‘funny’ from ‘plain’ nasals is that after a ‘funny’ nasal the following vowel is not nasalised.” Cowan (1981, p. 524) also notices the presence of such nasals in Acehnese and referred to them as clusters of the “nasal + homorganic stop as independent, ‘prenasalized’ phonemes.” Stokhof (1992, p. 249), on the other hand, uses the term “laryngalised nasals.”

Asyik (personal communication, July 23, 2010) has assured me that ‘funny’ nasals do exist in North Acehnese. However, based on my examples that Durie and Asyik claim are ‘funny’ nasals, I suggest that Cowan’s treatment as prenasalised stops is more relevant to my findings in the West Aceh dialect.

According to Durie (1995, p. 412), these ‘funny’ nasals in North Acehese “correspond diachronically with prenasalised voiced stops in other Austronesian languages.” Having evaluated words containing the ‘funny’ nasals in North Acehese, I find that these sounds correspond in fact to prenasalised stops: ‘mb, nd, and ngg’ in my dialect, as discussed in more detail below.

Linguists, however, have not reached agreement as to whether these ‘funny’ nasals in Acehese constitute prenasalised stops. In terms of dialect differences between North and West Acehese, the nasals do not play a significant differentiating role in speech because they do not really sound that different from one another, and the speakers of these two dialects are not really aware of the presence of such differences. Furthermore, the correspondence of ‘funny’ nasals as prenasalised stops in the West Aceh dialect does not provoke negative judgement from North Acehese speakers. Consequently, since the sounds in question do not feature in people’s dialect judgements and attitudes, the debate on this matter is irrelevant to this sociolinguistic study. The differences in the presence or absence of ‘funny’ nasals across dialects do not cause misunderstanding and confusion between speakers of different dialect backgrounds. In addition, words containing these nasals are not frequently used.

There are eight nasals in the North Acehese dialect, which consist of four ordinary nasals /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ and four ‘funny nasals’ /m̃, ñ, ɲ̃, ŋ̃/. There are two liquids /l/ and /r/, and two semi-vowels /w/ and /j/.

4.2.2.2 *Distribution of consonant phonemes across dialects*

As shown in Table 4.8 and Table 4.9 above, the consonant phonemes in North and West Acehese are different. The North Aceh dialect consists of twenty-five consonants: /p, b, d, t, c, ʃ, k, g, ʔ, f, S, ʃ, h, m, n, ɲ, ŋ, m̃, ñ, ɲ̃, ŋ̃, l, r, w, and j/.

In the West Aceh dialect, the ‘funny’ nasals correspond to prenasalised stops ‘mb, nd, nj, and ngg’. The realisation of the rhotic [r] and [ʁ] between the two dialects is also different. Furthermore, the phonotactic distribution of consonant phonemes in Acehese shows significant differences across dialects. The discussion of the distribution of consonant phonemes in this section focuses on those which are different in North and West Aceh dialects. The examples given below are found in North Acehese and their correspondence in West Acehese.

1. Voiced bilabial ‘funny’ nasal consonant /m̃/

	North Acehese	West Acehese	Meaning
Initial	<i>mbeue</i> [m̃uə]	<i>mbeu</i> [mbu]	‘stubborn’
	<i>mbôh</i> [m̃oh]	<i>mbôh</i> [mboh]	‘to blow’
	<i>mbông</i> [m̃oŋ]	<i>mbông</i> [mboŋ]	‘show-off, arrogant’
	<i>mbôt-mbôt</i> [m̃ot-m̃ot]	<i>mbôt-mbôt</i> [mboṭ-mboṭ]	‘fontanelle’
Medial	<i>teumbôn</i> [tũm̃on]	<i>teumbôn</i> [tumbon]	‘fat’
	<i>keumbông</i> [kũm̃oŋ]	<i>geumbông</i> [gumboŋ]	‘blowing up’
	<i>keumbeue</i> [kũm̃uə]	<i>geumbeue</i> [gumbuə]	‘twin’

2. Voiced alveolar ‘funny’ nasal consonant /ñ/

	North Acehese	West Acehese	Meaning
Initial	<i>ndap</i> [ñap]	<i>ndap</i> [ndap]	‘move stealthily, move in crouching position’
	<i>ndie</i> [ñiə]	<i>ndi</i> [ndi]	‘measurement used by Acehese for rice, salt, etc.’
Medial	<i>keurandam</i> [kurãnam]	<i>keureundam</i> [kuruundam]	‘a small container for a lime’

3. Voiced palatal ‘funny’ nasal consonant /ɲ/

	North Acehnese	West Acehnese	Meaning
Initial	<i>nje</i> [ɲə]	<i>nje</i> [ɲə]	'to squeeze sugarcane with a special tool'
Medial	<i>manjô</i> [mãɲo]	<i>manjô</i> [mãɲjo]	'balcony'

4. Voiced velar ‘funny’ nasal /ŋ/, which is pronounced between the voiced velar nasal [ŋ] and the voiced velar stop [g].

	North Acehnese	West Acehnese	Meaning
Initial	<i>nggang</i> [ŋgaŋ]	<i>nggang</i> [ŋgaŋ]	'hornbill'

5. Voiced alveolar trill consonant /r/ (every time there is a voiced alveolar trill consonant /r/ in the North Aceh dialect, it is realised as a voiced uvular fricative [ʁ] in the West Aceh dialect).

	North Acehnese	West Acehnese	Meaning
Initial	<i>rabé</i> [rabe]	<i>rabé</i> [ʁabe]	'take livestock to pasture'
	<i>ruhueng</i> [ruhuəŋ]	<i>ruhueng</i> [ʁuhuəŋ]	'hole'
	<i>röt</i> [ɾʌt]	<i>röt</i> [ʁʌt]	'road, main road'
	<i>reudôk</i> [ruɔdoʔ]	<i>reudôk</i> [ʁuɔdoʔ]	'cloudy'
	<i>riek</i> [riəʔ]	<i>riek</i> [ʁiəʔ]	'overripe and dry (coconut)'
Medial:	<i>arè</i> [arɛ]	<i>arè</i> [aʁɛ]	'amount of two litres'
	<i>barôh</i> [baroh]	<i>barôh</i> [baʁoh]	'toward the sea, north'
	<i>beurigén</i> [burigen]	<i>beurigén</i> [buʁigen]	'get mad'
	<i>karèh</i> [kareh]	<i>karèh</i> [kaʁeh]	'stir (rice) while cooking'
	<i>karom</i> [karəm]	<i>karom</i> [kaʁəm]	'brood, sit on eggs'

The rhotic never occurs in syllable-final position. When loanwords with a syllable-final rhotic are adopted in both North and West Acehese, the rhotic is dropped. For examples, loanwords from Bahasa Indonesia *umur* [umūr] ‘age’ and *tukar* [tukar] ‘exchange’ become *umu* [umū] and [tuka] respectively.

4.2.2.3 Consonant clusters of North and West Acehese

Asyik (1987, p. 16) divides North Acehese clusters into three classes based on the second element of words attached to consonants, for example, with second consonant (C_2) /h/, /r/, and /l/. The Acehese clusters are used initially and medially, but there is no consonant cluster in the final position. The North Acehese clusters with C_2 /h/ are: /ph, th, ch, kh, bh, dh, jh, gh, nh, lh, rh/. The North Acehese clusters with C_2 /r/ are: /pr, tr, cr, kr, br, dr, jr, gr/. The North Acehese clusters C_2 /l/, are: /pl, cl, kl, bl, jl, gl/.

In this study different consonant clusters in North and West Acehese are identified. Before discussing more detail regarding the comparison of differences in Section 4.3.2, some examples of North Acehese consonant clusters will be provided in this section to illustrate their distribution.

1. Cluster with [h] as the second element:

[bh] *bhōi* [bhoi] ‘kind of Aceh traditional cake’

bhuek [bhuək] ‘drown’

bhan [bhan] ‘tire’

bho [bhɔə] ‘bore’

[ch] *chik* [chiʔ] ‘older people’

ch’o [chɔ̃] ‘speak through the nose’

- chen* [chɛn] ‘jump’
- ch`èk* [chɛ̃ʔ] ‘small’
- ch`èe* [chɛ̃ə] ‘to make hole in the ear lobe for earrings’
- [dh] *dhoe* [dhɔə] ‘forehead’
- dhôï* [dhoi] ‘ash, dust’
- geudham* [gudhãm] ‘to slam the door hard’
- dhöt* [dh] ‘to scold, speak angrily’
- [gh] *gheuem* [ghwəm] ‘molar’
- ghön* [ghən] ‘heavy’
- ghuen* [ghuən] ‘thick, stiff (liquids)’
- [jh] *jhuek, lijhuek* [jhuəʔ, lijhuəʔ] ‘soaked, very wet, drenched’
- jhung* [jhuŋ] ‘pull something upwards’
- jheut* [jhuut] ‘wicked, bad’
- jhô* [jho] ‘shove’
- [kh] *kha* [kha] ‘brave’
- khanduri* [khanduri] ‘party’
- khèk* [khɛʔ] ‘bad, poor quality’
- khie* [khiə] ‘rancid, gone off’
- kh`op* [khɔ̃p] ‘bad smell’
- [lh] *lha* [lha] ‘flake, chips (of wood)’
- lhah* [lhah] ‘wean’
- lheueh* [lhuəh] ‘free, miss, finished’
- lhôk* [lhok] ‘deep’
- [ph] *ph`èp* [phɛ̃p] ‘flat, level’
- phang* [phaŋ] ‘sit with legs apart’
- phôn* [phon] ‘first’

	<i>phui</i> [phui] ‘light’
[rh]	<i>rhah</i> [rhah] ‘wash’
	<i>rhët</i> [rhet] ‘fall’
	<i>rhue</i> [rhue] ‘lemon grass, citronella’
	<i>rhom</i> [rhəm] ‘throw’
[th]	<i>that</i> [that] ‘very, too’
	<i>theuen</i> [thueən] ‘to set a trap’
	<i>thô</i> [tho] ‘dry’
	<i>thôn</i> [thon] ‘year’

According to Asyik (1987, p. 16), Lawler (1977) and Durie (1985) treat consonant clusters with the second element of [h] in Acehnese as aspirated unit phonemes. However, Asyik (1987) treats [ph, th, ch, kh, bh, dh, ʃh, gh, nh, lh, rh] as consonant clusters because, according to him, “they are split by the infix *-eun-* when the words (adjectives) containing them are used with *meu- ... -eun-*” (Asyik, 1987, p. 16). The examples that he mentioned are: *mupeuneuhet* ‘rather bitter’ (from *phet* ‘bitter’) and *meukeuneuhie* ‘(it) tastes a little bit like bad cooking oil’ (from *khie* ‘(it) tastes like bad cooking oil’). Asyik admits that examples of such a split are not common in Acehnese because there are not many words with consonant clusters at the initial position that can be used with *meu- ... -eun-*. However, he believed that it is also true of other words beginning with such consonant clusters.

From the consonant clusters with the second element [h] discussed above, [rh] is absent in the West Aceh dialect. For a more detailed discussion see section 4.3.2. Furthermore, the consonant cluster [nh] is only found in some Acehnese dialects in Greater Aceh. Daud & Durie (1999, p. 6) note that the [nh] sound is found in

Blang Bintang and north Montasik area in Greater Aceh. In this dialect, people say [manhō] ‘to bathe’ rather than [manō] as in North and West Acehnese.

2. Cluster with [r] as the second element:

- [br] *breueh* [bruwəh] ‘uncooked, hulled rice’
 brôk [broʔ] ‘rotten, bad, ugly’
 bruek [bruəʔ] ‘coconut shell’
 brön [brən] ‘feel the need to stretch’
- [cr] *creue* [crwə] ‘to lop’
 criek [criəʔ] ‘tear, rip’
 crôh [croh] ‘to fry’
 crông [croŋ] ‘draw water’
- [dr] *droe* [drə] ‘self’
 drop [drəp] ‘arrest, catch’
 drien [driən] ‘durian fruit’
 dr’om [drōm] ‘big bucket, big silo-shaped can’
- [gr] *grah* [grah] ‘thirsty’
 gr’éh [grēh] ‘cut into segments’
 grôp [grop] ‘jump, skip’
 gruep [gruəp] ‘grasp, hold firmly’
- [ʃr] *jra* [ʃra] ‘exhausted, suffer’
 jruék [ʃruəʔ] ‘preserved (food)’
 jroh [ʃrəh] ‘noble’
- [kr] *krang* [kraŋ] ‘dry and stiff’
 kreueng [kruwəŋ] ‘clam, shellfish’
 kriet [kriət] ‘stingy’
 krueng [kruəŋ] ‘river’

- [pr] *prah* [prah] ‘to squeeze’
prèh [prɛh] ‘to wait’
prok [prɔʔ] ‘blemish after skin infection’
pruet [pruət] ‘stomach, belly’
- [tr] *trang* [traŋ] ‘bright’
trép [trɛp] ‘long time’
trôn [trɔn] ‘to go down’
trieng [triəŋ] ‘bamboo’

3. Cluster with [l] as the second element:

- [bl] *blah* [blah] ‘-teen, side, place’
blé [ble] ‘sparkle, flash’
bleuet [bluət] ‘coconut leaf screen’
blie [bliə] ‘to stare’
- [cl] *club* [club] ‘the sound of a drop of water falling into water’
clum [clum] ‘the sound of splashing water’
- [gl] *glah* [glah] ‘glass; class, grade’
glang [glaŋ] ‘worm’
gliép [gliəp] ‘examine, look through’
glum [glum] ‘white spot on skin (of disease)’
- [ʃl] *jlaih* [ʃlaih] ‘clear’
jlusi [ʃlusi] ‘ventilation’
- [kl] *klat* [klat] ‘astringent taste’
kleuet [kluət] ‘wild’
klo [klɔ] ‘dumb, deaf’

klok [klɔʔ] ‘pinch’

[pl] *plang* [plaŋ] ‘spotted’

pleuen [pluən] ‘maggot’

pluek [pluəkʔ] ‘to pull off skin or bark’

plueng [pluəŋ] ‘to run, to escape’

Note that, based on my observation and data collection, the consonant cluster with the second element [l] does not exist in the South Acehese variant. The second element alveolar lateral [l] of a consonant cluster is instead replaced with the uvular fricative [ɣ]. For example, *kleung* [kluŋ] ‘hawk, eagle’ and *bleut* [bluət] ‘coconut leaf screen’ become *kreung* [kɣuŋ] and *breut* [bɣuət] respectively.

Because C₂ /l/ is absent in the South Acehese variety, it appears that it has a large number of homophones compared to the West Aceh dialect. It is even larger when compared to the North Aceh dialect because the South Aceh variant, similar to the West Aceh dialect, lacks some diphthongs (relative to North Aceh) and other consonant clusters are reduced, as will be discussed in section 4.3. In West Acehese, the word *kreung* [kɣuŋ] means ‘shell’, whilst South Aceh people say [kɣuŋ] for both ‘eagle/hawk’ and ‘shell’.

4.3 Phonological differences between North Aceh and West Aceh dialects

4.3.1 The absence of diphthongs in West Aceh dialect

The North Aceh dialect has a more extensive phonological inventory than the other dialects. This means that there are far less homophones than we find in other dialects. There is no difference between *balèe* [baləə] ‘meeting platform’

and *balè* [balɛ] ‘widowed, divorced’ or *bue* [buə] ‘long-tailed macaque monkey’ and *bu* [bu] ‘cooked rice’ in West Aceh, whereas in North Aceh the difference is very obvious. In other words, distinctions are made in the North Aceh dialect as a result of the presence of diphthongs; however, this is not the case in the West Aceh dialect because the second element is dropped when the C2 consists of certain diphthong vowels. These homophones are one of the sources of stigmatisation of the West Acehnese because the speakers of North Acehnese regard the West Acehnese dialect as confusing. Since diphthongs play a very important role in differentiating the meaning of a word, it is more straightforward to understand the meaning of certain words in North Acehnese. But this is not true for the West Acehnese, for whom the meaning is understood through context.

There are also some words in North Acehnese with diphthongs which are not homophonous in West Acehnese, and such words do not create misunderstanding amongst speakers of the two dialects. However, the North Acehnese speakers may notice that the West Acehnese speakers pronounce certain words slightly different. For example, *kayèe* [kajɛə] ‘wood’, *teureujoe* [turujɔə] ‘k.o. skin disease’, *ie* [iə] ‘water’, etc. Whereas some other dialects have *kayè* [kajɛ] ‘wood’, *teureujoe* [turujɔ] ‘k.o. skin disease’, *i* [i] ‘water’ respectively. In the case of the West Aceh dialect, some diphthongs, mentioned in sections 4.2.1.3 and 4.2.1.4, do not exist.

The diphthong with the second element of [ə] or ‘Acehnese centring diphthongs’ is missing in the West Aceh dialect. In North Acehnese diphthongs with the second element [ə] may occupy the initial, medial, and final positions.

Table 4.10 : North Acehnese diphthongs

Diphthongs	Position		
	Initial	Medial	Final
[iə]	<i>ie</i> [iə] ‘water’ <i>iem</i> [iəm] ‘keep quiet’	<i>leumiek</i> [lumĩəʔ] ‘soft’ <i>lieh</i> [liəh] ‘to lick’	<i>leupie</i> [leupie] ‘cold’ <i>seuie</i> [Suʔiə] ‘not feeling well’
[uə]	<i>uem</i> [uəm] ‘to embrace, hug’ <i>uet</i> [uət] ‘polish, rub clean’	<i>suep</i> [suəp] ‘put in mouth’ <i>duek</i> [duəʔ] ‘sit, dwell’	<i>cue</i> [cuə] ‘steal’ <i>sue</i> [Suə] ‘waste from sugar-cane extract’
[ɛə]			<i>batèe</i> [batɛə] ‘stone, rock’ <i>pankèe</i> [paŋkɛə] ‘hold in arms’ <i>bajèe</i> [baʔɛə] ‘shirt, blouse’
[ɔə]			<i>asoe</i> [aʔɔə] ‘flesh, content’ <i>bajoe</i> [baʔɔə] ‘wedge’ <i>taloe</i> [talɔə] ‘rope, string’
[uə]	<i>eue</i> [uə] ‘barren (of animals)’ <i>euet</i> [uət] ‘dare’	<i>peuek</i> [puəʔ] ‘throw (liquid)’ <i>jeuet</i> [ʔuət] ‘can, able, may, become, allowed’	<i>beue</i> [buə] ‘crop’ <i>saweue</i> [Sawuə] ‘visit, pay a visit’ <i>ceue</i> [cuə] ‘boundary, border’

The pronunciation of *geutiep* [gutiəp] ‘snap fingers’ and *ue* [uə] ‘have a blockage in the throat’ in North Aceh dialect, for example, is [gutip] and [u] in West Aceh dialect, where [iə] and [uə] correspond to [i] and [u] respectively. The speakers of North Acehnese differentiate the pronunciation of *ue* [uə] ‘have a blockage in the throat’ with *u* [u] ‘coconut.’ Meanwhile speakers of West

Acehnese have the same pronunciation for two different meanings. The differences occur frequently because words with the diphthong with the second element [ə] can often be found in the North Aceh dialect. Therefore, in a conversation between North and West Acehnese speakers, the loss of distinction might lead to misunderstanding and confusion for North Aceh speakers, if they are unable to guess the meaning through the context.

Furthermore, these sound correspondences which result in different meanings in one dialect, but not in the other, are generally used to ridicule minority dialect speakers. For example, *mi* [mi] ‘noodle’ is pronounced exactly the same as *mie* [miə] ‘cat’ in the West Aceh dialect, whereas in the North Aceh dialect they are differentiated by the diphthong [iə]. Some people from North Acehnese who know about the West Aceh [i] homophones like to make fun of West Acehnese speakers. So, when a West Acehnese speaker is telling a close friend from North Acehnese dialect background that he/she wants to eat noodles, teasing usually follows.

People in Aceh are very fond of having Acehnese-styled noodles (*mi Aceh*) for afternoon or evening snacks. Sometimes noodles are consumed for lunch or dinner instead of regular rice. In Acehnese, when you say you want to go to have some noodles, you usually say *Lôn jak pajôh mi* [lon ja? pajoh mi] ‘I want to have some noodle.’ When this is stated by a West Acehnese speaker, and it is heard by people from North Aceh who know about the West Aceh dialect, they mockingly say: ‘What? Are you going to eat noodle or a cat?’

The following wordlist compares diphthongs with the second element of [ə] in North Acehnese with the corresponding West Acehnese terms.

Table 4.11: North Acehnes second element [ə] diphthongs and West Acehnes corresponding terms

North Acehnes	West Acehnes
<i>leupie</i> [lupiə] ‘cold’	<i>lupi</i> [lupi] ‘cold’
<i>seuie</i> [Suʔiə] ‘not feeling well’	<i>seui</i> [Suʔi] ‘not feeling well’
<i>wie</i> [wiə] ‘left’	<i>wi</i> [wi] ‘left’
<i>keue</i> [kuaə] ‘front’	<i>keu</i> [ku] ‘front’
<i>wewe</i> [wuaə] ‘stable for livestock’	<i>wewu</i> [wu] ‘stable for livestock’
<i>beue</i> [buə] ‘crop’	<i>beu</i> [bu] ‘crop’
<i>bueh</i> [buaə] ‘wild’	<i>buh</i> [buh] ‘wild’
<i>ueh</i> [uaə] ‘worn-out’	<i>uh</i> [uh] ‘worn-out’
<i>asèe</i> [aSeə] ‘dog’	<i>asè</i> [aSɛ] ‘dog’
<i>abèe</i> [abeə] ‘ash, dust, earth’	<i>abè</i> [abɛ] ‘ash, dust, earth’
<i>bèe</i> [beə] ‘smell (n)’	<i>bè</i> [bɛ] ‘smell (n)’
<i>asoe</i> [asə] ‘flesh, content’	<i>aso</i> [aSɔ] ‘flesh, content’
<i>bloe</i> [blə] ‘buy’	<i>blo</i> [blɔ] ‘buy’
<i>timue</i> [timuə] ‘east’	<i>timu</i> [timu] ‘east’
<i>timu</i> [timu] ‘float’	<i>timu</i> [timu] ‘float’
<i>sue</i> [Suə] ‘dreg’	<i>su</i> [Su] ‘dreg’
<i>su</i> [Su] ‘voice, sound’	<i>su</i> [Su] ‘voice, sound’
<i>bleuet</i> [bluət] ‘coconut leaf screen’	<i>bleut</i> [blut] ‘coconut leaf screen’
<i>bleut</i> [blut] ‘open one’s eyes’	<i>bleut</i> [blut] ‘open one’s eyes’

4.3.2 Absence of some consonant clusters in second element [h] in West Acehnes

Besides the absence of the diphthong with the second element [ə], the other characteristic of West Acehnes is that it does not have the consonant clusters [rh] and [gh]. Moreover, some consonant clusters with the second element [h], such as [ph], [dh] and [kh], do occur, albeit only in some words. The occurrence of these clusters is unpredictable in terms of any phonological rule. The clusters with the second element [h] are commonly found in North Acehnes. However, it is not the case in the West Aceh dialect.

The presence of the consonant cluster [rh] in North Aceh dialect is hardly recognised by West Acehnese speakers. The presence of the element [h] is almost inaudible when North Acehnese speakers produce words which contain this cluster. I have lived in Banda Aceh and had friends among these speakers; but I came to realise the element [h] in such words only through careful linguistic field work. I thought it was only people who lived in North Aceh who still pronounced this element. However, when I confirmed my findings to North Acehnese speakers who lived in Banda Aceh (which is outside North Aceh) I noticed they also maintain the presence of the consonant cluster [rh]. I was not previously aware of such a phenomenon, even though I had lived in Banda Aceh for a long time.

Table 4.12 : [rh] and [gh] consonant clusters comparison in North and West Aceh dialects

North Acehnese	West Acehnese
<i>rhët</i> [rhɛt] ‘to fall’	<i>rët</i> [ɛt] ‘to fall’
<i>rhah</i> [rhah] ‘to wash’	<i>rah</i> [kah] ‘to wash’
<i>rhom</i> [rhɔm] ‘to throw’	<i>rom</i> [ɛɔm] ‘to throw’
<i>rhô</i> [rho] ‘to spill, spilled’	<i>rô</i> [ɔo] ‘to spill, spilled’
<i>rhôï</i> [rhoi] ‘ruler’	<i>rôn</i> [ɛɔn] ‘ruler’
<i>reularha</i> [pɯlarha] ‘to raise animals’	<i>peulara</i> [pɯlaka] ‘to raise animals’
<i>bak rheue</i> [baʔ rhuə] ‘lemon grass, citronella’	<i>bak reu</i> [baʔ ɛu] ‘lemon grass, citronella’
<i>rhoh</i> [rhoh] ‘started having fruit (of tree)’	<i>roh</i> [ɛoh] ‘started having fruit (of tree)’
<i>roh</i> [rɔh] ‘soul’	<i>roh</i> [ɛɔh] ‘soul’
<i>rhop</i> [rhɔp] ‘noise’	<i>rop</i> [ɛɔp] ‘noise’
<i>rhak</i> [rhaʔ] ‘climb up on, mount (v.)’	<i>rak</i> [kaʔ] ‘climb up on, mount (v.)’
<i>teurhok</i> [turhoʔ] ‘food or drink goes down the wrong way’	<i>teurôk</i> [tuɛoʔ] ‘food or drink goes down the wrong way’
<i>rhung</i> [rhun] ‘take out from grill’	<i>rung</i> [ɛun] ‘take out from grill’
<i>rung</i> [run] ‘back (part of body)’	<i>rung</i> [ɛun] ‘back (part of body)’
<i>rhéng</i> [rheŋ] ‘to fasten (of screw or bolt)’	<i>réng</i> [ɛeŋ] ‘to fasten (of screw or bolt)’
<i>ghön</i> [ghən] ‘heavy’	<i>geuhön</i> [guhən] ‘heavy’
<i>gheuem</i> [ghuəm] ‘molar’	<i>geum</i> [gum] ‘molar’
<i>ghuen</i> [ghuən] ‘thick, stiff (liquids)’	<i>gun</i> [gun] ‘thick, stiff (liquids)’

The table above shows that the distribution of consonant cluster [rh] can be in the initial or middle position. The position does not affect the absence of [rh] in

the West Aceh dialect. For instance, *rhët* [rhɣt] ‘fall’ and *teurhok* [turhoʔ] ‘food or drink goes down the wrong way’ in North Acehese, where the clusters are in the initial and final position respectively, are *rët* [ɣt] and *teurôk* [tuɔʔ] in West Acehese. This suggests the position does not influence cluster simplification.

It is important to note here that there are other plain [r] in the North Aceh dialect. For example, *röt* [rət] ‘eat grass (of animal),’ *rôk* [roʔ] ‘to lock (of door or gate),’ *rik* [riʔ] ‘old and dry coconut fruit,’ etc. This suggests that [rh] and [r] function differently in the North Aceh dialect where one occurs as a consonant cluster and the other as a plain consonant. The plain [r] consonants are also present in both West and North Acehese dialects. As a result, this aspect of consonant cluster simplification demonstrates that there are more homophones in the West Acehese dialect.

The consonant cluster simplification is influenced by a phonological condition where the alveolar trill [r] in North Acehese is replaced with the uvular fricative [ɣ] in West Acehese. The absence of the [rh] consonant cluster in the West Aceh dialect has resulted from this change. More specifically, the cluster with the second element [h] in Acehese never occurs with a fricative. Thus, this phonotactic restriction prohibits [*ɣh]. There are no [*Sh] or [*hh] consonant clusters in this language or its variations. Therefore, when it comes to the West Aceh dialect, where there is a change from the alveolar trill [r] to the uvular fricative [ɣ], the [h] element is dropped. As a result, every consonant cluster with [rh] in North Acehese becomes [ɣ] in West Acehese, as [ɣ^h] is not possible in the language.

My impression is that using the element [h] after a uvular fricative [ʁ] interrupts the fluency of articulation. In this respect, the continuant [r] can be followed by [h] but not a fricated [ʁ]. As a native speaker of West Acehese, I have been trying to produce the consonant cluster [*ʁh] as the North Acehese do with [rh], but I always fail to do so. It is nigh impossible to say words with this consonant cluster and achieve a fluent conversation. As a result, West Acehese tends to reduce such consonant clusters.

The presence of the consonant cluster [gh] is another feature that distinguishes these dialects because [gh] only appears in the North Aceh variation. Unlike [rh], [gh] is clearly pronounced by North Acehese speakers. There are only three words that I have been able to identify in this category. These words do not show a similar pattern of change across both dialects. The word *ghön* [ghən] ‘heavy’ in North Acehese, for example, becomes *geuhön* [guhən] in West Acehese. One explanation is that there is an epenthetic vowel [u] from *ghön* [ghən] to *geuhön* [guhən]. For *gheuem* [ghuəm] ‘molar’ and *ghuen* [ghuən] ‘thick, stiff (liquids),’ this epenthetic vowel does not work. The most probable condition is that the consonant cluster [gh] is just simply reduced to [gum] and [gun] in West Acehese, which has a tendency of simplifying consonant clusters with the second element [h].

The evidence of this cluster simplification can be seen in other consonant clusters such as [bh], [dh], [kh] and [ph]. It is worth noting, however, that these clusters have not completely disappeared in the West Aceh dialect. In some words they still exist, and in others they do not. For example, [kh] in *ukheue* [ukhuə] ‘root’ of North Acehese is *ukeu* [uku] in West Acehese. It does not mean, however, that there is no consonant cluster [kh] in West Acehese dialect.

There are words such as *kheun* [khuun] ‘to say,’ *khem* [khem] ‘to smile, to laugh,’ and *kh’ep* [khěp] ‘smelly’ that are present in both West and North Acehese. When these consonant clusters occur in any West Acehese word, the word in question is identical in North Acehese.

Table 4.13 : Consonant clusters with second element [h]

North Acehese	West Acehese
<i>bhan</i> [bhan] ‘ball, tyre’	<i>ban</i> [ban] ‘ball, tyre’
<i>bho</i> [bhɔ] ‘drill’	<i>bho</i> [bhɔ] ‘drill’
<i>phö</i> [phə] ‘fly’	<i>pö</i> [pə] ‘fly’
<i>kaphô</i> [kapho] ‘camphor’	<i>kaphô</i> [kapho] ‘camphor’
<i>rangkheuem</i> [raŋkhuəm] ‘pile of cut thorny plants used as obstruction’	<i>rangkeum</i> [ɾaŋkuum] ‘pile of cut thorny plants used as obstruction’
<i>tapha</i> [tapha] ‘meditation’	<i>tapa</i> [tapa] ‘meditation’
<i>kadha</i> [kadha] ‘fate’	<i>kada</i> [kada] ‘fate’

The examples listed in Table 4.13 show that some consonant clusters with second element [h] occur in North Acehese, but they are missing in the West Aceh dialect. There are, however, plain consonants and consonant clusters occur in both North and West Acehese dialects. The consonant cluster [ph], for instance, *pheut* [phuut] ‘chisel,’ *phet* [phet] ‘bitter,’ *phôn* [phon] ‘the first’ are found in both dialects, and they also have plain consonant [p] such as in *peut* [puut] ‘four’ and *pet* [pet] ‘to close one’s eyes.’

Irregularities with the second element [h] in both dialects raise some issues and there is no explanation for these irregularities. It remains that there is no

particular rule that can be employed to explain the extent to which the consonant cluster with the second element [h] is present or absent.

4.3.3 The vowel /u/ in Acehnese

Some consonant-initial words followed by the vowel /u/ in North Acehnese are spelled ‘eu’ and pronounced [u] in West Acehnese. For example, the word *kumun* in *aneuk kumun* ‘nephew’ is generally pronounced [anũʔ kumũn] in North Acehnese. However, in West Acehnese it is written as *aneuk keumun* and pronounced as [anũʔ kumũn].

This pattern is also evident in some borrowed words. For example, the word for ‘coffin’ in Bahasa Indonesia is *keranda*, which in North Aceh is written as *keurunda* and pronounced [kũrunda]. In West Aceh, however, it is spelled *keureunda* and pronounced [kũkũrunda]. Another example is the word *neraka* ‘the hell’ adopted from Bahasa Indonesia as *nuraka* [nũraka] in North Acehnese whilst it is [nũʔraka] in West Acehnese.

The above suggests that in some circumstances the West Aceh dialect substitutes the vowel phoneme /u/ in Indonesian loanwords, where the North Aceh dialect maintains the Indonesian vowels. For example, the word *sepupu* ‘cousin’ in Bahasa Indonesia is pronounced exactly the same as in North Aceh. The phoneme /ə/ in the first syllable remains unchanged. But, in West Aceh it is usually written as *seupupu* [Suɔpupu]. The same applies to the word *serdadu* ‘mercenary in foreign pay (during the colonial period).’ In West Aceh dialect it is adopted as *seudadu* and pronounced as [Sudadu]. Meanwhile, in North Aceh *sedadu* [sədadu] is commonly used. West Aceh on the other hand maintains Indonesian vowels while in North Aceh they are substituted for /u/ in words such as *karate* and *kartu* which means ‘karate (martial art)’ and ‘card’

respectively in Bahasa Indonesia. In West Acehese they are written and pronounced *karate* [kaʁate] and *kareutu* [kaʁutu], but in North Acehese they are written and pronounced *keurate* [kurate] and *keureutu* [kuruʔu] respectively.

It is also found that the phoneme /u/ in West Acehese corresponds to /i/ in North Acehese. The verb for ‘to bend down’ in North Acehese is *tikui* and it is pronounced [tikui]. West Acehese speakers usually write *teukui* and it is pronounced [tuʔkui]. There are many other words in the North Aceh dialect which have /i/ corresponding to /u/ in the West Aceh dialect, for instance, *teurijoe* [tuʔrijɔ] ‘type of skin infection’ in North Aceh and *teureujoe* [tuʔuʔjɔ] in West Aceh. However, this correspondence is not always present and cannot be predicted in terms of phonological constraints.

Some phonemes in West Aceh dialect correspond to several phonemes in the North Aceh dialect and vice versa. For example, West Acehese /u/ corresponds to North Acehese /u/, /i/, /u/ and /ə/, whilst North Acehese /u/ corresponds to West Acehese /u/, /i/, /u/ and /a/. Thus, the West Aceh dialect exhibits a slightly different set of contrasts to /u/ compared to those found in the North Aceh dialect. In other words, the opposite situation to what has been discussed above has occurred in the context of the West Aceh dialect. There are North Acehese words where the vowel /u/ remains static, but in the West Aceh dialect, it corresponds to various vowel phonemes. And there are some different mid vowel /u/ for both dialects discussed below.

Firstly, phoneme /u/ in North Aceh corresponds to phoneme /u/ in West Aceh. The word for ‘to scoop (water/rice)’ in North Aceh, for example, is *teumek* [tuʔmɛʔ]. The vowel on the first syllable is pronounced [u]. The corresponding

word in West Aceh is *tumok* [tumõʔ] where [u] in North Aceh is pronounced [u]. The change in pronunciation for both vowels in both dialects, as the example given above, is not due to the influence of their environment sets. The word *jeumet* [jumõʔ] ‘diligent’ in North Aceh has a similar word structure in West Aceh, except for corresponding phonemes /u/ and /u/ in the first syllable [jumõʔ].

Secondly, the phoneme /u/ in North Aceh also corresponds to /i/ in West Aceh. There are some words in North Acehese that are characterised by this difference, which arguably is due to variants between the two dialects; however, in West Aceh most people pronounce [i] rather than [u]. The word *jeungeuk* [juŋũʔ] ‘to look or observe with head thrust forward’ in North Aceh is more commonly used in West Aceh as *jingeuk* [jiŋũʔ]. But sometimes the pronunciation is the same in North Aceh. However, I also observed that people in North Aceh said either [juŋũʔ] or [jiŋũʔ]. In other words, it results in homophony in the two dialects.

Even though the interchangeability of /u/ and /i/ in both dialects is regarded as a variant, there is a term that refers to a small and benign type of snake. The term in North Aceh is *uleu beunteung* [ulu buнтуŋ]. I was surprised when an informant in Bireuen mentioned the snake and I thought he may have been referring to another type of snake. In my dialect, this snake is called *uleu binting* [ulu bintuŋ], but I had never heard people in my birthplace call this reptile *uleu beunteung*. According to my informant, this snake (*uleu*) is named after *beunteung* because it hides under bushes along fences in the village. Such traditional fences are called *beunteung* in Acehese. In the West Aceh dialect,

although we use *beunteung* to mean ‘fence’, the snake is not explicitly named after the fence.

The third corresponding phoneme /u/ from North Aceh is /a/ in West Aceh. Some words contain /u/ in the first syllable after a consonant, which becomes /a/ in West Acehese. For example, *keureutu* [kuruutu] ‘card’ in North Aceh is *kareutu* [kaʁuutu] in West Aceh. It is *geureupu* [guruupu] ‘fork’ in North Aceh, but *gareupu* [gaʁuupu] in West Aceh. See Table 4.14 below for more examples. I found that this shift takes place in borrowed words, especially Indonesian words. Because these words are not Acehese, each dialect applies a different rule for the assimilation of new words. The North Aceh dialect has /u/ in the first syllable which corresponds with /a/ in Bahasa Indonesia. West Acehese, on the other hand, maintains the Indonesian vowel /a/ without any changes.

To convert two syllable words in Bahasa Indonesia into three syllable words in Acehese, an epenthetic diphthong vowel -eu- is inserted at the second syllable of a newly formed borrowed word. This insertion obeys two conditions: apart from [rh], rhotics do not occur in consonant clusters in Acehese, and the [r] and [ʁ], as the coda of a syllable is not permitted in the Acehese language.

Table 4.14 : Epenthetic /u/ of borrowed words

North Acehese	West Acehese
<i>keureutu</i> [kuruutu]	<i>kareutu</i> [kaʁuutu] kartu (Ind.) ‘card’
<i>geureupu</i> [guruupu]	<i>gareupu</i> [gaʁuupu] garpu (Ind.) ‘fork’
peulaseutik [puulaSutiʔ]	<i>palaseutik</i> [palaSutiʔ] plastik (Ind.) ‘plastic’

There are some different corresponding phonemes with /u/ in these dialects. However, North and West Acehese do not always have such differences. Some

words share the same phoneme /u/ without any change. For example *reusam* [ruSam] ‘custom, tradition’ and *reukueng* [rukuəŋ] ‘throat’ in North Aceh are *reusam* [ɤuSam] and *reukung* [ɤukun] in West Aceh.

It is important to note that although the Acehnese language, in both North and West Acehnese dialects, has the vowels of Bahasa Indonesia, the substitution of the vowel /u/ in borrowed words still takes place. The vowel /u/ is highly marked and unusual amongst the world’s languages, yet in many respects it appears to be unmarked in Acehnese to function as an epenthetic vowel to break up consonant clusters. Andy Butcher (personal communication, December 10, 2012) agrees that this phenomenon is unusual to other languages but he admits that it is not something that is unheard (see section 7.1 for more discussion).

Vowel correspondences between North and West Acehnese that involve /u/ are especially erratic. The following figures show some vowels for both North and West Acehnese and those that correspond with Indonesian borrowed words based on the data in Table 4.15. Those vowels that correspond with other languages, such as Arabic, English and Dutch, are via Bahasa Indonesia.

Based on Figure 4.2 below, there appears to be sporadic vowel correspondences of /i/, /u/, and /u/ between North Acehnese and West Acehnese. Figure 4.2 shows the directionality of these vowels. It can be seen that North Acehnese vowels /i/ corresponds to West Acehnese /u/, and West Acehnese /i/ also corresponds to North Acehnese /u/, such as in *tikui* > *teukui* and *uleu binting* > *uleu beunteung* respectively. Furthermore, vowel /u/ in North Acehnese corresponds to /u/ in West Acehnese; whereas /u/ in West Acehnese also corresponds to /u/ in North Acehnese, such as *teumek* > *tumok* and *aneuk kumun* > *aneuk meumun* respectively. These correspondences, however, occur

sporadically and there is no consistent account as to when each vowel corresponds to the other in the two dialects.

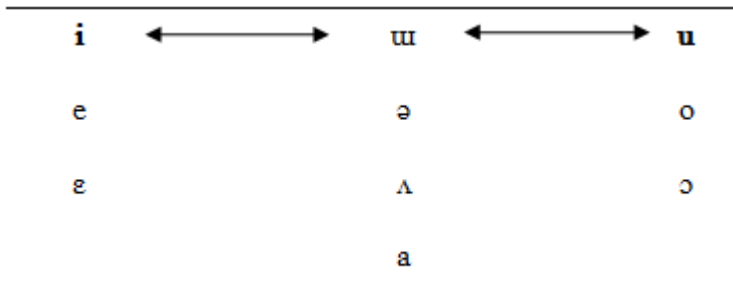


Figure 4.2 : Chart of sporadic correspondences between North and West Acehese

It is also found in this study that there are vowel correspondences between Acehese dialects and words borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia. When these words are adopted into Acehese, North and West Acehese treat the vowel correspondences differently, as seen in Table 4.15. These correspondences also appear to be sporadic, as showed in the examples in Figure 4.3. It suggests that the directionality of vowel correspondence between Bahasa Indonesia and West Acehese occurs less in comparison with North Acehese. Between West Acehese and Bahasa Indonesia, only West Acehese vowel /ɯ/ corresponds to Bahasa Indonesia /ə/, as in *seudadu* > *sedadu*. North Acehese, on the other hand, has more variations of vowel correspondences to Bahasa Indonesia, such as /i/-/e/, /e/-/ɛ/, /ə/-/a/, /a/-/ɯ/, /ə/-/u/, /u/-/o/, and /ɔ/-/u/. It is interesting to note that there appears to be no North Acehese vowel /ɯ/ corresponding to Bahasa Indonesia /ə/ as in West Acehese.

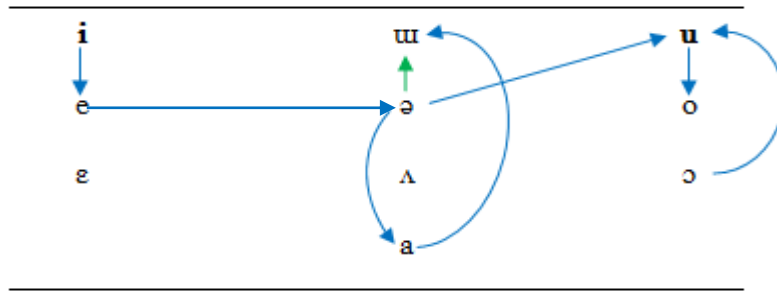


Figure 4.3 : Chart of other sporadic vowel correspondences of borrowed words

Note: Blue line: North Aceh, and green line: West Aceh

Figure 4.4 below shows the vowel correspondences between North Acehnese and Bahasa Indonesia. The vowel correspondences between North Acehnese and Bahasa Indonesia are slightly different from the West Acehnese vowel as shown in Figure 4.4 and Figure 4.5. In North Acehnese, /ə/ corresponds to Bahasa Indonesia /a/ and it occurs in both directions. However, in West Acehnese the vowel /ə/ only corresponds to Bahasa Indonesia /a/ and not in the other direction. Furthermore, /ə/ and /ɔ/ in North Acehnese correspond to /u/ in Bahasa Indonesia and /e/ in North Acehnese corresponds to /ə/ in Bahasa Indonesia. These correspondencies are not shared by the West Acehnese.

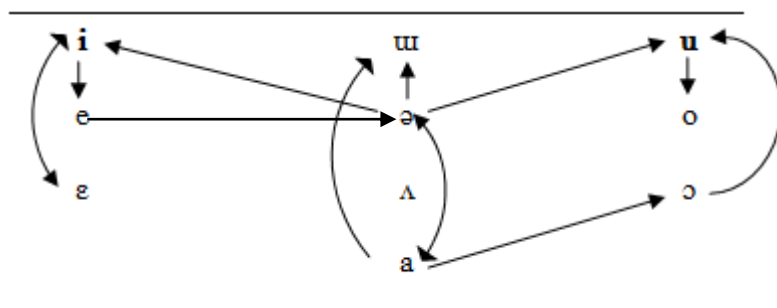


Figure 4.4 : Chart of correspondences in North Acehnese and Bahasa Indonesia

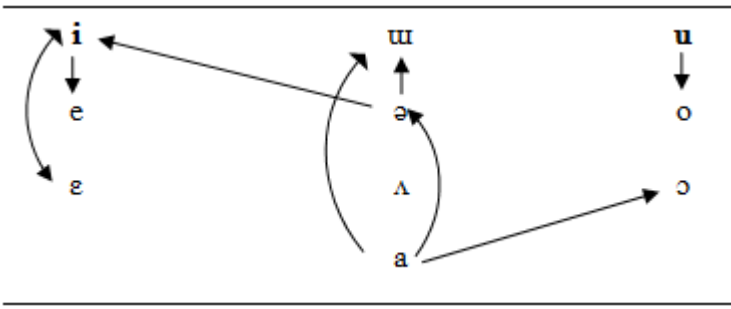


Figure 4.5 : Chart of correspondences in West Acehnese and Bahasa Indonesia

There are some shared vowel correspondences between North and West Acehnese and Bahasa Indonesia, as shown in Figure 4.6. It is also found that two vowels in Bahasa Indonesia correspond only to North Acehnese, that is, the correspondences are absent from West Acehnese. These unshared vowel correspondences are /ə/-/u/, /ɔ/-/u/, and /e/ - /ə/ as in Figure 4.7.

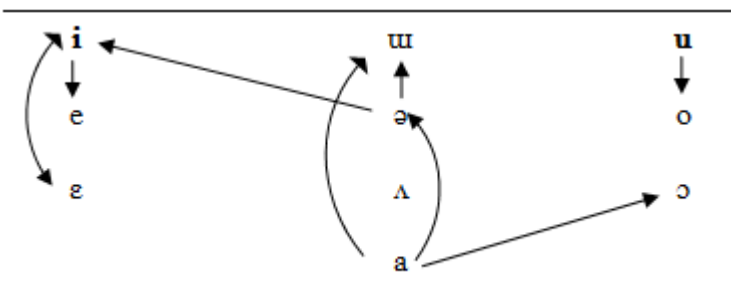


Figure 4.6 : Chart of shared correspondences between North and West Acehnese with Bahasa Indonesia

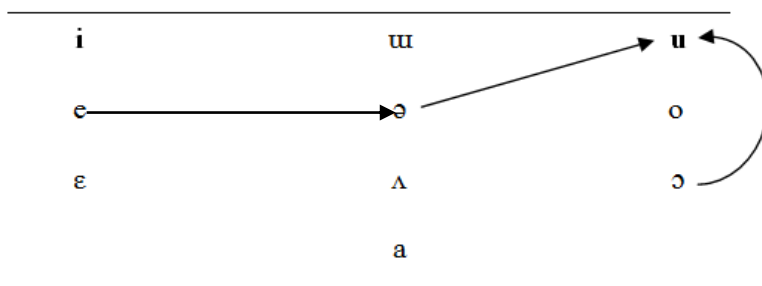


Figure 4.7 : Chart of unshared correspondences of Acehnese dialects with Bahasa Indonesia

The following table presents the examples of vowel correspondences of Acehnese dialects and Bahasa Indonesia as discussed above.

Table 4.15 : Vowel correspondences of Acehnese dialects and Bahasa Indonesia

NA	WA	Ind.	Examples
/i/	/u/		Tikui > teukui
/i/	/i/	/ɛ/	Sipak > sipak > sepak, timbak > timbak > tembak
/i/	/i/	/ə/	Sikula > sikula > sekolah, siploh > siploh > sepuluh
/u/	/u/		Teumek > tumok
/u/	/i/		Uleu Beunteung > uleu binting
/u/	/u/	/ə/	Seulasa > seulasa > selasa, keubeu > keubeu > kerbau
/u/	/u/	/a/	Papeun > papeun > papan; jeum > jeum > jam
/u/	/a/	/a/	Keureutu > kareutu > kartu; geureupu > gareupu > garpu
/u/	/u/		Aneuk kumun > aneuk keumun
/u/	/u/	/ə/	nuraka > neuraka > neraka
/u/	/o/	/o/	lunceng > lonceng > lonceng, ruda > roda > roda, kulak > kolak > kolak
/e/	/i/	/i/	bensen > bensin > bensin, manggeh > manggi > manggis
/e/	/i/		jep > jip
/e/	/e/	/i/	kulet > kulet > kulit, wajebe > wajebe > wajib
/e/	/ɛ/	/ɛ/	Lem > lem > lem, gureng > goreng > goreng, rem > rem > rem
/ə/	/u/	/ə/	Sedadu > seudadu > sedadu
/ə/	/ə/	/a/	Keubeu > keubeu > kebas, buken > buken > bukan, deunge > deunge > dengar
/o/	/u/	/u/	Pupok > pupuk > pupuk
/o/	/o/	/u/	Baho > bahu, jantung > jantung, peuraho > peuraho > perahu
/ɛ/	/ɛ/	/i/	Angen > angen > angina
/o/	/o/	/a/	Rumoh > rumoh > rumah, tanoh > tanoh > tanah
/a/	/ə/	/ə/	Mantega > mentega > mentega

4.3.4 Realisation of the phoneme /o/ in West Acehnese

Vowels seem to play a very important role in maintaining dialect differences between North and West Aceh language varieties. Whilst North Aceh /o/ has an

invariant allophone [o], the West Aceh phoneme /o/ has two allophones [o] and [ɤ] as follows:

WA /o/ → [ɤ] / _____t
 + word final
 + disyllabic
 [o] otherwise

It is an obvious characteristic that the low-mid back vowel /o/ followed by voiced alveolar plosive /t/ in final position will be realised as [ɤ] in West Acehese. As indicated above, this applies only to disyllabic words. The [ɤ] sound precedes the final ‘t’ in North Acehese in monosyllabic words such as *rhët* [rhɤt] ‘to fall’, *tët* [tɤt] ‘to burn’, and *gët* [gɤt] ‘to take, pull’. This usage is similar to West Acehese, with the exception of *rët* [rɤt] for *rhët* [rhɤt]. Such words occur frequently and suggest that this usage does not apply in certain monosyllabic words. However, the monosyllabic *krôt* [krot] ‘wrinkled, contracted’, as listed in the table below, contradicts the monosyllabic /o/ → [o] in North Aceh, which is the /o/ → [ɤ] in West Aceh. I suggest that the word *krôt* is the original disyllabic Indonesian borrowed word *kerut*, which can be understood as initially disyllabic in Acehese in the early borrowing phase (see table 4.16 below).

Table 4.16 : Phoneme /o/ in North Acehnese becomes [ɤ] in West Acehnese

North Acehnese	West Acehnese	Meaning
<i>angkôt</i> [aŋkot]*	<i>angkët</i> [aŋkɤt]	‘to bring, to remove, to transport, to take something to other place’
<i>eungkôt</i> [ʔuŋkot]	<i>eungkët</i> [ʔuŋkɤt]	‘fish’
<i>laôt</i> [laʔot]*	<i>laët</i> [laʔɤt]	‘sea’
<i>lagôt</i> [lagot]	<i>lagët</i> [lagɤt]	‘current, in demand’
<i>bangkrôt</i> [baŋkrot]*	<i>bangkrët</i> [baŋkɤɤt]	‘bankrupt’
<i>parôt</i> [parot]*	<i>parët</i> [paɤɤt]	‘scar, grater, scraper’
<i>irôt</i> [irot]	<i>irët</i> [iɤɤt]	‘crooked, askew’
<i>krôt</i> [krot]*	<i>krët</i> [kɤɤt]	‘wrinkled, contracted’
<i>teuôt</i> [tuʔot]	<i>teuët</i> [tuʔɤt]	‘knee’
<i>likôt</i> [likot]	<i>likët</i> [likɤt]	‘back, behind’
<i>janggôt</i> [jaŋgot]*	<i>janggët</i> [jaŋgɤt]	‘beard’
<i>ikôt</i> [ikot]*	<i>ikët</i> [ikɤt]	‘to follow’
<i>takôt</i> [takot]*	<i>takët</i> [takɤt]	‘fear’
<i>kalôt</i> [kalot]*	<i>kalët</i> [kalɤt]	‘confused, irrational’
<i>tulôt</i> [tulot]	<i>tulët</i> [tulɤt]	‘the youngest’

Note: Many words () are borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia*

4.3.5 Dropping of /h/ and /s/ in the West Aceh dialect

Apart from the tendency to drop or reduce consonant clusters with the second element [h], West Acehnese also has the tendency to drop or reduce /h/ and /s/ phonemes. No confusion or misunderstanding occurs as a result of this phenomenon, because there is no meaning change and there are no similar words in the two dialects that refer to different meanings by dropping these phonemes. Missing these sounds in West Acehnese does not provoke judgment from North Acehnese speakers. Table 4.17 below gives more examples and details of the presence or absence of the phoneme /h/ in these two Acehnese dialects.

Table 4.17 : Presence and absence of initial [h] in two Acehese dialects

North Acehese	West Acehese	Meaning
<i>halôh</i> [ha.loh]*	<i>alôh</i> [a.loh]	‘small, tiny’
<i>hinoe</i> [hi.nɔ]	<i>ino</i> [i.nɔ]	‘here’
<i>habéh</i> [ha.beh]*	<i>abéh</i> [a.beh]	‘used up, finish, complete’
<i>hugôp</i> [hu.gop]	<i>ugôp</i> [u.gop]	‘feel too warm, stuffy’
<i>ham ’èh</i> [ha.měh]*	<i>am ’èh</i> [a.měh]	‘Thursday’
<i>hareuta</i> [ha.ru.ta]*	<i>areuta</i> [a.ru.ta]	‘belongings, wealth’
<i>hah</i> [hah]	<i>hah</i> [hah]	‘open (of mouth)’
<i>hèk</i> [hɛʔ]	<i>hèk</i> [hɛʔ]	‘tired’
<i>han</i> [hʔã̃n]	<i>han</i> [hʔã̃n]	‘not want’

Note: Many words () are borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia*

In some examples listed above, the phoneme /h/ in the initial position is dropped in West Acehese. However, this does not mean that all /h/ phonemes at the beginning of a word are treated in such a way. For example, West Acehese has *hom* ‘not know,’ *h’im* ‘puzzle,’ *hu* ‘flame, on (of lights),’ *hah* ‘open (of mouth),’ *hèk* ‘tired,’ and *’han* ‘not want’ in the initial positions. This indicates that the dropping of /h/ (as in the examples mentioned in Table 4.17) only happens in poly-syllabic words.

The /h/ dropping also occurs in the term *yôhgohlom* [johgohlôm] ‘before’ in West Acehese, therefore it is pronounced *yôgolom* [jogolôm]. It is hard to tell what happens in this case, because no other examples of the syllable-final /h/ can be found.

West Acehese also has a distinguishing feature in respect of /S/ dropping. As it can be seen in Table 4.18, /S/ dropping occurs in the initial position. There are

three words that seem to need further explanation, as they have also appeared in the discussion above. These are adverbs of place: *ino* ‘here’, *idéh* ‘there (not seen)’, and *inan* ‘there (visible)’ and they are used in North Aceh, either with an initial /h/ or /S/, and accepted and used by everyone interchangeably. In West Acehese, however, they are not usually used with either /h/ or /S/. In other words, West Acehese dialect does not have many variants for the adverbs ‘here’ and ‘there’ (see Table 4.18 below).

Table 4.18 : Presence and absence of word initial [s] in two Acehese dialects

North Acehese	West Acehese	Meaning
<i>siluweue</i> [Siluwuə]	<i>iluweu</i> [iluwu]	‘trousers, pants’
<i>sulungkéé</i> [Suluŋkeə]	<i>lungké</i> [luŋke]	‘pot stands for fire’
<i>sinoe</i> [Sinə]	<i>ino</i> [inə]	‘here’
<i>sidéh</i> , [Sideh]	<i>idéh</i> [ideh]	‘there (not seen)’
<i>sinan</i> [Sinan]	<i>inan</i> [inan]	‘there (visible)’
<i>seuliméng</i> [Sulimeŋ]	<i>liméng</i> [limeŋ]	‘starfruit tree’

The reasons for West Acehese speakers treating phonemes /h/ and /S/ in this way are difficult to explain. Durie (1985) explains that “Acehese has a productive tendency to drop initial syllables” (pp. 37-38). However, this does not always take place at the syllable level. Nevertheless, the dropping of phonemes in West Acehese remains unanswerable.

4.3.6 Diphthongisation in North Aceh dialect in loanwords

The North Acehese speakers in Bireuen adapt loanwords from Bahasa Indonesia that end with /-as/ by replacing this segment with /-aih/. When this finding was confirmed with Acehese linguist, Abdul Gani Asyik (personal communication, July 23, 2010), he was of the view that it might have been influenced by the language variety of people in Meureudu and surrounding areas.

Meureudu is located in the Pidie Jaya district and demographically belongs to the Pidie dialect.

Asyik (1987) states that one of the markers of the Pidie dialect is when a back vowel is followed by [h] in a final syllable, the vowel becomes a diphthong with the second element [i]. He cited the examples *patah* ‘broken,’ *tikoh* ‘mouse,’ *koh* ‘to cut,’ and *pruh* ‘to blow’. The pronunciation of these words become [*pataih*], [*tikoih*], [*koih*], and [*pruih*] respectively (Asyik, 1987, p. 5) in the Pidie dialect.

Asyik (personal communication, July 23, 2010) seems to be correct in stating that the change from segment /-as/ into /-aih/ for North Acehese speakers in Bireuen is influenced by the Pidie dialect.

However, the phenomenon that I found in Bireuen does not consistently follow the Pidie dialect rules as suggested by Asyik. North Acehese speakers are pronounced [*patah*], [*tikoh*], [*koh*], and [*pruh*] rather than [*pataih*], [*tikoih*], [*koih*], and [*pruih*]. They also pronounce other Acehese original words which contain segment /-ah/ the same way as West Acehese speakers. What I have found in Bireuen is that they change only the low front vowel [a] into diphthong [ai] from Indonesian loanwords.

The Acehese language does not have a final consonant /s/. When borrowing a word containing /s/ at the final position, the /s/ becomes /h/ in Acehese. Loanwords from Bahasa Indonesia, for instance, ending with /-as/ predictably become /-ah/ in Acehese. For example, *tas* ‘bag,’ *las* ‘weld,’ and *pas* ‘fit, good, appropriate’ in Bahasa Indonesia become *tah*, *lah*, *pah* respectively in some other Acehese dialects, such as West Acehese. In North Acehese, however, it is not the case. Instead these words become *taih*, *laih*, and *paih* where the vowel /a/ changes to become diphthong /ai/. This finding has been confirmed by several

North Acehese respondents of different ages and gender. It suggests that such sound change in North Acehese has resulted from diphthongisation or ‘diphthongal pronunciation’ (Maclagan, 1998). In West Aceh, however, the change of /s/ into /h/ word-finally in loanwords remains /a/ as monophthong [a]. The diphthongisation of /a/ into [ai] of Indonesian loanwords in North Acehese corresponding to the monophthong [a] in West Acehese may be illustrated as follows:

Ind. /as/ → NA [aih] /___#
Ind. /as/ → WA [ah] /___#

In most cases, the diphthongisation in North Acehese, in this regard, occurs after plosives and to a lesser extent lateral approximants. The examples in Table 4.19 below gives the picture of consistency in changing the vowel [a] into the diphthong [ai] in North Acehese assimilation of Indonesian loanwords.

Table 4.19 : Vowel [a] corresponds to diphthong [ai] in North Acehnese

North Achenese	West Acehnese	Indonesian
<i>kipaih</i> [kipaih]	<i>kipah</i> [kipah] ‘fan’	kipas
<i>jlaih</i> [ɟlaih]	<i>jeulah</i> [ɟulah] ‘clear’	jelas
<i>teupaih</i> [tupaih]	<i>teupah</i> [tupah] ‘Indian-made sarong’	kain tepas
<i>kibaih</i> [kibaih]	<i>kibah</i> [kibah] ‘sheep’	kibas
<i>-blaih</i> [-blaih]	<i>-blah</i> [-blah] ‘-teen’	-belas
<i>glaih</i> [glaih]	<i>klah</i> [klah] ‘class’	kelas
<i>jaih</i> [ɟaih]	<i>jah</i> [ɟah] ‘suit’	Jas
<i>bataih</i> [bataih]	<i>batah</i> [batah] ‘border’	batas
<i>Si Abaih</i> [si abaih]	<i>Si Abah</i> [si abah] ‘Abas (name of person)’	Si Abas (nama orang)
<i>kulkaih</i> [kulkaih]	<i>kulkah</i> [kulkah] ‘refrigerator’	kulkas
<i>pantaih</i> [pantaih]	<i>pantah</i> [pantah] ‘proper, suitable’	pantas
<i>kaih</i> [kaih]	<i>kah</i> [kah] ‘cash’	kas

4.3.7 The ‘Funny’ intonation of the West Aceh dialect

Asyik (1987, p. 134) argues that it is generally hard to draw precise conclusions on intonation patterns, as they vary depending on the ‘speakers, context, and emphasis’; however, intonation can be understood somewhat more broadly by looking at the ‘basic intonation patterns of some sentence structures’. Based on these patterns, Asyik divides Acehnese intonation, at least in the case of the North Aceh dialect, into several types (1987, pp. 135-146):

1. Intonation in ‘Subject-Predicate’ sentences
2. Intonation in subjectless sentences

3. Intonation in ‘Predicate-Subject’ sentences
4. Topicalisation intonation
5. Intonation in Yes/No questions
6. Intonation in questions with question words.

On the basis of intonation, people in Banda Aceh whose dialect background is non-West Acehese can easily surmise if someone is from the western coast of Aceh, even after a short conversation, especially when the person asks some questions. The difference is so noticeable that it sounds ‘foreign’ to speakers of the mainstream dialect.

Speakers from West Aceh are believed by mainstream speakers to have a ‘strange’ and ‘funny’ intonation when they speak, especially in interrogative sentences. The intonation in West Acehese is usually described as *meu-irama* or *meu-alôn*, meaning ‘rhythm,’ or ‘melody’, but the North Acehese dialect is believed to be just *data* ‘flattened.’ I had a very embarrassing experience when I had a conversation with North Acehese friends and admitted that I did not speak with much ‘rhythm,’ as many people claim we do. I then asked something with the rhythm, my friend interrupted me while laughing saying:

Nyan.. nyan.. kön, meuirama, peu neupeugah hana meuirama ha..haha..

“Look, that.. that.. is ‘rhythm’, how can you say you don’t ha.. haha..”

It cannot be denied that West Acehese dialect has different intonation patterns to North Acehese. Therefore, it is worthwhile investigating what these different features are and how they came about. According to Asyik (1987, p. 7) the specific West Aceh dialect intonation is influenced by the *Aneuk Jamée* (Minangkabau-like) language, as speakers of the West Aceh dialect are in close

contact with the *Jamée* speakers on the western coast of Aceh and they are quite integrated with Acehnese speakers.

The majority of *Jamée* speakers live in the main cities of South Aceh and Southwest Aceh. Some also occupy villages west of Meulaboh (the capital of West Aceh). They have come into contact with one another in the cities where many people from different language backgrounds are usually gathered. Further, intermarriage has become another factor with many marriages between Acehnese and *Jamée* people. Direct contact when Acehnese from West Aceh travel to Medan, North Sumatra, the most important central business city in the north of the island, has also contributed to this influence. West Acehnese people usually travel south, directly across the island to Medan, because it is a much shorter distance than the alternative route.

The influence on the West Aceh dialect in terms of intonation can clearly be said to originate from Meulaboh. I believe West Acehnese people at some stage unconsciously picked up the *Jamée* intonation. Consequently, people originating from Jeoram, Nagan Raya district (formerly part of West Aceh district), clearly have a distinctively different intonation pattern when they speak Acehnese. Therefore, when people from this region moved to Banda Aceh, for example, North Acehnese people thought our intonation was funny. This is a common comment that speakers of West Acehnese experience when they move to live in Banda Aceh.

My extensive field work investigation has revealed that of the six types of North Achenese intonation suggested by Asyik (1987), the most strikingly obvious difference compared to West Acehnese is the intonation in 'yes/no' questions. The other five seem to have a similar pattern to the North Aceh dialect. For the

purpose of comparison, I show some examples for the similarity of this pattern where there is no difference between the two dialects. As mentioned in Section 3.3.1.2, the wording of all sentence examples given below in this intonation analysis are taken from Asyik (1987, pp. 135-146), but the recordings for those sentences and the analyses (in the Figures) are all my work.

It can be seen in Figure 4.8 below that the intonation of sentences in the ‘Subject-Predicate’ order is similar in both dialects. A similar result can also be seen in Figure 4.9 below. According to Asyik (1987, p. 135), the intonation starts from lower voice and “rises to the high peak on the last syllable of the subject phrase and descends gradually to low at the end of the sentence.”

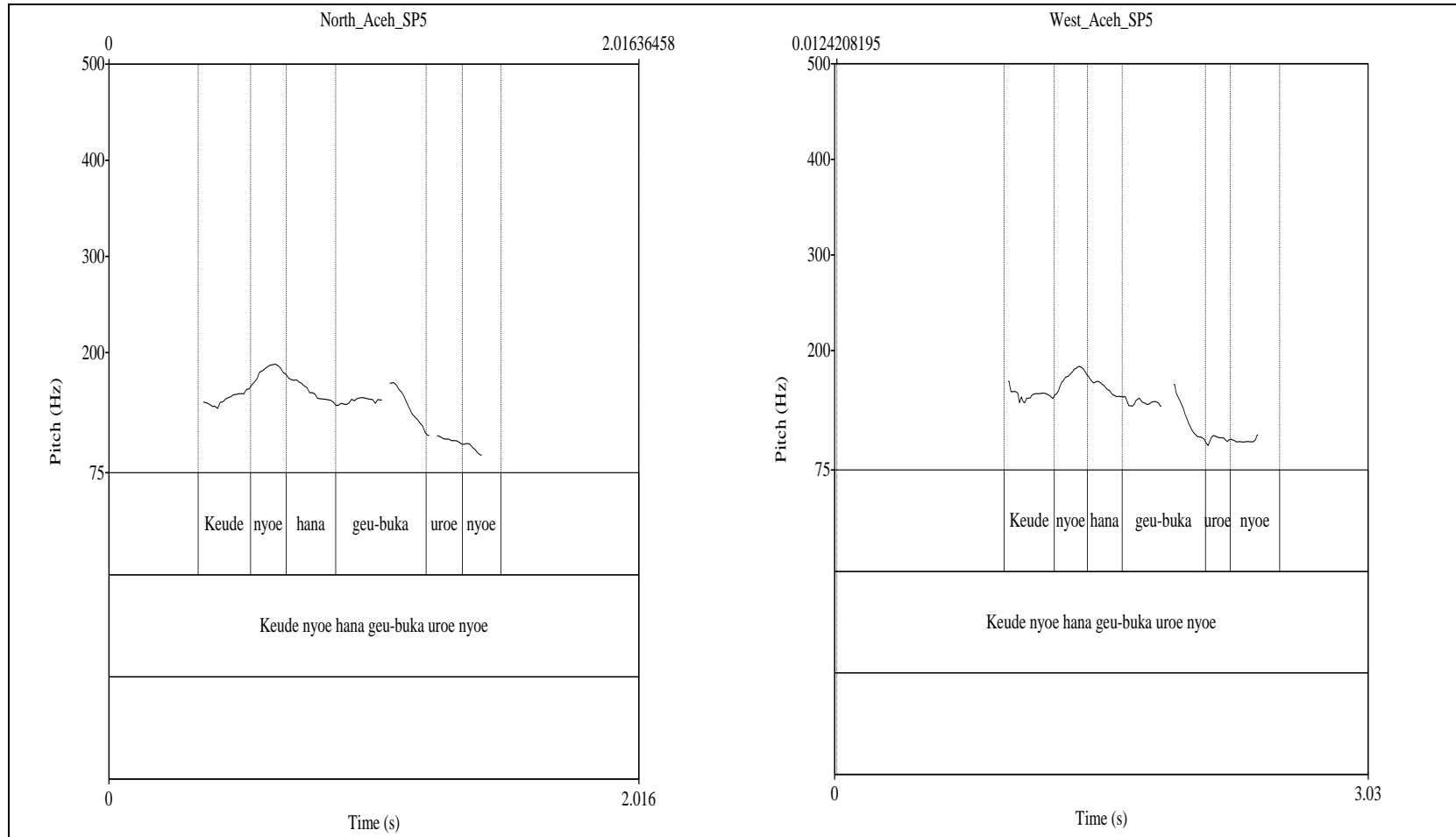


Figure 4.8 : Subject-predicate sentence intonation of North and West Aceh dialects 1

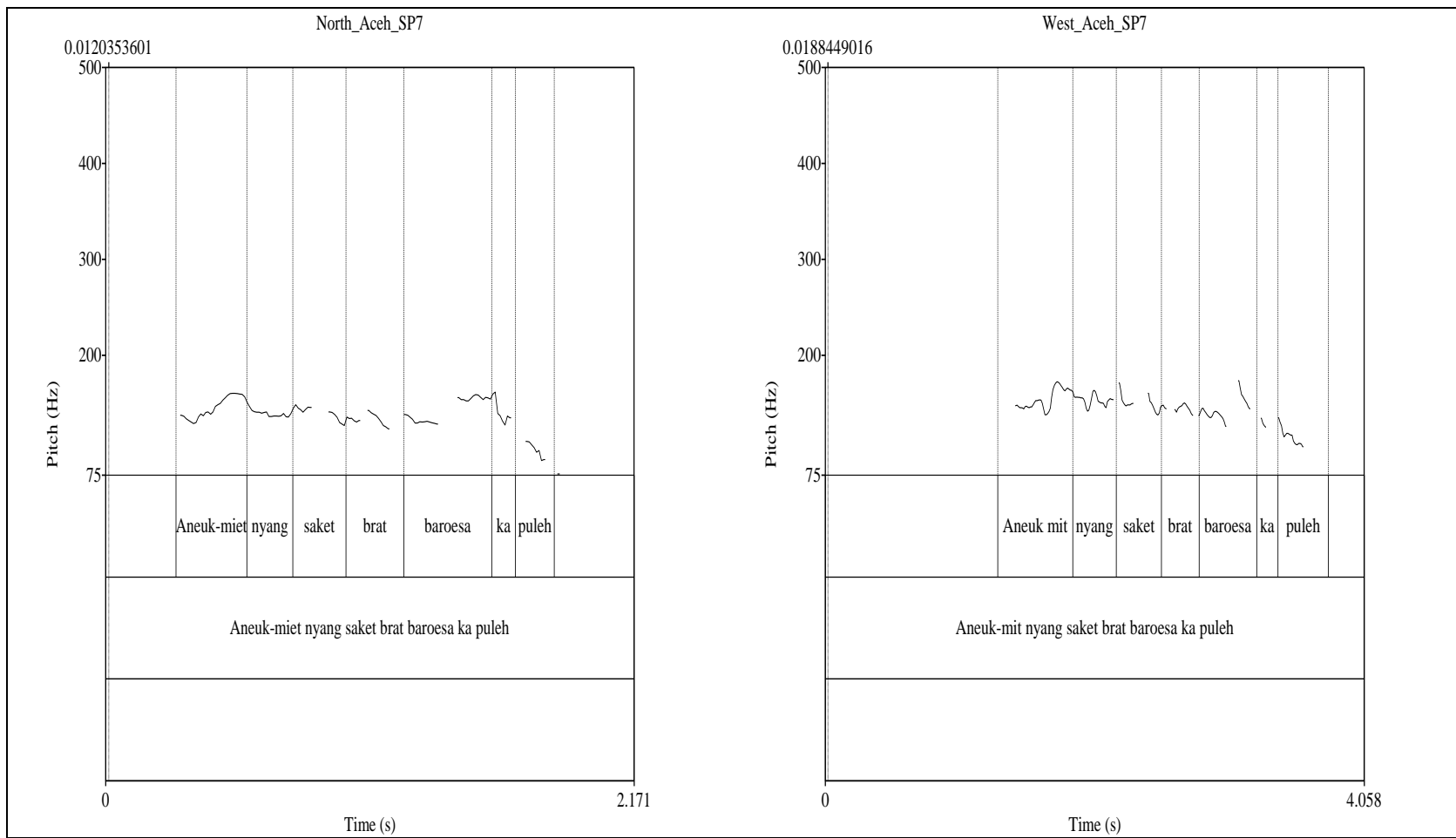


Figure 4.9 : Subject-predicate sentence intonation of North and West Aceh dialects 2

The intonation of subjectless sentences also shows a similar pattern in North and West Aceh where the common pattern of intonation is identical “except that the part of intonation on the subject is missing” (Asyik, 1987, p. 141). These examples can be seen in the Figure 4.10 and Figure 4.11 below. It suggests that the speakers of North Aceh dialect hardly would be able to guess that a person is a West Aceh dialect speaker based on this feature.

Regarding the intonation in the form of “Predicate-Subject” sentences, Asyik (1987, p. 142) remarks that the change of the intonation pattern is quite drastic. According to him, the stress in such sentences plays an important role because it is where the “voice rises” and the rise of the voice is “a little lower than the primary peak and drops sharply to low on the subject and continues at that level throughout before it falls off at the end of the sentence” (p. 142). The examples of intonation in ‘Predicate-Subject’ sentences can be seen in the Figure 4.12 and Figure 4.13 below. These figures also show that the pattern of the intonation in this category for both dialects looks very similar.

Figure 4.14 shows the similarity of intonation in topicalisation sentences in North Aceh and West Aceh dialects. Asyik (1987, p. 143) elaborates, regarding this category as an intonation which “is characterized by a rise to the primary level followed by a sharp drop, very similar to a topicalization in English.” Asyik is also of the view that the intonation of such patterns in the Acehese language “is needed when an object or some other constituent of VP is fronted before the subject” (p. 143).

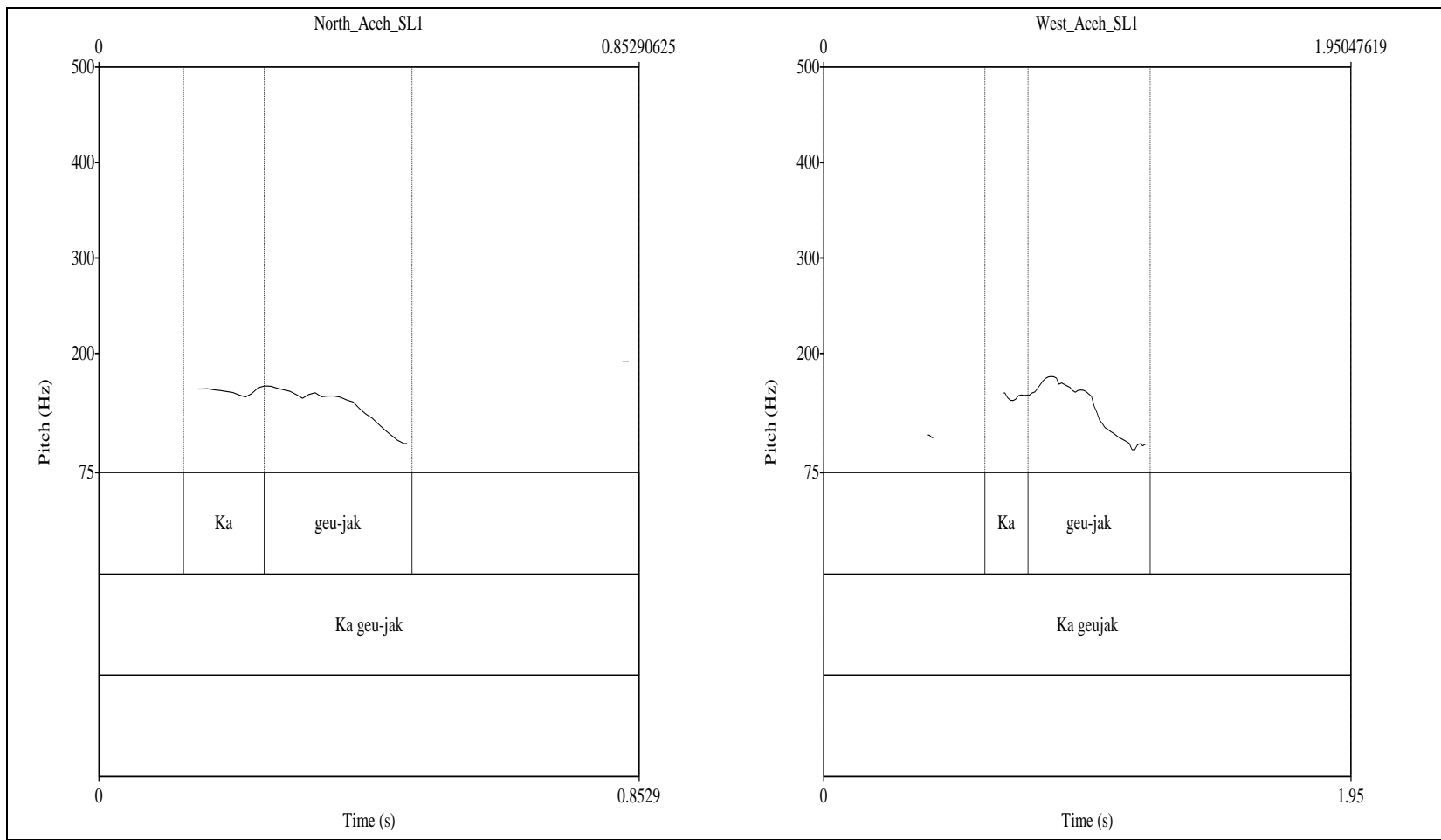


Figure 4.10 : Subjectless sentence intonation of North and West Aceh dialects 1

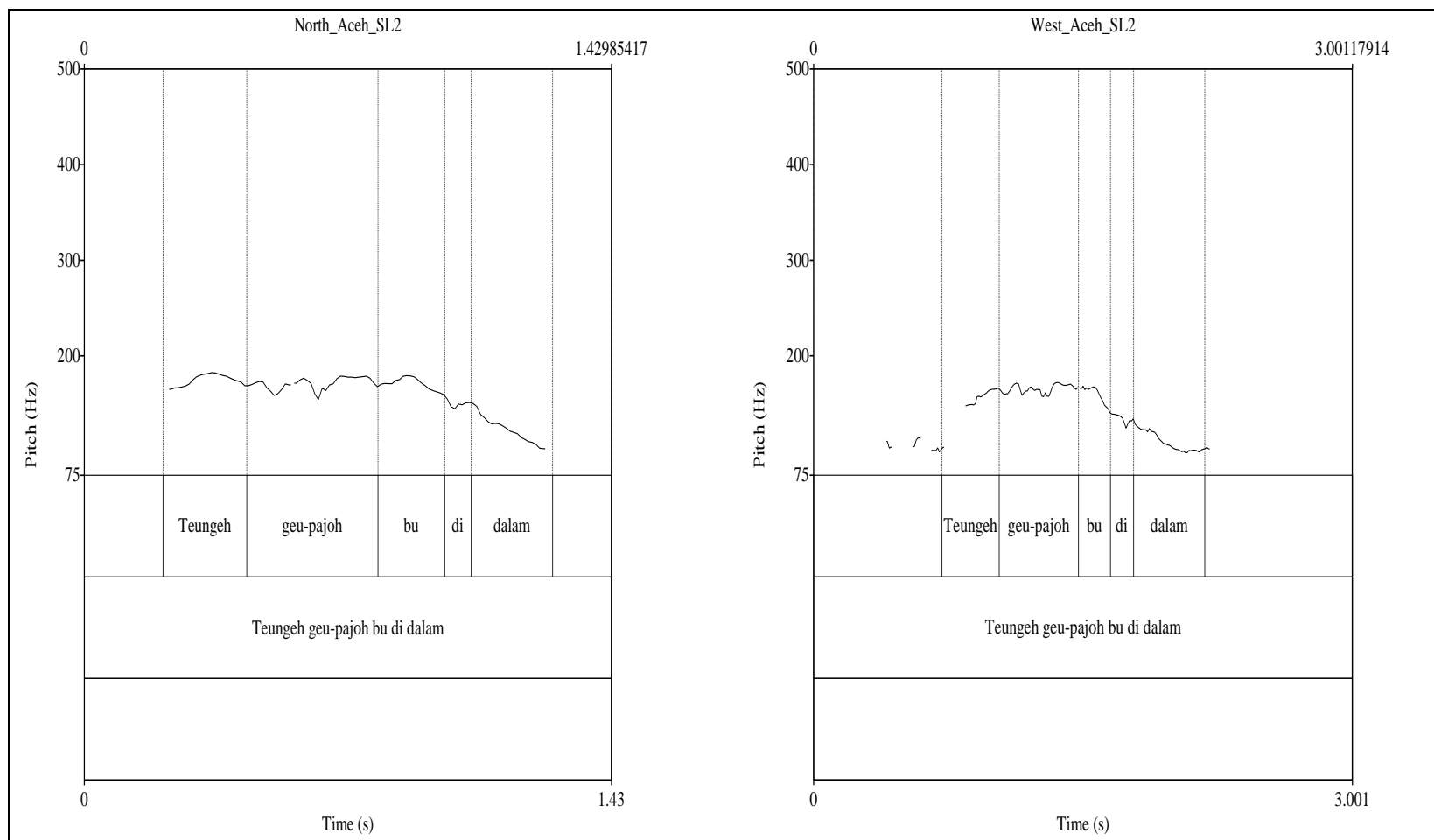


Figure 4.11 : Subjectless sentence intonation of North and West Aceh dialects 2

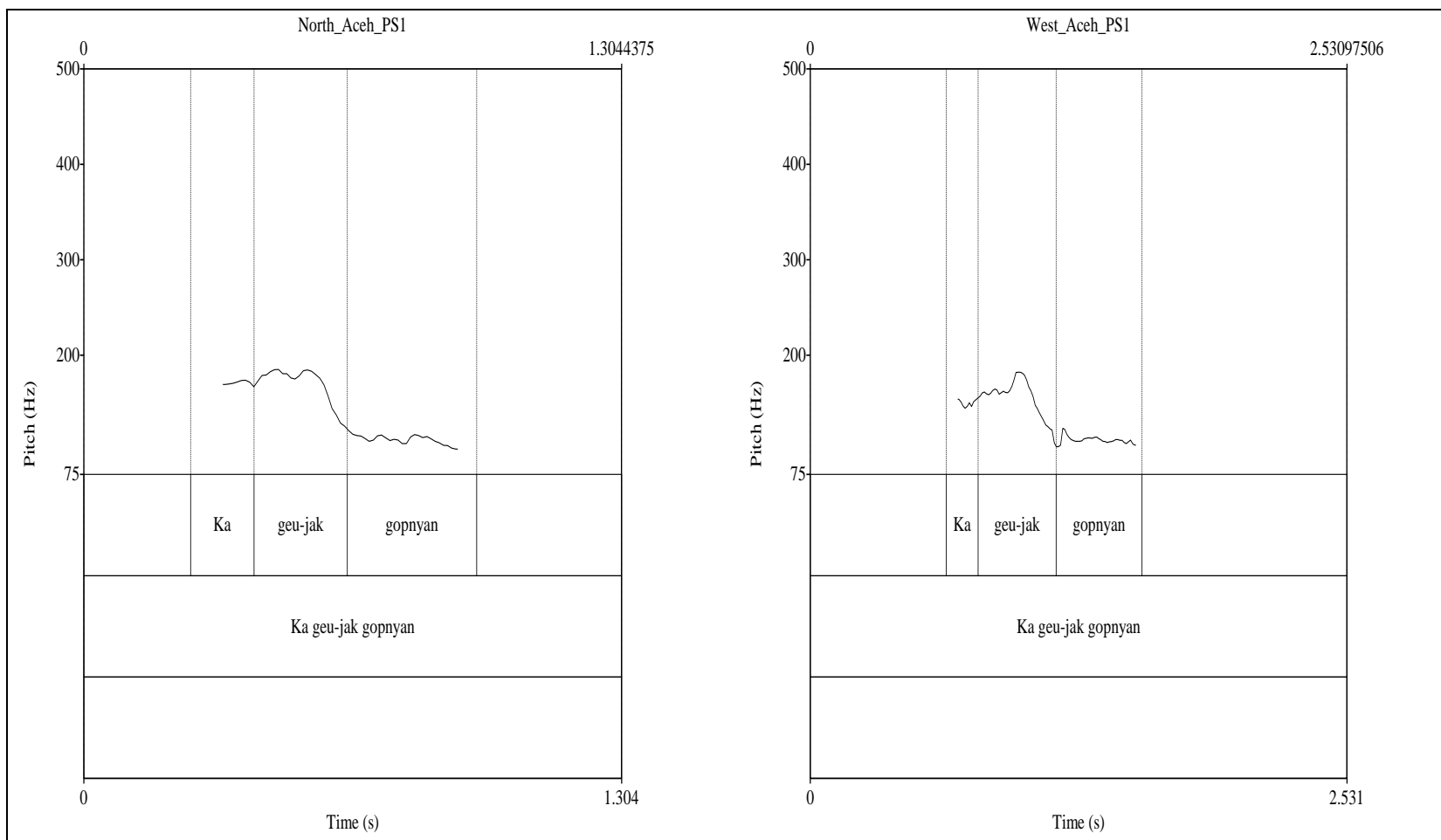


Figure 4.12 : Predicate-subject sentence intonation of North and West Aceh dialects 1

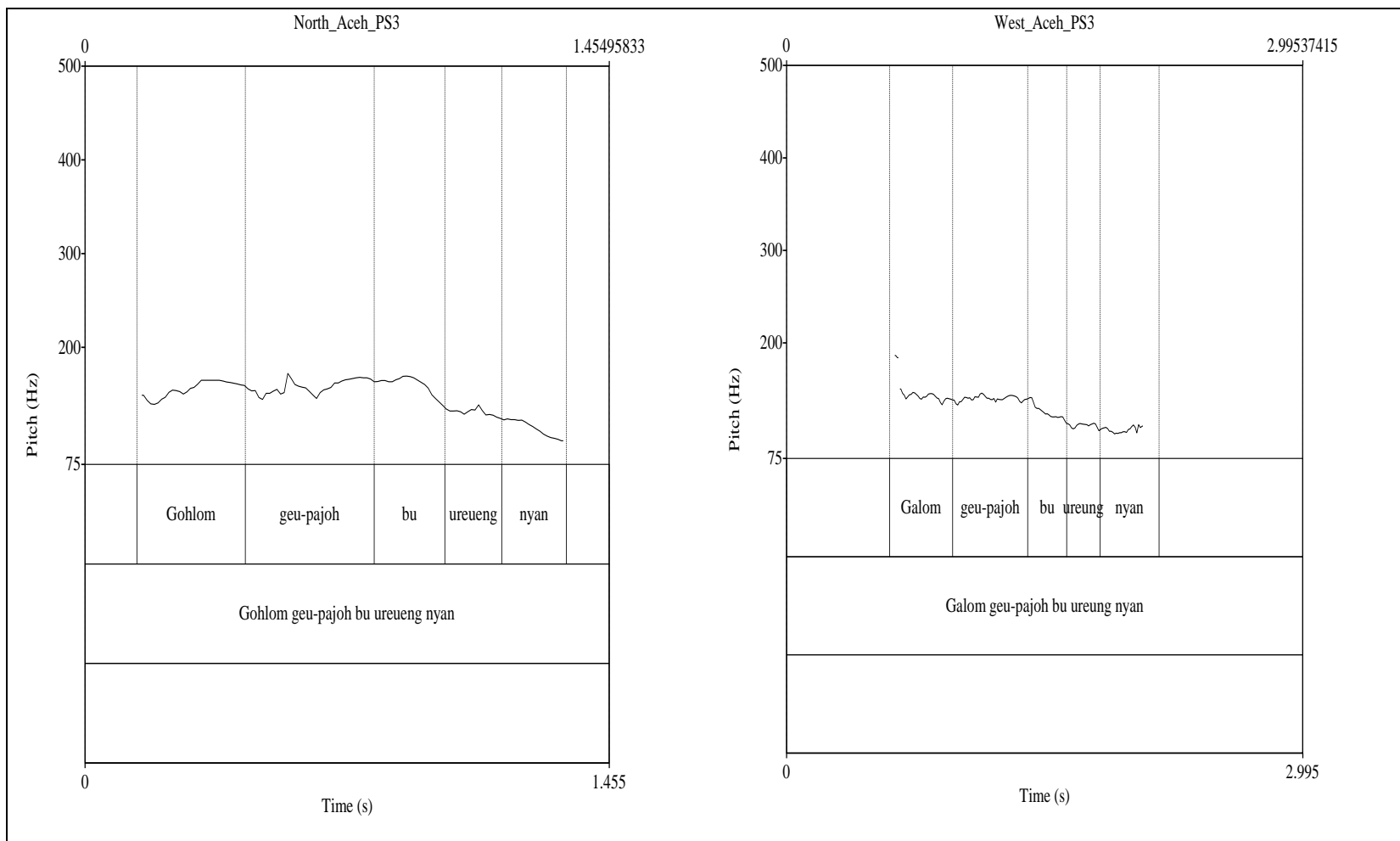


Figure 4.13 : Predicate-subject sentence intonation of North and West Aceh dialects 2

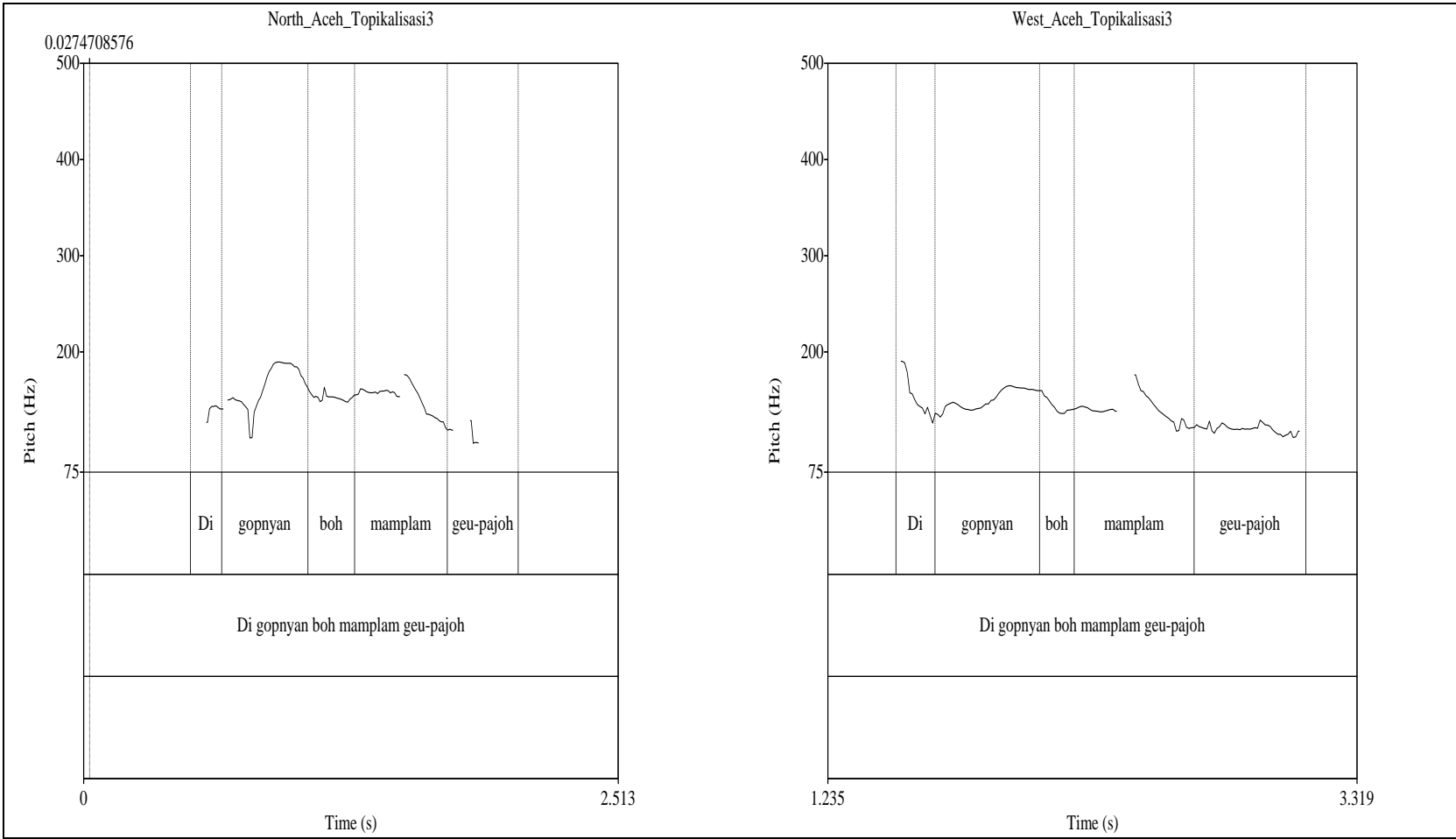


Figure 4.14 : Topicalisation sentence intonation of North and West Aceh dialects

The single most striking observation to emerge from the comparative data of the intonation analysis was the pattern of yes/no question sentences. The differing intonation in these sentence types has played an important role as one of the markers of dialect differences, and the West Acehese pattern is referred to as ‘funny’ and ‘melodic’ by speakers of the mainstream dialect in Banda Aceh.

Asyik (1987, p. 144) says that the pattern of ‘yes/no’ question sentences in North Acehese is similar to regular statement sentences at the beginning. There are only two differences compared with declarative sentences: firstly, the voice rises at the end and, secondly, “when the voice rises at the stress position, it rises to the height of primary peak and continues at that height until it rises again at the end of the sentence” (Asyik, 1987, p. 144).

I found that the pattern of intonation in yes/no question sentences, as proposed by Asyik above, does not seem to be similar to West Acehese dialect trends. The pitch contour of West Acehese speakers (see Figure 4.15 below) speaking the same sentence shows that the starting points are similar, but at the end of the sentence the West Aceh dialect speaker drops the pitch much lower in the first syllable of the word, before it rises again in the final syllable.

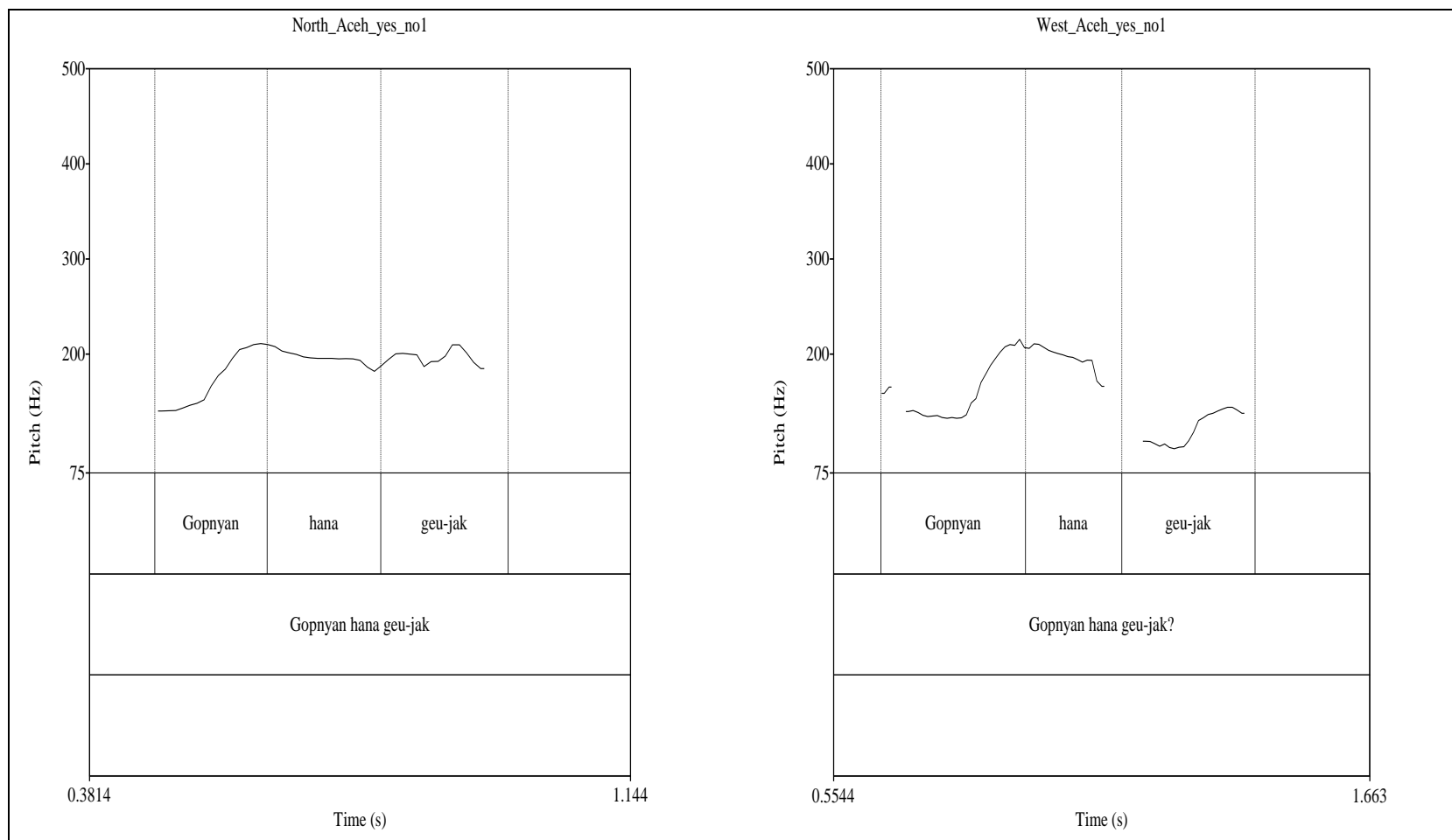


Figure 4.15 : Yes/No question sentence intonation of North and West Aceh dialects 1

The clearest intonation difference is revealed when the yes/no question sentence discussed above changes its word order from Subject-Predicate to Predicate-Subject. As can be seen in Figure 4.16, the intonation of the West Acehese speaker of the sentence in this form sounds melodic and ‘irregular’ in comparison with the North Acehese speaker. It shows that in the North Aceh version, the voice starts from lower pitch and increases until it drops a bit, before it slightly rises again and then completely drops at the end of the sentence. This is the normal pattern of intonation in such sentences in the North Acehese dialect. In West Acehese, however, the intonation pattern starts with a slightly higher pitch and this is followed by a sharp drop. From there, it decreases a little before it gradually and ‘melodically’ increases until it reaches the top of the pitch, and then it drops at the end of the sentence. Such dropping does not occur in the North Acehese dialect.

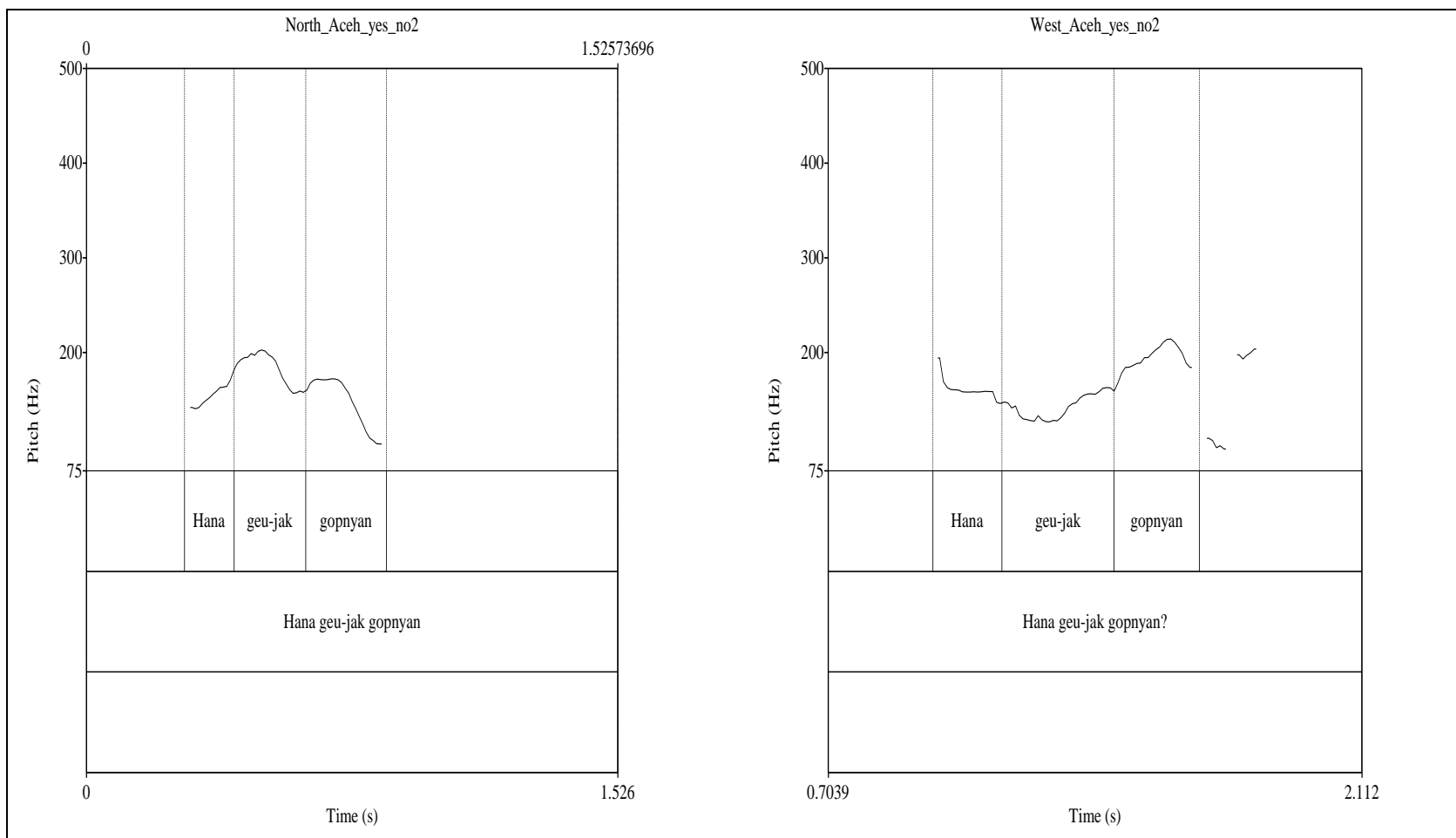


Figure 4.16 : Yes/No question sentence intonation of North and West Aceh dialects 2

The other example of West Acehese rhythmic intonation which is said to be ‘funny’ can also be found in Figure 4.17 below. The sentence is in the same yes/no question sentence form. In this figure the word order is a Subject-Predicate sentence. The result of the intonation analysis of the North Aceh dialect speaker shows that it starts in high pitch and continues around that pitch until it drops at the end of the sentence. However, the West Acehese dialect pattern shows something different in the middle of the sentence and finishes differently at the end. It shows that the starting point of the pitch for the question is identical to the pattern of North Acehese dialect. But the level of the pitch decreases gradually until it is almost at its lowest before rising sharply at the end, and then drops again.

The transition of a gradual to sharp increase in sound is generally regarded as a ‘rhythm’ by North Acehese when listening to West Acehese speakers. This rhythm can even be clearly heard when this Subject-Predicate sentence is converted into Predicate-Subject. Figure 4.18 shows the result of intonation of the Predicate-Subject of yes/no question sentence in both dialects and it can be seen of the difference.

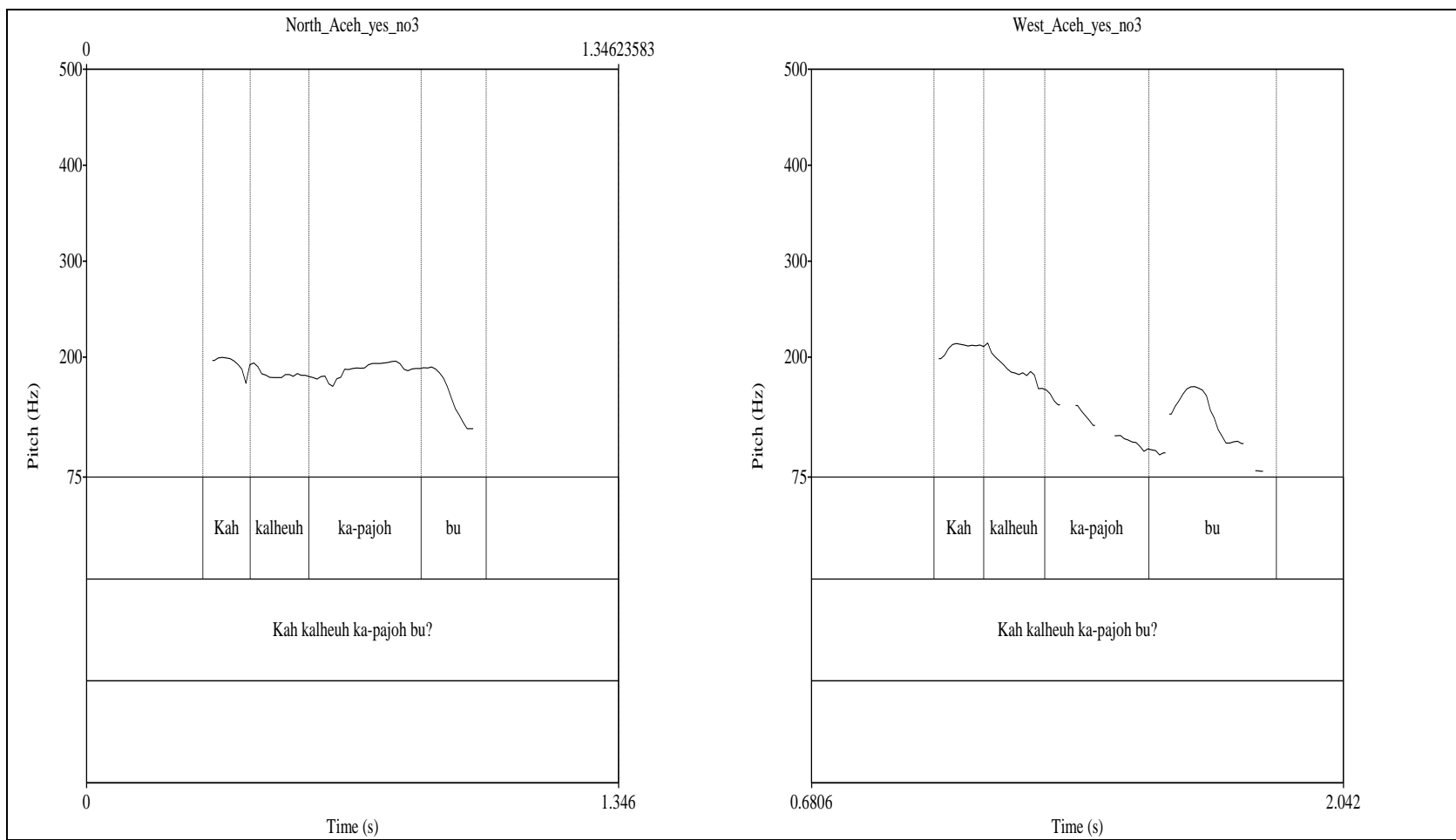


Figure 4.17 : Yes/No question sentence intonation of North and West Aceh dialects 3

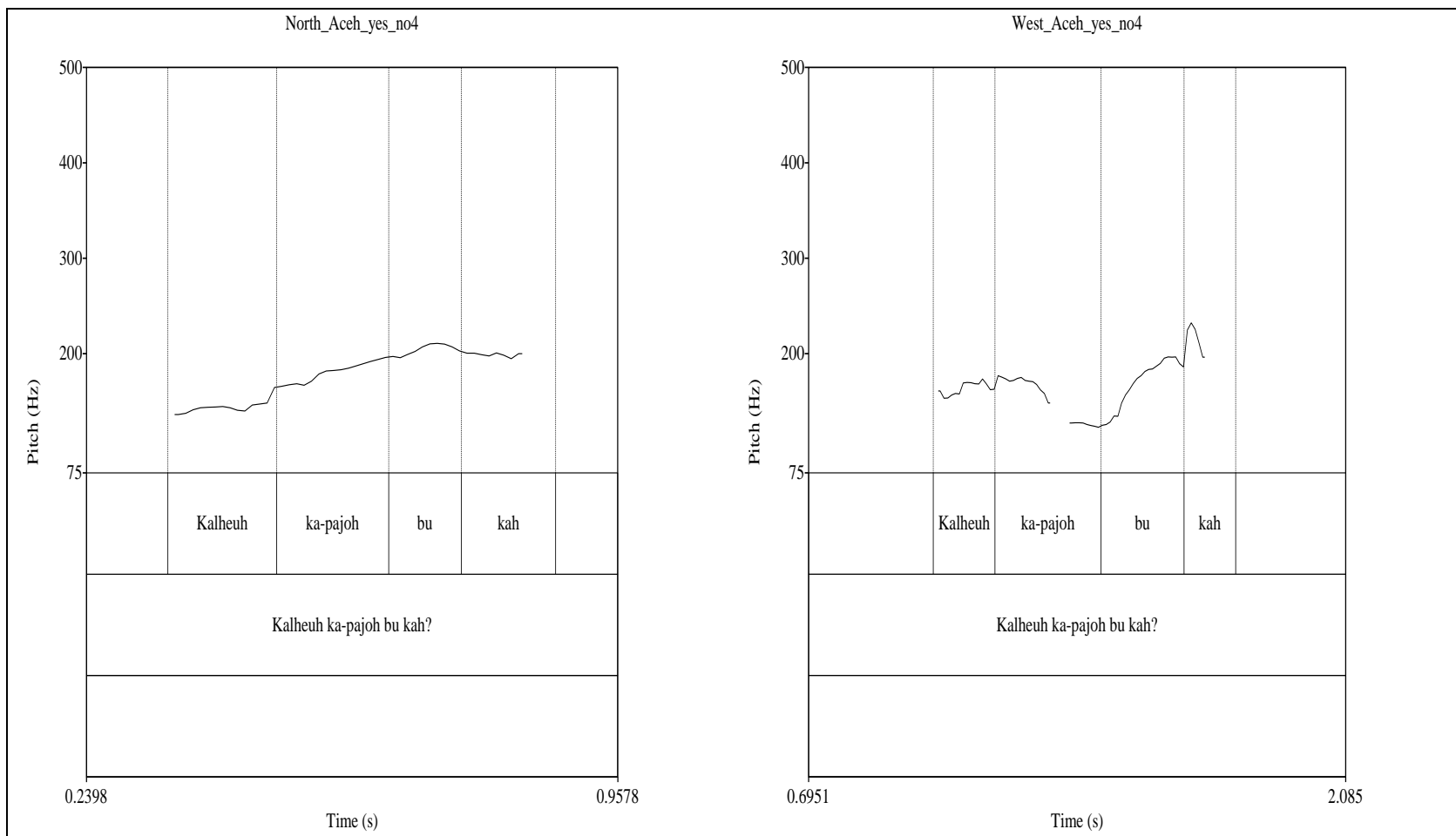


Figure 4.18 : Yes/No question sentence intonation of North and West Aceh dialects 4

Asyik (1987, p. 146) describes the intonation pattern of question sentences with question words as having falling intonation:

Question words or phrases bear the primary peak, which usually begins at the peak level and drops to the secondary peak level at the end of the question words or question phrases and stays at that level throughout the first word or phrase and then drops to the low level until the end of the question.

Asyik's description of intonation pattern of question sentences with question words in North Acehnese concurs with my findings. As seen in figure 4.19, the pattern of intonation of North Acehnese and West Acehnese speakers are similar. Therefore, the intonation of question words in these sentences does not mark West Acehnese as funny or melodic.

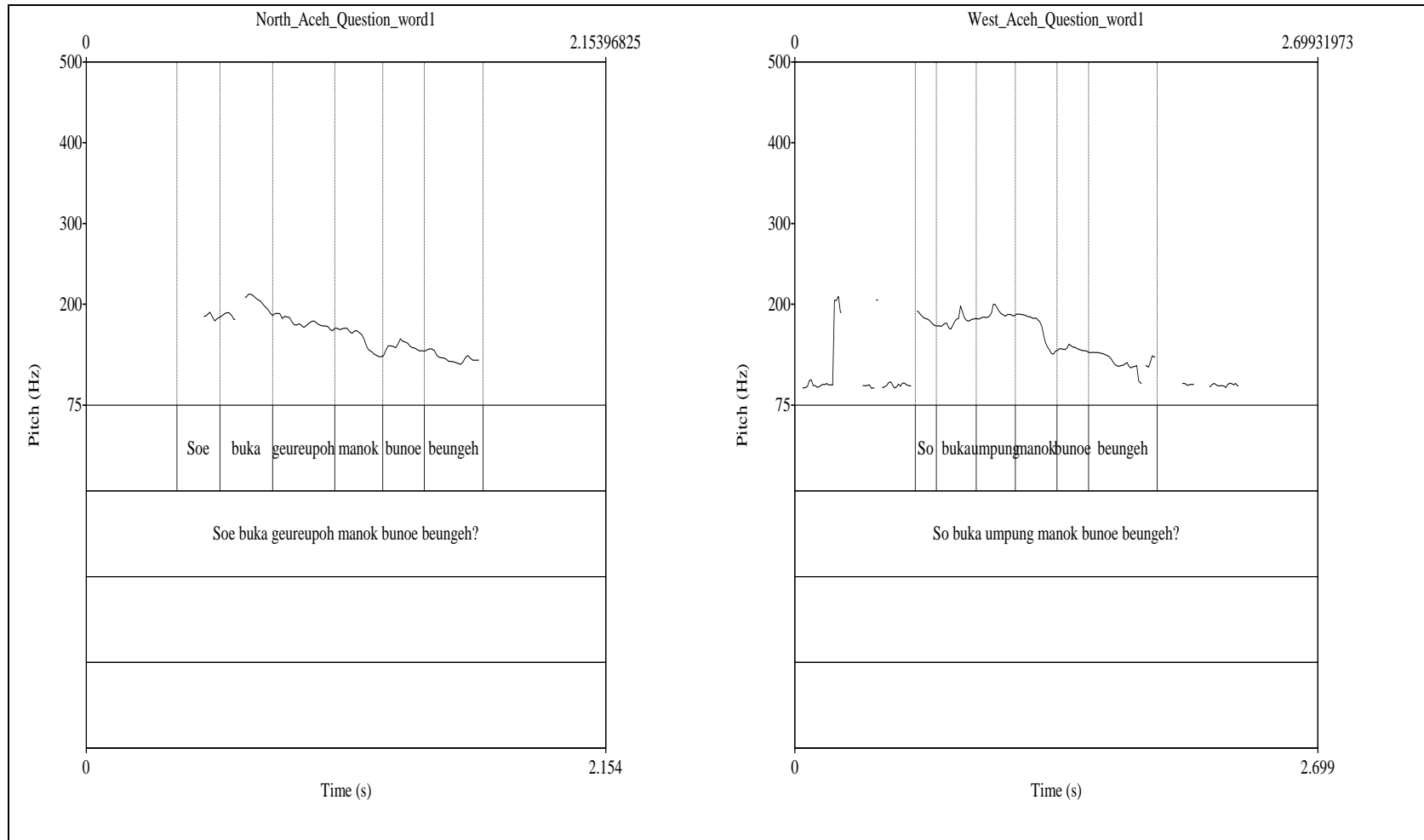


Figure 4.19 : Question word sentence intonation of North and West Acehnese dialects

4.4 Summary

The sound systems of North and West Acehese are distinctive in a number of ways. The absence of some diphthongs, the different realisation of the rhotic (uvular fricative [ʁ] in West Acehese with the rolled [r] in North Acehese), and the absence of some consonant clusters are some characteristics of the West Acehese dialect.

Because the differences are manifest in frequently used words, the speakers of North Acehese can readily come to feel that people of West Aceh speak a ‘different Acehese’. Even though the speakers of North Aceh usually mock West Acehese speakers due to a perceived deficiency in their sound system, they do not view the West Aceh dialect as vulgar on the basis of these differences. They only tease West Acehese speakers as to be speech impediment and ‘different’. Rather, the negative judgments mostly occur as a result of lexical and semantic differences, as discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

The phenomenon of dropping the consonants /s/ and /h/ in the West Aceh dialect is another feature that serves to make this Acehese variety sound different. The dropping of these consonants also occurs in frequently used words, so that North Acehese speakers easily notice their absence in conversation. Based on my observations, this may not invite direct negative reaction from North Acehese listeners, but they believe that West Acehese have changed the original and standard speech.

In addition, North and West Aceh speakers adapt some borrowed words from Bahasa Indonesia differently, exhibiting vowel substitutions. The other

characteristic of dialect differences is intonation patterns. It has been found in this study that some intonation of the West Aceh dialect exhibit distinctive patterns which sound 'funny' to the North Acehese speakers. The different patterns of intonation are most prevalent in yes/no question sentences. Having examined the phonological differences in North and West Acehese dialects, the following chapter will investigate lexical differences.

CHAPTER 5

LEXICAL DIFFERENCES IN ACEHNESE DIALECTS

5.1 Introduction

Asyik (1972, p. 4) notes that the West Acehese and North Acehese dialects are not very different, except for the use of the uvular [ɣ] in West Aceh and the alveolar [r] in North Aceh, plus a distinctive intonation pattern. As discussed in the previous chapter, however, there are significant differences in terms of phonology such as the absence of some diphthongs and consonant clusters, phonemic realisations, and the ways in which Indonesian loanwords are integrated into Acehese (see section 4.3 in Chapter 4). From my observations and my personal experience as a native speaker of West Acehese, significant differences in vocabulary are also apparent. In other words, the choice of vocabulary readily identifies someone of West Acehese and North Acehese background. I have also observed that lexical differences involving a reasonably large number of sensitive or taboo lexemes serve to stigmatise the West Aceh dialect. The occurrence of these differences, therefore, contradicts Asyik's claim that "one cannot easily detect whether a man comes from an area of Meulaboh or of Pase when judged from his speech, except if one pays special attention to his intonation" (p. 4). With this in mind, this chapter will mainly focus on the lexical items that distinguish West Acehese from mainstream Acehese language.

A comparison of the lexicon of West and North Aceh dialects (see Appendix E) adopted from Comrie & Smith (1977, pp. 66-71) reveals a large, shared

vocabulary, displaying the types of phonological correspondences discussed in Chapter 4. However, from my knowledge of Acehnese, I cannot think of a single lexical item which is totally different in North Aceh and West Aceh, in the same way that ‘tap’ is used in Australian English and ‘faucet’ is used in American English.

The two dialects share some 98% of their vocabulary. About 55.8% of items in the Comrie & Smith basic wordlist (see Appendix E) are identical in form across the two dialects. Cognate West Acehnese forms showing the reduction of diphthongs with second element /ə/ are found in a further 54 lexical items, or 27% of the list, while the differing realisations of the rhotic phoneme /r/ are evident in 23 items. In addition, the correspondence between North Acehnese /o/ and West Acehnese /ɤ/ is evident in four words, or 2% of the list. Some other correspondences are also to be found, for example, in some vowels and consonant clusters with the second element /h/. Some of these shared words usually have the same range of variants in North and West Acehnese, where speakers may say or use words either way such as *sabab* [Sabap], *seubab* [Subap] or *saweub* [Sawup].

Only three items in the basic wordlist are not cognate across the two dialects. Based on the above mentioned lexicostatistic wordlist which is grouped into different semantic fields, as suggested by Bower (2007), there are only three lexical items which differ in terms of word choice between these two dialects, where one dialect mostly uses a certain word where the other dialect uses different words to refer to the same thing (see Table 5.1 below for the example).

Table 5.1: Not cornate words across North and West Acehese

North Acehese	West Acehese	English
sarat [Sarat]	punoh [punõh]	full (load)
rab [rap]	to [tõ]	near (in location)
teuka [tuuka]	jak [jaʔ]	come

These words are drawn from different word classes: adjective, location adverb, and verb. However, they are understood and may sometimes be used by speakers of the other dialect. The word *sarat* [Sarat] ‘full (load)’ which is generally used in North Acehese, is sometimes also used in West Acehese, especially by the older generation, although I have not heard my parents or their generation use this word recently. In North Acehese, the word *punoh* [punõh] which means ‘full (load)’ in West Aceh is generally used to refer to ‘full’, other than for loading, such as a glass full of water. The word *rab* [rap] ‘near (in location)’ for North Acehese is not generally used by West Acehese to refer to location. In the West Aceh dialect, *rab* [rap] usually refers to ‘almost’ which North Acehese speakers also understand. Both North and West Acehese know the word *to* [tõ], which means ‘near (in location)’. However, North Acehese speakers mostly use *rab* [rap], while West Acehese always use *to* [tõ]. The word *teuka* [tuuka] in North Aceh is used to inquire about someone’s arrival. For example, when someone meets a guest in his/her neighbourhood, in order to open a conversation Acehese people usually ask that person when they arrived in the area. North Acehese usually say *pajan teuka* ‘when arrive’. In West Aceh, however, people usually say *pajan jak*. North Acehese speakers may understand and use both words, but they more commonly use *pajan teuka*. West Acehese speakers

exclusively use *pajan jak* and people rarely say *pajan teuka*, even though some people may use such terms, especially with the older generation.

Even though no words in this basic wordlist are totally different, nonetheless there are many differences in the meaning of lexical items as discussed above. The differences evident in the basic lexicostatistic list are not salient; however, it has been observed that distinctions between the two dialects can be seen, for example, in pronunciation, usage and meaning. Based on the wordlist used during fieldwork in Aceh, which is elicited from approximately 2,700 words (Daud & Durie, 1999), semantic differences play an important role in distinguishing between dialects.

In addition to differences in form, there are many other differences, some obvious and others subtle, in the meaning of pronoun terms in the basic wordlist such as *droeneuh* ‘you (sing)’. In North Aceh this is polite and respectful, but in West Aceh it is ‘rough’ and impolite.

5.2 Different words for different dialects

There are some words with different meanings in North Aceh and West Aceh. Sometimes these words are used in both dialects but in different contexts or to refer to different objects. Sometimes they are not known by speakers to be distinctive. The differences arising from this category may result in confusion, especially when the topic is out of context. As a native speaker of the West Aceh dialect, I became confused when I heard people in Bireuen, North Aceh, use the term *pop* for ‘jerry can’ whereas in West Aceh *jeurigen is* used, borrowed from Bahasa Indonesia *jerigen/jeriken*.

Both dialects borrow words from Bahasa Indonesia, but not always the same ones. For example, North Acehese borrows the Indonesian word *jendela* ‘window’ even though there is an Acehese word, which is *tingkap*, a word that West Aceh dialect speakers generally use. On the other hand, West Aceh borrows the Indonesian word *meja* ‘table’, while North Aceh does not. The word for ‘table’ in North Aceh is *meh*, but in West Aceh, people do not recognise this word.

North Aceh also uses a specific term to refer to distance. One morning I asked someone where the village *Cöt Trieng* was, the village where Mark Durie did his fieldwork in the 1980s. I really wanted to visit this village because I needed to get a general picture of language usage here compared to that used in my village. My informant told me that *Cöt Trieng* was not so far from his village. He said in Acehese *Kira-kira jiôh jih 8 batèe* ‘it is approximately 8 stones from here.’

I did not understand the meaning of the phrase *8 batèe* ‘8 stones.’ He seemed to know that I was confused. Smiling, he explained that when *batèe* is used in distance measurement in Bireuen to mean *kilometre*. This term comes from the block of concrete installed on the side of a road as a mark of distance. From one block of concrete to the next is one kilometre. In West Aceh we do not use *batèe*, but *kilo/kilomete* instead.

At other times, the people of North Aceh dialect are confused when different words are used by West Acehese speakers. I had used *incin* ‘ring’ in my dialect in Bireuen to refer to the prefabricated cylindrical concrete sections (each section is approximately 30cm high) lined up to construct a water well. It is quite common for people to ask the owner of the house how deep the well is by referring to the number of concrete sections. I asked my friend’s mother *Padum*

boh incin mon nyoe, mak? ‘How many concrete sections does this well have, mother?’ She looked confused because she did not understand what I was asking. Then, I remembered that people in North Aceh probably use the same term as that of Greater Aceh. I knew that in Greater Aceh, they call the concrete section *menjeng*. I changed my question with the word *menjeng*, and she then understood. Thus *menjeng* in North Acehnese is the prefabricated cylindrical concrete sections used to construct waterwells, while in the West Acehnese context it is called *incin mon*.

Table 5.2 shows some words in West Acehnese which differ from North Acehnese. These words are known to speakers of each dialect, but they do not convey the same meaning. For example, the word *ceu* ‘score out, scratch’ in North Acehnese is also used in West Acehnese but it means ‘border’.

Table 5.2 : List of some words in West Aceh dialect which differ from North Aceh dialect

North Acehnese	West Acehnese	Indonesian	Meanings
<i>bak/on peukan</i>	<i>bak/on seurunè</i>	serunai	kind of plant with typical scent, generally used for stomach aches in small children
<i>pop</i>	<i>jeurigen</i>	jerigen/jeriken	jerry can
<i>balum</i>	<i>eumpang teupông</i>	kantung kain mori untuk tepung	cloth-like powder sack
<i>peuték</i>	<i>gando</i>	Ketapel	catapult
<i>tok</i>	<i>peutah tikôh</i>	perangkap tikus	mouse trap
<i>boh limo</i>	<i>boh jruk</i>	(buah) jeruk	oranges
<i>ceu</i>	<i>coret</i>	Coret	score out, scratch
<i>paruek</i>	<i>plastiek kreh-kroh</i>	kantung plastik	plastic bag
<i>mugè</i>	<i>meugalèh</i>	tengkulak	broker, middleman
<i>aneuk guli</i>	<i>aneuk kelereng</i>	kelereng	marbles
<i>boh sie kumbong, boh lon</i>	<i>si kumbong</i>	balon	balloon
<i>tikôh ten</i>	<i>tikôh ceng</i>	sejenis tikus yang kecil	kind of small mouse

The list of words in Table 5.2 above shows that the West Acehnese dialect borrows many words from Bahasa Indonesia but the North Acehnese dialect maintains its conservative forms. Words such as *seurunè*, *jeurigen*, *boh jruk*, and *coret* are from the Indonesian ‘serunai, jerigen/jeriken, buah jeruk, and coret’

respectively. The North Acehese wordlist, on the other hand, does not show any relationship to Indonesian borrowed words, except for *boh lon* ‘balloon’, which could well be derived from English. The word *meugalèh* in West Acehese is borrowed from the *Jamee* language. As previously mentioned, *Jamee* is similar to the Minangkabau language spoken in West Sumatra. To ascertain whether the word *meugalèh* was adopted from *Jamee*, I uttered this word to someone who was originally from Padang, West Sumatra. I asked him what the meaning of the word was and he told me that the meaning is exactly the same as *meugalèh* in the West Aceh dialect. In the Minang (Padang) language, it is written ‘*mangale.*’

There are also some words which are distinctive to each dialect (see Table 5.3 below).

Table 5.3 : Some words not found in one of the Acehese dialects

West Aceh dialect	North Aceh dialect	Meanings
<i>gudang</i>	<i>kama racôn</i>	literally ‘poison room’ which refers to a spare room in a house used as a storage room
<i>beukah pakek</i>	<i>monja</i>	secondhand items
<i>juadah</i>	<i>kuweh</i>	traditional cakes
<i>badék</i>	<i>seukin</i>	knife

The word *monja* in North Acehese, which is not found in West Aceh, is originally derived from the name of a shopping centre. *Monja* is actually the abbreviation from ‘Mongonsidi Plaza (mon-za).’ Because there is no voiced alveolar fricative /z/ in Acehese, it is usually adapted as [ʃ], resulting in *monja*

[monja]. Mongonsidi Plaza used to be a shopping centre in Medan, the capital city of North Sumatra, where secondhand clothes and accessories were sold. So, anything that is secondhand is likened to items sold in the plaza. At that time when someone bought secondhand pants, for example, in the shopping centre, people called it *siluweu monja* ‘a pair of pants bought in Mongonsidi Plaza.’ That is how the meaning and usage were expanded until recently.

There are also expressions in both dialects which are different but they have the same meaning semantically. These expressions are exclusively used in each dialect area and they usually serve as markers of dialect difference.

There is an expression in North Acehese to express the location of an object, such as a building or a house, to give directions. On my way to the fieldwork site in Bireuen, I rang my friend’s brother asking the location of his house. He mentioned the name of the street where his house is located. He continued by giving me directions - if I drove down that street, his house would be on the left. In Acehese he said “*Rumoh lôn röt wie jalan*” ‘My house is on the left side.’ Such an expression is rarely heard in West Aceh. People do not use *röt* ‘road, street’ to give the position of a building or a house, but instead West Acehese use *blah* ‘side’. The common expression in the West Acehese context is “*Rumoh lôn blah wie jalan.*”

It is also interesting to note the expressions using *meujan* ‘know-when,’ *meurumpök* ‘to find,’ and *meuteumeu* ‘to find.’ In the North Acehese dialect the expression *hana meujan plueng* means it happens suddenly and surprisingly, and there is no time to run away or to escape. In West Aceh, however, people generally use the expression *hana meuteumeu plung* which means the same thing. *Meuteumeu* in West Acehese can also be used to express the meaning of

finding something, for example, a place or an object. But in the North Aceh dialect they use *meurumpök*. For example, when I returned from looking for the house in the village where Mark Durie stayed, as discussed above, the host where I was staying asked me: “*Na meurumpök rumoh?*” ‘Did you find the house?’ Listening to that question, I was a little bit shocked because I had never used *meurumpök* in this context; West Aceh dialect speakers generally use *meuteumeu*. We use *meurumpök*, in this regard, if we find human beings or animals, but not a house.

5.3 Lexical semantics

The occurrence of words which are semantically different across closely related language varieties or dialects is an example of an obvious language change phenomenon. In New Zealand English, for example, the meanings of some words have undergone semantic change from the original British English (Hay et al., 2008, p. 78). These changes have usually taken place in regard to the use of the same words to refer to different meanings due to circumstances. For example, the words *beech* and *robin* in New Zealand refer to one kind of tree and species of bird respectively, but they are different from the beech and robin found in England (p. 78). These developments in New Zealand English and British English have played an important role in differentiating language varieties or dialects (p. 78).

North Acehnese and West Acehnese dialects are in a similar situation to that of New Zealand shown by Hay et al. (2008). From the basic wordlist (see Appendix E), some words are semantically different across dialects. For example, the word *rö-uh* [rəʔuh] or *röt-uh* [rətʔuh] in North Acehnese refers to a normal ‘road’, but in West Acehnese *röt-uh* [rətʔuh] refers to a ‘pathway’ in the bush, which is the

result of footprints people leave behind when they have walked on grass or in the bush. The term to ‘come’ in the wordlist also has semantic differences. In North Aceh, when someone is asked when he/she arrives or where he/she has been, people generally use *teuka* [tuuka], for example, *pane teuka* ‘where have you been’, while in West Aceh, people generally use *jak* [jaʔ], for example, *pane jak* ‘where have you been’. In other words, North Acehnese uses the word *jak* in this context to mean ‘leaving’, while for West Acehnese this means ‘coming’.

In addition, there are many other commonly shared Acehnese words where there are pronounced lexical differences across the various dialects. When I was studying at Syiah Kuala University, Banda Aceh, for example, my friends told me that people from Matang Glumpang Dua or Bireuen, which belongs to the North Aceh dialect, refer to a small grocery store in the village as a *bank*. *Bank* originally meaning a ‘(money) bank’ is borrowed from English through the Indonesian language. I thought at that time that my friends were lying, or if they were correct, that only old people may have used it. When I undertook fieldwork and stayed in the village community, I heard people using *bank* to refer to a grocery store. I observed that the grandson of the host was having a snack, and I asked him where he had gotten it. He replied that he bought it from the *bank*. I realised that *bank* is very commonly used in the community.

A further example is *eh* ‘ice.’ One day in Bireuen, I got home from the market and brought some candy for the grandsons of the owner of the house where I was staying. I asked one of the sons what the candy was called (while I was showing them the candy) because I knew that people in Matang Glumpang Dua or Bireuen call candy *eh* ‘ice’, so I wanted to make sure that was correct. One of

the sons replied in Acehese that it was *eh*. There is no explanation as to why candy is called *eh*.

In the West Aceh dialect, on the other hand, people maintain narrower meanings for these words and they are often not familiar with the meaning extensions used in North Aceh. West Acehese uses borrowed words from Bahasa Indonesia, *kios* and *permen*, to refer to the grocery store, and candy is *kioh* and *peureumen* respectively.

There are different meanings across dialects as previously mentioned. This was clearly evident when I was in North Aceh. I went to the bathroom without putting on my thongs. The grandma in the house noticed I had bare feet. She said: *Pakön hana neupaké kaôh nyak, kuto aleu nyoe, na kaôh lam kama saboh* ‘Why didn’t you put on your thongs, son, there is a pair of thongs in your room.’ I was surprised when she said *kaôh*, because in my West Aceh dialect this word means ‘socks’. Note that *kaôh* correlates with Indonesian *kaus* (e.g. *kaus kaki* ‘socks’ or *kaus tangan* ‘gloves’) where *kaki* means ‘leg; foot’, and *tangan* ‘hand’.

As mentioned, many different words refer to the same object. The North Acehese word *ceuracak* or *bl’et*, for example, means a ‘container’ for storing fried rice, noodles, or stir-fried vegetables. As a native of the West Acehese dialect, I have not heard of *ceuracak*, but I am familiar with *bl’et*. In West Acehese we call a container *susôn* or *rantang*. And in my dialect, *bl’et* refers to a square tin in which village people store their food. However, the North Acehese word *bl’et* is *t’em* (‘tin’) in West Aceh.

The meaning of words or phrases is also extended across the two dialects. For example, when I arrived in Bireuen, where the North Aceh data was collected, I

was warmly welcomed. I stayed in my friend's house. The mother of the host asked her daughter to serve some tea. She said in Acehnese *Nyak, jak cawe ie tè siat* 'Daughter, please make some tea for him.' When I heard it, I immediately identified different words for 'make (tea/coffee).' In West Aceh dialect, we generally use *wet*: *Neuk, jak wet ie tè siat*. In West Aceh *wet* means small object, but *cawe* is a larger object, such as a big saucepan. Literally both *cawe* and *wet* mean 'stir.' West Aceh has an extended meaning for *cawe*. North Aceh also uses *wet*, which refers to the same activity, but people prefer to use *cawe* for serving a drink.

Table 5.4 : Words with an extended meaning in the West Aceh dialect

Words	North Acehnese	West Acehnese
<i>plôk</i>	paint tin	any object used for storing ingredients or herbs, either bamboo or clean paint tin. The meaning in West Aceh is to store in something made of bamboo
<i>aneuk moe</i>	stepson/daughter, but for stepfather/mother <i>pak/mak ui</i>	either stepson/daughter or stepfather/mother who are called <i>aneuk/pak/mak moe</i>
<i>leusông²</i>	one piece of traditional mortar for pounding rice and it has a hole in the middle to put rice being pounded	every part of the whole set of the traditional manual pounding rice ‘machine’
<i>sangè</i>	a small cover made out of rattan, palm leaves or plastic for covering cakes	any kind or size of cover made out of rattan, palm leaves or plastic for covering any kind of food

The North Aceh dialect also has extended meanings. The word *rôt uh* or *rö-uh*, for example, means ‘bush path’, because many people walk through the bush and create paths, which become man-made ‘public roads’. In West Acehnese, this

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Picture of traditional manual mortar for pounding rice (Photo adapted from <http://alwzbemybaby.blogspot.com.au/2011/03/lesung-kaki.html>)

still has the same meaning. However in North Acehese, *röt uh* extends the meaning to any road or main road. In West Aceh, *jalan* is used to refer to ‘road’ or ‘main road’.

I also always hear people from the North Aceh region say *duwa neuk*, literally meaning ‘two children/things’ to refer to a little for both countable and uncountable nouns. In West Acehese, *neuk* and/or *duwa neuk* are used only for countable nouns. The speakers of North Acehese, on the other hand, use *duwa neuk* for either water or other uncountable nouns. *Bacut* or *bé-ôk*, which is also known and used in North Aceh, is commonly used by people in West Aceh to mean a ‘little (water, juice or gasoline)’.

Regarding the use of *duwa neuk* to refer to uncountable nouns in the North Aceh dialect, my mother told a joke about North Achenese, especially when some of them asked her for some water. According to her, they are ‘liars’ because when they asked for water, they wanted her to give them two drops of water. In North Acehese, they say *Neubri ie duwa neuk*, literally meaning, ‘Give me two drops of water, please’. However, when she gave them a glass of water, they drank it all. In the West Aceh dialect, people can say *Geubi i bacut* ‘Give me a little water, please’. But people from North Aceh may also joke about this if the word ‘*bé-ôk*’ is used. ‘*Bé-ôk*’ literally means ‘as big as a hair’. They may say that, but how can people from West Aceh drink water as little as a hair?

One of the striking findings is the use of the verb *keubah* ‘to store, put away.’ Originally, *keubah* meant to store something, usually a small object, such as money, books, plough, in a secure place. One day, one of the children of my informant in Bireuen came home from school and was asked to put away his backpack. My informant said in North Acehese: “*Keubah taih-taih ilè*” ‘Please,

put away your backpack.’ I immediately noticed the different expression compared to the West Aceh dialect.

I was not concerned about this difference because I understood the context and the backpack was a small object. But some days later when this informant asked me where I parked my car, I realised that in North Aceh there is an expression with a specific verb used to mention ‘put, store, etc.’ He asked me “*Pat neukeubah moto?*” ‘Where did you park your car?’ In West Aceh these examples are usually expressed as “*Puduk tah-tah ilè*” and “*Pat geupuduk moto?*” Instead of using *keubah*, West Aceh uses *puduk* ‘an action to put/sit something in proper place and manner’. North Achenese speakers know this term and sometimes they also use it, however they commonly use *keubah*.

Table 5.5: Words with an extended meaning in the North Aceh dialect

Words	North Acehese	West Acehese
<i>Panteu</i>	any bench	a temporary bench as a place to sit in the open forest area or on the side of the road
<i>Panyèt</i>	any lights or lamps, either traditional ones or electrical lights, or even motor vehicle lights or candles	usually refers only to traditional lights or lamps

It is interesting to note the change of meaning across dialects. In North Acehese, the word *boh leuping* means ‘old coconut fruit’ which has been eaten by a squirrel. In West Acehese, on the other hand, coconut fruit that has been eaten is called *boh keutupông*. Interestingly, *boh keutupông* in North Aceh refers

to young/small coconut fruit, whereas in West Aceh dialect, it is called *boh leuping*.

5.4 Semantic differences that offend

One attitude that North Acehese people have towards West Acehese speakers, as previously mentioned, is that these speakers sometimes use some words which are considered ‘vulgar’ by mainstream dialect speakers. According to North Acehese speakers, some words are ‘not appropriate’ to express in public or in conversation. There is a vegetable in the West Acehese dialect called *boh pik*, which literally means ‘vagina fruit.’ People in North Aceh hardly use this word; instead they say “*boh p’ok*”.

I had an embarrassing experience when I stayed in the village in Bireuen. One morning a door-to-door vegetable seller came to the house. I saw that the vegetable was shaped like a star fruit, but it was a bit longer. It is a kind of squashlike vegetable. I asked for the price in Acehese “*Boh pik nyan padum peng?*” ‘How much is the squashlike vegetable?’ Listening to what I asked, the seller looked confused. Then the mother laughed and said “*Ssttt... Nyan hinoe kamoe kheun bok p’ok, ken boh pik*” ‘We call it *boh p’ok* here, not *boh pik*.’ Even though North Acehese recognises *boh pik*, North Acehese speakers tend to ‘soften’ the meaning by saying *boh p’ok*. Actually, in the West Aceh dialect, people call the vegetable either *boh pik* or *boh p’ok* interchangeably without any problem. It is true that *pik* also means vagina in the West Aceh dialect, but if the vegetable is referred to, one would not ever think of the other meaning.

Other West Acehese words which are considered vulgar by people from North Aceh are *boh kréh* ‘candlenut’ and *ipôk* ‘pocket.’ North Acehese know the

meaning of *boh kréh* as ‘testes.’ In this dialect, ‘candlenut’ is called *aneuk kiroe*. West Aceh dialect uses *boh kréh* to refer to either ‘testes or ‘candlenut.’ However, there are some people that I observed in West Aceh who prefer to use the borrowed Indonesian word *keumiri* for candlenut.

Ipôk ‘pocket’ also creates an issue for West Acehnese speakers. When this word is spoken, speakers of North Acehnese perceive this as something really bad. According to North Acehnese speakers, when they hear this word being uttered, they hear something that sounds like *ie pôk* ‘vaginal fluid.’ Therefore, *ipôk* is not found in the North Aceh dialect. Instead they use *kéh* for ‘pocket.’ In fact, *ipôk* and *ie pôk* are completely different, one is monolexemic, whereas the other (North Acehnese) is bilexemic. However, due to the pronunciation sounding similar, North Acehnese people have a negative association.

The situation where West Acehnese use some words which appear to be impolite and taboo in a North Aceh context results in North Aceh speakers’ perception of West Aceh dialect as a vulgar code. This has forced West Acehnese speakers to code-switch to avoid embarrassment.

5.5 Differences in degree or intensity

Adjectives in Acehnese may result in confusion between speakers of different dialects. I happened to experience this when I visited one area in Bireuen that is very close to the ocean. I heard someone there saying that the water in the wells in this area is mostly *lagang*. I asked why this could occur and he told me because the wells were near the sea. Initially I thought that the water was a little warm due to global warming, which increases the temperature of well water. Then, I tried to haul some water from the well using a bucket to test the water

temperature with my hand. I was surprised that the water was not warm, which was not what I expected.

My understanding is that *lagang* means ‘warm’ or more precisely ‘lukewarm.’ I complained to him saying that the water was not warm. He was surprised too. He said that people usually taste the well water if they want to know whether it is *lagang* or not. I was confused. Then, we came to understand that *lagang* in North Aceh means the water tastes a little bit brackish.

Knowing that *lagang* has a different meaning, I asked people from North Aceh what the word for ‘warm’ was. I found that this dialect has interesting words to express the nature of warmth. The adjective that means ‘hot’ or ‘warm’ in North Aceh dialect has a ‘degree of hotness or coldness’: *tutông*, *seu-uem*, *leupie* and *sijuek* for ‘hot’ and ‘warm’ or ‘cold’ and ‘very cold’ respectively.

When I was served a glass of hot tea in Bireuen, the host warned me to be careful when I drank the tea because it was still very hot. She said in Acehese:

Göt-göt nyak, ie nyan mantông tutông

Good-good child, water that still hot

‘Be careful dear, the water is still hot’

I knew what she meant by *tutông* because I could relate it to the context; I could also understand the meaning of the word because in my dialect *tutông* is used as well. However, I felt that the use of *tutông* in that context was not familiar. When I followed up with research regarding the use of *tutông*, I came to the conclusion that in North Aceh people use different terms to refer to different degrees of hotness, especially for hot food or drinks. If either is very hot, it is not possible to drink or eat, or you will burn your tongue, in other words this

means *tutông*. But if you can manage to eat or sip because the temperature is not too hot, it is called *seu-uem* in North Aceh.

In the West Aceh dialect, this degree of hotness is not familiar. The word *tutông* is hardly used for liquid or food in this dialect. The most common adjective that is used in this context is *seu-uem*. If the water or food is very hot, or North Aceh speakers refer to as *tutông*, West Aceh speakers say *seu-uem that* or *that seu-uem* ‘very hot’, or *that-that seu-uem* ‘very very hot’. In West Aceh dialect *tutông* is used for something that is burning, for example, when a house is on fire.

The degree of coldness is also recognised in the North Aceh dialect. There are two common words used to express the nature of cool/cold in Acehnese, *leupie* and *sijuek*. The former means ‘cold’, while the latter means ‘cool. When for example food or drink has cooled enough to be consumed, North Acehnese speakers say it is *leupie*. But if you leave it untouched for several hours, and the food or drink gets cold, they call it *sijuek*.

In the West Aceh dialect there is also *sijuek*, which refers to ‘leftover and cold cooked rice’. Eventually, I understood *sijuek* is used for any cold dish, noodles, even coffee or tea in North Acehnese. With its broad range of semantic extensions, it is a flexible word in this dialect. In West Aceh, other than leftover rice, everything else is *leupie* when it becomes cold. *Sijuek* corresponds to Bahasa Indonesia *sejuk* ‘cold’.

The statement uttered by my friend’s mother regarding the use of *sijuek* can be seen in the example below. One morning she came up to see me and asked me to eat breakfast because she was afraid the noodles would become cold. She said in Acehnese:

Nyak, neu = pajôh mie, meudak-han sijuek euntreuk

Child, eat noodle otherwise cold then

‘Dear, please have the noodle now; otherwise it becomes cold in a minute’

The use of *sijuek* exclusively for leftover and cold rice in West Acehnese may result from cultural aspects. Rice is regarded as a valuable material to fulfill someone’s hunger. Rice is treated very well in Acehnese culture because it is traditionally harvested once a year. It is sometimes likened to a living creature. You should not waste rice. I still remember as a child my parents kept telling me that I had to eat the rice carefully and finish it. If I left some rice or I kept some, my mother warned me that the rice was crying. When the leftover rice is in the traditional cook pot, and the weather in the village is very cold, the rice ‘feels’ the cold too. So it becomes *sijuek* ‘cold’. Other kinds of food and drink are not considered as valuable as rice; therefore, the word *sijuek* is not used. In the West Aceh dialect, no word is used for leftover noodle, for example, even though it may be leftover from the night before. West Aceh uses *leupie* to refer to any leftovers or cold food, other than rice.

Pronouns are also significant in differentiating North and the West Acehnese varieties, and have contributed to the stigma of the West Acehhnese dialect. The discussion of pronouns in this chapter will focus on the differences in form, usage and function in North Aceh and West Aceh dialects.

5.6 Pronouns

5.6.1 Pronouns in West Aceh dialect

Pronouns are a sub-class of lexical items that serve to differentiate between North and West Aceh dialects, with differences in usage and degree of

politeness. The comparison of pronoun functions in North and West Acehese can be seen in Table 5.6 below, which is adapted from Asyik (1987, pp. 40-41), and modified on the basis of my own fieldwork. The pronoun that serves to illustrate these differences based on the basic wordlist is *droeneuh*; however, prefix and suffix forms are used frequently so that people may sometimes notice the dialect background of the speaker.

Table 5.6 : The difference in pronoun functions of North and West Acehese

Person	Dialects						Glossary of Meanings
	North Acehese			West Acehese			
	Pronoun	Prefix	Suffix	Pronoun	Prefix	Suffix	
1 st person	lôntuwan/ ulôntuwan	-	-	lôntuwan/ ulôntuwan	-	-	NA/WA: 'I (very polite)'
	lôn/lông	lôn-/lông-	-lôn/-lông	lôn	lôn-	-lôn	NA: 'I (standard)' The use of <i>lông</i> is more common. WA: 'I (standard)' <i>Lông</i> is never used. <i>Lôn</i> is used instead
	kèe	ku-	-kuh	kèe	ku-	-kuh	NA: 'I (vulgar)' WA: 'I (vulgar)' <i>kèe</i> is vulgar in the same way as North Aceh. However, the prefix <i>ku-</i> and suffix <i>-kuh</i> are more neutral in West Aceh dialect
	geutanyoe (pl.)	ta-	-teuh	geutanyoe (pl.)	ta-	-tah	NA: 'we (inclusive)' WA: 'we (inclusive)' Parents-in-law use it as second person singular pronoun to address children-in-law
	kamoe (pl.)	meu-/teu-	-meuh/- teuh	kamoe (pl.)	meu- /teu-	-	NA/WA: 'we (exclusive)'
2 nd person	droeneuh	neu-	-neuh	kinship terms	geu-	-	NA: 'you (respected; of older persons)' WA: 'you (rare; forbidden)' This pronoun is almost never used by West Acehese because it is regarded as 'rough' regardless of age and status. In West Aceh kinship terms are generally used, e.g. <i>bang</i> 'older brother', <i>pak</i> 'father', <i>cek</i> 'uncle' etc. Pronoun prefix <i>neu-</i> is not used. Third person pronoun prefix <i>geu-</i> is used instead
	droeneuh mandum (pl.)	neu-	-neuh	person's title/kinship terms	geu-	-	NA: 'you (standard)' WA: 'you (rare; forbidden)' Similar to pronoun <i>droeneuh</i> above

	gata	ta-	-teuh	gata	ta-	-	NA: ‘you (of younger adults)’ A husband addresses his wife as <i>gata</i> , but she does not use this pronoun to address him. She instead uses <i>bang</i> ‘older brother’ WA: ‘you (between husband and wife)’
	gata mandum (pl.)	ta-	-teuh	geutanyoe mandum	geu-	-	NA: ‘you (standard)’ WA: in West Aceh <i>geutanyoe mandum</i> is generally used
	kah	ka-	-keuh	kah	ka-	-	NA/WA: ‘you (of children; animals; inanimates; deities, spirits)’
3 rd person	droeneuhnyan	neu-	-neuh	person's title/kinship terms	geu-	-	NA: ‘he/she (very respected; used for prophets, “ulama” (very revered cleric), one’s own parents (by respected adults))’ WA: <i>droeneuhnyan</i> is not used, similar to <i>droeneuh</i> above. In this dialect a person’s titles or kinship terms are commonly used
	droeneuhnyan mandum (pl.)	neu-	-neuh	gopnyan mandum (pl.)	geu-	-	NA: ‘they (respect)’ WA: ‘they (rare, forbidden)’ In West Aceh <i>gopnyan mandum</i> is used
	gopnyan	geu-	-geuh	gopnyan	geu-	-	NA/WA: ‘he/she (respected; of older person)’
	gopnyan mandum (pl.)	geu-	-geuh	gopnyan mandum (pl.)	geu-	-	NA/WA: ‘they (standard)’
	jih	ji-/i-	-jih/-ih	jih	i-	-jih	NA/WA: ‘he/she/it (of younger person, non-muslim foreigner (except one’s own teacher or an old person), animal, unrespected entity, e.g. animals; inanimates; deities, spirits)’
	jih mandum (pl.)	ji-/i-	-jih/-ih	jih mandum (pl.)	i-	-jih	NA/WA: ‘they (of younger person, non-muslim foreigner (except one’s own teacher or an old person), animal, unrespected entity, e.g. animals; inanimates; deities, spirits)’

In addition to person, number, and inclusivity, Acehnese pronouns can be distinguished according to social distance: intimate versus neutral versus distant/respectful. Some of the pronouns used for respect, for example, have different functions and forms in different dialects. Some brief notes on the distinction of pronoun systems between the North Aceh dialect, as shown in the table above, and the West Aceh dialect are needed to give a general picture of their form, usage and function.

In the West Acehnese dialect, the form *lôn* is used for the first person singular pronoun, but North Aceh mostly uses *lông*. There is no difference in usage and function for this pronoun. The use of the first person singular pronoun *kèe* for older or respected persons is rude in both North and West Aceh dialects. Asyik (1987, p. 37), in his '*A contextual grammar of Acehnese sentences*' based on the North Aceh dialect, says that "*kèe* is not used by people who care about being polite. It does not only insult another polite adult, but also gives an indication that the speaker is not a 'refined' person". My observation during fieldwork in North Aceh confirmed Asyik's claim, including the use of prefix and suffix forms. However, there is a different usage and function for these forms in West Aceh. In this dialect, the use of *ku-* and *-kuh* affixed with the same meaning as *kèe* is more neutral. The use of such pronouns contributes to the perception that West Aceh is a stigmatised dialect.

In addition, the use of *kah* 'you' and *jih* 'he/she' for older or respected persons serves the same function as *kèe* in both dialects. But the West Aceh dialect is more neutral regarding this usage for adults of the same age. Asyik (1987, p. 37) notes that these pronouns are not used between young men who grew up

together until they get married or otherwise get respected because of their social status.

The second person pronoun *droeneuh*, which is used to address respected persons in North Aceh, is regarded as very rude in West Acehnese. By contrast, respected persons in West Aceh are referred to by kinship terms or titles such as *Bapak*, *Ibu*, etc. The pronoun prefix *neu-* is not used in the West Aceh dialect; instead the third person prefix *geu-* is used. A detailed explanation on the different forms and functions of pronouns across dialects is discussed below. But first I explore the relationship between pronoun systems in Bahasa Indonesia and *Jamee* languages as they influence the pronoun system in Acehnese, particularly *Jamee*, which shares linguistic boundaries with West Acehnese people.

5.6.2 Pronouns in Bahasa Indonesia

Whilst there is little similarity in the form of Acehnese pronouns compared with their Bahasa Indonesia counterparts, the systems are similar. Both languages make an inclusive/exclusive distinction and distinguish between intimate, neutral, and distant (respectful) relationships. In addition, Acehnese has additional ‘vulgar’ forms, and religion plays a part in the distinction between pronoun forms. Bahasa Indonesia pronouns can be seen in Table 5.7 below.

Table 5.7 : Pronouns in standard Bahasa Indonesia

Person	Pronoun	Prefix	Suffix	Glossary of Meanings
First	saya	-	-	'I'
	aku	ku-	-ku	'I (intimate form)'
	kita (pl.)	-	-	'we (inclusive)'
	kami (pl.)	-	-	'we (exclusive)'
Second	engkau/kau	kau-	-	'you (intimate form)'
	kamu	-	-mu	'you (intimate form)'
	anda	-	-	'you (neutral form)'
	kalian (pl.)	-	-	'you (intimate form)'
Third	ia/dia	-	-nya	'he/she (neutral form)'
	beliau	-	-nya	'he/she (respected persons)'
	mereka (pl.)	-	-nya	'they (neutral form)'

Similar to the Acehnese pronouns, it can be seen in the table above that Bahasa Indonesia also has some pronoun prefixes and suffixes, even though there are not as many as in Acehnese. Bahasa Indonesia has only two prefixes which are *ku-* 'first person' and *kau-* 'second person singular.' It also has three suffixes which are *-ku* 'first person,' *-mu* 'second person singular,' and *-nya* 'third person singular or plural' (see Sneddon et al., 2010, pp. 170-171).

In addition, the two tables above of Acehnese and Bahasa Indonesia pronouns (Table 5.6 and Table 5.7) show that these languages have personal pronouns with more than one usage and/or form. Alwi et al. (1993, p. 274) state that the different levels of pronouns used in Bahasa Indonesia reflect a cultural valuing of the fine categorization of social relationships.

5.6.3 Pronouns in *Jamee* Language

As mentioned earlier, it is worth comparing the Acehnese pronoun system with *Jamee* language because this language is spoken in shared linguistic regions in

West and South Aceh. However, it is difficult to obtain *Jamee* language resources that discuss the pronoun system. I therefore interviewed a native speaker of *Jamee* to gather more accurate data. Based on that data, the pronoun system in this language is presented in Table 5.8 below.

Table 5.8 : Pronouns in *Jamee*

Person	Pronoun	Glossary of Meanings
First	Ambo	'I'
	Awak ³	'I (intimate form)'
	Kito, awak	'we (inclusive)'
	Kami	'we (exclusive)'
Second	Wa-ang (masc.) / Ka-u (fem.)	'you (intimate form)'
	Bapak/Ibu	'you (respected form)'
	Kalian (pl.)	'you (intimate form)'
Third	Inyo (masc.) / Inye (fem.)	'he/she (neutral form)'
	Baliau	'he/she (respected persons)'
	Urangtu	'they (neutral form)'

Interestingly, *Jamee* pronouns seem not to influence the use of Acehnese pronouns spoken in West Aceh, where they share the linguistic boundary. Further research needs to be carried out in order to document the *Jamee* pronoun system more exhaustively, however, the data shown above provide some basis for discussion. One striking distinct difference between *Jamee* pronouns and those of Bahasa Indonesia and Acehnese is that children use first names to address their siblings regardless of age in *Jamee*. In Bahasa Indonesia and Acehnese, younger children have to use a kinship term to address their older siblings, such as *abang* 'older brother' or *kakak* 'older sister'.

³ *Awak* means 'you' in the Malay language spoken in Malaysia. It would seem that there has been a change in meaning between Malay spoken in Malaysia and Malay spoken in Sumatra, Indonesia.

Some explanations are in order regarding the contextual usage of pronouns in *Jamee*. Firstly, this language recognises masculine and feminine for second and third person singular pronouns. For example, *waang* [waʔaŋ] is used for ‘you (masc.)’ and *kau* [kaʔu] is used for ‘you (fem.)’ as well as *inyo* [iŋɔ̃] ‘he’ and *inye* [iŋɛ̃] ‘she.’ *Waang* and *kau* are used between intimate persons and they cannot be used to address older people, or older brothers or sisters because it is considered rude. Instead, kinship terms are used for addressing senior and respected people.

Furthermore, in contrast to Acehnese and Bahasa Indonesia, *Jamee* seems to not have any prefix forms.

For usage of pronoun systems in the three languages, some examples are given below:

Acehnese: *Gopnyan guru lôn watée SMA, dan nyoe aneuk-geuh*

He teacher I when SMA, and this son₃

Jamee: *Baliau guru ambo waktu SMA, dan iko anak e*

He teacher I when SMA, and this son₃

Indonesian: *Beliau guru saya waktu SMA, dan ini anak-nya*

He teacher I when SMA, and this son₃

‘He is my teacher at my Senior High School, and this is his son’

Acehnese: *Nyoe bajée baro droeneuh?*

This cloth new you

Jamee: *Iko baju bau ang (lk./u (pr.)?)*

This cloth new you (male) / you (female)

Indonesian: *Ini baju baru-mu?*

This cloth new you

‘Is this your new cloth?’

From the *Jamee* language shown above and the explanation of its usage, it would seem that the *Jamee* pronoun system does not influence Acehnese language. It suggests that even though West Acehnese shares a linguistic boundary with *Jamee*.

In terms of ‘politeness and familiarity’, the Indonesian pronoun system parallels the nature of pronouns in Acehnese, as both Durie (1985) and Asyik (1987) agree. In addition, Durie (1985) suggests that the characteristics of Acehnese pronouns are “all animate and typically human,” and they do not “systematically mark number”, that is, “most are ambiguously singular or plural.” Moreover, Acehnese pronouns (as in Bahasa Indonesia, but unlike those of *Jamee*) do not differentiate between masculine and feminine, as in English (p. 116).

It is important to note here that Bahasa Indonesia recognises the use of a person’s title to address someone who is meant to be respected. Sneddon et al. (2010, p. 166) use the term ‘pronoun substitutes’ to refer to the use of “personal names and kinship terms”. Kinship terms such as *saudara*, which means ‘sibling or relative of the same generation’, is generally used in Bahasa Indonesia to refer to the second person(s) who is (are) the same age as the speaker or younger, with “an impersonal tone, generally being used towards people with whom the speaker is not acquainted” (Sneddon et al., 2010, p. 166). Other examples of kinship terms that can substitute pronouns are *bapak* ‘father’ and *ibu* ‘mother’, which are used to address respected persons. These terms can replace the first

person pronoun ‘I’, the second person pronoun ‘you’ or even third person pronouns ‘he/she.’

For example:

Bapak/Ibu mau pergi ke Korea

‘I want to go to Korea’ (a statement by a Dean of Faculty to his/her secretary)

Bapak/Ibu mau pergi ke Korea?

‘Do you want to go to Korea?’ (a conversation between a university staff member and a Dean of Faculty)

Bapak/Ibu mau pergi ke Korea

‘He/she wants to go to Korea’ (a conversation between two university staff members)

Sneddon et al. (2010, p. 167) state that the use of personal names in Bahasa Indonesia can also substitute for the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’, especially among children. I have observed that the use of personal names as pronouns in Bahasa Indonesia is not limited to children or teenagers. It is sometimes also used by adults, particularly if they have used these pronouns since they were children. In my family, my sister and cousins have continued using their personal names as pronouns to this day.

In Acehese, the use of kinship terms as ‘pronoun substitutes’ is also common in both North Aceh and West Aceh dialects. However, the people of West Aceh only use kinship terms for addressing a respected second person singular. It is commonly found in West Aceh, but not in North Aceh dialect. The latter does

not use kinship terms as substitutions because it has a pronoun *droeneuh* ‘you (respected; of older persons)’. However, it is not regarded as polite to use this pronoun in the West Aceh dialect. There will be further discussion on this pronoun below.

As for Acehnese pronouns, the ‘politeness and familiarity’ of the Indonesian language also refers to the age and status of a person. Certain pronouns can only be used for younger persons, but not for older or respected persons. The latter include, among others, a teacher, or someone who has a respected position. The use of a person’s title or kinship terms as a pronoun for respected or older persons in the West Acehnese dialect is similar to that in Bahasa Indonesia. According to Alwi et al. (1993, p. 285), Indonesian speakers usually avoid using second person pronouns like *kamu*, *engkau* or *Anda* because they feel that these pronouns sound less appropriate. Therefore, Indonesians prefer to use kinship terms to address respected or older people, such as *Bapak* ‘father’, *Ibu* ‘mother’, *Kakak* ‘older brother/sister’, *Adik* ‘younger brother/sister’, *Saudara* ‘brother/sister/relative’, or to use a person’s title such as *Lurah* ‘head of a village’, *Profesor* ‘professor’, *Dokter* ‘doctor’ or *Kapten* ‘captain’ (p. 285).

The respect system in North Aceh dialect is usually associated with ‘respected’ names, people who are well educated and of higher status as well as persons who have reached adult age. My informant in Bireuen even said that there is a village in the North Aceh district where adults also address younger people or children with the respect pronoun ‘*droeneuh*.’ In the West Aceh dialect, on the other hand, the respect system is not always associated with ‘respected’ names.

In Acehnese culture, some people inherit a certain title in the community and they are consequently treated respectfully. These people are usually named *Said*

for male and/or *Aja* for female at the beginning of their given names. They are believed to be the offspring of respected people who are great scholars, Islamic clerics, and charismatic persons in Aceh. The use of pronouns *kèe* (I, me), *kah* (you), and *jih* (he/she) in addressing these people is considered ‘rough’ and unacceptable, and the user would be regarded as an uneducated person.

The use of the informal pronouns *kèe*, *kah*, and *jih* by those family members mentioned above is slightly different in North Aceh and West Aceh. I observed that in North Aceh, people usually prefer to use respect pronouns to address the family members of *Said* background regardless of age. However, in West Aceh, the use of these pronouns with regard to children, or between equals from respected family members, is still accepted in the event that the conversation takes place among family members in a relaxed situation.

In other words, pronouns used as a mark of respect in the North Aceh dialect are required when someone is talking to people with these titles. Within the same age, it is accepted to use the *Said* honorific, but when a pronoun is used, it should be the respect form used. However, in the West Aceh dialect the respect pronoun is not usually required when talking to or about *Said* people, especially when they are not present. If the conversation takes place between those who are respected and other common people with the same age in West Aceh, no respect pronoun is required. It is also the case that when adults talk to each other they use informal pronouns in the West Aceh region. In contrast to this, I have hardly ever heard people in Bireuen address their adult fellows by means of these pronouns.

An informant who was from West Aceh, but who had lived in North Aceh since he was 12 years old, once told me a very shocking story. He was born and grew

up in Panga, on the western coast of Aceh. He then moved to North Aceh when he was still a teenager. Even though he lived in the North Aceh region and had shifted his dialect to North Acehese, he was still sometimes influenced by his West Aceh dialect in the early years in North Aceh.

One day, at school, he found out that one of his friends was absent. After school, he looked for his friend at his house but was unable to find him. He was searching in the rice field where the friend usually helped his father out. When he finally saw, from the distance, that his friend was in the rice field helping his family plant rice, he shouted *Ai Said, inan kah goe* (Hey, *Said*, oh there you are). As mentioned above, *Said* is the honorific referring to a person who is respected in the community. When he shouted *Said*, somebody nearby interrupted him and said that he should not have used *kah* ‘you’ there because it was inappropriate.

The use of *kah* or *kèe* when communicating with older people in West Acehese is not acceptable, either. The use of *kah* is acceptable in West Aceh dialect, if the conversation is among those of the same age. In the North Aceh dialect, on the other hand, the use of both *kah* and *kèe* with older, respected persons is not acceptable and sounds ‘rough,’ impolite, and certainly not in compliance with prescribed usage.

In addition to the different usage of these pronouns, people from North Aceh feel offended when West Acehese speakers use the prefix form of *kah-* in a conversation, particularly with older or respected persons. The Acehese pronominal prefix *ku-*, as shown in Table 5.6 above, is the prefixal form of the first person singular *kèe* which means ‘I (vulgar).’ It is common to use *ku-* in everyday conversation in West Aceh with interlocutors of any age and status. The examples below, sourced from my fieldwork in Aceh, illustrate the common

use of ‘vulgar’ forms in West Acehese dialect and respect variants used in the North Acehese dialect.

North Acehese	West Acehese
Adults to younger people (identical in both dialects)	
<i>Pu na <u>kajak</u> keudeh buno?</i> (What AUX 2-go there just now)	<i>Pu na <u>kajak</u> keudeh buno?</i> (What AUX 2 _v -go there just now)
‘Did you go there just now?’	
A conversation with an older or respected person	
<i>Baroe waté <u>lônjak</u> u rumoh <u>gopnyan</u></i> (Yesterday when 1-go to house-3)	<i>Baroe waté <u>kujak</u> u rumoh <u>gopnyan</u></i> (Yesterday when 1 _v -go to house-3 _v)
<i>hana <u>lônba</u> sapu</i> NEG 1-bring anything)	<i>hana <u>teuba</u> sapu</i> NEG 1-bring anything)
‘Yesterday, when I went to his house I didn’t bring anything as a gift’	
Same age adults	
<i>Nan, <u>droe</u> na péng ngön jeut <u>lônpinjam</u>?</i> (Nan (name of a person), 2, AUX money with spare 1-borrow)	<i>Nan, <u>kah</u> na péng ngön jeut <u>kupinjam</u>?</i> (Nan (name of a person), 2 _v AUX money with spare 1 _v -borrow)
‘Nan, do you have some money that I can borrow?’	

These examples show that the use of the pronoun prefix *ka-* in the West Aceh dialect for speakers of the same age has neutral value. It is also acceptable and neutral to use the pronoun prefix *ku-* when talking to older people or parents in this dialect. This form is never used in North Aceh. In addition, the use of the second singular pronoun *kah* ‘you’ between persons who are the same age, regardless of whether they are adults or children, is fine in the West Aceh dialect but unacceptable in North Aceh unless someone wants to start a fight (Asyik, 1987, p. 37). I also observed that people in North Aceh rarely use *kah* and *kèe* when they speak, except for talking to very young people or younger siblings.

From the examples given above, it can be seen that the West Aceh dialect uses certain pronoun forms and functions that are considered ‘rough’ and ‘impolite’. The speakers of West Aceh usually adopt a strategy to manipulate such ‘rough’

or ‘impolite’ utterances in their dialect to make a conversation sound polite and ‘educated’ to the speakers of North Aceh. The strategy consists of the speakers using specific pronominal prefix and suffix forms. This form is quite ‘funny’ and slightly ambiguous from North Aceh speakers’ point of view. Consider a West Aceh teenager talking to his/her parent about his/her intention to not visit his/her same age friend’s house. He/she will typically say:

Han ek kujak lôn u rumoh jih

(NEG 1_v-go 1 to house his/her)

‘No, I do not want to go to his/her house’

Even though it is grammatically correct, one is not supposed to make such a statement in North Aceh because it is not accepted to mix *ku-* and *lôn* when talking to parents. Compare this with the equivalent typical expression in North Acehese:

Han ek lônjak (lôn) u rumoh jih

(NEG 1-go (1) to house his/her)

‘No, I do not want to go to his/her house)’

North Aceh dialect speakers never use the pronominal prefix *ku-* and suffix *-kuh* to parents, older people, or respected persons. Therefore, when they hear West Acehese speakers say *ku-* and *-kuh* to parents, for example, North Acehese people can be taken aback. They may think that the speakers are very rude to their parents. The shocked feeling of North Acehese speakers regarding ‘inappropriate’ usage is evident from the following anecdote.

One of my North Acehese informants who was studying at a university in Banda Aceh and whose close friend was originally from Nagan Raya, told me

that she was very surprised at her friend's 'rudeness' towards her mother. She told me that one day her friend got a phone call from her mother. She listened in to the whole conversation between the mother and daughter. During the conversation, my informant heard her friend continuously using *ku-*. At first, she thought that they were angry with each other, but they sometimes laughed and spoke in a low voice.

At first she felt disappointed that her friend could not respect her mother. She thought she should never have used the pronominal prefix *ku-* in conversation with her. My informant believed that her friend should have learned good behaviour and how to respect parents; therefore, she should use appropriate language when talking with her mother. It seemed to her that her friend was like someone who did not know how to behave. Therefore, right after the conversation, she interjected and remarked that what her friend had said to her mother was not right, and that she had committed a sin, because she had not behaved respectfully. After her friend explained there was nothing wrong, and that the use of the pronominal prefix *ku-* did not show disrespect because it was normal and common in West Acehese, my informant understood, even though she still believed that it was not acceptable and that her friend should change and learn the 'correct' way to address respected persons.

In addition to this shocking experience, this informant also recalled her confusion. She told me that during the telephone conversation she became confused with the context of the daughter-mother conversation. She overheard her friend's mother asking her daughter in Acehese when she would return to her village for a holiday. She said: *Pajan na pré kawo u gampông?* 'When do you have a holiday so you can go back to village?' Her friend replied that she

was unable to visit her because there was no school break in the near future and she asked her mother to visit her in Banda Aceh instead. *Hana pré, mak mantöng geujak keuno* ‘There is no school break now, why don’t just you come over’ she replied. *Geujak keuno* (3 + come here) ‘you come here’ in the conversation was confusing for my informant, as her friend had invited her to visit Banda Aceh.

In the North Acehese dialect, people use the pronominal prefix *geu-* (‘he/she’) when talking about a third person. To address a second person they use the pronominal prefix *neu-* (you), from the pronoun *droeneuh*. In West Aceh, however, when they speak directly to older or respected persons, they use ‘*geu+* verb’. It is used either for third person or second person. Therefore, it may lead to confusion. One of my colleagues from North Aceh related this misunderstanding when he visited West Aceh district. When he arrived, one of his students asked him *Ngönpu geujak keuno?* ‘How did you get here?’ He knew that the student was talking to him, but he became confused. He then needed confirmation that the student was actually asking him. At the time, he thought that the speakers in West Aceh used ‘different and strange’ Acehnese compared with North Acehnese.

There is a reason for West Aceh people using the pronominal prefix *geu-* rather than *neu-*. In this dialect, the use of *droeneuh* and its pronominal prefix *neu-* and suffix *-neuh* is ‘prohibited.’ Indeed, in many cases its use is ‘forbidden.’ I intentionally put the word ‘forbidden’ in inverted commas because this word is considered ‘rough’ and is sometimes unacceptable in this dialect. It is inappropriate, even offensive, if *droeneuh* is used to address older people and especially parents-in-law. The short form of *droeneuh*, which is commonly used

in Banda Aceh/Greater Aceh, is *drön*. Thus most people generally use *drön* in conversation.

I observed in Nagan Raya, where the data for this research was collected, that the pronoun *droeneuh* or the short form *drön* are rarely used. If people in Nagan Raya are addressed by such a pronoun, they usually get really mad and this may start an argument or a fight. The common response when they are called *droeneuh* or *drön* is: *Lôn-lôn kapeudrön!!* ‘How dare you call me *drön*’ [with high intonation]. Therefore, people avoid using this pronoun in the West Acehese dialect. This pronoun is generally used during a heated argument or a physical fight between younger and older people, or between adults or old people of the same age.

I recall that when I was a child and still living in the village, there once was a tense argument that almost led to a physical fight between my neighbours. When other adults who were passing by asked what was going on, I heard the reply from other people who had been at the scene earlier. They said: “*Hana teupu, tapi ka meudrön-meudrön*” ‘I do not know exactly, but they have called each other *drön*.’ In addition, when an argument or fight occurs between younger people themselves, they generally use the pronoun *kah*. It seems that West Acehese mostly start to use *droeneuh* or *drön* when they want to insult other adults and show their disagreement or anger.

Regarding the different function and use of *droeneuh* (or *drön*) in West Acehese, I found that most North Acehese speakers are not aware of the problem with this pronoun. As a result, when people from North Aceh travel to West Aceh they keep using the pronoun in conversation. Even though some North Acehese people are informed that the use of such a pronoun is impolite

in the West Aceh dialect, they do not change it because they argue that it is a polite form in ‘standard’ Acehnese. Nowadays, as a result of the movement of people from North to West and vice versa, as well as many West Acehnese studying in Banda Aceh, the contact with the North Aceh dialect has increased. Therefore, certain people in West Aceh understand and become familiar with the pronoun usage when they hear it. However, some older people in West Aceh still believe that it is offensive, especially between children and parents, parents-in-law and children-in-law as discussed below.

Table 5.9 below gives the parameters of familiarity regarding second person pronoun usage in the context of West Aceh. The use of *droeneuh* is the last preference.

Table 5.9 : Second person pronoun familiarity parameters in West Aceh dialect

Pronoun	Prefix	Suffix	Gloss
<i>kinship terms</i>	<i>geu-</i>	-	‘you (respected; of older person)’
<i>gata</i> ⁴	<i>ta-</i>	-	‘you (between husband and wife, parents-in-law and children-in-law)’
<i>kah</i>	<i>ka-</i>	-	‘you (of children, younger than speaker or equal age; animals; inanimates, deities; spirits)’
<i>droeneuh</i>	<i>neu-</i>	-	‘you (very rude)’

The most common second person pronoun used in the West Aceh dialect is a person’s title or relevant kinship term, as the substitution for the pronoun *droeneuh* generally used in North Aceh.

To demonstrate in more detail how ‘refined’ the use of *droeneuh* is in one dialect and how ‘rough’ it can be in the other, aspects of my own family situation may explain the issue further. I have two sisters-in-law who are originally from the

⁴ This pronoun does not have an Indonesian equivalent.

North coast of Aceh, where the use of *droeneuh* is very well accepted and perceived as polite. They have lived in my village in Nagan Raya since they got married. My father had a very uncomfortable experience with them, because they used *droeneuh* to address him. He knew its meaning and its usage from the east coast of Aceh. My father did not directly confront them regarding this issue, but he kept complaining to other immediate relatives, saying that my sister-in-laws were impolite and did not respect him as a father-in-law by calling him *droeneuh*.

Listening to my father's complaint, my uncle tried to understand the different language usage of my sister-in-laws. He then advised my father that he should not get angry at them. Even though my father sometimes listened to and agreed with my uncle, he insisted that my sister-in-laws' attitude was still not appropriate. According to him, they should have changed the way they spoke in accordance with the new speech community of West Aceh. My other family members tried to accept this situation and seldom expressed their disagreement with my sister-in-laws. They knew that their way of addressing the older member of their husband's relatives was incorrect in West Acehese culture, but they seemed to tolerate it.

From this, I observe that the most inappropriate situation is when *droeneuh* is used to address parents-in-law. Therefore, I am convinced that my father, who still disagrees with my sister-in-law, responded in this way because he is the father-in-law of my brother's wife. I found that the use of *droeneuh* in this context has a stronger negative meaning than it does with other relatives or respected people. I noticed that in the Acehese culture, parents-in-law are

treated with such respect that children-in-law seldom talk directly face-to-face or use direct eye contact, especially in a traditional family.

I will now discuss the different use of the second person singular pronoun in West and North Achenese. The Table 5.6 of North and West Aceh pronouns above shows that *gata* ‘you’ is used for younger adults. Based on my observation in North Aceh, the term *gata* is used by a mother, who calls her son and daughter-in-law by this term. It makes sense because the son and his wife are younger adults. In addition, I also observed that it is used by a husband to address his wife, whereas a wife cannot use *gata* to address her husband. In the West Acehnese dialect, however, the use of *gata* specifically relates to parents-in-law addressing their children-in-law and between husband and wife.

Unlike the North Aceh dialect, it is possible in West Acehnese for a husband to address his wife with *gata* and for her to address the husband likewise. However, neither dialect permits children-in-law to call their parents or parents-in-law by this term. In West Acehnese, I found that when parents address their children-in-law, they generally use *geutanyoe* ‘we/us.’ I always heard my grandparents from my father’s side call my mother *geutanyoe* and grandparents from my mother’s side also call my father *geutanyoe*.

The use of *geutanyoe* in the West Aceh context to address a son/daughter-in-law is certainly confusing for North Acehnese speakers because this pronoun refers to the first person plural (incl.) for these speakers. In West Aceh, however, this is the respected and ‘refined’ way of addressing a son/daughter-in-law by parents.

The people of North Aceh also consider that it sounds impolite when they listen to the use of the pronoun *gata* to address a husband. According to them, a wife in West Aceh does not respect her husband when she calls him *gata*. Not many people in West Aceh use *gata* or *geutanyoe* today. Rather, the use of kinship terms in combination with a couple's first son or daughter's nickname is often used, as discussed in more detail below.

There is a unique custom concerning a wife addressing her husband in the Acehese language, which is similarly applied in both North and West Aceh dialects. It is obligatory that a wife respects her husband. Calling a husband's name in Acehese culture is considered very rude and unacceptable, but it is fine if a husband calls his wife by her name. However, a newly married husband usually addresses his wife as *dek* 'younger sister' and the wife calls her husband *bang* 'older brother.' The use of *dek* and *bang* does not reflect the different age of the couple. In the case where a wife is much older than a husband, she is still required to address him with *bang*.

While some couples keep using *dek* and *bang*, most drop the terms when they have a child. In the Acehese culture, the kinship term *mak* 'mother' or its variants or *pak* 'father' or its variants and the pronominal suffix *jih* 'his/her' for the first child are commonly used. Therefore, terms such as *makjih* 'his/her mother,' *abujih/pakjih* 'his/her father' are usually heard in a conversation that involves a husband and wife. For example, a husband calls out to his wife *makjih, na kapinah bajè lôn kupuduk ateuh kurusi?* 'his/her mother, did you put away my shirt that I put on the chair?'. And his wife replies *hana, tapi kukalön buno abujih puduk ateuh peuratah* 'No, I didn't. But I saw his/her father put it on the bed.'

Regarding the use of these combination kinship terms, I found in North Aceh that a husband, when talking to or about his wife, uses the term ‘*ma-ih*’. The consonants [k] and [j] are dropped, whereas in West Aceh they are pronounced clearly. The same applies to a wife addressing her husband, if the children address their father with ‘*pak*’. In West Aceh, ‘*pakjih*’ (literally ‘his/her father’) is commonly pronounced, but in North Aceh ‘*pa-ih*’ is used.

There is one last point that needs to be made regarding the differences between North and West Aceh dialects in terms of pronominal usage. West Aceh dialect speakers are not familiar with the use of certain pronominal suffixes in conversation. The pronominal suffixes that are hardly used in the West Aceh dialect are *-teuh*, *-meuh*, *-neuh*, and *-geuh*, which is not the case in the North Aceh dialect, as can be seen in Table 5.6.

In the North Aceh dialect the pronominal suffixes mentioned above are regularly and commonly used. For example, North Acehnese people say:

Gopnyan sakét-geuh ka dua uroe

(He_r get sick-3_r PERF two days)

‘He has gotten sick for two days’

In the standard and grammatical sentence shown above, the pronominal suffix *-geuh* is used as an agreement marker for the pronoun *gopnyan*. In the same context and exactly the same meaning, people from West Aceh usually say:

Gopnyan sakét ka dua uroe

(He_r get sick PERF two days)

‘He has gotten sick for two days’

The pronominal suffix *-geuh* is missing in the West Aceh dialect.

5.7 Kinship terms in West Acehnese dialect

The West Aceh dialect has some different kinship terms compared to the North Aceh dialect. There are some terms which are present in one dialect and absent in the other. Differences in meaning and usage of some kinship terms in Acehnese also occur. Asyik (1987) discusses kinship terms found in the North Aceh dialect including their usage. Moreover, Sulaiman et al. (1995) give a more complete list of kinship terms in Acehnese, which are used in several dialects including North and West Acehnese. Similar to Asyik (1987), they also give the usage of those terms in the different regions. Some of the terms from Sulaiman et al. (1995) regarding West Aceh and North Aceh dialects are presented in the following discussion along with Asyik's findings. In order to do some comparison of the form, meaning, and usage of the kinship terms between North Aceh dialect and West Aceh dialect, I have added in my fieldwork data and observations as a native speaker of West Acehnese to the two sources mentioned above. Note that kinship differences in North Aceh and West Aceh dialects occur in terms of different lexical choices or different terminology but there is no difference with respect to the kinship system as such.

As mentioned above, some North Aceh kinship terms are not commonly used for titles in the West Aceh dialect. For example, *dalém*, which means an 'elder brother', has been seldom used in West Acehnese recently, but this is not the case in the North Aceh dialect. The kinship term for an elder brother in West Acehnese which seems to be neutral is *abang* or *bang*, in short, referring to an elder brother. The title *abang* is well known in the Acehnese language and it can be widely used because it is originally from Malay or Bahasa Indonesia. This

therefore suggests that the North Aceh dialect still uses the original Acehnese kinship term *dalém* but West Aceh dialect has shifted to use a borrowed word from Bahasa Indonesia. I observed that the generation of my parents, people in West Aceh, use *dalém*; however, in my generation I have never heard this term used anymore. I overheard my mother address some persons who were older than her with this title.

The difference is also evident when an aunt is addressed in either dialect. According to Asyik (1987), the kinship terms in this category in North Aceh are *macut*, *téh*, and *cutma* (or *cuma* in short). The kinship terms *macut* and *cutma* are not usually found in West Aceh dialect, where *makcek*, *makbit*, and *makda* are generally used. *Téh* is not only used in West Aceh dialect to address an aunt. The people in West Aceh generally also use *téh* to identify different addressees. For example, in a family where a younger child has two or more brothers, sisters, uncle or aunt, to differentiate which brother, sister, uncle or aunt the child addresses, *téh* is used as a modifier; for example, *cek téh* ‘white uncle’, *makbit téh* ‘white aunt’, *dek téh* ‘white younger brother/sister’ etc. *Téh* in the West Aceh dialect is a short form of *puteh* ‘white’. In North Aceh it can merely refer to an aunt or it can be used as a modifier. Other modifiers that distinguish kinship terms to address different individuals are *tam*, which is the short form of *itam* ‘black’ or *ubit* ‘small’. To differentiate between two brothers in West Aceh, the child will usually address one brother as *bang téh* ‘white brother’. The use of *téh* ‘white’ or *tam* ‘black’ does not necessarily imply that the individual is white or has a darker skin colour, nor do these terms have racist overtones.

Kinship terms for ‘aunt’ in West Acehnese are usually derived from two words. One word reflects the position of the person in the family hierarchy, for

example, *mak* ‘mother.’ Because the position of aunt is on the same level as mother or father, she should be called with something referring to ‘mother’ and it should be in the first position of the combined term. To differentiate one’s own mother from the aunt, the word that means a ‘mother’ should be modified by an adjective suggesting that the aunt is younger than the mother.

The most common adjectives used in this case in West Acehese are *c’èk/ubit* ‘small’ or *muda* ‘younger.’ When they consist of more than one syllable, the first syllable is dropped. For example, *makcek* (denasalised the close-vowel in *c’èk*), *makbit* (dropping the initial syllable), and *makda* or *mak uda*. These terms are the counterparts of *macut*, *teh*, and *cutma* in North Acehese. (For initial syllable dropping in Acehese, see Durie (1985, pp. 37-38).

There are two other salient kinship differences. The first is a title for ‘father’. Acehese generally use *ayah*, which is used for a father or someone whose age is similar to one’s father. The short form for *ayah* is possibly *yah*. Other terms generally used in Acehese to address a father are *abu*, *abi*, and *abah*. It is also common to use *pak* in Acehese, a short form of Bahasa Indonesia *bapak*. Different title words in both dialects are *waléd*, *di*, and *tu*. However, they are only used for ‘father’ in North Acehese, and *waléd* and *di* are not found in the West Aceh dialect. *Tu*, on the other hand, is used to address a grandfather in the West Aceh dialect. The use of these words in West Aceh, however, may lead to misunderstandings and confusion for North Acehese people.

Finally, the kinship terms for ‘grandmother/grandfather’ seem to be different in North and West Acehese. According to Asyik (1987), North Acehese generally use *nek/teungku nek* to refer to grandmother/grandfather. In addition, there are other terms for grandmother, which are *misyik* and *nyaksyik* and for

grandfather, *abunek* and *tu*. However, the use of *teungku nek* is not apparent in the West Aceh dialect because people generally use *nek*. The use of *teungku* in this case is honorific, which is different from *Teungku*. In general, Acehnese use *Teungku* to refer to an adult male's title as an Islamic/Koran teacher. In Malay *Teungku* is generally used for the daughter of a royal family. It is interesting to note that the use of *teungku* as a kinship term in Acehnese is feminine, but as a title it is masculine.

The kinship term *tu* is generally used in the West Aceh dialect for grandfather, often preceding the name of the place where he lives. It is important to differentiate the addressing of grandparents with specific words. This avoids confusion between grandparents on the mother's side and the father's side. In the case of my speech community, when the grandfather lives in a village called *Latong*, he will be addressed *tu Latong* or *tu tong* for short. As mentioned, Acehnese tend to drop the first syllable. And the last syllable of the village name is generally used for the short form for 'tu + placename.' *Mak* 'mother' is used for grandmother with the placename. For example, a neighbour, who was a friend, addressed his grandmother as *mak meurandeh* 'grandmother from across the river' because she had lived in *meurandeh* 'across the river'. He usually called her *mak ndeh* for short.

The other kinship term used by West Acehnese to address a grandfather is *abunek* and this is quite common; however, North Acehnese people usually say it the other way around, *nek abu*. And some people also use *abunek*. North Aceh dialect has two variants for this term, while West Aceh dialect only recognises *abunek*. It should be noted that the head of the noun phrase (NP) in Acehnese is similar to that of Bahasa Indonesia in that it is on the left.

It is also noteworthy that the use of kinship terms to address a grandmother or grandfather varies among families and grandchildren. In my big family, for example, my brothers and sisters addressed our late mother's father with *tu Kuta Aceh*, which we generally use in the abbreviated form, *tu ceh*. *Kuta Aceh* is the village where my grandparents lived. Meanwhile, my cousins address him as *nek*, which is homophonous with Bahasa Indonesia 'grandmother', thus potentially a source of confusion or misunderstanding. However, we all use a similar term to address our grandmother, which is *mak ceh*, a short form of *mak Kuta Aceh* 'mother from *Kuta Aceh* village.'

There is a typical kinship term in West Aceh which is not found in North Aceh, which is *mak dông*, used to address a grandmother. There is no general principle at work regarding different usage between dialects. The short form is *dông*. If *dông* is used exclusively, it should be followed by other kinship words, especially when addressing someone who is not a core family member, but is as old as one's grandmother. Sometimes, it will be a very long form.

For example, I had a family member who was a sister of my grandmother whom I called:

dông ngoh mak Pian
Grandmother middle mother Pian
'lit. middle grandmother mother Pian'

Pian is the name of a person who is my uncle.

The Table 5.10 below summarises the differences in kinship terms in North Aceh and West Aceh including frequency of use.

Table 5.10 : Kinship terms usage in North and West Aceh dialects

North Acehnese	West Acehnese	Frequency of use
<i>dalém</i> ‘elder brother’	<i>dalém</i> ‘elder brother’	Commonly used in North Aceh, but becoming less commonly used in West Aceh more recently
<i>téh</i> ‘aunt’ (but sometimes refers to ‘white’ as well)	<i>téh</i> (short form of <i>putéh</i>) ‘white’	In West Aceh, <i>téh</i> is generally used as a modifier, but in North Aceh it is generally used solely as a kinship term
<i>tam</i> ‘black’	<i>tam</i> ‘black’	In both dialects <i>tam</i> is generally used as a modifier, but it is never used as a kinship term, as <i>téh</i> is used in North Aceh
<i>macut</i> or <i>cutma</i> ‘aunt’	<i>makcek</i> , <i>makbit</i> , <i>makda</i> ‘aunt’	In North Aceh <i>macut</i> or <i>cutma</i> are frequently used, but in West Aceh people seldom use these terms; they generally use <i>makcek</i> , <i>makbit</i> , or <i>makda</i> instead
<i>waléd</i> , <i>di</i> , <i>tu</i> ‘father, dad’	<i>pak</i> , <i>abu</i> , <i>ayah</i> ‘father’	<i>waléd</i> , <i>di</i> , <i>tu</i> are used frequently in North Aceh to address a ‘father’, but these terms are not used in West Aceh. Instead, both dialects use <i>pak</i> , <i>abu</i> , <i>ayah</i> . <i>Tu</i> in West Aceh is generally used for a grandfather, but in North Aceh it refers to ‘father’
<i>nèk</i> , <i>ayah nèk</i> , <i>chik</i> , <i>pak nèk</i> ‘grandfather’	<i>tu</i> , <i>nèk</i> , <i>kuk ha</i> ‘grandfather’	In West Aceh, <i>chik</i> is seldom used, as well as <i>ayah</i> or <i>pak</i> ‘father’ before <i>nèk</i>
<i>misyik</i> or <i>nyaksyik</i> ‘grandmother’	<i>makyek</i> , <i>nek</i> , <i>mak + (a modifier usually a placename)</i> ‘grandmother’	People in North Aceh generally use <i>misyik</i> or <i>nyaksyik</i> to address a ‘grandmother’. In West Aceh they are never used. Instead <i>makyek</i> , <i>nek</i> or <i>mak</i> plus the place where the grandmother lives are generally used

Usage of other kinship terms including mother, sister, uncle, cousin, niece, nephew, husband, wife, and in-laws are the same across both dialects

5.8 Typical West Acehnese dialect: unique phrases and expressions

A unique West Aceh phrase sometimes misunderstood, is *singöh beungöh* ‘tomorrow morning.’ In this dialect, it is used to express the period of time in a day, from morning to evening. However, the people in North Aceh are usually not aware of this usage, because in their dialect it is meant to be ‘early morning tomorrow’. To refer to indefinite time, the North Aceh dialect generally uses *singöh*, which in West Aceh this means some time indefinitely in the future. To

talk about an indefinite time in the future, North Acehese generally uses postposed reduplicative *singöh-ngöh*.

In addition, some expressions represent the identity of West Acehese speakers. For example, if *nyan* ‘o-‘o [nã̃n ʔõ-ʔõ] as an affirmative phrase to mean ‘that is right’ is publicly expressed in Banda Aceh, people will assume that you are from the western coast. Generally, North Acehese or other Acehese dialects in Banda Aceh say *nyan nyoe* [nã̃n jõə] instead of *nyan* ‘o-‘o [nã̃n ʔõ-ʔõ].

Another expression is *aleh paki-paki* [alɛh paki-paki] ‘lit. how what-what.’ It is hard to find an equivalent expression in English. This expression is used by West Acehese speakers to express that someone is doing something that is beyond the expectation of the speaker, either the result/quality of the task or the way of doing it. northern Acehese people think that it is funny because it does not occur in the North Aceh dialect, and it has distinctive West Acehese intonation.

The expressions mentioned above are used frequently in the West Aceh dialect, so that non-West Acehese can easily recognise the background of people when they hear these expressions. I observed that the West Acehese speakers dropped this expression when they lived in Banda Aceh. Most of them disclosed that they wanted to be free from ridicule by and from people of other dialect backgrounds. One day, I introduced this expression to a foreigner who was working at Syiah Kuala University in Banda Aceh. When she heard the way I pronounced it, she asked me to repeat it. She had not heard this expression before and liked the sound.

Gohlom [gõhlõm] in North Acehese means ‘not yet,’ but in West Acehese it is *galom* [galõm]. Apart from the missing [h], the phoneme [o] changes to [a] in the

West Aceh dialect. The abbreviated form ‘not yet’ in a regular conversation in North Aceh dialect is *goh* [gɔh]. This abbreviation of *gohlom* does not appear in the West Aceh dialect. There is no such word as *ga* [ga] to replace *galom* and *goh* is not used either.

5.9 Summary

This chapter has discussed the significance of differences that occur between North Aceh and West Aceh dialects in terms of lexical items. It showed that the perceived ‘rough’ nature of West Aceh dialect comes about mainly through pronouns and some salient nouns considered ‘vulgar’ by North Acehese speakers. The research has also revealed that there are some lexical items which are present in one dialect, but absent in the other. The changes in meaning of some lexical items in one dialect have also served as distinctive dialect markers for speakers of both dialects. The West Aceh dialect has some typical, unique phrases which can be used to identify the backgrounds of speakers.

Even though relatively few lexical differences appear in the lexicostatistic wordlist adopted by Comrie & Smith (1977), lexical differences are far more important than the wordlist would suggest. Primarily, the salient lexical differences commonly used for vegetables, for instance, serve, more than anything, to identify the West Aceh dialect as *kasar* ‘rough’. These differences will not appear in any ‘universal’ wordlist, as they are specific to the region, but these terms are commonly used in all varieties of Acehese on a daily basis.

The next chapter will discuss findings of the attitudes of Acehese people toward North Aceh and West Aceh dialects.

CHAPTER 6

LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

6.1 Introduction

In Banda Aceh, speakers of the stigmatised West Aceh dialect try to accommodate their speech to the North Aceh dialect. In this chapter, I will explore how this phenomenon occurs and the motives of West Aceh speakers in performing this strategy. I will discuss accommodation theory and how it operates in Banda Aceh. Language use in Aceh is explored through observation and interviews whilst attitudes are explored through the matched guise test, an indirect method.

6.2 Diglossia and code-switching in Aceh

The concept of diglossia as proposed by various linguists (e.g. Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967), previously outlined in Chapter 2, is difficult to employ in the Aceh situation. Firstly, Aceh is seldom written or used in official documents, formal events and contexts. It is seldom used in government offices, universities, and courtrooms because Bahasa Indonesia has taken over these functions. Secondly, both North and West Aceh are not used at the same time under normal circumstances in each dialect territory. Even though North Aceh is considered by the Aceh people as a ‘refined’ and ‘standard’ variety, West Aceh people do not regularly use it in West Aceh except when they accommodate North Aceh speakers or speakers of other varieties of Aceh. It is also the case that West Aceh is not spoken under normal circumstance by the people of North Aceh. This means that the North Aceh

virtually never use West Acehnese. It also means that the North Acehnese dialect is not a variety which is used only in formal events, whereas in non-formal situations West Acehnese people use the West Aceh dialect. The North Aceh dialect is thought to be superior by many speakers, who see it as more beautiful, more formal and more polite. However, it does not cause the speakers of West Acehnese to switch to North Acehnese as an H variety at formal events or in religious ceremonies in their own territory.

North Acehnese speakers do not accommodate to other Acehnese dialects either in North Aceh or outside their linguistic boundaries. Speakers of West Acehnese, however, accommodate to North Acehnese when they visit and live where North Acehnese is largely spoken. When students from West Aceh, for example, move to Banda Aceh they code-switch to North Acehnese. West Acehnese speakers in effect become bidialectal speakers. For these reasons this is not best categorised as a diglossic situation, as there is no switching to and from North and West Acehnese according to the purpose and nature of different social situations.

A diglossic situation, however, does occur between Bahasa Indonesia and varieties of Acehnese throughout the Province of Aceh. Acehnese people use the national and standard language, Bahasa Indonesia, in official events, governmental offices, education, literacy, and mass media. Meanwhile, the Acehnese language is used by family members of Acehnese origin, among close friends and in casual situations. Bahasa Indonesia thus operates as the H variety, while Acehnese is the L variety.

Stratification of the major languages and dialects in the Province of Aceh can be seen in Table 6.1 below. Note, however, that these stratification layers are

generalised representations of phenomena that exhibit more real-life complexity than it is possible to show in a table.

Table 6.1 : Language stratification in Aceh

Languages/Speech Varieties	Domain
1. English	Communication with non-Indonesians, and used among students in the English Department of universities or schools which encourage students to practise English
2. Arabic	Religion/Speech formulas, practised among students in the Arabic Department of Islamic institutes or Islamic boarding schools
3. Bahasa Indonesia	National language, official language, government, education, literacy, mass media, non-Acehnese Indonesians, Indonesian-speaking foreigners
4. North Aceh dialect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Acehnese people from northern Aceh such as Bireuen, North Aceh and East Aceh. - Mostly used in Acehnese textbooks for students as local content subject. - Mostly the subject of research on the Acehnese language. - Preferred for use by Acehnese people of different non-North Aceh dialect in communication in Banda Aceh, the capital city of the province. - The reference for non-Acehnese people who want to learn the Acehnese language. - Generally used by West Acehnese in the West Aceh region when communicating with people from non-West Acehnese dialect background.
5. Pidie dialect	Used among people of Pidie dialect in Pidie district or those who have moved to Banda Aceh.
6. West Aceh dialect	Used among people in West Aceh and among the people of this dialect who live in Banda Aceh.
7. Greater Aceh dialect	Used among people in Greater Aceh and around Banda Aceh outskirts where the Greater Aceh community lives.
8. <i>Jamee</i>	Mostly used in southern Aceh areas and within the community, family members of <i>Jamee</i> origin who have moved to Banda Aceh.
9. Gayo language	Used among people of Gayo in Central Aceh, or students of Gayo language background who live in Banda Aceh. It is also used as a language of oral cultural expression and written works in Central Aceh.

Throughout the province, speakers of Acehnese see the North Aceh dialect as standard, ‘correct’ form. When non-natives want to learn the language, North Acehnese is the one that is taught to them. Most interestingly, when people from North Aceh relocate to live in West Aceh, they seldom shift into the local dialect. My sisters-in-law, for example, who come from the northern part of Aceh, have not significantly changed from their original dialect even many many years after marrying and moving to my village. Having lived in Nagan Raya, in West Acehnese territory, for more than fifteen years, my sisters-in-law occasionally visit their family in their home villages, and the only comment about them from their North Acehnese kin is that they have picked up the intonation and some of the typical phrases or expressions of the West Aceh dialect (see section 5.8 for more discussion). The pronunciation of ‘r’ and original dialect words, such as *kéh* instead of the West Acehnese *ipôk* ‘pocket’, which sounds impolite to North Acehnese speakers, remains unchanged. Thus, they have not changed the main features that are taken to be representative of North Aceh.

The speakers of West Acehnese, on the other hand, tend to code-switch when they are in North Acehnese territory or when in the presence or hearing distance of North Acehnese speakers. In other words, the code-switching and accommodation that takes place is only practised by those who are from West Aceh dialect background. Most West Acehnese speakers accommodate their language behaviour when exposed to North Acehnese interlocutors.

The accommodation practised by West Acehnese speakers suggests their loyalty towards their original dialect. They only accommodate their speech in conversation with other speakers from different dialect backgrounds. This code-

switching mostly occurs when West Acehese speakers are in the minority, or when the conversation takes place in North Acehese territory or during a (telephone) conversation with North Acehese people. Examples of the contextual situation are elaborated in the following sections.

Code-switching within Acehese is only practised by non-North Aceh speakers though North Aceh speakers themselves commonly code-switch between Acehese and Bahasa Indonesia. In addition, the code-switching practised by the Acehese of non-North Aceh background has the noticeable characteristic that they do not code-switch intersententially or mid-sentence (see Chapter 2 for more detail). Furthermore, it is not borrowing either. These speakers always try to completely shift into the North Aceh dialect, doing so across the range of word choice, pronunciation and intonation. When we listen to West Acehese speakers who have taken up the North Aceh dialect, it is sometimes hard to notice if they are originally from West Aceh, except for some characteristic pronunciation, intonation and vocabulary ‘errors’. For example, they still pronounce *lem* [lɛm] ‘glue’ using the West Acehese pronunciation rather than the North Acehese pronunciation [lɛm], at least partly because the West Acehese pronunciation is similar to that of the Bahasa Indonesia term for ‘glue’, *lem* [lɛm].

6.3 Reasons for accommodation

Bell (2007, p. 95) argues that people vary their speech across different situational contexts in order to convey ‘different social meanings,’ and to reflect particular ‘social positions’ in relation to other speakers. The main factors influencing speakers’ choices, according to Bell, are the interlocutors, the topic of conversation, and the place of the interaction (2007, p. 95).

West Acehese speakers quickly learn how to shift into the dominant dialect when they move to and stay in Banda Aceh or other North Acehese speaking areas. Because of the direct and extensive contact they then have with the North Acehese dialect, they can readily become familiar with it. As a consequence speakers of the West Aceh dialect do not as a group express their linguistic identity in the presence of North Acehese speakers, which generally is a situation faced by speakers of languages perceived as inferior (see 2.2.2).

In addition to West Acehese people shifting from their original dialect when they are in a North Aceh speech community, they also adapt their language into the North Acehese style when they communicate with someone who is believed to come from a non-West Aceh dialect background. This includes second language learners of Acehese, and derives from the fact that anyone wanting to learn Acehese is taught the North Acehese dialect. So to avoid confusion for the new learners of Acehese, people from the West Aceh dialect usually employ the North Aceh dialect.

The shift from West Acehese to North Acehese is illustrated by the following story. A friend of mine who visited from the United States of America was conducting his research in my sub-district of Seunagan. He stayed for several months and was immersed in the local community. He spoke Acehese fluently, having learned the North Acehese variety. He came to me in my home village in Nagan Raya one night and I introduced him to my family. He was not at all shy and greeted everyone in the house in Acehese. Interestingly, I noticed that my parents, especially my father, and family members changed the way they normally speak. They spoke as best they could in the variety that my friend was using. Even though there were some words that he found confusing, because my

parents and family members did not use the ‘correct’ North Acehese words, the conversation flowed and was lively.

Based on both general observation and my more targeted data collection, I would argue that the main reason for West Acehese speakers switching to North Acehese is to be seen to fit socially. Many West Acehese respondents remarked that they felt it was very rude to talk to people in Banda Aceh, for example, in the West Aceh dialect. It was important for them to show to the people from the north coast Acehese dialects that they were well behaved according to other common people. A failure to do so may result in them being considered unfavourably, as though they do not share the practices of linguistic etiquette in the community.

West Acehese speakers admitted that they saw their own dialect as ‘rough’ compared to the North Acehese dialect. Therefore, by shifting dialects, they wanted their speech to sound ‘nice and well-educated’ to the North Acehese ears.

West Acehese speakers also try to avoid any confusion that may occur during a conversation with friends from North Aceh, as there are many terms and expressions that sound ‘foreign’ to North Acehese speakers. One of my West Aceh informants, who had lived in Banda Aceh for ten years, disclosed that he sometimes used the North Aceh dialect, because in addition to the feeling of inferiority, he noticed that many non-West Aceh speakers did not understand some words or terms in West Acehese. This observation is supported by another informant, who had lived in Banda Aceh for nine years. If he did not accommodate his way of talking there would be many questions asked by non-West Aceh dialect speakers during the conversation. On numerous occasions his

friends interrupted the conversation and asked him to explain some words or terms which had different meanings in Bahasa Indonesia, or words they had never heard of.

As a result, on the basis of these responses and my observations, when West Acehese speakers engage in a conversation, and are joined midway by North Acehese dialect speakers, the following possibilities can occur:

1. West Acehese speakers seem reluctant to talk as usual because they do not feel comfortable. They do not want their West Acehese friends to know that they are not speaking their original dialect, and they do not want to show their North Acehese counterparts that their speech is different. So they are placed in a situation where potential loss of face may result, irrespective of whether they speak their own West Acehese dialect or otherwise. Silence is the way out because they do not want to feel embarrassed.
2. West Acehese speakers smile a lot without saying much to show politeness, though they may be quite chatty at home in West Acehese.
3. West Acehese speakers keep talking but seek to minimise the intrusiveness of distinctive West Aceh dialect features, for example saying the West Aceh [ɣ] softly. They do not want to reveal to their North Acehese friends that they do not pronounce the North Aceh rhotic ‘properly’.
4. West Acehese speakers try to switch to the North Aceh dialect.

5. West Acehese speakers keep using the West Aceh dialect. In this situation, West Acehese speakers outnumber North Acehese speakers.

As mentioned in section 2.5, I am using the term ‘code-switching’ in a very particular sense. One of the most significant motivating factors underlying West Acehese speakers’ code-switching is an attempt to conceal their identity in order to not be considered inferior. The aim is essentially for the West Acehese not to be constructed in the conversation as impolite and rude.

Self-respect is another motivation for West Aceh dialect speakers to switch their dialect. By adopting the North Acehese dialect, they believe they can create a positive image of themselves. Wanting to respect other people by using a ‘refined’ language variety in a conversation is another motivation for the code-switching. If they keep using the West Acehese style, other people may feel offended, as sometimes the dialect markers sound rude to North Acehese speakers.

Even though West Acehese speakers work hard to modulate their way of speaking, by shifting some dialect markers and characteristics, they generally fail to shift completely. No matter how well West Acehese speakers feel that they have taken the North Acehese way of speaking, North Aceh dialect speakers tend to still identify their counterparts as talking differently, in terms of intonation or word choice.

Besides trying to accommodate the language style from their original dialect into North Acehese, speakers of West Aceh dialect usually pick up loanwords from Bahasa Indonesia; these are neutral terms in respect of dialect identification, and

their use can ease the conversation pressures experienced by the West Acehnese. On one occasion my friend from North Aceh came to visit me in my village in Nagan Raya. In all the conversations he had with West Acehnese speakers in my village, I observed that the speakers of the West Acehnese dialect code-switched their language into Bahasa Indonesia. Many times, especially when giving instructions, he used Bahasa Indonesia himself.

I also observed the practice of switching from West Acehnese into Bahasa Indonesia performed by my colleague at the English Department of my home university. One day the head of the Department and I were discussing a subject in his office in West Acehnese, when one of our teaching fellows who was from North Aceh dropped by. The head of the Department had been talking in pure West Aceh dialect with me, but now, he code-switched his language: sometimes Bahasa Indonesia, or West Acehnese or North Acehnese. And he was not consistent with the West Acehnese markers. I observed that he did such code-switching based on to whom he spoke. When he spoke particularly to me, he tended to use West Acehnese, and when he addressed the North Acehnese speaker, he preferably used North Acehnese. When he spoke to all of us, he used Bahasa Indonesia.

Most people from West Aceh code-switch into North Acehnese when they move to or stay in Banda Aceh or North Aceh dialect regions, when they communicate with unfamiliar people or with Acehnese language learners. They also switch to North Acehnese in West Aceh for language learners. However, when they speak with people who are obviously from a West Aceh dialect background, they retain their original dialect.

The main reasons that the people of West Aceh code-switch their language style temporarily are: they want to maintain their social group identity and they still respect their social values. Even though they feel that their language variety is regarded as negative and invites mockery from speakers of the mainstream dialect, they still respect the fact that their language style represents the identity of the social group. They told me that they did not want to lose this identity and felt a sense of pride when they attended West Acehnese community gatherings.

Indeed, a number of speakers of this variety who had lived in Banda Aceh for many years reported to me that they were proud of being West Aceh dialect speakers. They never regretted belonging to a minority speech community, and in fact were proud of belonging to the West Aceh speech community, a membership that was badged by characteristic linguistic features. However, at the same time my observations revealed that they still switched to the North Acehnese dialect when they communicated with non-West Acehnese speakers.

In addition, the speakers of West Aceh dialect respect their social values. If other West Acehnese speakers discover that friends or family members have shifted completely to the North Acehnese dialect, for example, they will consider that these people are not respectful to their community values. On many occasions I observed that some speakers of West Acehnese dialect deliberately changed the way they spoke because it had become ‘contaminated’ with the North Aceh dialect. One of my old West Acehnese friends mentioned someone who had shifted the way he spoke into the North Aceh dialect and, using Acehnese, spoke with disappointment: *“Oh si Hasyem [not a real name] meunyoe imarit ka meu-Aceh Utara jino, hana saban le lage tanyo ureung Nagan”* (Oh I know, *Hasyem*

[not a real name] has changed the way he speaks into the North Acehese style now, he doesn't really speak like us of Nagan Raya anymore).

However, when the speakers of West Acehese found that there were people who were still loyal to their original language style, they proudly stated that these persons were an inspiration and they were good role models. Again, my friend told me in Acehese: *“Lon salut keu pak HY ngön pak TR nyang hana meu'ubah wate geumarit bahkeuh gopnyan katrep tinggai di Banda”* (My hat off to Mr. HY and Mr. TR [acronyms of persons who were mentioned by my friend] who do not change the way they speak [of West Acehese] even though they have been living in Banda Aceh for such a long time).

6.4 Language attitudes

Attitudes toward language can manifest in many ways. Korth (2005, p. 24) suggests that the attitudes of a larger group play a dominant role in individuals taking a stand accordingly. He continues that it is very common for the speakers of the “dominant language group” to believe that their language is better compared with the “non-dominant language group”, and the minority group also believes that their language is not as good as the majority group's (p. 24).

Attitudes associated with language include the attitudes towards the language itself as well as attitudes towards the speakers of the language. A study that is limited only to language itself is one that is finding the responses from respondents regarding a certain language variety. The respondents may be led to give their judgment as to whether such language is “‘rich’, ‘poor’, ‘beautiful’, ‘ugly’, ‘sweet-sounding’, ‘harsh’ and the like” (Fasold, 1999, p. 148). Other studies may discuss the judgment of respondents over their beliefs and

justifications towards the personalities and social values of the users of a language variety or dialect (i.e. eliciting attitudes toward the speakers of the language variety). Fasold (1984) maintains that language attitude studies can be broadly understood to include studies of attitudes toward “speakers of a particular language or dialect” (p. 148).

In my research, I am discussing both attitudes toward speakers of language varieties and towards the language itself. To achieve these goals, I use four relevant methods as discussed in Chapter 3. These methods are participant observation, secondary data analysis, semi-structured interviews, and the matched guise technique.

6.4.1 Observation results

In order to avoid the observer’s paradox (Labov, 1972), I undertook some steps (discussed in subsection 3.3.1.1 in Chapter 3). It is important to consider this situation, so that North Acehese people do not try to be nice to me and show their respect, as I may be considered an outsider to them. After observing some attitudes by speakers of the North Aceh dialect, I approached them. Some respondents were happy to openly share their beliefs and judgments about certain dialects in Acehese. The majority of respondents said that the West Aceh dialect is considered to be poor, rough, etc., in terms of word choice and the use of pronouns (see Chapter 5). These factors have sometimes led them to make fun of West Aceh dialect speakers.

These attitudes result in the majority of West Acehese people adjusting their speech to North Acehese, with three main purposes in mind. Firstly, I observed that they wanted to show respect to the person they were talking to. Secondly,

they tried to avoid confusion from their interlocutors because of some distinct words of West Aceh origins that the North Aceh people may not understand. Finally, they wanted to fit in with the majority group so they would not be subjected to ridicule. These factors were confirmed by the West Acehnese speakers when I discussed with them.

As a native speaker of West Acehnese, I switch the way I speak, depending on whom I converse with. I use my own dialect when I speak to people from West Aceh; and when talking to people from North Aceh I adapt my conversation style accordingly to North Acehnese. If I am in Banda Aceh, surrounded by non-West Acehnese people, and I hear someone near me, who speaks with his/her friends from the same West Acehnese background using the North Aceh style, I feel awkward. Furthermore, if the conversation takes place in West Aceh, or in a West Aceh-speaking community, in a family, by a relative, or in a community gathering of West Acehnese people, for example, and I notice that a West Acehnese speaker is using the North Aceh dialect, I also feel uncomfortable. My feelings have often been confirmed by other people when they disclose that such a person has changed his/her way of speaking into the North Aceh style. I personally feel that it does not sound right for someone to speak in the North Acehnese style, especially when they are addressing West Acehnese speakers in the West Aceh community. At the same time I also feel a little embarrassed when West Acehnese speakers talk loudly in their own dialect in front of non-West Aceh dialect people, because I do not want them to invite ridicule from other speakers.

For example, I visited my friend's house in Banda Aceh, whose language background is West Acehnese. There were four of us in the room, all from

Nagan Raya (West Aceh dialect region). When we were talking, the owner of the house received a mobile phone call. He answered in North Acehese. I noticed he switched from the way he spoke with us to the North Aceh dialect. Firstly, he did it spontaneously. Because he received the phone call in front of us, we stopped talking and listened in to his conversation. He did not realise that we were listening to him code-switch. Seconds later, when he was aware that we were there, he changed the way he spoke. He talked differently and tried to hide/manipulate the West Aceh [ɣ] by pronouncing North Acehese [r] softly, because he didn't want us to notice him speaking the North Aceh style. He tried to use synonymous words that did not contain 'r' in Acehese and were not in other ways distinctively northern. He obviously was not comfortable talking in front of us, and he finally moved to the kitchen where we could not hear him.

As West Acehese, we can speak freely and express ourselves in the absence of North Acehese people. However, when one of our friends received a phone call, he switched his code and tried to hide his dialect identity. He became a North Acehese person based on the markers he used. This phenomenon happens many times to most speakers of the West Aceh dialect. Sometimes my friends and I make fun of ourselves: we talk about being proud, as West Acehese, to show the identity and characteristics of the West Aceh dialect, but we feel like hypocrites when we do not consistently use our own style.

Frequently I observed the expressions of people in Banda Aceh when they heard West Aceh dialect markers. The most common expressions were laughter, confusion, astonishment, and shock. One day, on campus, my students from Nagan Raya greeted and talked with each other in typical West Aceh dialect. They spontaneously spoke in their own dialect in a normal way and regular

voice. They were not aware that their friends were staring at them. I noticed that this was not normal as the other students did not react in this way when other friends spoke in the mainstream dialect. Curiously I approached the confused and astonished students and asked them why they looked up and stared at the West Aceh students talking. Laughing, they shyly replied that the way their friends spoke sounded really funny. They said that even though they had heard of West Acehese before, they still found it funny when they heard West Acehese people use it.

These are comments and reactions that are common among people in Banda Aceh when they listen to West Aceh dialect speakers. These comments and reactions were observed and speakers of West Acehese were forthcoming during interviews. Residents of Banda Aceh mostly laugh really loudly when they listen to West Acehese words or terms, which are regarded as ‘rude’ and ‘vulgar’.

West Acehese people feel like they are being mocked and teased. Besides objecting to some terms that sound inappropriate, North Acehese speakers do not understand what West Acehese speakers are saying. Therefore, they want them to repeat confusing words or terms. The mocking and teasing usually comes from young men or students of a similar age. Older North Acehese speakers seldom behave in this way, even though most of them agree that the West Aceh dialect is *kasar* ‘rough’.

However, some people do not comment. They seem to understand and accept the nature of language differences. Some people even say they do not care about these differences or social meanings as long as the communication is going well. I observed that most people who said that they had no problem with the

differences were those who had good contact with speakers of West Acehese. For instance, they had once shared accommodation with them, had close friends from that area, or they had visited West Aceh for some reason. Interestingly, some people like the West Aceh dialect because it sounds unique. But I believe they are pretending to like it, because they want to be nice to West Acehese speakers. Foreigners who stay in Aceh and listen to West Acehese people have said that they liked it.

6.4.2 Interview results

Interviews were conducted with both North and West Acehese speakers to explore their attitudes toward different dialects in the Acehese language. The semi-structured interview process is outlined in section 3.3.1.3. In general, the majority of Acehese people believe and agree that the variety of Acehese which is ‘good’ and ‘standard’ is the North Aceh dialect. Figure 6.1 below shows that more than 50% of respondents interviewed from four different backgrounds agree that the North Acehese dialect is preferred and standard.

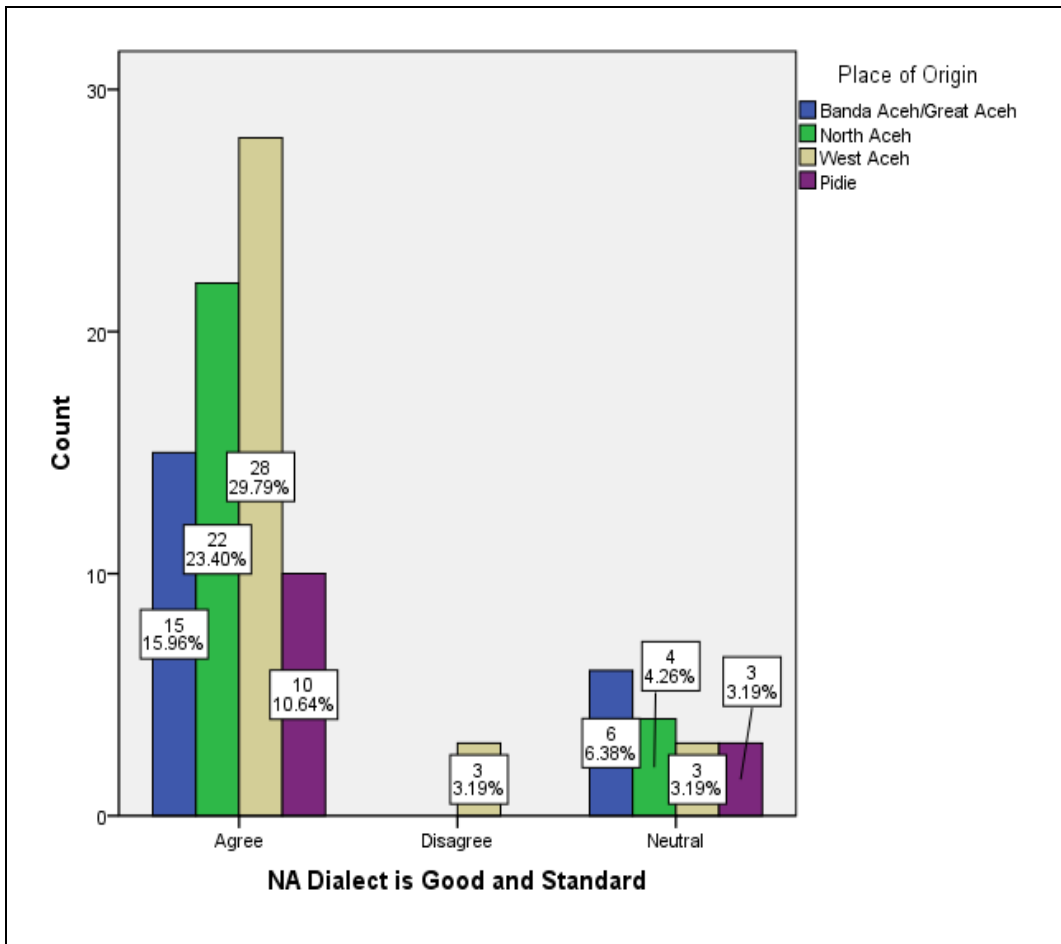


Figure 6.1 : Acehese Perceptions towards North Aceh dialect

It is interesting to note that the positive attitudes toward North Aceh dialect are not only expressed by people from the region itself; people from Banda Aceh/Greater Aceh, Pidie, and West Aceh admitted that this dialect is much more 'refined,' polite, and standard. As shown in the figure above, from interviews conducted with people from the western coast of the Province of Aceh, who speak West Acehese and had lived in Banda Aceh for at least five years on average, the majority agreed that North Acehese is good, and may be considered as standard. They consider the North Aceh dialect to be good and 'refined' because of the mild intonation, 'correct' alveolar [r] pronunciation, and *droeneuh* 'you (second person singular pronoun in the North Aceh dialect)'.

That these people give so much respect to ‘refined’ dialect speakers from eastern parts of Aceh is very interesting. They believe that the use of the pronoun *droeneuh* in communication represents the politeness of its speakers. However, these people try to avoid this pronoun in daily conversation in their own speech community. When they are asked why they do not use *droeneuh* as a polite term of address, they say it is not correct usage in their dialect. One of the interviewees said that the use of *droeneuh* in Nagan Raya, where the West Aceh dialect is spoken, would sound peculiar. He jokingly added that if it is used to address someone’s own parents, which is quite common in the North Aceh dialect, the parents would be worried and think that their children had ‘taken wrong pills’. He said in Acehese:

Ureung chik eunteuk kadang-kadang tahe, tahee... “nyo pu kasalah pajoh ubat aneuk lon?”

‘Parents are usually astonished and speechless and so worried that he thinks: “Has my son taken the wrong pills?”’

‘Have taken the wrong pills’ is an expression implying that someone has said or done something inappropriate because they had taken unprescribed medication.

On the contrary, because of the different concept of *droeneuh* in these two dialects, one of the interviewees, and presumably the same for the other two argued that the Acehese dialect spoken along the eastern coast of the the Province of Aceh is less polite, compared with the West Aceh dialect. According to him, the people from that area speak impolitely because they address elderly people with *droeneuh* which is a very polite term in North Acehese as mentioned above. I believe that such an opinion does not reflect what the majority of West Acehese really think about its usage. Even though the

speakers of West Aceh dialect do not usually use *droeneuh* to address older and respected persons, most of them admit that it is a polite form of the second person pronoun.

In addition, most of the West Aceh speakers feel that the North Aceh dialect sounds very nice to their ears. Regarding this positive and supportive attitude, one of the native West Aceh interviewees said that she feels fond of listening to the way the speakers of North Aceh speak. “It feels soft, polite, and sweet. I love listening to them speaking in their dialect” she said. Another West Aceh interviewee was also very impressed with the North Aceh dialect. She said in Acehese:

Subhanallah... teukeusan sopan dan santon that, meuseuki pih dari nada su jih rayek tapi ngen logat, intonasi dan gaya basa nyang ipake dari daerah pante Utara keusan jih teutap get dan sopan.

‘*Subhanallah..* It’s really impressive that their dialect sounds very polite and courteous. Even though they sometimes speak in a high voice, with the style, intonation, and speech of North Aceh dialect, I still can feel that they speak it in a well-mannered fashion’.

Subhanallah is Arabic, meaning ‘Glory be to Allah (God)’, and sometimes it is used to express an astonished feeling over something that is seen, tasted, felt and heard, which is impressive and amazing. Therefore, when she listens to the people from North Aceh speak, she can feel and hear that this dialect is impressive.

From the questions asked during interviews with Acehese respondents regarding their opinion on a ‘refined’ dialect of the Acehese language, it is

found that the North Aceh dialect is most favourably preferred (see Figure 6.2 below). This figure shows that there are some respondents who are non-committal. It also shows that none of the respondents regard the Pidie dialect as refined.

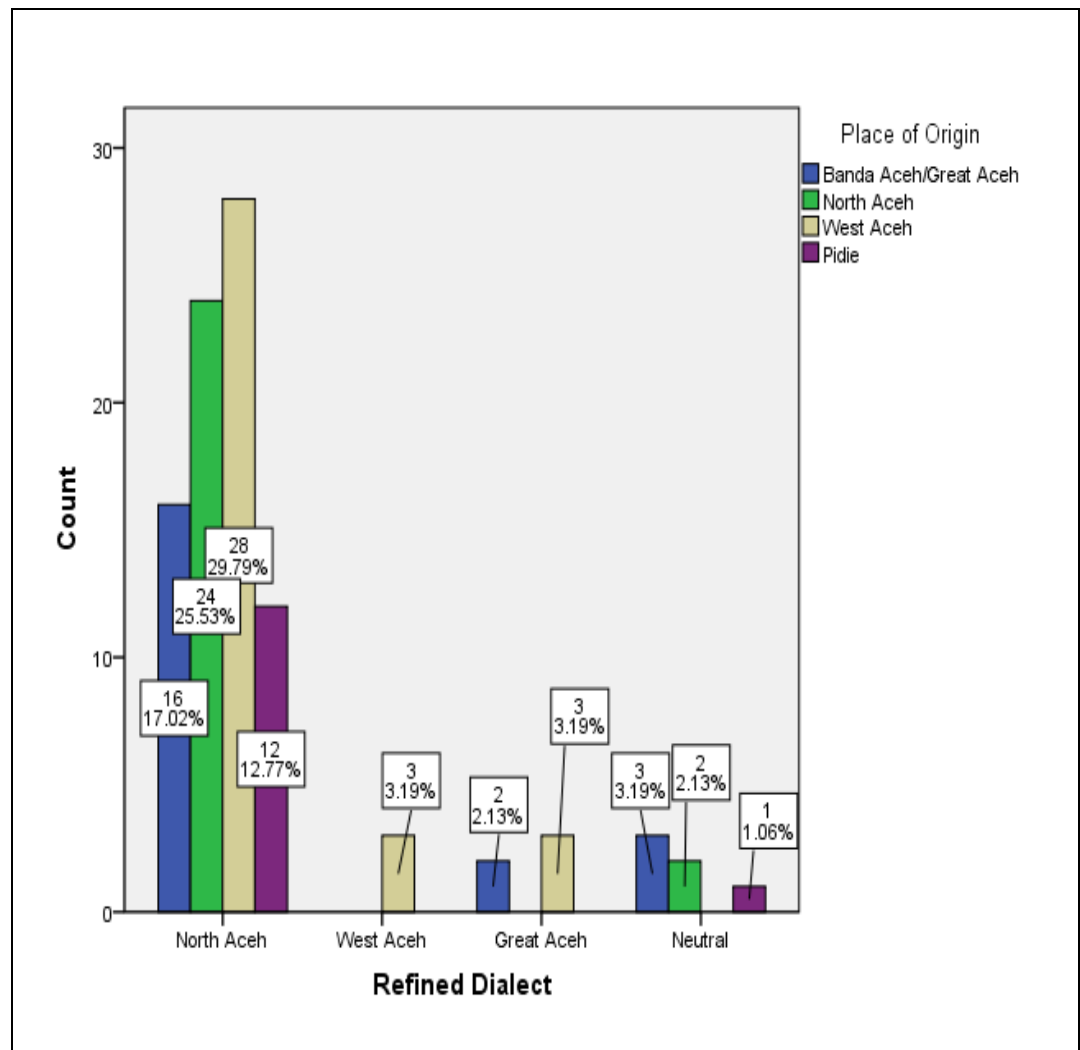


Figure 6.2 : Responses towards refinement of Acehnese dialects

The majority claim and believe that the dialect of West Aceh is rough. According to one of the interviewees, when asked which dialect is regarded as rough, she rhetorically said that:

Meuseuki brat untuk tameu-aku kareuna nyoe meunyangköt kehormatan basa nenek moyang, teutapi apa boleh buat, Nagan Raya daerah teumpang lôn lahe na corak gaya peugah haba nyang bacut gasa.

‘Even though it is difficult to admit the truth due to the courtesy and integrity of the language of our forebears, my birthplace Nagan Raya has eventually a little rough speech style’

Nagan Raya belongs to the West Aceh dialect. The overall responses of Acehnese speakers towards the West Aceh dialect when they were asked their opinion on the dialect ‘roughness’ can be seen in Figure 6.3 below.

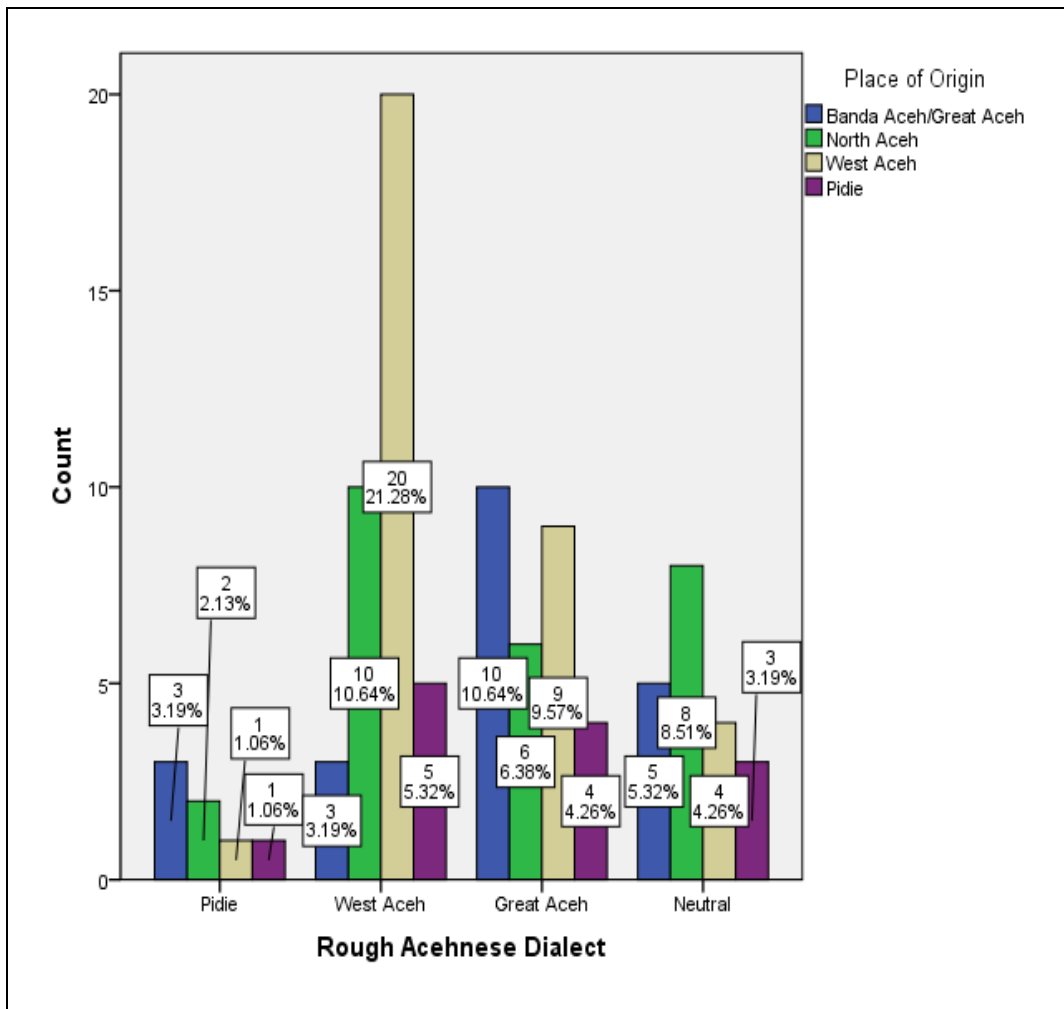


Figure 6.3 : Bar graph showing percentage of rough Acehnese dialect

It can be seen from the above figure that same number of respondents from Banda Aceh think that Pidie and West Aceh dialects are rough. It also shows that

more West Aceh respondents think that the West Aceh dialect is rough. It suggests that a strong internalised negative view was expressed by the speakers of West Aceh themselves. Besides regarding the West Acehnese as a rough dialect, Banda Aceh/Greater Aceh speakers with the same percentage also thought that Greater Aceh dialect is rough. Furthermore, there are many respondents, especially North Acehnese, who abstained from giving their opinion and thus maintained a neutral or non-committal position. The figure also shows the very interesting result that no one held that the North Aceh dialect is 'rough'.

Reasons are put forward by the Acehnese people for their attitudes regarding the quality of the West Aceh dialect. These show that the dialect of West Aceh holds this inferior and stigmatised position. Firstly, the West Aceh dialect has an irregular way of pronouncing /r/, and it is different from the North Acehnese dialect and Bahasa Indonesia. North Acehnese speakers say that the West Acehnese dialect, with the uvular [ʁ] feature, sounds very unpleasant. Some of the interviewees state that the people from West Aceh suffer from a lack of 'vitamin R', which means they are not able to produce [r] correctly. This 'strange' pronunciation leads the non-West Acehnese to believe that the West Aceh dialect is very shameful.

Secondly, the West Aceh dialect uses some words which are regarded as rude in the North Aceh dialect, such as *kah* 'you-vulgar,' *ku* 'I-vulgar,' *ipôk* 'pocket,' and other swear words or terms. A West Acehnese interviewee disclosed that the West Aceh dialect has strong swear words and terms which precisely convey the real meaning of one's feelings. When someone gets really angry, for example, the phrases that are used to express this state or feeling are those used in West Acehnese exclusively. According to this interviewee, the combination of these

words and terms are well spoken in the West Aceh dialect with its typical intonation, which is rarely found in the North Aceh dialect.

Bearing in mind those negative feelings, most West Acehnese interviewees switch their West Aceh dialect to North Aceh dialect to fit in with their North Acehnese friends or community. Some disclosed that the West Aceh dialect has such ‘funny’ intonation compared to the North Aceh dialect (see the discussion on West Acehnese intonation in 4.7.3).

Even though West Acehnese speakers find some difficulties and challenges in accommodating their language towards speakers of ‘standard’ Acehnese, some consistently adopt the North Acehnese dialect features in conversation. As a result, new friends from North Aceh are not aware if s/he is from West Aceh until they pay more attention to speech detail. To manipulate all aspects of the North Acehnese dialect by a West Acehnese speaker is not an easy task. One needs to stay for a significant period of time and communicate intensively with people from that area. If there is a will from the West Acehnese speaker to get actively involved in the changes, s/he must make a big effort.

There are some West Acehnese people whom I interviewed who wanted to maintain their original style of speaking. They did not have any intention of changing their West Acehnese dialect, even though they had stayed in the same house with North Acehnese friends for many years. Of course, they face a dilemma in this case because they were often mocked by their friends for speaking ‘strangely.’ However, they want their North Aceh counterparts to see that they have retained their identity.

There are only some people who claimed that they were proud of being West Acehese speakers and who consequently continued to use this dialect in daily communication during their stay in Banda Aceh. They admit they are made fun of by people from North Aceh every time they speak in their West Aceh dialect. Many times I found that people who had claimed to never change their original dialect to North Acehese had in fact switched their way of talking. What they actually meant by not changing their speech style was that they sometimes used the West Aceh uvular [ɣ]; however, they eventually picked up the North Aceh form of the rhotic.

There are some respondents who claim not to have switched their West Aceh original dialect when they communicate with others in Banda Aceh. I could see the consistency of the claim by two female respondents because they are close friends of mine. We spent a lot of time together since high school in Nagan Raya. We got along together when we studied in Banda Aceh and this relationship has continued to this day. Another interviewee's claim of sticking to West Acehese appeared somewhat more inconsistent. He said that he only switched some words considered rude in West Aceh dialect into acceptable ones in North Aceh dialect. He said that he kept using uvular [ɣ] except when the number of North Aceh speakers grew, and then he had to accommodate it.

Most West Acehese who did not switch their uvular [ɣ] into alveolar [r] were females. All male speakers I interviewed admitted that they replaced the West Aceh [ɣ] with the North Aceh [r], except for one speaker who does not, but I figured out that he cannot produce the correct alveolar trill. He is *cadel* - a person who cannot produce standard [r]. *Cadel* is a disability when a person is

unable to say one or two letters correctly. For example, children who cannot say the letter ‘l’ or ‘n’ correctly as an adult are called *cahel*.

There may be a gender factor operable here. Firstly, it is culturally a fact that females usually do not openly communicate and freely express their opinion in public spaces such as coffee shops. Therefore, they do not feel so embarrassed when they keep using their original dialect, even though they are ridiculed by their North Aceh friends, because it does not happen in front of other people. Secondly, the majority of Acehese women tend to make friends with those who come from the same place of origin and language background.

6.4.3 Matched guise test results and analysis

To explore attitudes of North and West Acehese speakers toward their own dialect and their dialect counterpart, the matched guise test, introduced by Lambert et al. (1960), was administered to respondents whose mother tongue was North or West Acehese. The aim of the matched guise test is to uncover the attitudes of respondents towards speakers of certain language varieties spoken in a particular speech community (see Chapter 2 for the discussion of this approach).

6.4.3.1 General overview of matched guise results

The questionnaire statements of the matched guise test (Appendix C) varied between positive and negative meanings/values. For some parameters, the attached meanings were based on cultural values, and contextual situations which differed between Acehese/Indonesian culture and that of English/Western culture (these aspects will be elaborated on in more detail when discussing the personality traits).

It is interesting to note that out of all 26 items in the questionnaire in this study, few differences were found between the attitudes towards speakers of North Acehese and speakers of West Acehese. This was a surprising result, as it was expected that respondents would offer some negative statements, for example, that the West Acehese were considered impolite, less educated, and from the village, which is negatively associated with the word *kampungan* or country bumpkin.

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the matched guise test was repeated three times. The second test was carried out in order to confirm the results of the first test, which showed that respondents did not seem to negatively judge the guise speaker of the West Aceh dialect in the particular personality traits, as mentioned above, that tend to stigmatise speakers of West Acehese. As mentioned previously, it was difficult to locate some respondents from the first test and only 12 of these respondents also participated in the second test. Because the number of previous test respondents was not as high in the second visit, they were put together with other respondents who did not take part in the first test. This meant that the data had a greater range of respondents. However, because the results of the second test were, again, not as expected and because there were concerns that the use of my own voice in the recordings might have influenced the results during the first two tests, a third test was conducted.

In the first test, 53 respondents participated in answering questions, while in the second, 130 respondents participated and finally, 126 in the third. A simple statistical analysis was then used to assess the responses to the factors of the questionnaire for those three visits.

This chapter will describe the comparisons made between the three sets of matched guise test results, including gender of the respondents, place of origin of the respondents, and the relationship between the first visit scores, the second visit scores, and the third visit scores⁵.

6.4.3.2 Comparison of matched guise results

A comparison of responses from the three tests needs to be done in order to compare the results and uncover any existing patterns in the data. By comparing the results from these tests, the anomalies from the first, second and third visit data were confirmed; most attitudes show no statistically significant consistent difference between the North Aceh guise and the West Aceh guise (which also mostly referred to and used interchangeably as NA guise and WA guise respectively in the discussion in this section).

The results of the matched guise test based on positive and negative treatments showed that respondents were divided into three categories: 1) neutral, meaning the responses given towards the personality traits of speakers of both North Aceh and West Aceh displayed equality, rather than viewing one or the other in a more positive or negative light; 2) positive attitudes towards the personality traits of one guise over the other; and 3) positive or negative attitudes towards both North Aceh and West Aceh speakers. In the last two categories, the respondents leaned to a certain guise either positively or negatively, but the differences were only subtly statistically significant. The matched guise test makes no claim about the strength of attitudes held. It only

⁵ The distribution of responses given by the speakers based on place of origin and sex within the three visit tests concerning all personality traits can be found in the Appendices of this thesis.

reveals information about the percentage of respondents who respond positively or negatively towards a particular trait.

a. Responses for personality trait of ‘Impolite’

Based on my own knowledge and experience of the language situation in Aceh and confirmed by the interviews and observations made, it was expected that for certain traits (e.g. impoliteness, lower class, country bumpkin) the West Aceh guise would be judged negatively in comparison to the North Aceh guise. It was also predicted that these negative attitudes might flow on to other traits such as level of education, trustworthiness, intelligence etc. Whilst the matched guise test does generate some evidence for the expected trends (e.g. in relation to politeness) the data only weakly supports these hypotheses and in many/most cases there is no significant difference shown in attitudes towards the West Aceh and North Aceh guises.

‘Impolite’ is a very common judgement of North Acehnese towards speakers of the West Acehnese dialect. It is important to include this statement in this study because the negative opinion of people in Banda Aceh regarding the West Acehnese speaker is held almost unanimously. Apart from being considered impolite, it is also commonly argued that West Acehnese never learn how to talk in a ‘refined’ way, as people from the eastern coast do. The markers that are considered ‘impolite’ and ‘rough’ in the West Aceh dialect were discussed above and in the previous chapter. However, the questionnaire of the matched guise test consisting of a parameter on the personality trait of politeness showed that there was very little variability in the test results.

The statement in the questionnaire was in the negative, so that if respondents expressed agreement with the statement, the response in effect judged the speaker as an impolite person. Conversely, if they disagreed with the statement, they judged the speaker to be a polite person. The test results of responses given by North Acehnese and West Acehnese respondents⁶ towards the statement 'Impolite' of the NA guise in three visits can be seen in Figure 6.4 below. Based on the test results, it shows that the majority of NA and WA respondents disagreed with a statement to the effect that the NA guise speaker was an impolite person.

⁶ North Acehnese respondent and West Acehnese respondent are mostly referred to and used interchangeably as NA respondent and WA respondent respectively in the discussion in this section

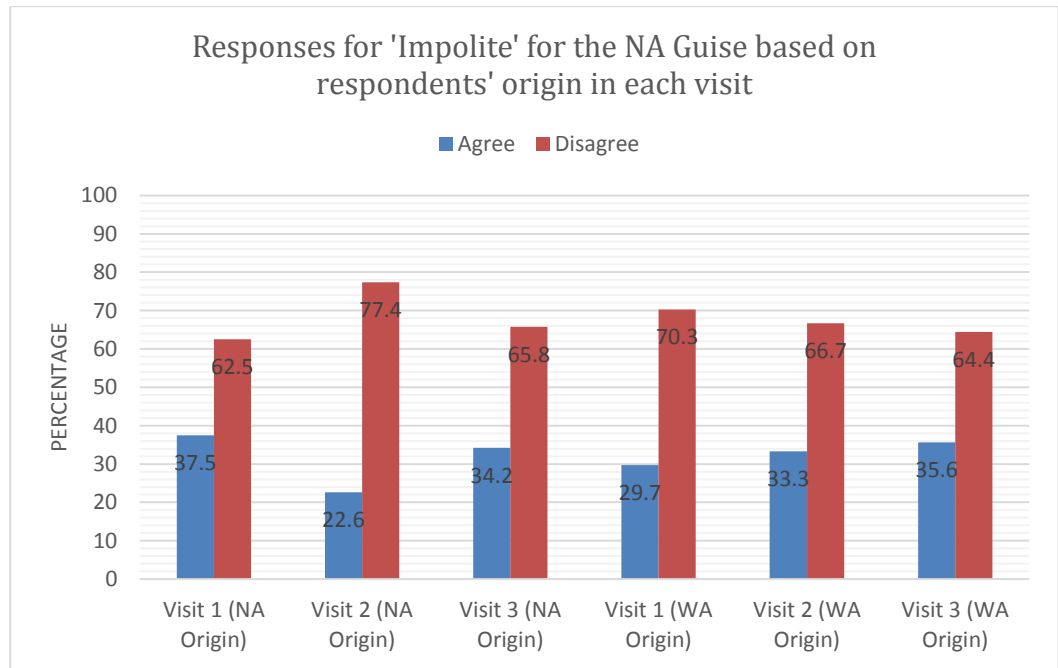


Figure 6.4: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Impolite

Response rates towards the personality trait 'Impolite' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.5 below.

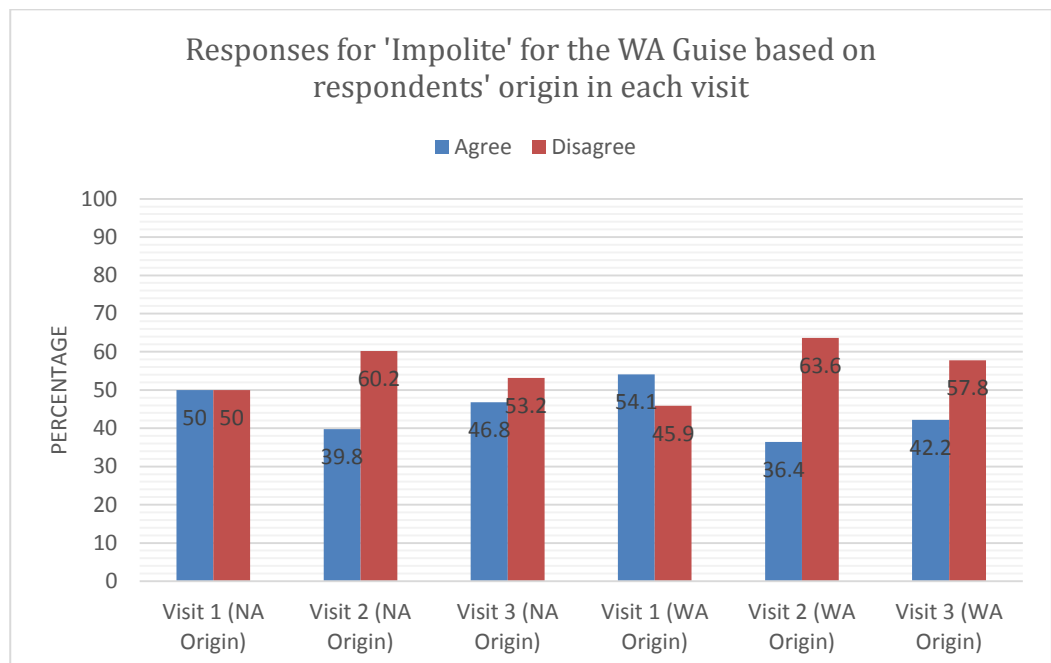


Figure 6.5: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Impolite

From Figure 6.5 above, we can see that a majority of respondents disagreed with the statement that the WA guise is impolite except on the first visit. In the first test, 50% of NA respondents agreed with the statement that the WA guise was associated as being impolite in the first test, while in the second and third visits, there was slightly higher objection to the ‘Impolite’ trait. On the other hand, more WA respondents held negative attitudes towards the WA guise speaker, namely that he was associated with impoliteness. But in the last two visits, the responses given by the WA respondents were closer to those given by NA respondents.

Table 6.2 below shows that all mean scores were positive, meaning that NA guises were rated more favourably than WA guises on the trait of politeness. Based on a t-test performed on the data⁷, the first two visit tests show the differences are statistically significant ($p < 0.015$ and $p < 0.024$ respectively). Even though the third test does not show significantly different results, it still indicates that the NA guise is rated higher than the WA guise. Had there been a problem with administration of the first two tests, then surely the third test would have shown a pronounced difference. But this was not the case.

Table 6.2: Group statistics and t-test results for politeness trait

	n	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Politeness Visit 1	53	0.104	0.300	2.518	0.015*
Politeness Visit 2	129	0.066	0.327	2.288	0.024*
Politeness Visit 3	120	0.058	0.332	1.927	0.056

⁷ All the results shown in group statistics and t-test have been appropriately inverted so that all parameters are presented in the positive (see section 6.5 for more detailed discussion and complete results).

b. Responses for personality trait of ‘Lower Class’

The second opinion tested was that speakers employing distinctively West Acehese speech markers were usually associated with a lower status background. The statement was stated positively but yielded unexpected results. The test results of responses given by NA and WA respondents towards the statement ‘Lower Class’ of the NA Guise in all three visits can be seen in Figure 6.6 below. It shows that the NA respondents agreed (50%) and disagreed (50%) with the statement. Nor did the WA responses show a significant gap between agreement (48.6%) and disagreement (51.4%)⁸ in the same visit test. In the second and third visit tests, however, both NA and WA respondents had a similar and consistent pattern of responses wherein the majority disagreed with the statement, meaning that in these two visit tests, the NA guise speaker was not regarded as a person who came from a lower class family background, which was also mostly the case for the WA guise (see below).

⁸ In all cases the percentage of agreement + the percentage of disagreement total 100%. Therefore, for ease of reading only the agreement or disagreement percentage will be provided in future.

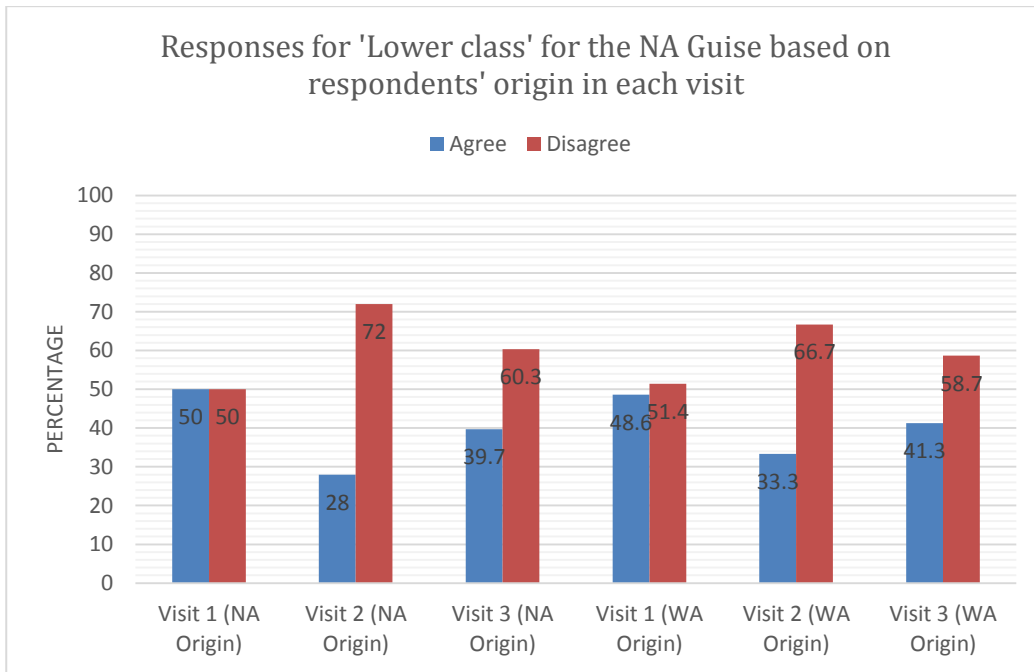


Figure 6.6: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Lower Class

Test results for the personality trait 'Lower Class' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.7 below.

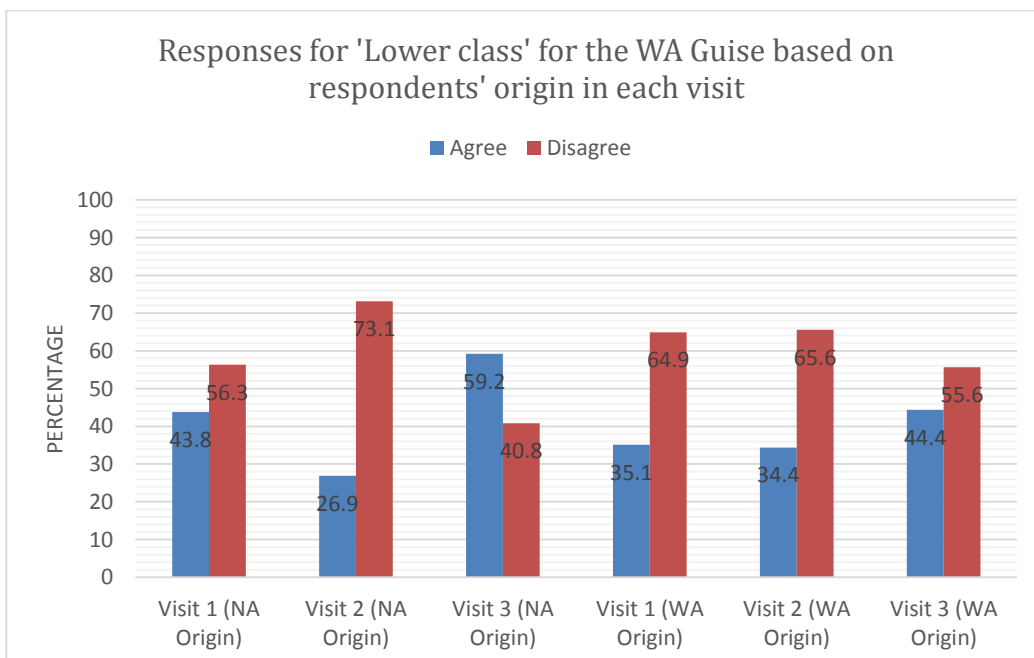


Figure 6.7: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Lower Class

Based on Figure 6.7 above, it can be seen that from the first until the third visits the majority of NA and WA respondents did not agree with the statement of 'Lower Class' for the WA guise, except for the results of the third visit test given by NA respondents when 59.2% agreed. Therefore, unlike the first and second visits, the third visit test produced the expected results that a majority of NA respondents regarded the WA guise as 'Lower Class'. In addition, the results for the 'Lower Class' trait of the WA guise were in contrast with the results of the 'Country Bumpkin' trait for the WA guise where the majority of NA respondents did not agree with the statement. It was also not unexpected that NA respondents would mostly disagree that the guise of their own dialect background was regarded as a 'Country bumpkin' (see detailed discussion below).

As mentioned earlier, the West Acehnese speakers are usually regarded as speaking an inferior dialect. However, based on the matched guise test results these attitudes were not reflected in the responses, except in the third visit test when the NA respondents agreed more clearly with the statement 'Lower Class' for the WA guise. Most WA respondents disagreed with the statement for both the NA and WA guises in all three visit tests. It is important to note, though, that the WA respondents' agreement towards the NA guise in the first visit was lower than the WA respondents' agreement towards the WA guise, thus a reasonable majority disagreed with the guise being from the lower class. In the second visit test, the results for both guises were quite uniform.

Based on a group statistics test and t-test seen in Table 6.3 below, only the third visit test results confirm the hypothesis that the difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.022$) for the WA guise. In the first two visit tests the mean

scores were in the positive, meaning that a majority judged the NA guise (quite unexpectedly) as lower class in the first and second visits, whilst the majority did not regard the WA guise as lower class in these first two visits. The third visit test, however, showed significantly different results and confirmed the hypothesis, though this majority was less than 60%.

Table 6.3: Group statistics and t-test results for lower class trait

	n	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Lower Class Visit 1	53	0.057	0.320	1.287	0.204
Lower Class Visit 2	128	0.004	0.291	0.152	0.879
Lower Class Visit 3	122	-0.062	0.292	-2.329	0.022*

c. Responses for personality trait of ‘Country Bumpkin’

The third statement included in the questionnaire of the matched guise test that was not strongly confirmed was that ‘the speaker is a country bumpkin (*kampungan*).’ *Kampungan* means that the speaker’s way of talking, thinking, and behaving are comparable to that of a ‘country hick’. This does not necessarily mean that he/she is literally from the country or a village. In fact, if someone lives in a city, and he/she talks, thinks, and behaves like an ‘underdeveloped’ person, he/she will also be referred to as ‘country bumpkin’. *Kampungan* has a precise meaning in Bahasa Indonesia, expressed in Acehnese with the equivalent *meugampông* and much like in English, it carries negative connotations.

I often hear people from eastern Aceh say that West Acehnese speakers usually adapt their *meugampông* way of talking with more standard language. When I asked interviewees to describe the West Aceh dialect, the response was

unanimous: *meugampông* and ‘they do not learn how to speak properly as regular/normal [sic] people do’.

The test results based on the responses given by NA and WA respondents towards the statement ‘Country bumpkin’ for the NA guise in all three visits can be seen in Figure 6.8. It was found that the responses contributing to the first visit test results gained from NA respondents were divided equally by 50%-50% towards the statement. On the second visit, 34.4% agreed whilst in the third visit test 57.7% agreed with the statement. There was no consistent pattern from the first through to the third visit tests given by the NA respondent towards the NA guise speaker.

On the other hand, the WA respondents gave their responses in a similar pattern towards the statement ‘Country Bumpkin’ for the NA guise on the second and third visits, where the majority disagreed with the statement. In the first visit test, 54.1% agreed with the statement.

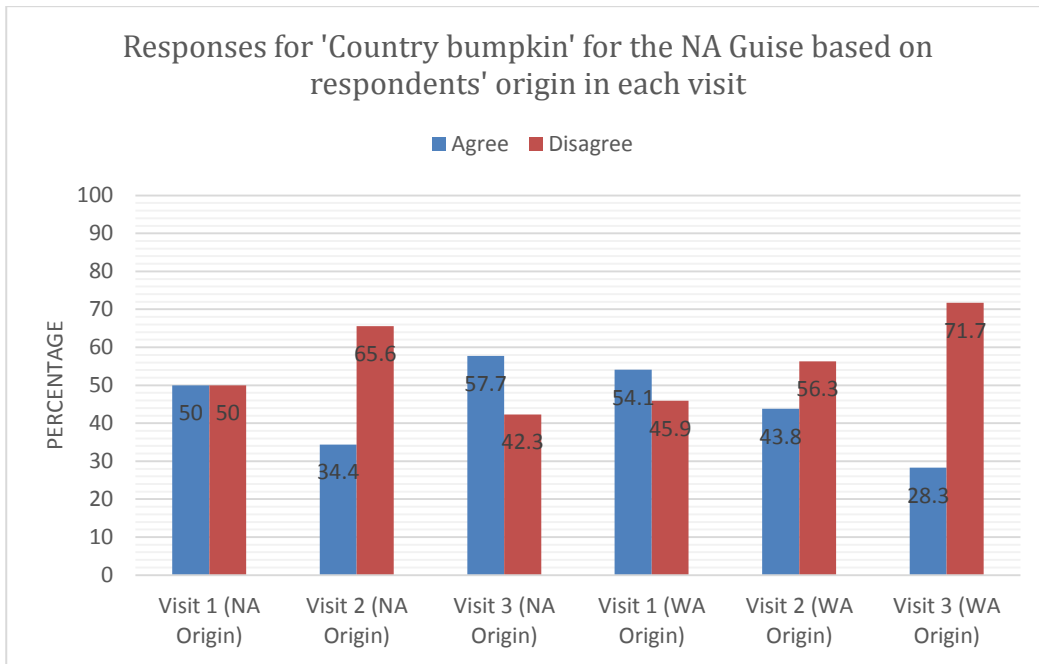


Figure 6.8: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Country Bumpkin

The results of test responses towards the personality trait 'Country Bumpkin' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.9 below.

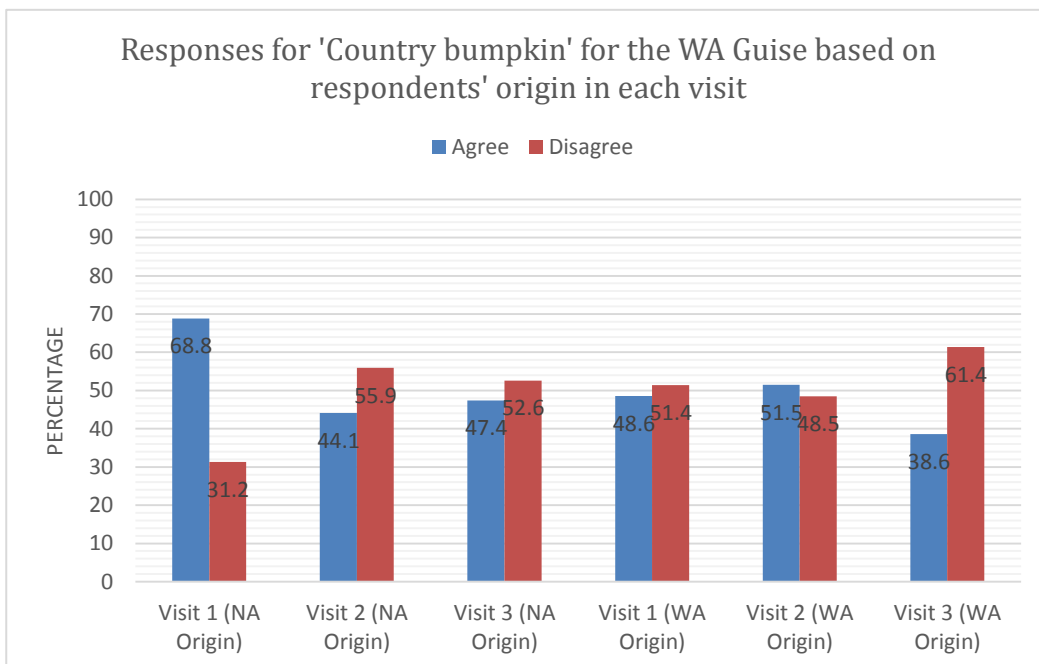


Figure 6.9: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Country Bumpkin

Figure 6.9 above shows that the responses were highly pronounced only on the first visit, as a majority of NA origin respondents (68.8%) agreed with the statement 'Country Bumpkin' for the WA guise. On the third visit only 38.6% of WA origin respondents agreed. In other visit tests, results were closer to the latter, but the patterns were never identical. In the second visit test, 44.1% of the NA respondents agreed with the statement. On the third visit, the responses were not strongly leaning towards disagreement, evident in the narrow gap with close to 50% agreement (47.4%). A narrow gap of responses can also be seen in the first visit test given by the WA respondents towards the statement 'Country Bumpkin' for the WA guise (48.6% agreed). In the second visit test, however, the results of WA responses showed the opposite trend to those of the first visit test with a small majority (51.5%) agreeing with the statement. Thus, there was no clear pattern in the given responses to the personality trait of 'Country Bumpkin' in either of the guises.

As mentioned earlier, in the interviews the North Acehese speakers strongly associate the West Acehese speakers with country bumpkin people because of the way they speak the West Acehese dialect. However, the results of the matched guise tests did not confirm this. From Figure 6.8 and Figure 6.9, it can be seen that the responses of NA respondents towards WA guise did not show a strong trend of agreement except in the first visit test where a majority (70%) of NA respondents agreed that the WA guise was a country bumpkin. However, a smaller majority (58%) of the NA respondents also regarded the NA guise as a country bumpkin on the third visit. In the second visit test of WA respondents, responses were as predicted even though only marginally, whereas in the first

visit the WA respondents agreed with ‘Country Bumpkin’ for the NA guise and disagreed with ‘Country Bumpkin’ for the WA guise’.

The results of group statistics test and t-test, as shown in Table 6.4 below, do not support the hypothesis that West Acehnese speakers are viewed as country bumpkins. Based on the table, it shows that mean scores for WA guise on the first and second visits were negative indicating that the WA guise was rated as a country bumpkin even though the different trend on the second visit (as shown in Figure 6.9) is blurred. In the third test, surprisingly, the mean score was positive, thus the NA respondents regarded the NA guise as a country bumpkin. The overall results, however, do not show the difference to be statistically significant concerning the WA guise. It indicates that the WA guise was not highly judged as a country bumpkin.

Table 6.4: Group statistics and t-test results for country bumpkin trait

	n	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Country Bumpkin Visit 1	53	-0.009	0.360	-0.191	0.850
Country Bumpkin Visit 2	128	-0.039	0.358	-1.233	0.220
Country Bumpkin Visit 3	121	0.012	0.332	0.411	0.682

d. Responses for the personality trait of ‘Not Well Educated’

Because the West Acehnese speakers are usually regarded as impolite, country bumpkins, and from lower status background, it was hypothesised that they would be considered to be less educated people. The ‘Not Well Educated’ trait was included in the match guise questionnaire with the statement ‘the speaker is not well-educated’. This statement in the questionnaire was framed in the negative, and therefore respondents’ agreement with the statement meant that

they judged the speaker to not have a good education. Conversely, if they disagreed with the statement, they judged the speaker as an educated person.

Test results of responses given by NA and WA respondents towards the statement 'Not Well Educated' for the NA guise in three visit tests can be seen in Figure 6.10. Most of the NA and WA respondents disagreed with the statement. In other words, they regarded the NA guise speaker as an educated person. On the third visit, however, a fair majority of NA respondents agreed that the WA guise was 'Not Well Educated'.

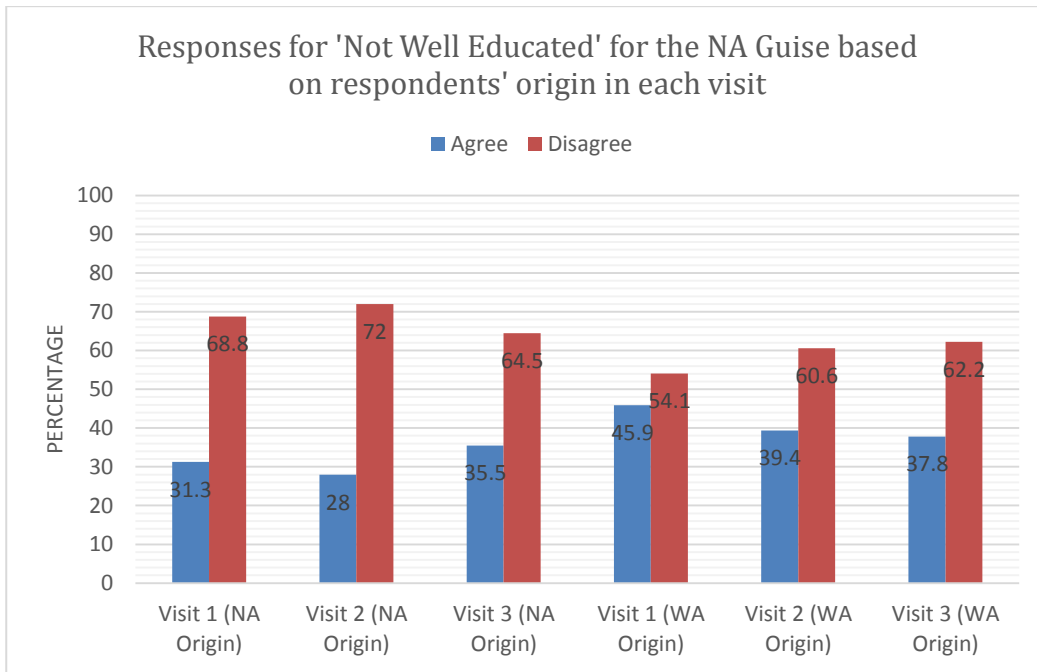


Figure 6.10: Judgement for North Acehnese Guise on Not Well Educated

The test results for the personality trait 'Not Well Educated' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.11 below.

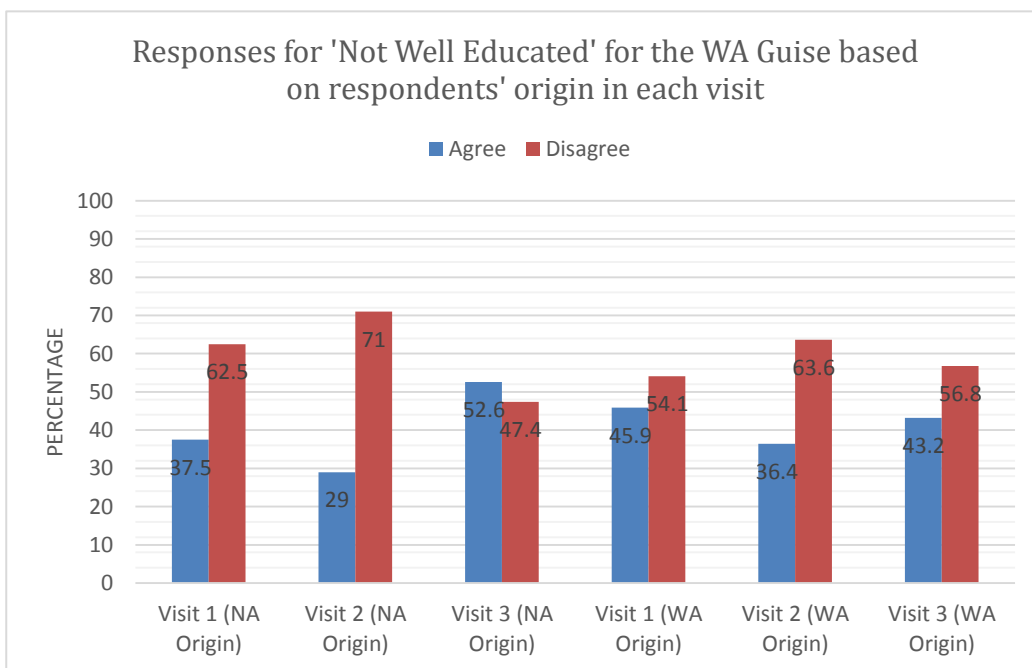


Figure 6.11: Judgement for West Acehnese Guise on Not Well Educated

Based on Figure 6.11 above, it can be found that the responses given by NA respondents towards the statement ‘Not Well Educated’ for the WA guise in the third visit test indicate the opposite results than those of the rest of the visit tests. All other visit test results show that a majority of the respondents from both NA and WA dialect backgrounds disagreed with the statement: meaning that the results were similar to those of all three tests on ‘Not Well Educated’ in the NA guise. It suggests that the respondents seemed to have similar patterns of attitudes towards both guise speakers except for the results from NA respondents on the third visit which were slightly higher in agreement (52.6%) with the statement ‘Not Well Educated’ in the WA guise.

The group statistics test and t-test performed on the data show that they support the hypothesis that the West Acehnese speakers were regarded as less educated, especially on the third visit where a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.026$) emerged (see Table 6.5). However, the first two visit test results do not show significant differences, even though the NA guise was highly rated as a well-educated person.

Table 6.5: Group statistics and t-test results for well-educated trait

	n	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Well-educated Visit 1	53	0.076	0.372	1.477	0.146
Well-educated Visit 2	129	0.000	0.286	0.000	1.000
Well-educated Visit 3	119	0.067	0.325	2.257	0.026*

e. Responses for the personality trait of ‘Ambition’

The ‘Ambition’ trait was included in this study, using the statement ‘the speaker is ambitious’, which was framed in the positive. However, this can be

misleading, given that ambition is valued differently in western culture compared with Asian cultures, and especially Indonesian and Acehnese cultures. In the western context, 'ambitious' may represent both positive and negative values. However, 'ambitious' is considered a quite negative trait in Indonesian or Acehnese contexts where it can mean 'greedy', 'selfish' or having a strong desire to gain something regardless of whether it is good or bad. Therefore, when the respondents in the tests agree with this statement, they judge that the speaker is regarded as an ambitious person who does not behave well. On the other hand, if they disagree with the statement, they judge that the speaker is not an ambitious person which is a positive response. The responses given by NA and WA respondents for the statement 'the speaker is ambitious' towards the NA guise speaker can be seen in Figure 6.12. The figure shows that in the first two visit tests the results were not consistent: on the first visit, 43.8% of NA respondents agreed that the NA guise speaker was ambitious. In the second visit test, however, the trend moved in the opposite direction as 59.3% of NA respondents agreed. The results from the respondents from WA dialect background for the same parameter, on the other hand, showed that a fair majority (54.1%) agreed with the statement in the first visit test. But on the second visit, the WA respondents' responses indicate the opposite trend with 46.7% agreement. On the third visit, the responses given by those two dialect background respondents showed very close results: NA and WA respondents agreed by 64.5% and 63% respectively.

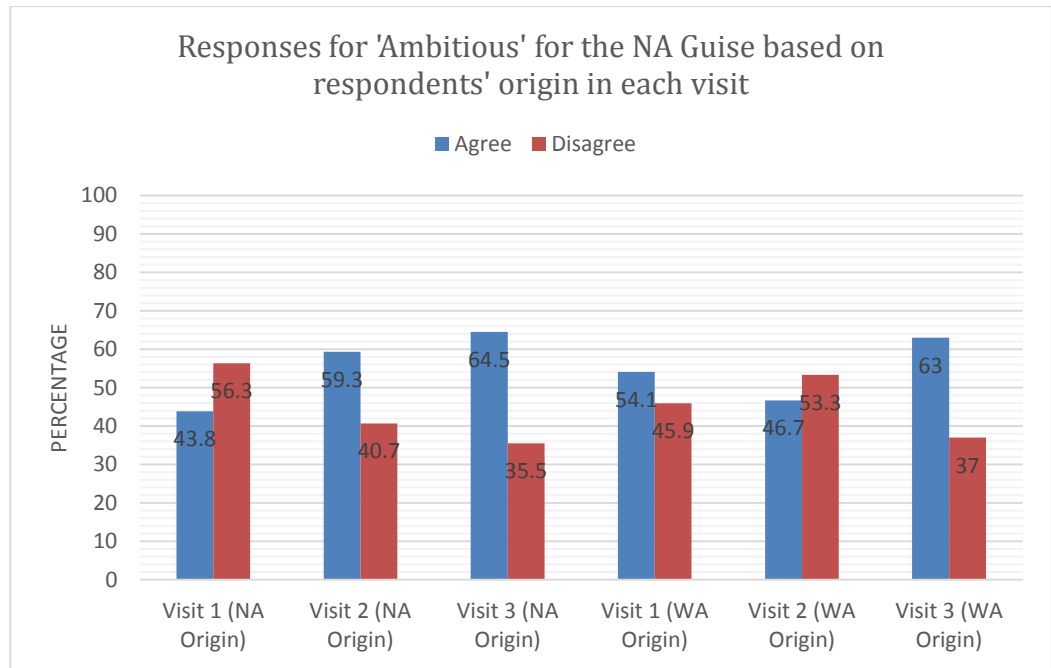


Figure 6.12: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Ambition

The results of test responses for the personality trait 'Ambitious' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.13 below.

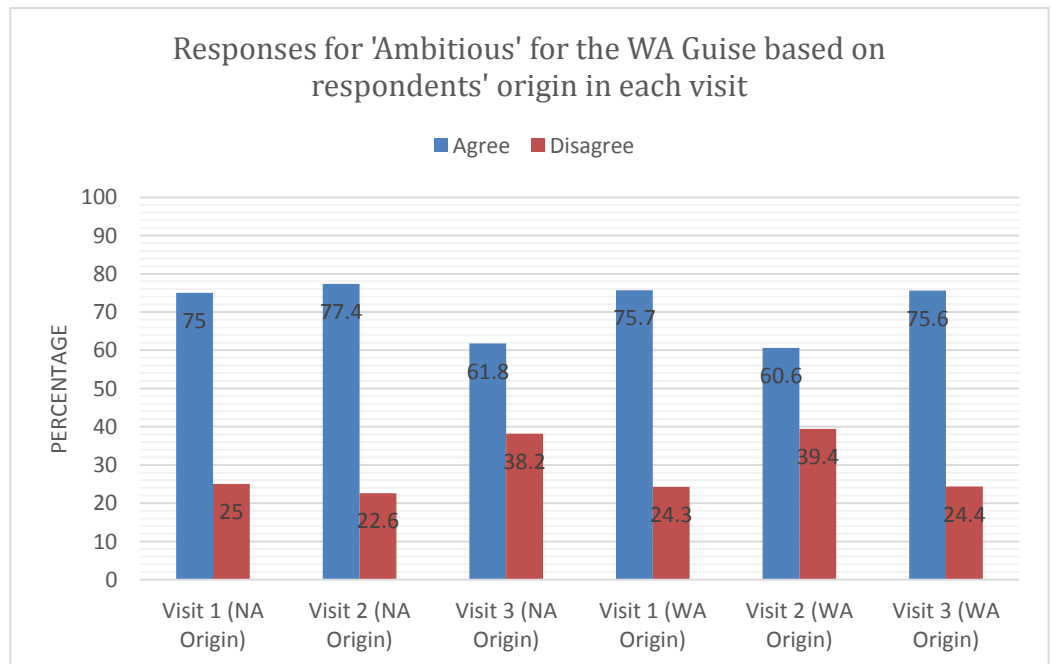


Figure 6.13: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Ambition

Figure 6.13 shows that the responses given by NA respondents exhibit similar patterns as those given by WA respondents towards ‘Ambitious’ for the WA guise in all three visit tests. On the first visit, 75% of NA respondents agreed with the statement ‘Ambitious’ for the WA guise. On the second visit, 77.4% agreed and on the third visit 61.8% expressed their agreement. This trend also shows in the responses given by WA respondents. On the first visit, 75.7% of WA respondents agreed with the statement ‘Ambitious’ for the WA guise. On the second visit, 60.6% agreed, whilst on the third visit 75.6% expressed their agreement. It reveals that the majority of respondents from both NA and WA dialect backgrounds agreed with the statement ‘Ambitious’ of the WA guise, meaning that most regarded the WA guise speaker as an ambitious person.

The group statistics test and t-test performed on the data confirm the hypothesis that the West Acehese guise was rated more favourably for the ‘Ambitious’ trait with negative mean scores for all three visit tests. The differences were statistically very significant for the first visit ($p < 0.008$) and less though still significant for the second visit ($p < 0.010$) (see Table 6.6). It was expected that on the third visit the test results would also show significant and pronounced differences, but this was not the case, even though the majority of respondents still rated the WA guise as an ambitious person.

Table 6.6: Group statistics and t-test results for ambition trait

	n	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Ambition Visit 1	53	-0.123	0.324	-2.757	0.008**
Ambition Visit 2	124	-0.073	0.310	-2.604	0.010*
Ambition Visit 3	122	-0.016	0.301	-0.601	0.549

There are some results from the matched guise tests which show similar patterns for all three visits across different guises. The results with no significant difference of responses are not discussed in detail as there is not much that can be said and explained about them. However, for comparison, the charts of similar results of some parameters are presented in the section below, followed by detailed discussion on the rest of the personality traits which show somewhat different results between the three visits.

6.4.3.2.1 Similar Pattern Responses for Some Personality Traits

There are other parameters which show very similar results: 'Intelligence', 'Self-Confidence', being a 'Respected Person', 'Having Lots of Friends', 'Living in a City', 'Family Loving', being 'Generous', and being 'Stingy'. The predicted agreement or disagreement for some of these traits showed similar patterns for both guises. But in this study, self-confidence, being a respected person, having lots of friends, and living in a city were favourably associated with the NA guise. Of all the aforementioned traits, only the 'Respected Person' and 'Generosity' traits showed statistically significant differences for one of the three visits. The NA guise was highly rated as a respected person in the third test with a significant difference of $p < 0.016$. But in the other two tests, the WA guise was rated more favourably for this trait even though the difference was not significant. Meanwhile, for the 'Generosity' trait, the NA guise was rated more favourably on the second and third visits with a statistically significant difference in the second visit test ($p < 0.039$). Below are the comparative charts for the responses gained on the three visits for both guises from both NA and WA respondents.

There are personality traits that show identical patterns of responses given in all three visit tests. Even though these personality traits have similar patterns as shown in the charts, there are some traits which have significant differences in one or two visit tests. One of the parameters which gained such similar results but with significant difference is the statement ‘the speaker is intelligent’.

a. Responses for Personality Trait of ‘Intelligent’

The matched-guise test respondents were asked to judge the guises based on the personality trait of ‘Intelligent’ which used the positive statement ‘the speaker is intelligent’. This means that if the respondents agree with this statement, they judge that the speaker is an intelligent person; whereas if they disagree with the statement, they judge the speaker not to be intelligent. Intelligence here refers to the speaker having academic and intellectual skills. Because the North Aceh dialect is regarded as ‘standard’ and refined, and its speakers live in the most populated area with easier access to formal education, this may suggest that they are regarded as relatively intelligent in comparison with speakers of West Aceh. It was therefore expected that the NA guise would be judged more favourably than the West Aceh guise in terms of intelligence.

Figure 6.14 below shows the responses given by the respondents from North and West Aceh towards the North Aceh guise on the personality trait ‘Intelligent’. It can be seen in the Figure that the responses given by both North Aceh and West Aceh speakers show identical patterns. A majority of the respondents agree in all three visit tests that the North Aceh guise is intelligent. In the first visit test 81.3%, in the second test 76.1%, and in the third test 79.5% of NA respondents agreed with the statement ‘the speaker is intelligent’ for the NA guise. Responses given by WA respondents exhibit

identical patterns. On the first, second, and third tests, 70.3%, 75.8%, and 77.8% of WA respondents respectively agreed with the statement 'the speaker is intelligent'.

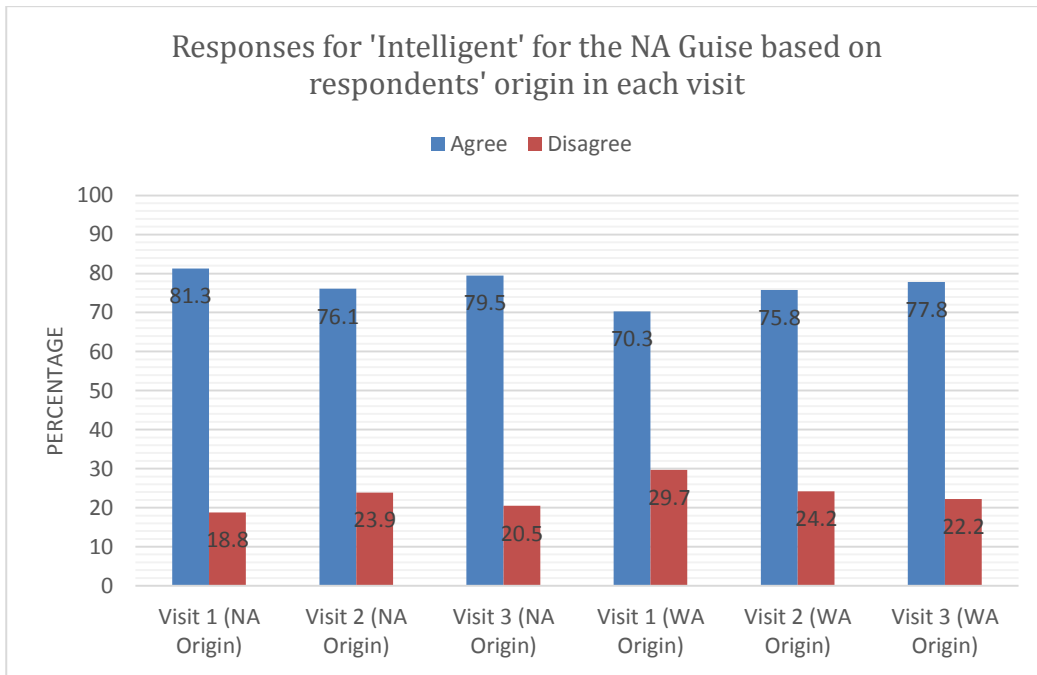


Figure 6.14 : Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Intelligence

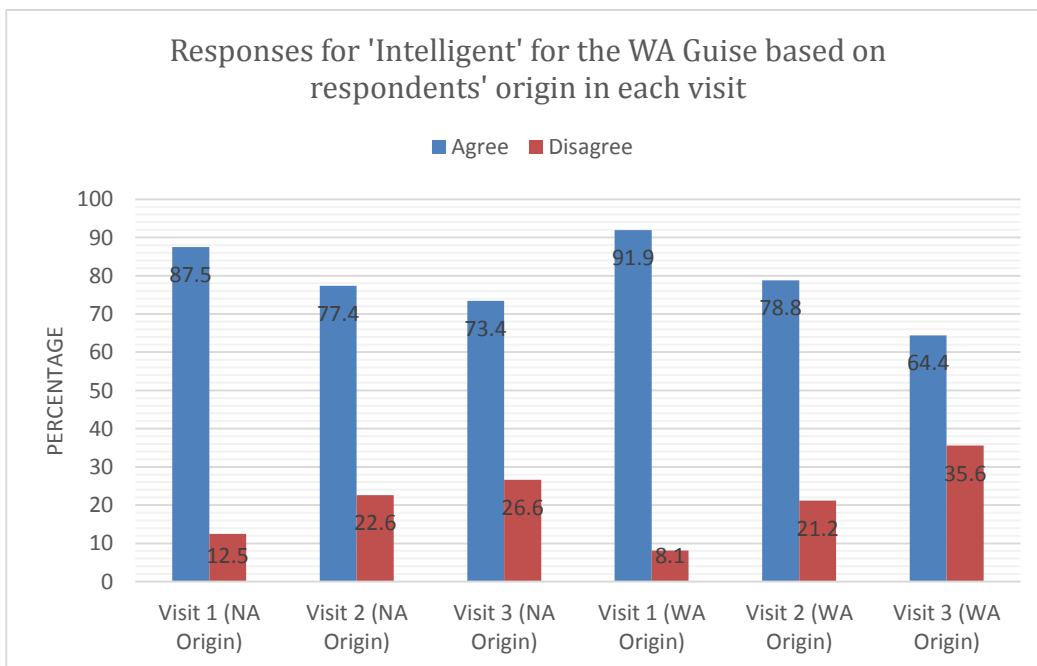


Figure 6.15 : Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Intelligence

In addition, the results from both NA and WA respondents towards the personality trait 'the speaker is intelligent' for the WA guise can be seen in Figure 6.15 above.

From Figure 6.15, it can be seen that the responses given by NA and WA respondents towards the statement ‘the speaker is intelligent’ for the WA guise have similar patterns as for the NA guise as discussed above, except in the third visit test. In the first visit test, 87.5% of the NA respondents expressed their agreement to the statement ‘the speaker is intelligent’ for the WA guise. On the second visit, 77.4% agreed that the WA guise speaker was intelligent whilst for the third visit test 73.4% of the NA respondents agreed. WA respondents responded almost similarly to the NA respondents. In the first visit test, 91.9% of the WA respondents expressed their agreement with the statement. In the second visit test, 78.8% agreed that the WA guise speaker was intelligent. In the third visit test 64.4% of the WA respondents agreed.

Based on the group statistics test and t-test results (Table 6.7), West Acehese speakers were regarded as more intelligent than the NA guise on the first and second visits. On the first visit, it even shows that the difference is statistically significant ($p < 0.033$). On the second visit, the WA guise was still regarded as more intelligent based on the negative mean score, even though the difference was not statistically significant. On the third visit, however, the NA guise was rated more favourably, which was as expected, although the difference was not statistically significant.

Table 6.7: Group statistics and t-test results for intelligence trait

	n	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Intelligence Visit 1	53	0.104	0.345	2.192	0.033*
Intelligence Visit 2	128	-0.012	0.277	-0.479	0.633
Intelligence Visit 3	123	0.037	0.295	1.377	0.171

b. Responses for personality trait of 'Self-Confidence'

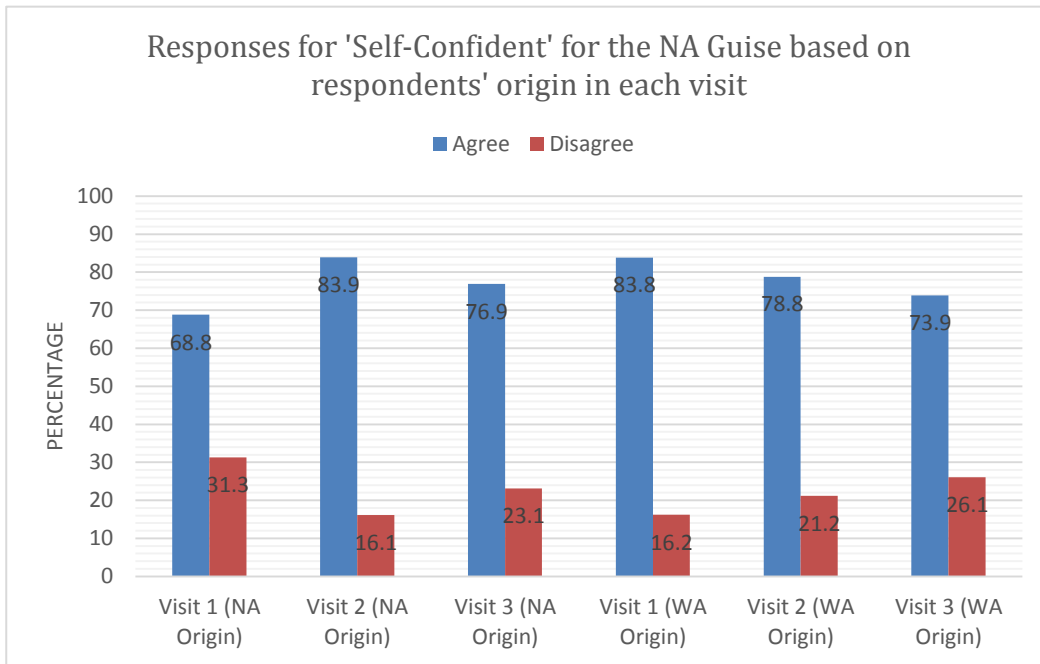


Figure 6.16: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Self-Confidence

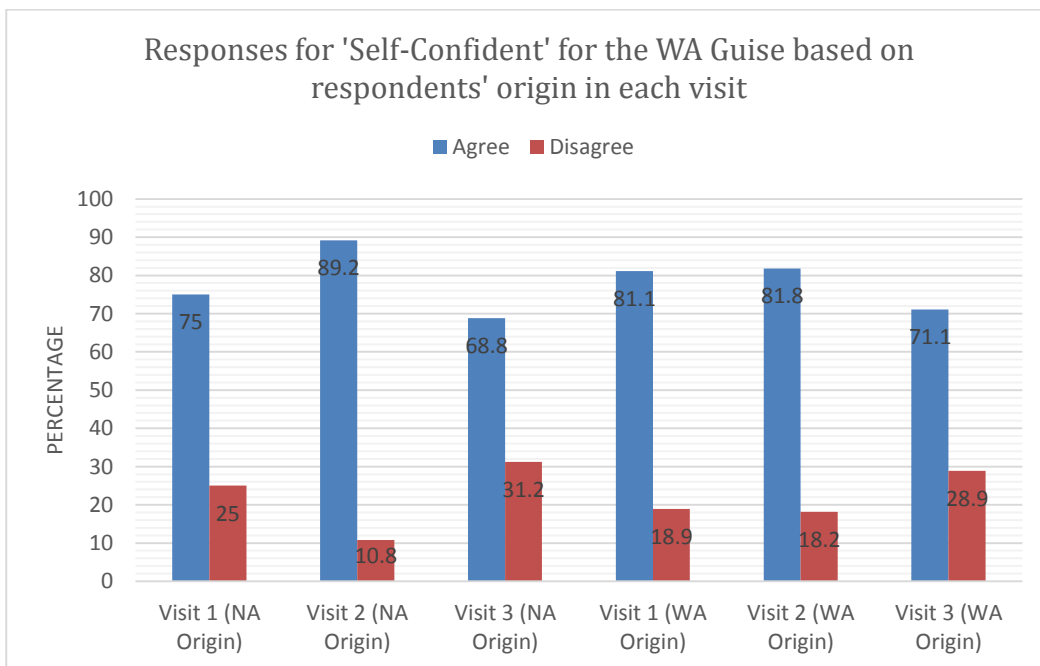


Figure 6.17: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Self-Confidence

c. Responses for personality trait of 'Respected Person'

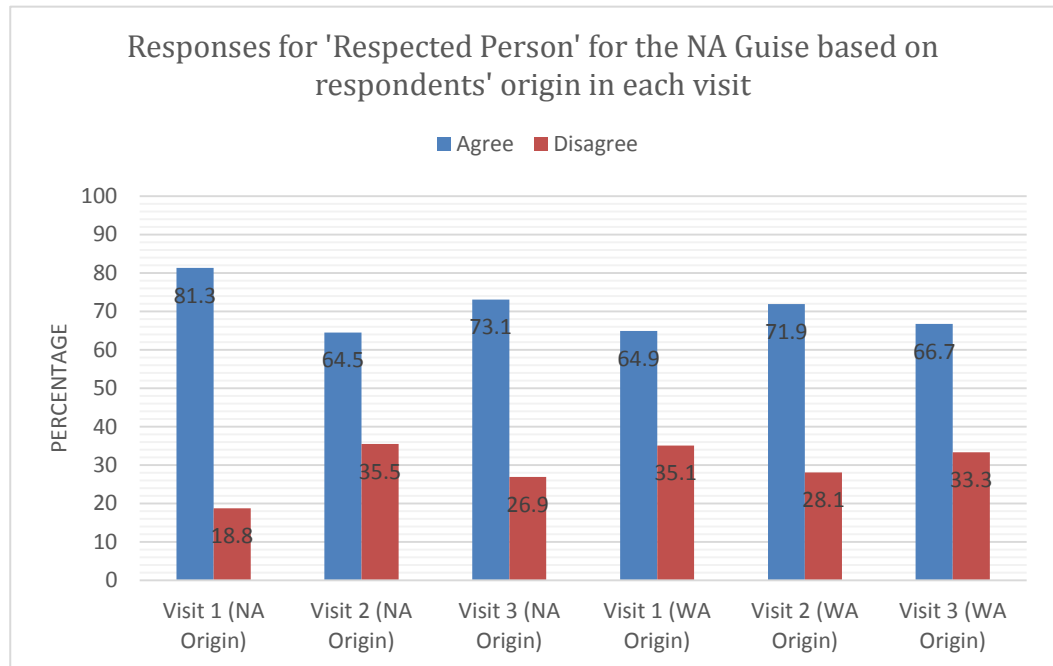


Figure 6.18: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Respected Person

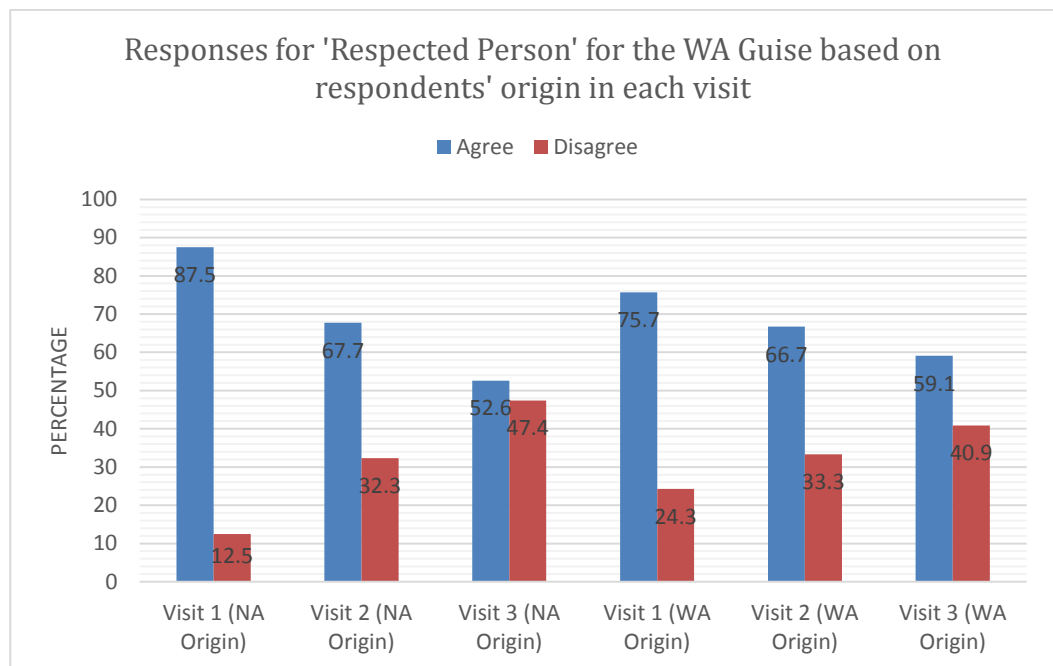


Figure 6.19: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Respected Person

d. Responses for personality trait of 'Having Lots of Friends'

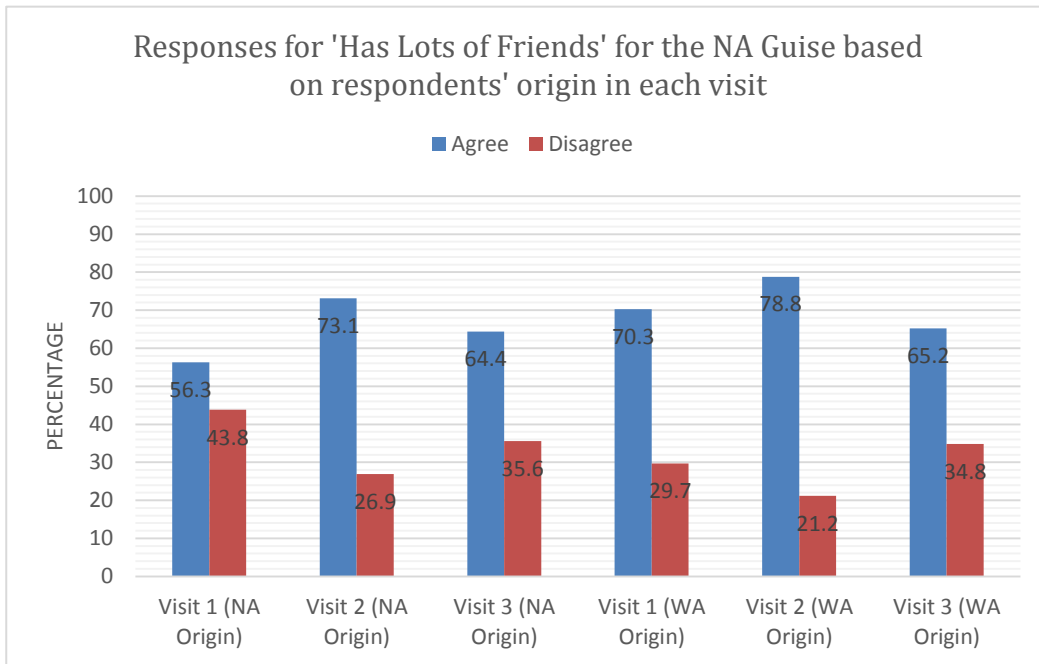


Figure 6.20: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Having Lots of Friends

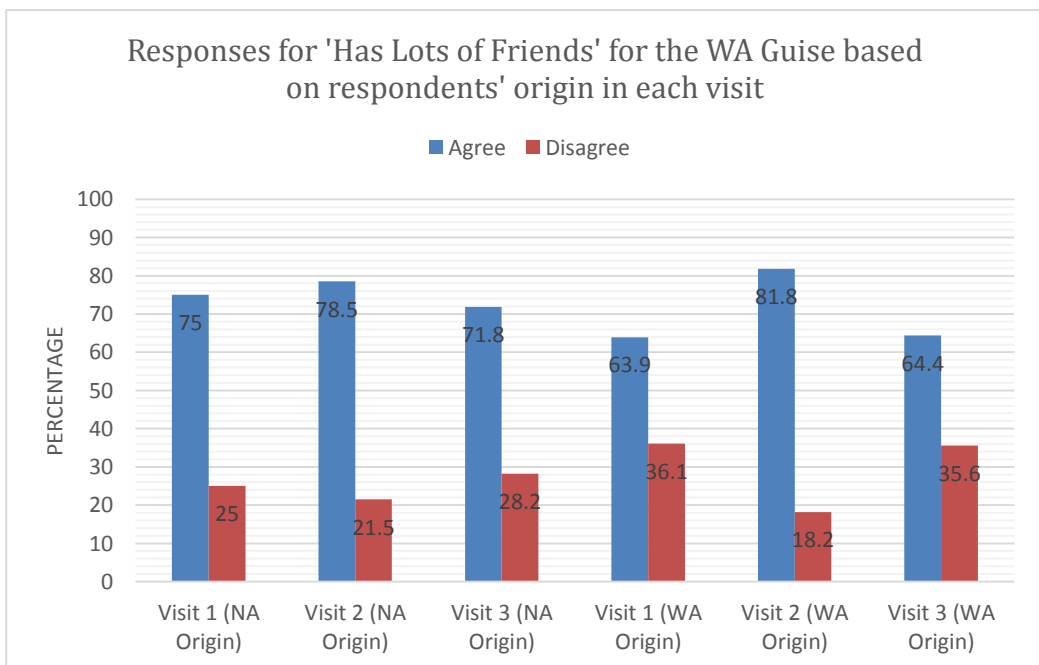


Figure 6.21: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Having Lots of Friends

e. Responses for personality trait of 'Living in City'

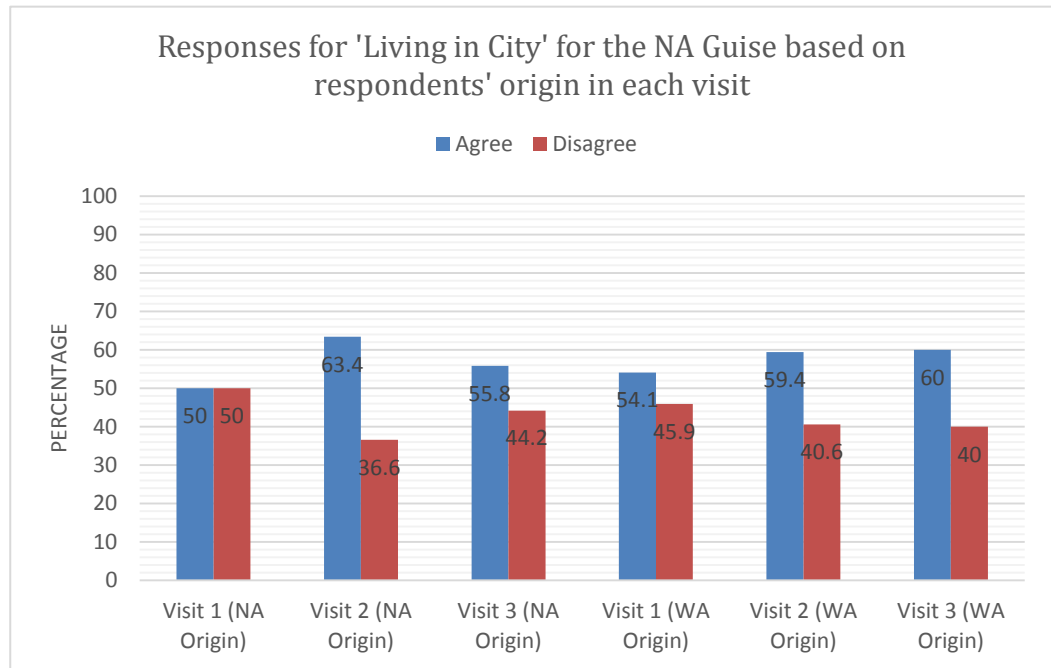


Figure 6.22: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Living in City

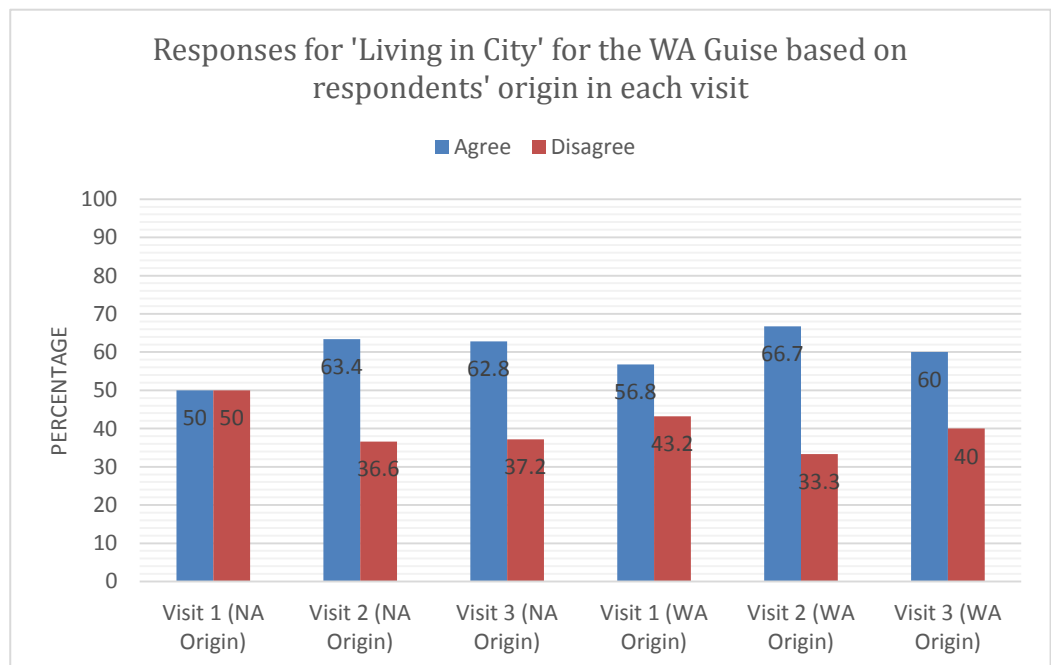


Figure 6.23: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Living in City

f. Responses for personality trait of 'Family Loving'

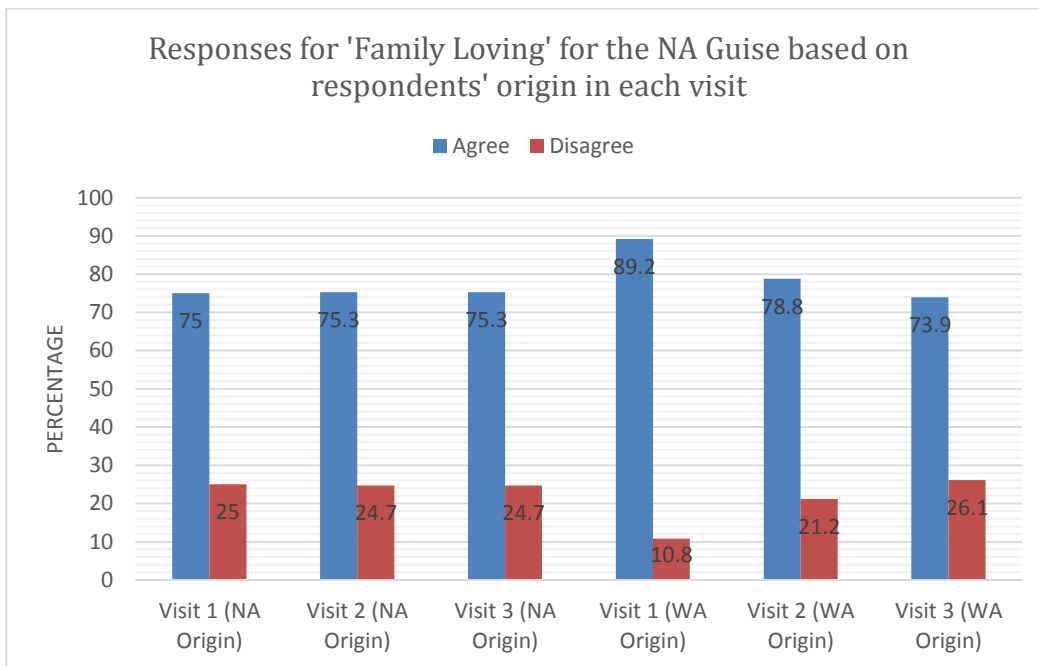


Figure 6.24: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Family Loving

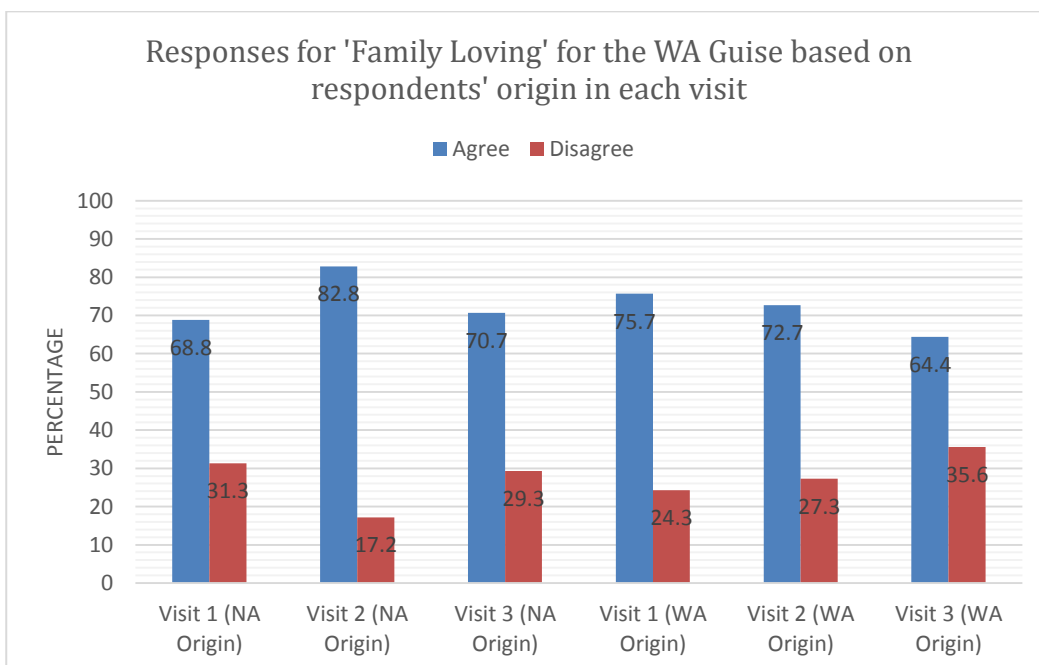


Figure 6.25: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Family Loving

g. Responses for personality trait of 'Generosity'

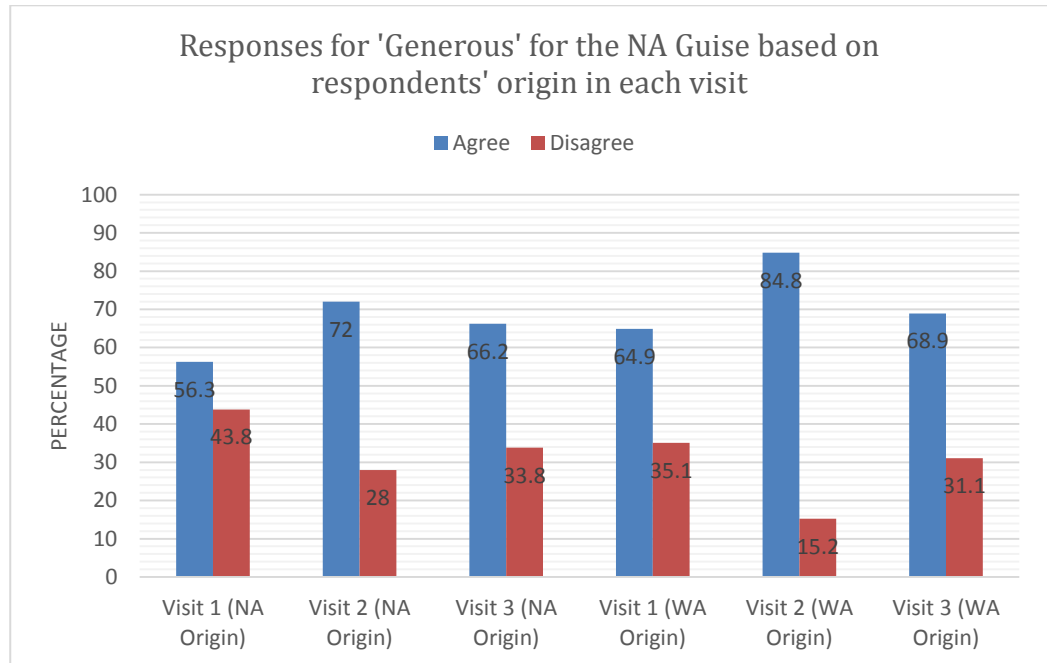


Figure 6.26: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Generosity

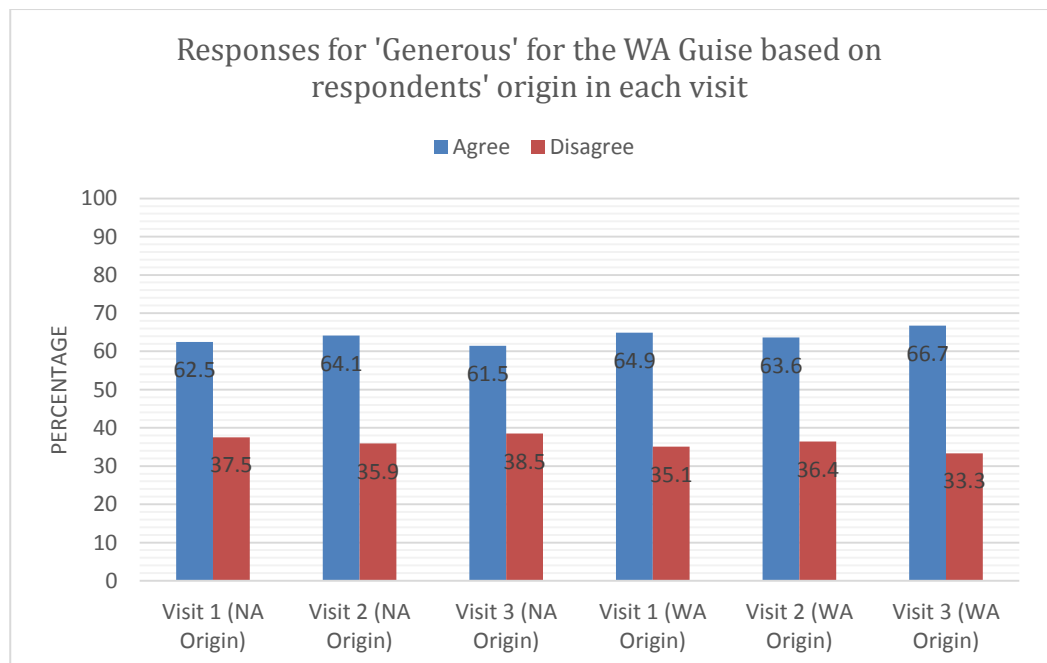


Figure 6.27: Judgement for west Acehese Guise on Generosity

h. Responses for personality trait of 'Stinginess'

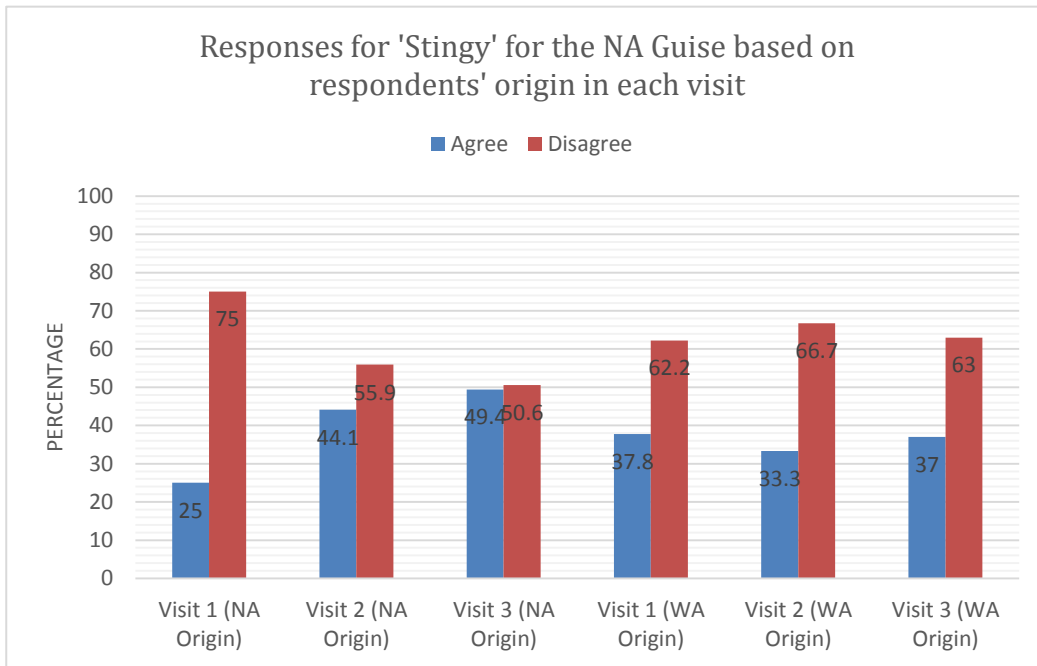


Figure 6.28: Judgement for North Acehnese Guise on Stinginess

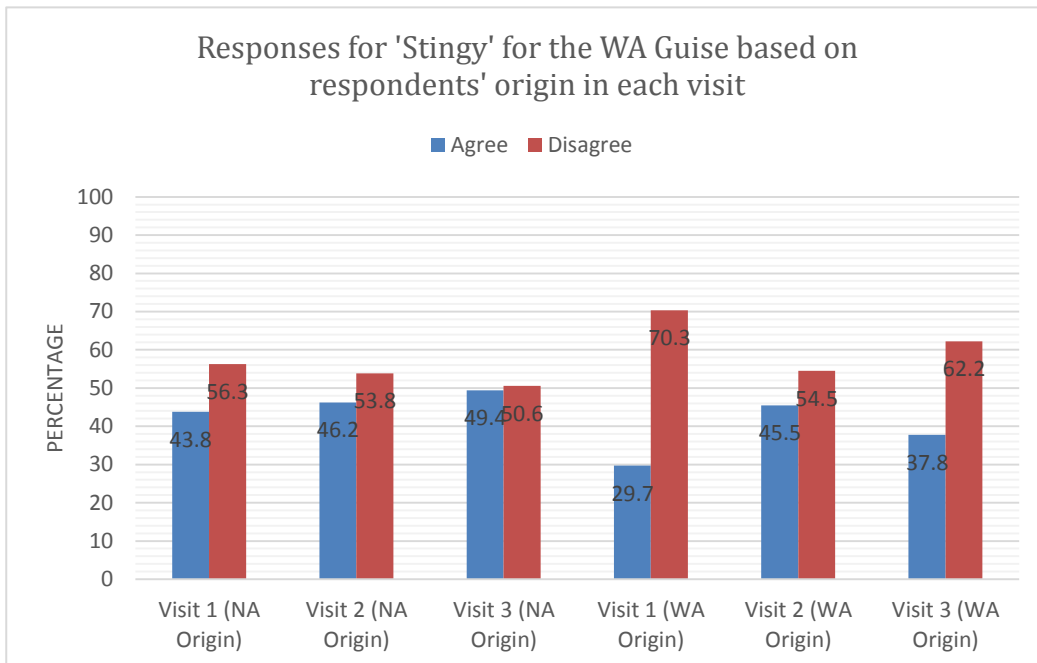


Figure 6.29: Judgement for West Acehnese Guise on Stinginess

6.4.3.3 Some Puzzling Result Responses for Some Personality Traits

a. Responses for personality traits of ‘Dishonest’ and ‘Untrustworthy’

The first aberrant results found in the matched guise test are evident in responses to the two statements ‘the speaker is dishonest’ and ‘the speaker is untrustworthy’. The personality traits honesty and trustworthiness included in the test questionnaire of this study had fairly similar meanings yet rather dissimilar results emerged. These culturally similar concepts needed to be included in order to look at the consistent evidence of the results of responses on the honesty personality trait. The statements were both framed in the negative. Thus, when the respondents agreed with these statements, they judged the speaker to be dishonest and if they disagreed with the statements, they judged the guise speaker to be an honest person. It was expected that the respondents of the matched guise tests would show stronger disagreement to the NA guise speakers and less disagreement to the WA guise speakers for both statements.

The results in relation to the honesty of the NA guise speaker can be seen in Figure 6.30 below. The Figure shows that 68.8% of the NA respondents in the first visit expressed their agreement that the NA guise speaker was dishonest, whilst on the second visit, the results showed the opposite trend with only 34.8% of the NA respondents agreeing that the North Aceh guise speaker was dishonest. However, the third visit results followed the trend of the first visit where 52.6% of the NA respondents agreed that the guise was dishonest, though this was less pronounced than in the first visit.

Responses given by the WA respondents to the same guise speaker from the North Aceh dialect background show a similar, though less pronounced trend to

those of NA respondents. In the first visit test, 55.6 % of the WA respondents agreed to the statement. The second visit results, broadly speaking, showed the opposite of the first visit in that 48.5% of the WA respondents expressed their agreement whilst, in the third visit, the results had an identical pattern to those of the first, with 56.5% agreeing with the statement 'Dishonest' for the NA guise.

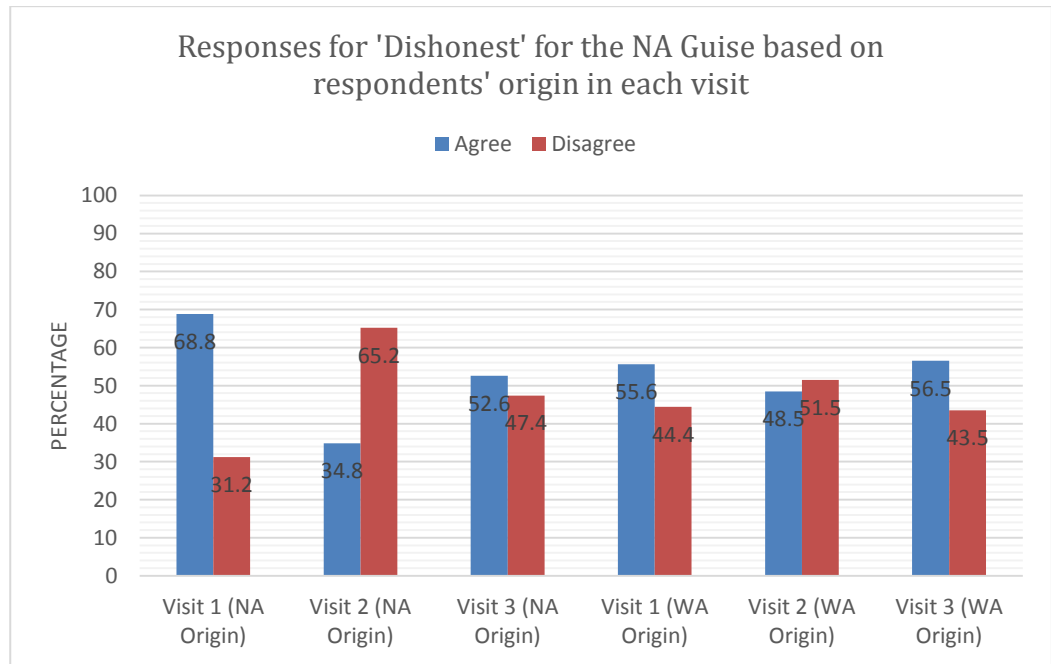


Figure 6.30: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Honesty

The results of test responses for the personality trait 'Dishonest' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.31 below.

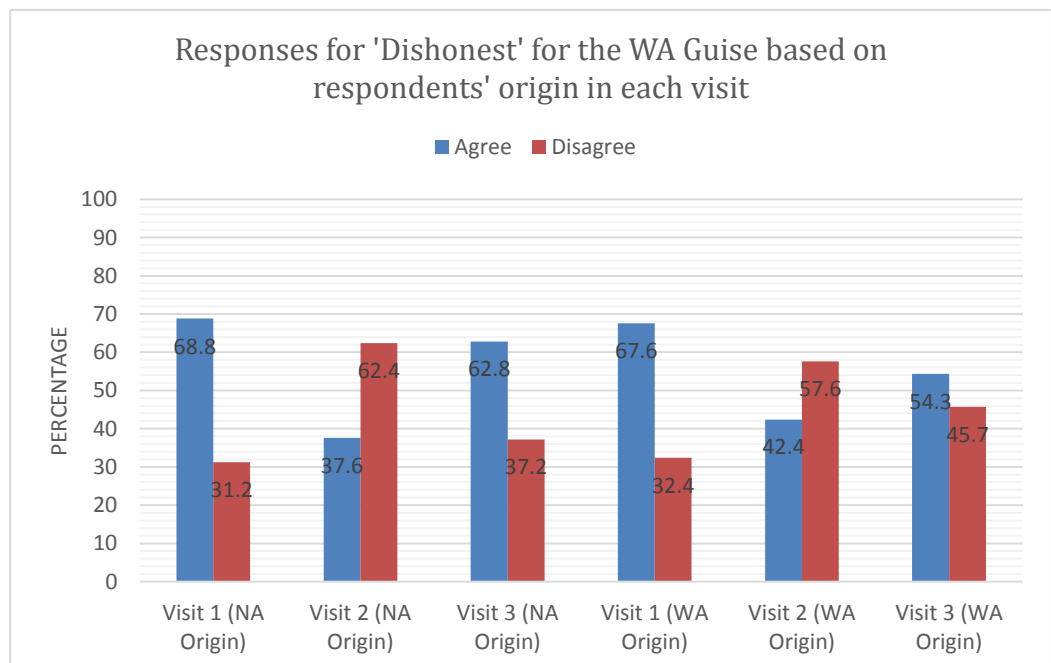


Figure 6.31: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Honesty

Figure 6.31 shows a similar pattern for the test results for 'Dishonest' for both the NA and WA guises. The responses of both NA and WA respondents on the second visit were opposite to the first and third visits. On the first visit, 68.8% of the NA respondents agreed that the WA guise speaker was dishonest and on the second visit, 37.6% agreed with the statement. The third visit results confirmed the first visit pattern with 62.8% agreeing with the statement.

Furthermore, the responses given by WA respondents showed similar patterns as those of the NA respondents. In the first visit test, 67.6% of the WA respondents agreed that the WA guise speaker was dishonest, on the second visit 'agree' responses were lower than 'disagree' responses, at rates of 42.4% and 57.6% respectively. Whilst on the third visit, 54.3% expressed their agreement with the statement.

By comparing Figure 6.30 and Figure 6.31, it can be seen that the results from the NA and WA respondents in the second visit test showed a similar polarity, i.e. a majority regarded both guises as honest individuals. The results for NA and WA guises on the second visit showed a different trend compared with the other test results. However, on the first and the last visits, the results showed that most respondents now regarded the guises as dishonest persons. In the first and second visit tests, the NA respondents judged the NA and WA guise speakers with similar patterns but reversed polarity: in the first with more agreement and in the second with more disagreement. However, the WA respondents' opinion of the NA and WA guise speakers in the first visit test showed that a fair majority agreed that the WA guise speaker was dishonest. From the third visit test, it can be seen that only a fair majority of NA respondents agreed that the NA guise was dishonest, though a somewhat larger majority saw the WA guise as

dishonest. On the other hand, the WA respondents' judgment in the third visit test was quite uniform for both the NA and WA guises. All the results for the honesty personality trait in the three visit tests indicate that the results were inconclusive.

It has been shown that there is little difference between the responses of the North and West Acehnese respondents towards the guise speaker from the North Aceh dialect background on the personality trait of honesty in all three visit tests. Most respondents from both backgrounds judged the speaker identically in the first visit test as being dishonest. However, on the second visit, it was the opposite with most judging the speaker to be honest. Again, in the third visit test, the results were in line with the first visit outcomes where the respondents from the two backgrounds mostly agreed to the statement.

The results for the honesty personality trait between NA and WA guise speakers show similar patterns. The majority of respondents from NA and WA backgrounds judged the speaker identically in the first visit test agreeing that the speaker was dishonest. On the second visit, they disagreed with the statement that the speaker was dishonest, meaning that the respondents from NA and WA backgrounds judged the WA guise speaker to be honest. In the third visit test, the results were similar to the first visit outcomes; the respondents from both backgrounds agreed with the statement.

Furthermore, the responses given by NA and WA respondents towards the NA guise speaker for the statement 'the speaker is untrustworthy' for all three visit tests can be seen in Figure 6.32 below. The Figure shows that the majority of NA respondents disagreed with the statement 'Untrustworthy' for the NA guise. Their responses on the first visit show that about 43.8% agreed. On the second

visit, 38% agreed whilst for the last visit test, 36.8% of the NA respondents agreed that the NA guise was untrustworthy.

WA respondents showed slightly different results for the statement 'Untrustworthy' for the NA guise in all three visit tests. In the first and last visit tests, a small majority of them agreed with the statement (51.4% and 52.2% respectively). However, the second visit results showed that only 36.4% of them agreed with the statement.

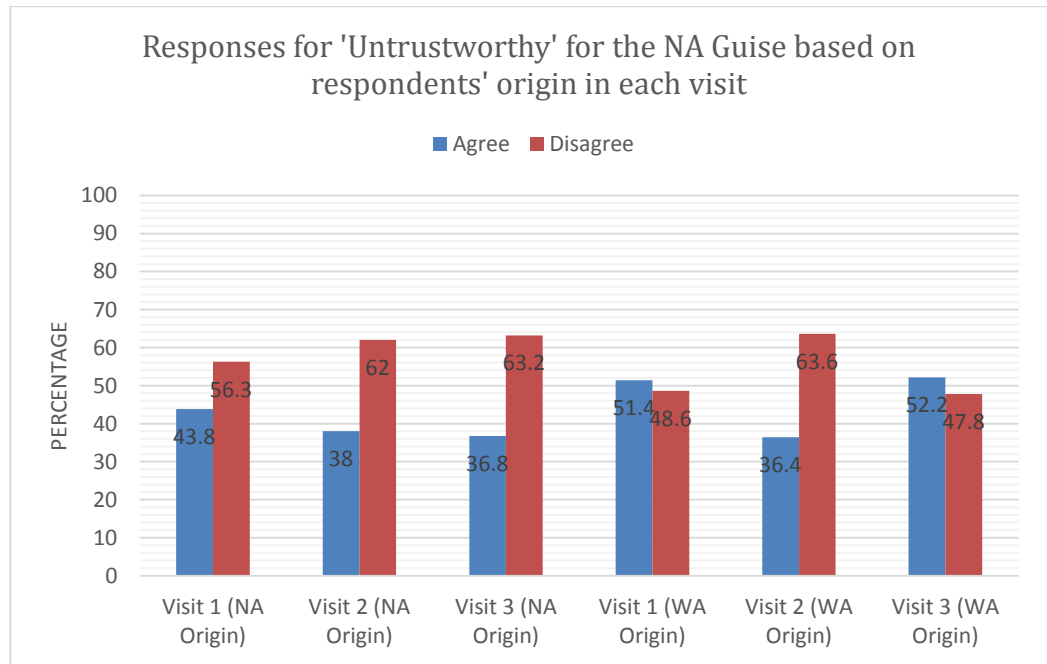


Figure 6.32: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Untrustworthiness

The test results for the personality trait 'Untrustworthy' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.33 below.

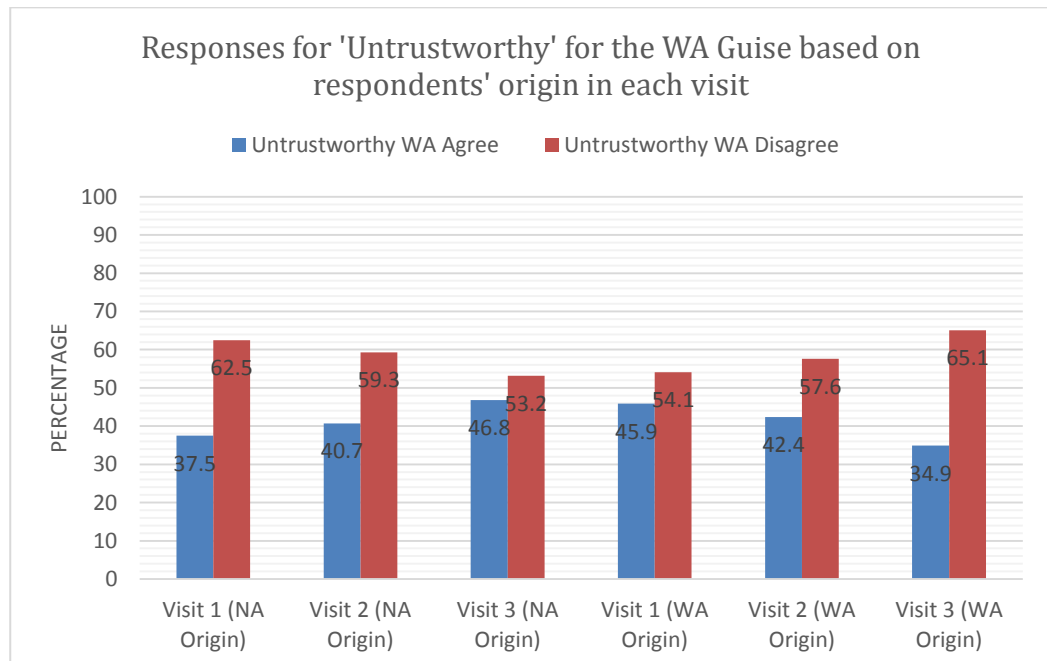


Figure 6.33: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Untrustworthiness

Based on Figure 6.33 above, it can be seen that the responses from both NA and WA respondents towards the WA guise speaker concerning the statement ‘the speaker is untrustworthy’ have similar patterns. A fair majority of the respondents from NA and WA dialect backgrounds disagreed that the speaker was an untrustworthy person. Compared with Figure 6.32, Figure 6.33 shows uniformity in that all responses from both NA and WA respondents expressed their disagreement with the statement. The responses of WA respondents in the first and third visit tests were in reversed polarity, though only just.

If we look at the results of the two statements, ‘the speaker is dishonest’ and ‘the speaker is untrustworthy’, the comparable results showed surprising differences. In the second visit test, WA respondents judged the WA guise speaker for those two personality traits the same way. In the first visit test, a fair majority of NA respondents agreed that the WA guise was dishonest but disagreed that the guise speaker was untrustworthy. It should also be noted that these NA respondents had exactly the same judgments of the NA guise in the first visit test for the ‘dishonest’ parameter. For the statement ‘the speaker is dishonest’, the patterns of responses from both NA and WA respondents look similar for both NA and WA guises. However, for the statement ‘the speaker is untrustworthy’, only responses for the WA guise show similar patterns of responses given by NA and WA respondents. The NA guise speaker was judged slightly unfavourably during the first and third visits by WA respondents. From the test results discussed above, it can be concluded that there are inconsistent responses towards the personality traits of ‘Dishonest’ and ‘Trustworthy’ for both NA and WA guise speakers. As mentioned earlier, it was expected that the WA guise speaker would be judged to be dishonest and untrustworthy by a majority, whereas the

NA guise was expected to be considered to be honest and trustworthy by a majority. T-test results also showed that the differences between these two parameters were not statistically significant.

b. Responses with unexpected results

There were personality trait statements in the matched guise tests of this study that showed somewhat unexpected results. These different results occurred regarding the parameters: independence, interesting, religious family background, having good and promising future, and courage.

One of the statements in the matched guise tests was, 'the speaker is independent'. The statement is framed in the positive, so that the respondents who agreed with this statement judged the speaker to be an independent person; if they disagreed with the statement, the guise speaker was regarded to be a dependent person.

The results of the test analysis for the responses given by the NA and WA respondents towards the NA guise speaker for the three visits can be seen in Figure 6.34 below. The Figure shows that on the first visit only 37.5% of the the NA respondents agreed that the guise speaker of the North Aceh dialect background was independent which is misaligned with all other results for this variable. During the second visit, however, the responses given by the respondents showed the opposite results from the previous visit. A sizable majority of 79.6% of the NA respondents agreed that the North Aceh guise speaker was independent. The third visit then confirmed the results of the second visit test in that 77.2% of the NA respondents agreed to the statement.

Responses given by the WA respondents to the same guise speaker of the North Aceh dialect, on the other hand, shows a different pattern especially on the first visit test when compared with the responses given by NA respondents. It shows that WA respondents agreed to the statement in all three visits and the patterns are all similar, in that almost the same percentage agreed to the statement that the guise speaker is independent. During the first visit, 64.9% agreed with the statement, 63.3% on the second visit, and 60.9% on the third visit.

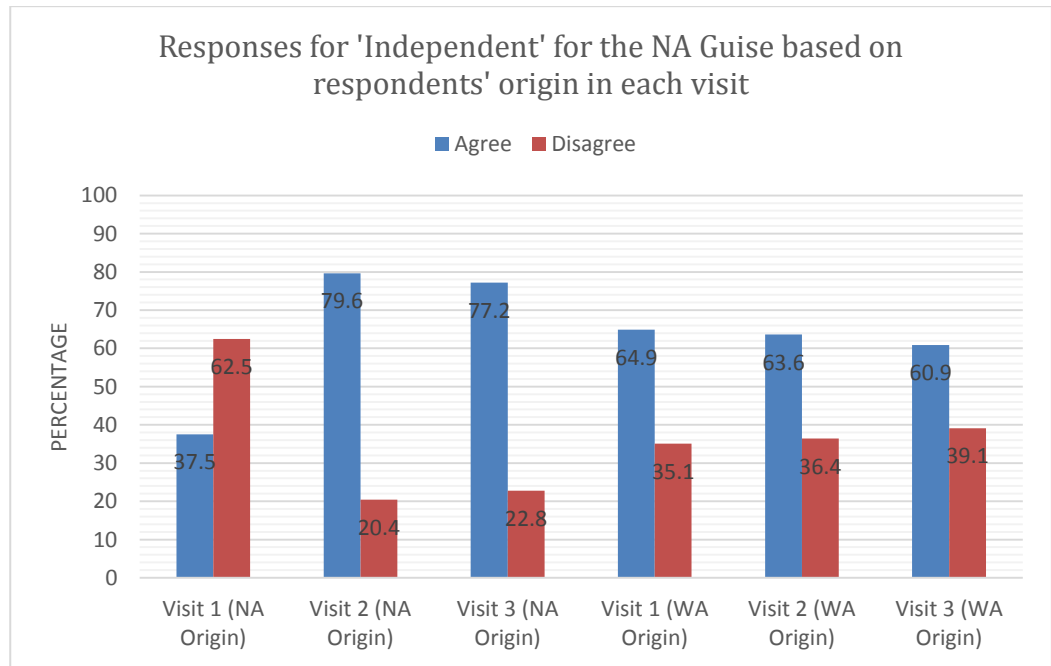


Figure 6.34: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Independence

Furthermore, the test results towards the personality trait 'Independent' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.35 below.

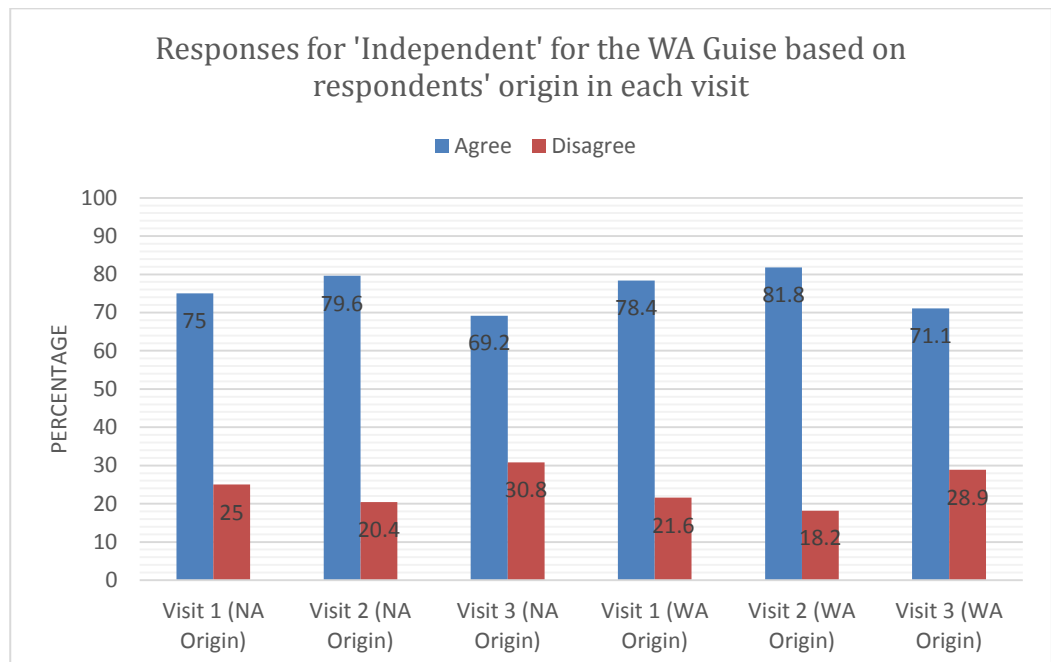


Figure 6.35: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Independence

Results for 'the speaker is independent' were fairly uniform except that the NA guise was rated less favourably for this trait in the first visit test with statistically significant difference ($p < 0.020$) in comparison to responses given to WA guise. From Figure 6.34 and Figure 6.35 above, it can be seen that the test result for the NA guise on the first visit is the only one which is different from other results. I had to check with the original data in order to make sure that this is correct and not the other way around. After checking the data again, I am confident that the result is correct. The trend of responses for the WA guise, however, was identical and all of the respondents agreed to the statement in all three visit tests. It indicates that they judged the WA guise speaker as an independent person.

The second set of unexpected results was found in the responses made to the trait 'Good Leader'. These can be found in Figure 6.36, which shows that the NA respondents during the first visit shared their responses equally between 'agree' and 'disagree' by 50% each. On the second visit, 58.1% expressed their agreement whilst on the last visit, 73.1% of the NA respondents agreed with the statement. The responses given by the WA respondent towards the same statement and guise speaker showed fairly similar patterns in all the tests with 64.9%, 51.5% and 58.1% agreement respectively.

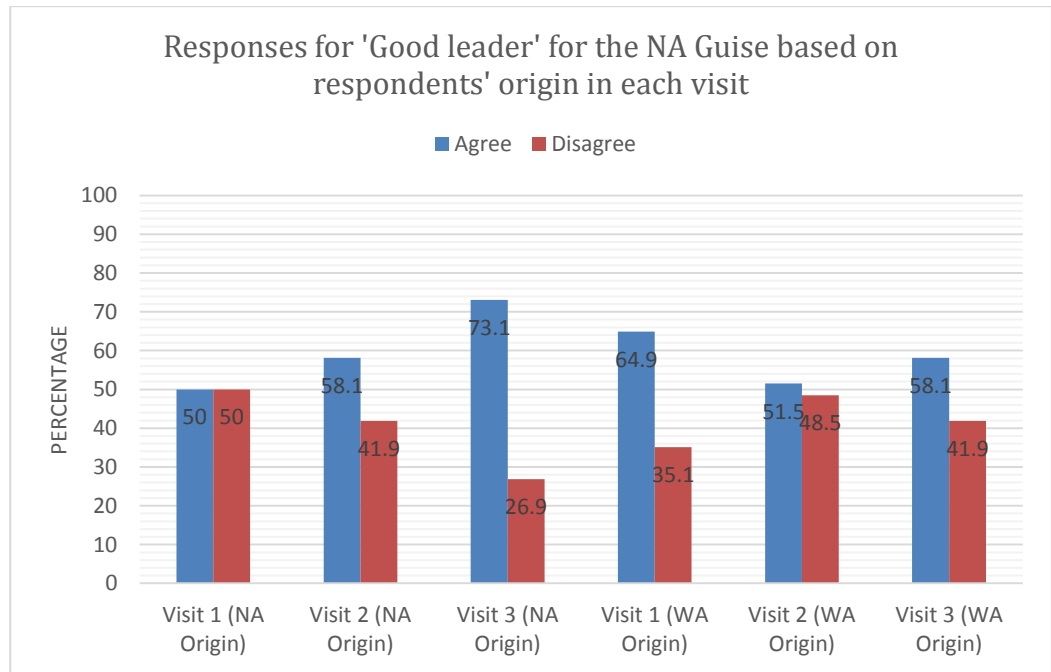


Figure 6.36: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Good Leader

The results of test for responses towards the personality trait 'Good leader' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.37 below.

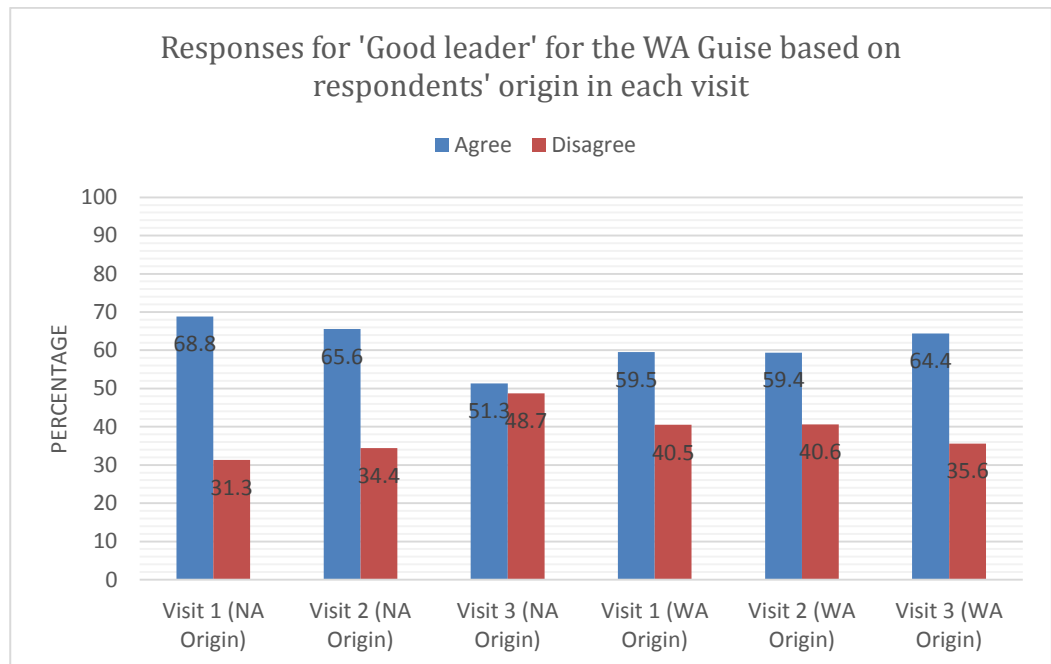


Figure 6.37: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Good Leader

Figure 6.37 above shows that the responses achieved from NA and WA respondents have very similar patterns with a fair majority agreeing with the statement in every case except for the responses from NA respondents on the third visit where the responses are 50:50. Most of the NA and WA respondents agreed with the statement 'Good Leader' for the WA guise.

The third unexpected results was found in opinions towards the statement 'Interesting'. The results for NA guise in all three visit tests can be found in Figure 6.38 below. Based on the Figure, the results of the NA responses towards 'Interesting' for the NA guise on the first visit were opposite to the other two visits. During the first visit only 43.8% of the NA respondents agreed, whilst 65.9% and 65.8% agreed on the second and third visits respectively. A majority of WA respondents agreed with the statement 'Interesting' for the NA guise with 51.4%, 65.6% and 57.8% respectively.

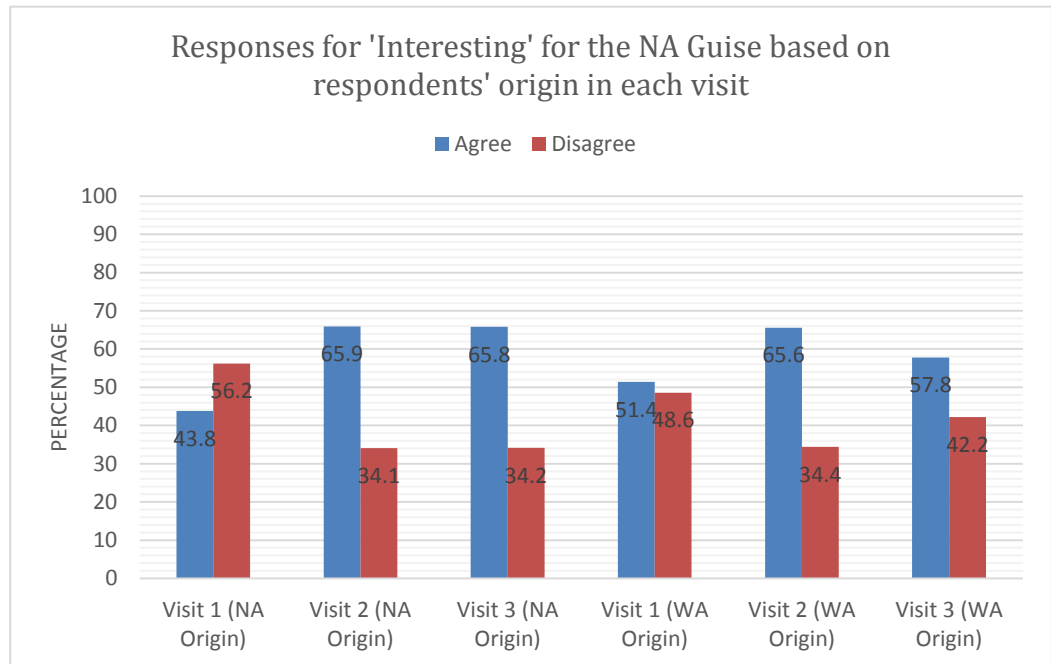


Figure 6.38: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Interesting

The results of test for responses towards the personality trait 'Interesting' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.39 below.

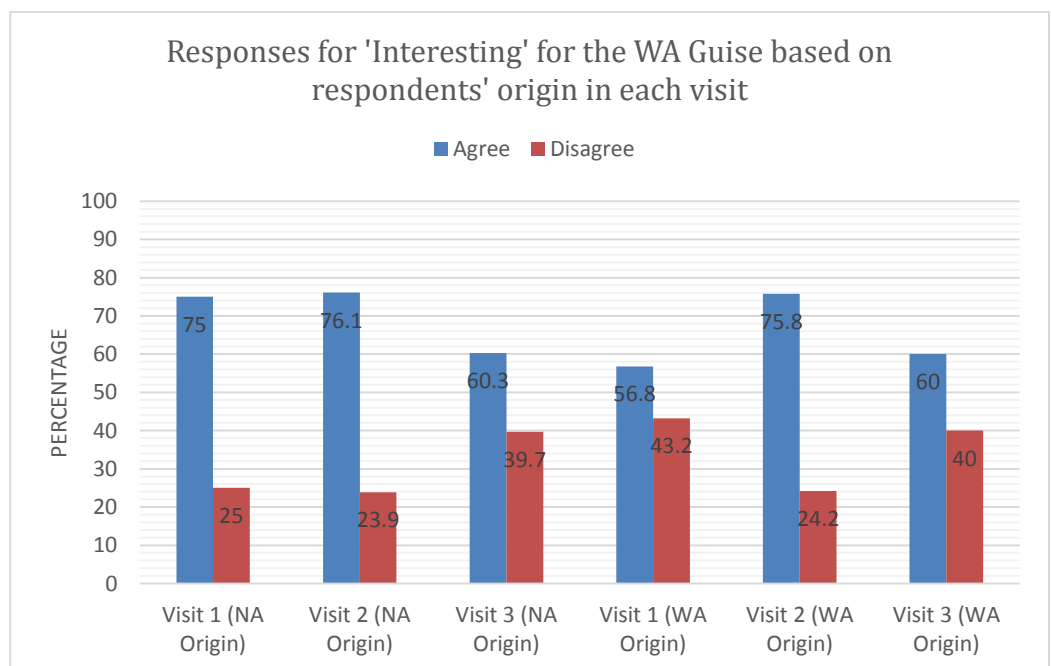


Figure 6.39: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Interesting

Figure 6.39 shows that the responses from NA and WA respondents have identical patterns for the statement 'Interesting' for the WA guise. A majority of responses from those respondents agreed that the WA guise speaker is an interesting person.

The next parameter which showed somewhat different results was the statement, 'the speaker is from a good and religious family'. This statement was supposed to invite responses from the test participants in regard to the degree of devoutness associated with the guise speakers. It was predicted that the respondents would judge the NA guise speaker as a person from a good religious family because they are perceived to use 'good' and 'refined' Acehnese. The results of the tests showing NA and WA responses towards the statement 'From a Religious Family' for the NA guise during all three visit tests are shown in Figure 6.40. It can be seen from the figure that the NA respondents disagreed and agreed in equal measure (50%-50%). During the second and third visits, the results exhibit nearly identical patterns in that 77.4% and 78.2% respectively agreed. For respondents from the WA dialect background, the profile of responses were quite uniform; in all three visit test results the majority (73%-81.8%) agreed with the statement. Except in the first visit, respondents from both NA and WA dialect backgrounds agreed that the NA guise speaker was regarded as a person from a religious family.

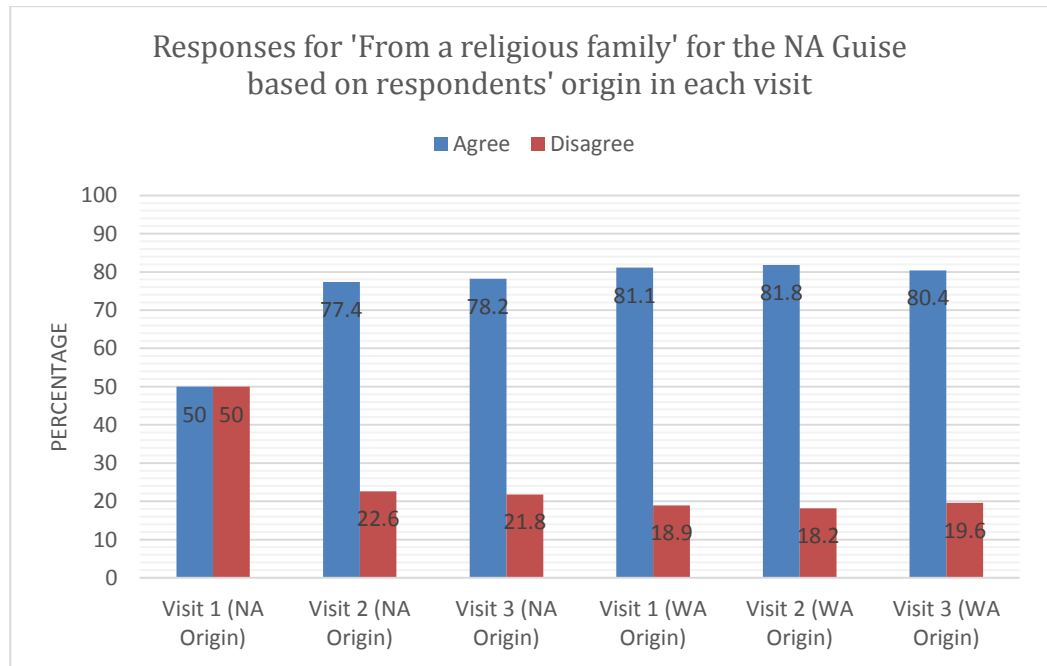


Figure 6.40: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on a Good Religious Family

Responses towards the personality trait 'From a Religious Family' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.41 below.

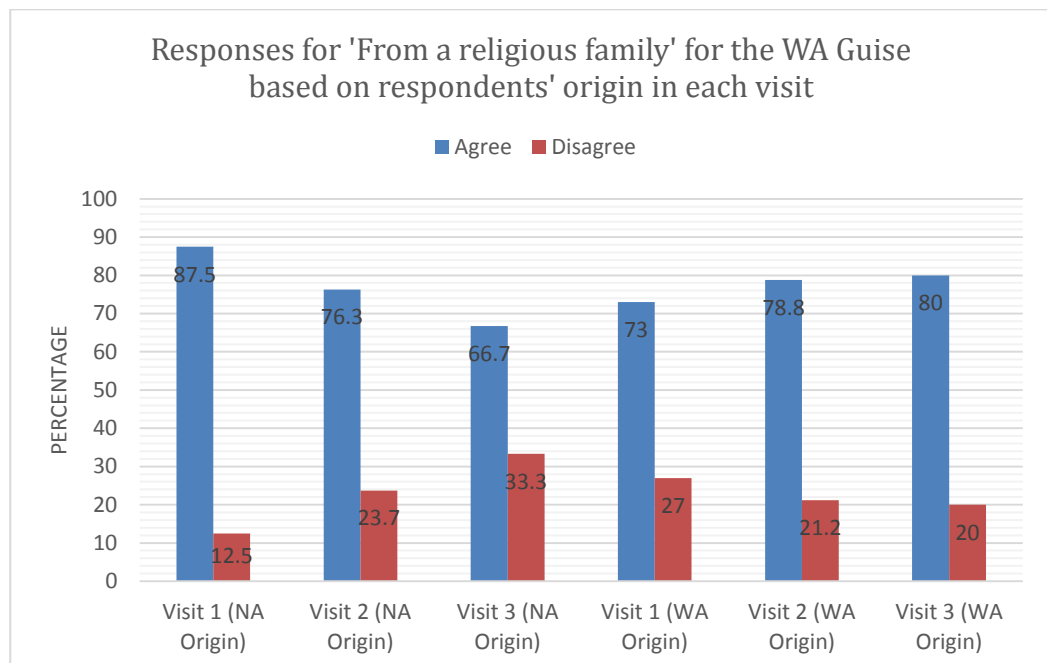


Figure 6.41: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on a Good Religious Family

Based on the results shown in Figure 6.41 above, there is little to discuss. During all three visit tests, a majority of respondents from both NA and WA backgrounds agreed that the WA guise speaker was an individual from a religious family background.

The following personality trait showing different test results is based on the responses given by the respondents of NA and WA dialect backgrounds towards the statement 'Having a Good and Promising Future' for the NA guise. The results can be found in Figure 6.42, which shows that these responses have similar patterns, namely that the majority of them agreed with the statement throughout each of the test visits.

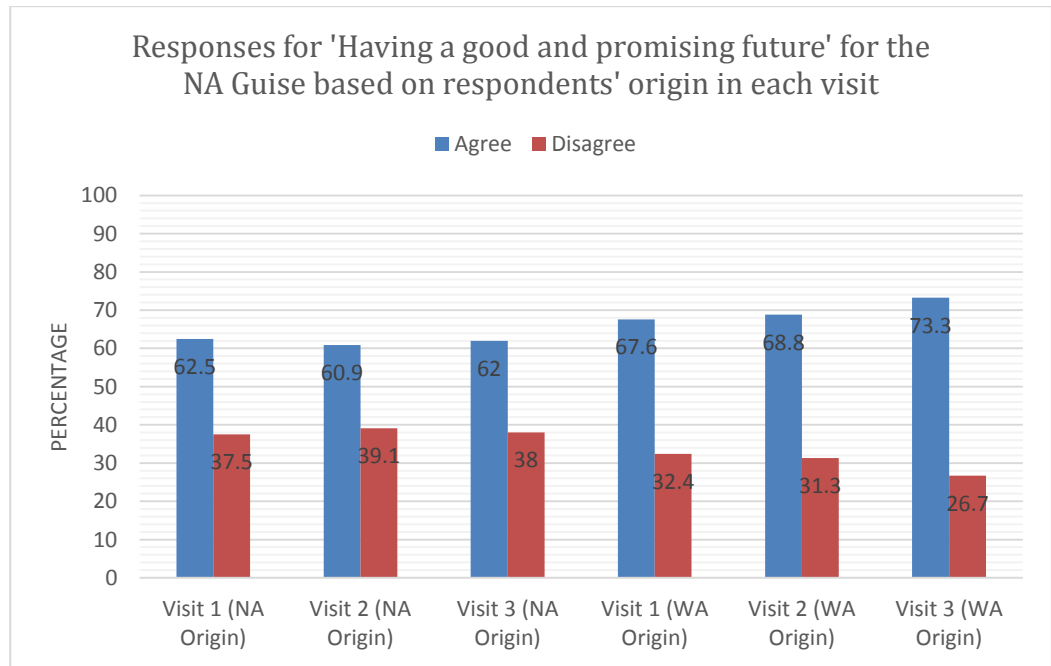


Figure 6.42: Judgement for NA Guise on Having a Good and Promising Future

Responses towards the personality trait 'Having a Good and Promising Future' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.43 below.

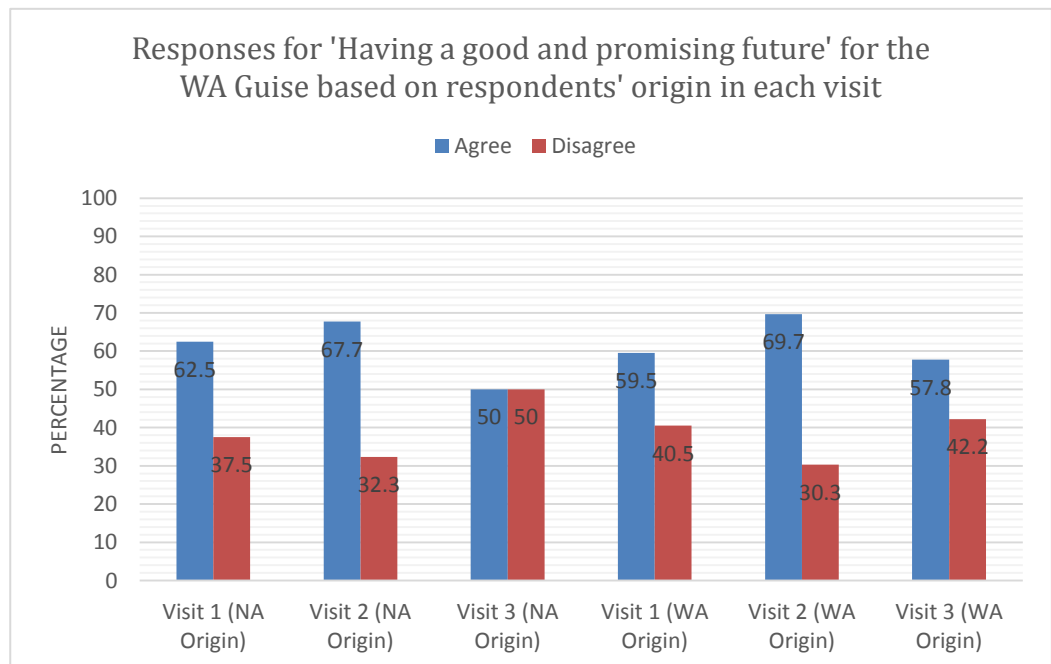


Figure 6.43: Judgement for WA Guise on Having a Good and Promising Future

Figure 6.43 shows that the results of the test on the statement 'Having a Good and Promising Future' for the WA guise are almost identical to all results of NA guise speaker as discussed earlier except for the third visit of responses given by the NA respondents. In the third visit test, the NA respondents equally shared their responses by 50% where they agreed and disagreed with the statement. Based on t-test results, during the third visit test the NA guise was rated more favourably and the difference had a statistical significance of $p < 0.022$.

The next personality trait that shows an unexpected result concerns the statement 'Courageous' for the NA Guise. The results can be seen in Figure 6.44, which shows that the NA respondents were split 50%-50% in their responses during the first visit test results. Other than that, during all the visit tests, a good majority of both NA and WA respondents judged the NA guise speaker as a courageous person.

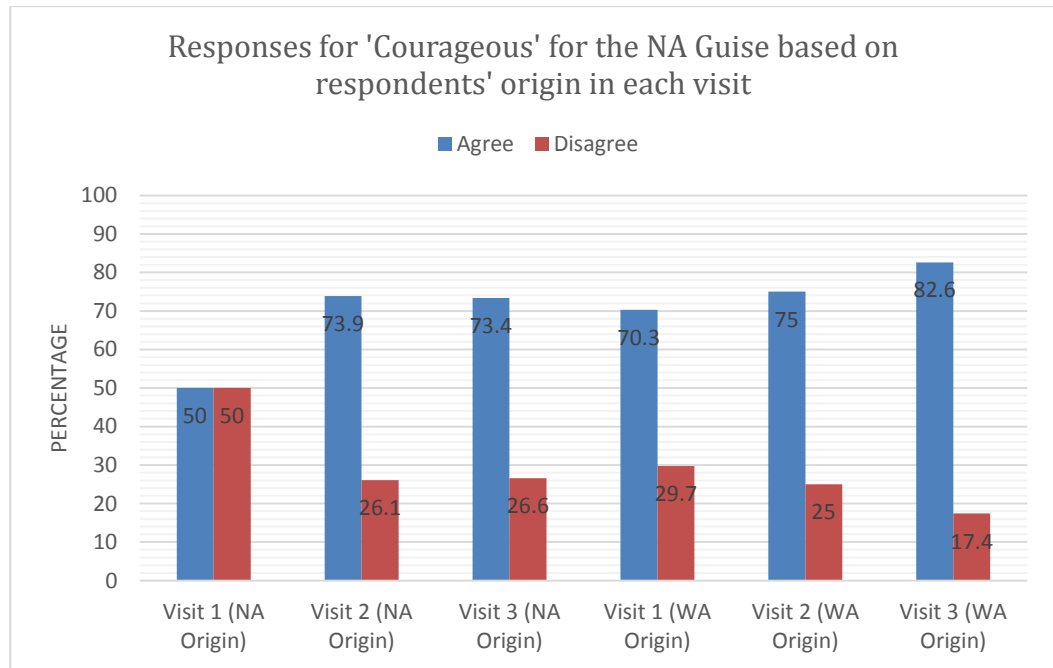


Figure 6.44: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Courageous

Responses towards the personality trait 'Courageous' for the WA guise can be seen in Figure 6.45 below.

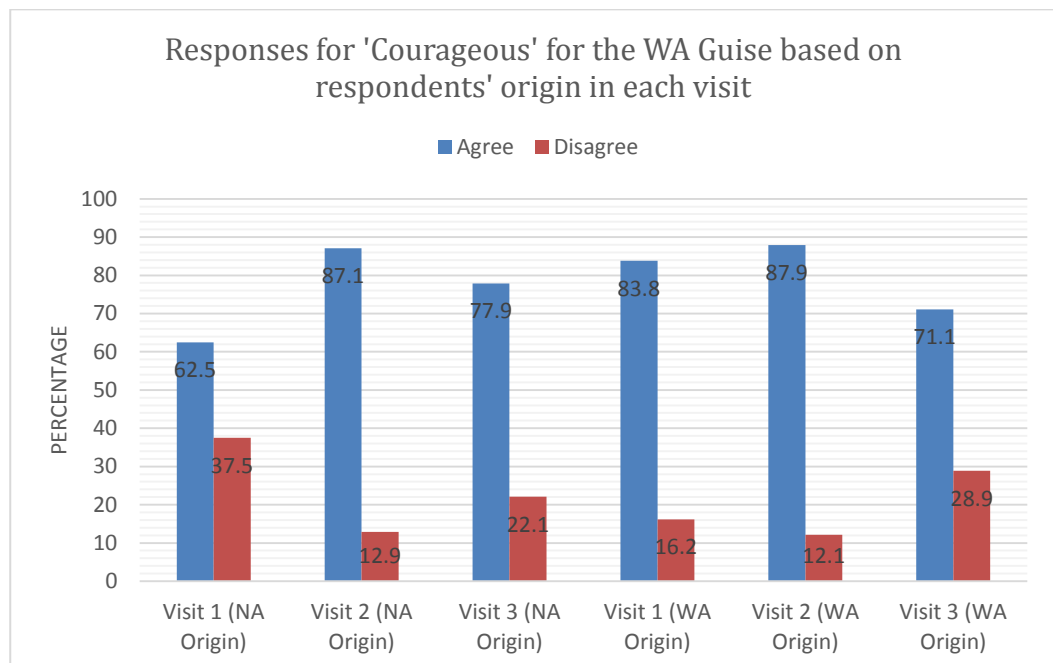


Figure 6.45: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Courageous

From Figure 6.45 above, it clearly shows that the responses from the first until the last visit show that a majority of both NA and WA respondents agreed that the guise speaker of WA dialect background was well-regarded as a courageous person. In the second visit test though the WA guise was rated more favourably and the difference was statistically significant of $p < 0.011$.

Abherant results were also found regarding the statement 'the speaker is unfriendly'. The statement was framed in a negative way and it was expected that WA guise speakers would be judged as friendly persons because they were supposed to live a traditional country life. Figure 6.46 below shows the test results of responses given by both NA and WA respondents towards the statement 'Unfriendly' for the NA guise during the three visit tests conducted in this study. Based on Figure 4.53, it was found that the NA respondents agreed and disagreed 50%-50%, but only during the first visit. In the other tests, the majority of respondents from both backgrounds expressed their disagreement with the statement. It meant that they did not judge the NA guise speaker to be an unfriendly person.

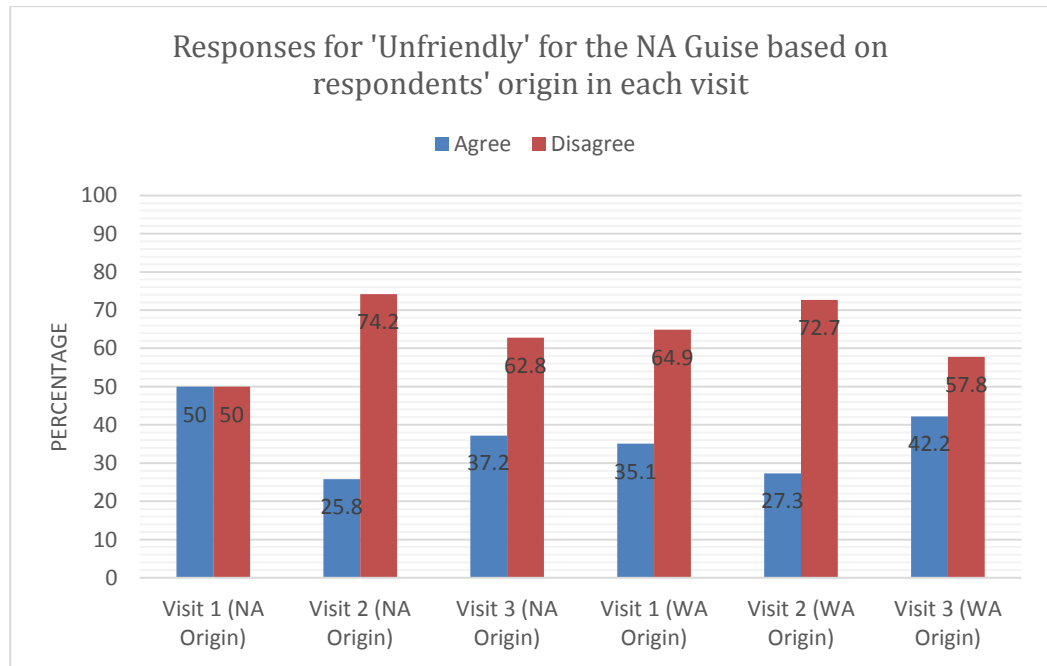


Figure 6.46: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Friendliness

The results of test for responses towards the personality trait 'Unfriendly' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.47 below.

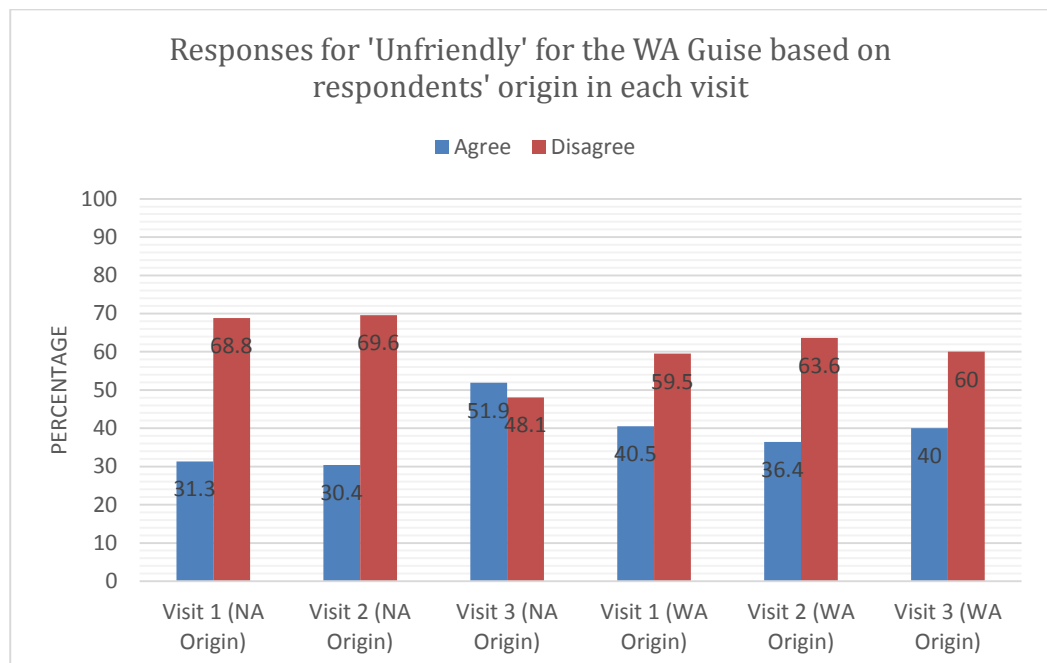


Figure 6.47: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Friendliness

The test results of responses given by NA and WA respondents towards the statement 'Unfriendly' for the WA Guise from all three visits can be seen in Figure 6.47 above. On the third visit, a small majority of NA respondents agreed that the WA guise was 'Unfriendly', which contrasts with all other results. In particular, a strong majority of NA respondents on first and second visits disagreed. On the third visit, 51.9% of the NA respondents agreed with the statement. In other tests, however, the majority of the respondents disagreed with the statement 'Unfriendly' for the WA guise, which indicates that they did not regard the WA guise speaker as an unfriendly person either; a similar judgement too that which they had given to the NA guise speaker, mentioned earlier.

From the judgement charts for the personality trait parameters described in detail in this section, most of the test results showed differences, especially in the responses given by NA respondents. The charts revealed that only NA respondents who had aberrant responses in the first visit tests towards the statements 'Independent', 'Good Leader', 'Interesting', 'From a Religious family', and 'Courageous' for the NA guise, as well as in the third visit tests concerning the statement 'Having a Good and Promising Future' for the WA guise. In addition, the NA respondents had different responses on the first visit to 'Unfriendly' for the NA guise and during the third visit to 'Unfriendly' for the WA guise. Other than for those mentioned results, NA and WA respondents seem to have regarded the NA and WA guises quite similarly. Interestingly, the test results for 'Religious' and 'Courageous' parameters looked very similar throughout all visit tests. The NA respondents seemed to be reluctant to express their strong beliefs and judgements towards the guise speakers from NA and WA backgrounds. In general, the results were very uniform and with this uniformity

it is difficult to draw a conclusion as to which guise the respondents leaned towards in terms of strong agreement or disagreement.

c. Responses with little variability trends

There were two personality traits which showed some variability for one guise but virtual uniformity towards the other. These were the statements ‘the speaker is unkind’ and ‘the speaker is influential’. One of the statements was framed in the negative (unkind), and the other was framed in the positive (influential). It was expected that the WA guise speaker would be negatively associated with these parameters. In other words, the respondents were expected to judge the WA guise as unkind, and not an influential person.

Firstly, the responses given by NA and WA respondents towards NA and WA guise speakers for the statement ‘the speaker is unkind’ showed slightly different results in the matched guise test except in the first visit test which showed a statistically significant difference ($p < 0.033$) with respect to the WA guise being regarded as unkind or non-committal. The statement in the questionnaire is in the negative, so when the respondents expressed their agreement with this statement, they judged the speaker to be an unkind person; whereas if they disagreed with the statement, they judged the speaker to be a kind person.

The results of the test analysis on the responses given by the NA and WA respondents towards the NA guise speaker about the statement ‘the speaker is unkind’ in the three visits can be seen in Figure 6.48 below. The Figure shows that the NA respondents in all three visit tests expressed their disagreement that the guise speaker of North Aceh dialect background was unkind, as did the WA respondents.

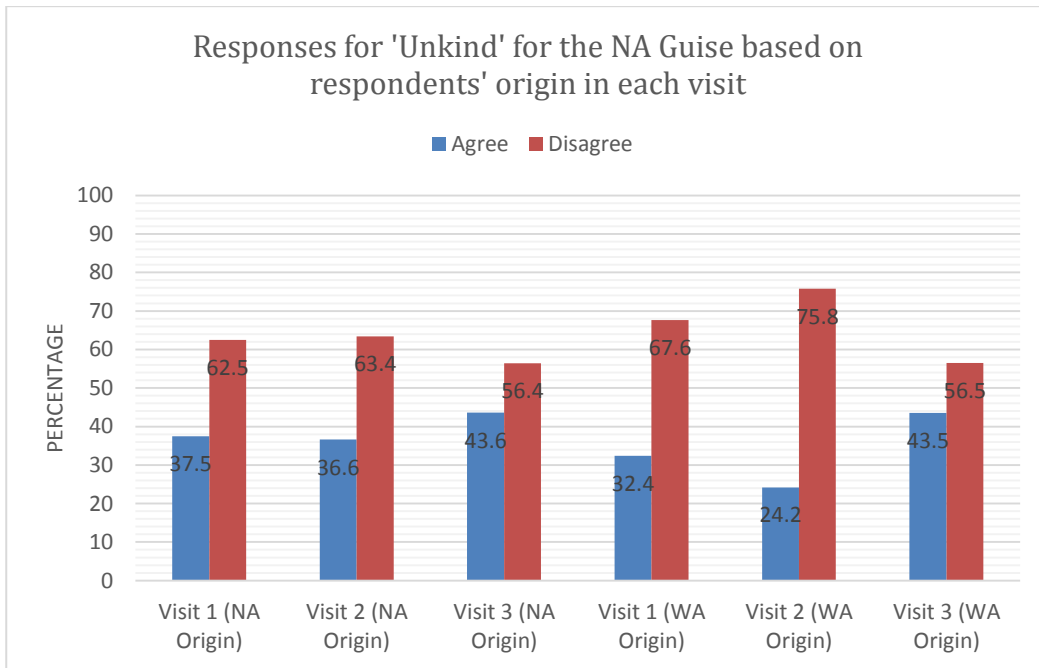


Figure 6.48: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Kindness

The results of test for responses towards the personality trait 'Unkind' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.49 below.

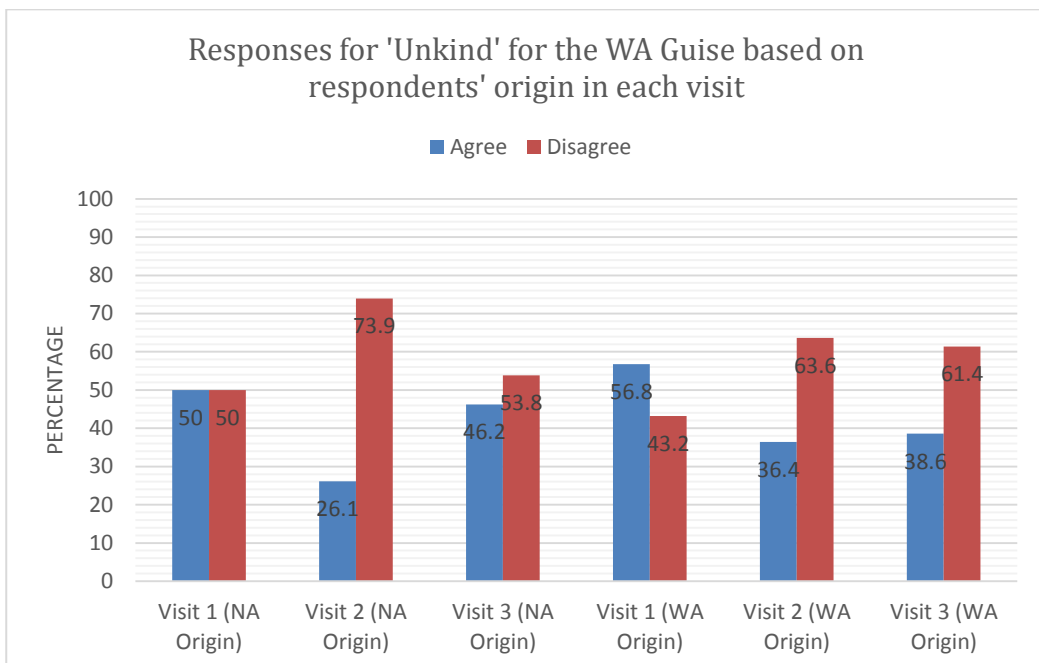


Figure 6.49: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Kindness

Figure 6.49 above shows the patterns of the test results for the notions 'Unkind' trait for the WA guise from the responses given by NA and WA respondents on all three visits. The different results are found in the first visit test, where respondents from both NA and WA dialect backgrounds judged the WA guise speaker differently than they did the NA guise speaker. Of the NA respondents, 50% agreed with the statement concerning the WA guise during the first visit, whilst 56.8% of the WA respondents expressed their agreement with the statement. The above suggests that the WA respondents during the first visit agreed that the WA guise speaker was unkind. During the second and third visits, the majority of them disagreed with the statement, as did the NA respondents, even though the different responses in the third visit were not very pronounced.

Secondly, the test results of NA and WA responses towards the statement 'Influential' for the NA Guise during all three visits are shown in Figure 6.50. This Figure shows that the responses had somewhat similar patterns for the second and third visit tests, but that they were different on the first visit. NA respondents agreed and disagreed 50%-50%, respectively; meanwhile a fair majority (54.1%) of WA respondents disagreed with the statement during the first visit test. Results on other visits, however, reveal that the majority of respondents from both backgrounds judged the NA guise speaker to be an influential person.

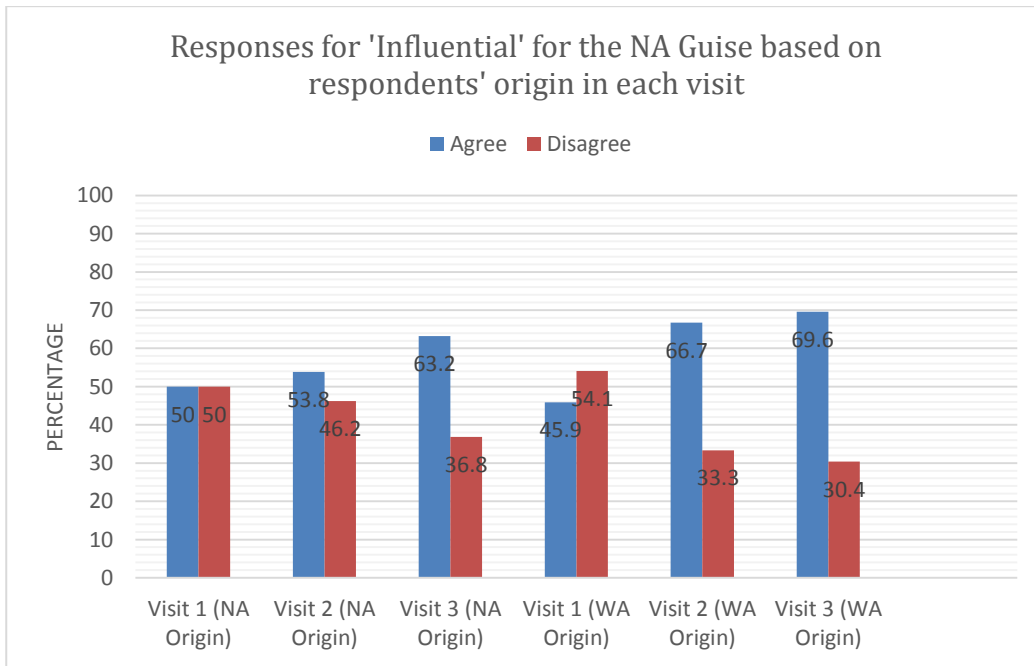


Figure 6.50: Judgement for North Acehnese Guise on Influential

Responses towards the personality trait 'Influential' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.51 below.

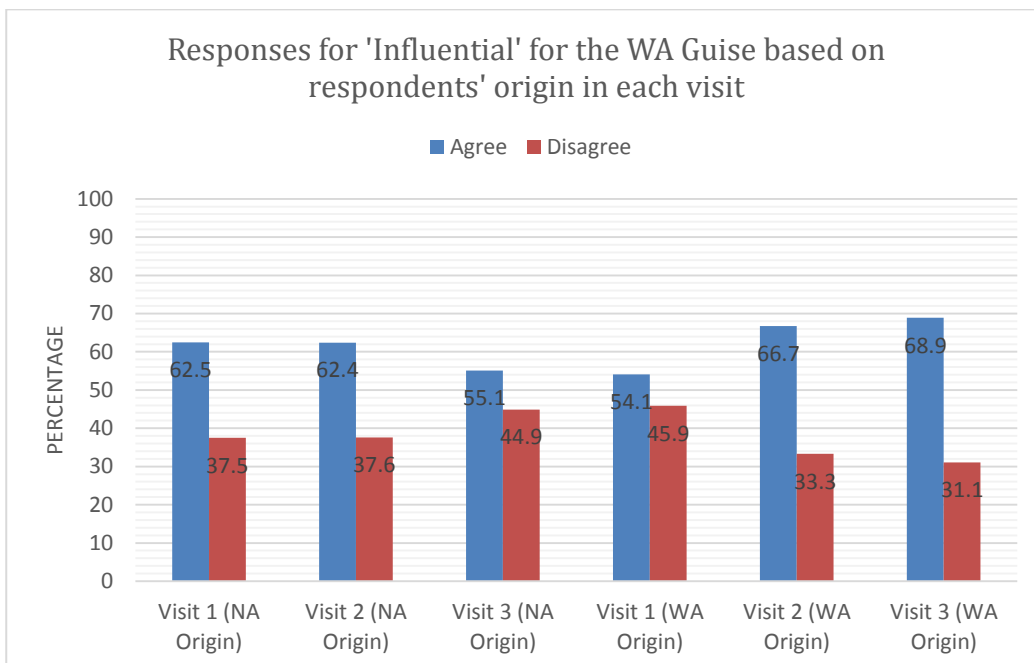


Figure 6.51: Judgement for West Acehnese Guise on Influential

In contrast to the results for 'Influential' for the NA Guise as discussed above, for the WA guise speaker with the same statement, the test results show that the respondents from both NA and WA dialect backgrounds expressed identical judgement. All of them agreed that the speaker was associated with an influential personality trait throughout all of the visit tests.

It can be seen from the comparative charts of the judgement for the two parameters of personality traits as described in detail above, that the test results had some variability in responses to one of the guises. For the statement 'the speaker is unkind', for example, the trend was virtually uniform for the responses to the NA guise.

As mentioned earlier, it was predicted that the WA guise would be regarded as unkind, and not influential. The test results, however, show that not all of those parameters were associated with a certain guise speaker as predicted. The kindness parameter seemed to fit the predicted pattern, but it was still not pronounced, and the results of the first visits went against the prediction.

d. Responses with mixed results

Some results of the response given by respondents were expectedly mixed. There were two parameters of personality traits that could be categorised in this trend: 'the speaker is from a rich family' and 'the speaker has a good sense of humour'. It was expected that the respondents would associate the NA guise speaker with someone who came from a rich family background; meanwhile the WA guise speaker would be regarded as someone who had a good sense of humour.

First, the mixed results of responses given by NA and WA respondents towards the statement 'the speaker is from a rich family' for the NA guise speaker during all three visits can be seen in Figure 6.52. It shows that 37.5% of the NA respondents agreed to the statement 'From a Rich Family' during the first visit. During the second visit, 57% agreed whilst 58.4% of the NA respondents agreed on the third visit.

The responses given by respondents from WA dialect background towards the statement 'From a Rich Family' for the NA guise show that 45.9% agreed during the first visit, 42.4% on the second visit and 54.3% on the third visit.

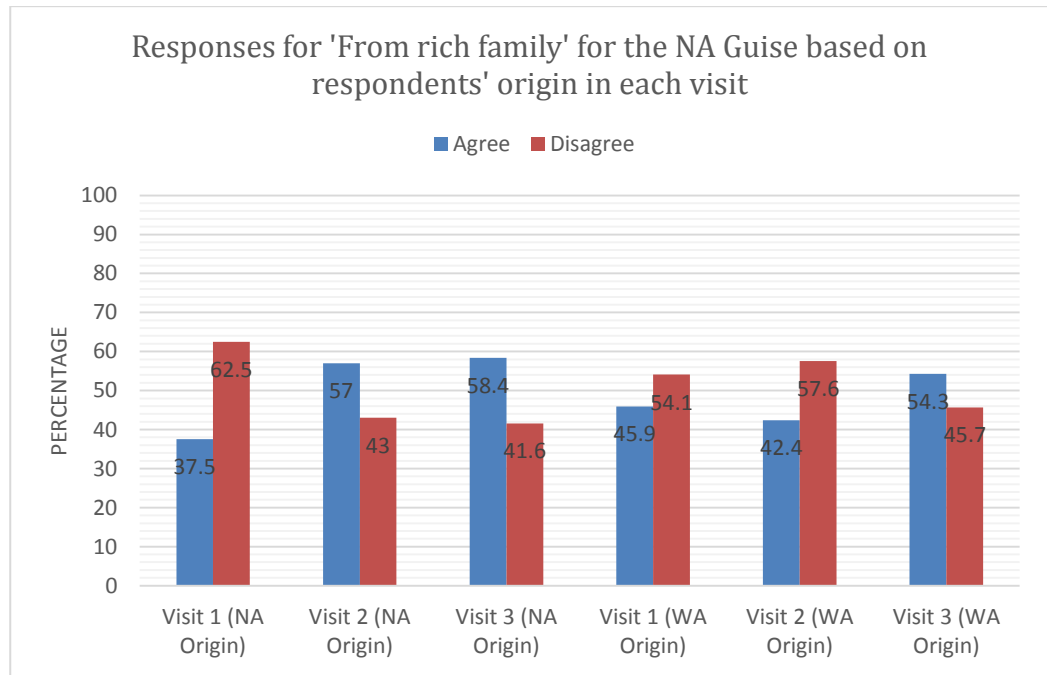


Figure 6.52: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on From a Rich Family

Responses towards the personality trait 'From a Rich Family' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.53 below.

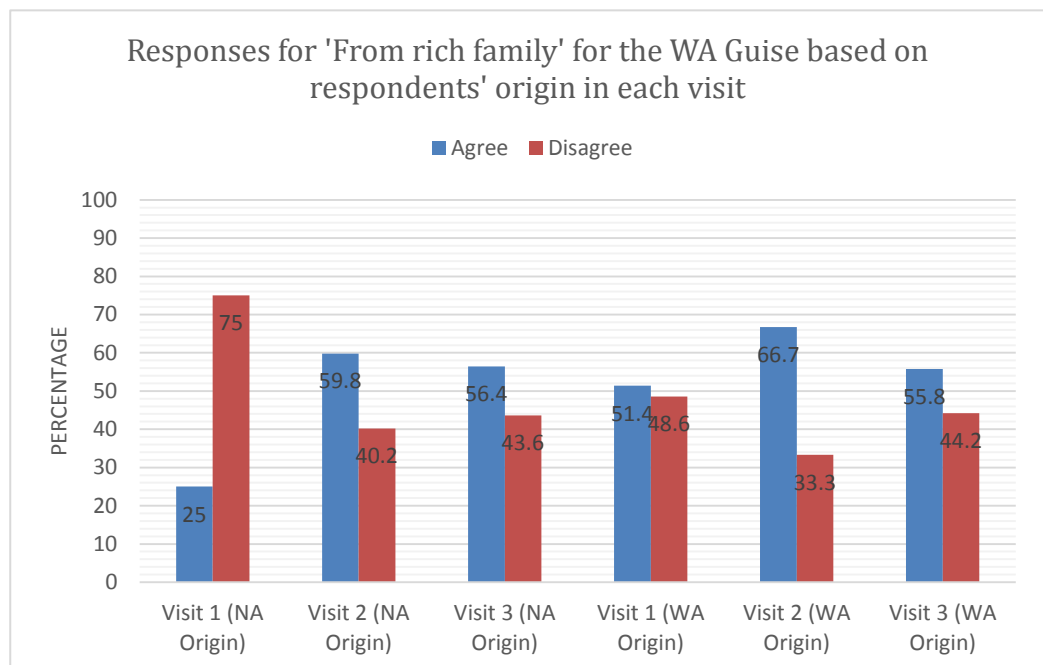


Figure 6.53: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on From a Rich Family

Figure 6.53 above shows that the responses from NA respondents in the first visit test were opposite to other results for the statement 'From a Rich Family' for the WA guise. On the first visit, 25% of the NA respondents agreed with the statement. However, the second and third visits show similar patterns in that the majority of respondents expressed agreement with the statement.

From Figure 6.52 and Figure 6.53 above, we can see that the responses given by the WA respondents towards NA and WA guise speakers were slightly different in the first visit, 45.9% agreed with the statement 'From a Rich Family' for the NA guise but 51.4% agreed with 'From a Rich Family' for the WA guise. During the first and second visit tests, a good majority of the WA respondents disagreed that the NA guise was from a rich family background, and regarded the WA guise (a small majority in the first visit and substantial majority in the second visit) to be from a rich family. During the third visit test, the WA respondents showed a similar assessment, that is, 54.3% and 55.8% of them agreed that the NA and WA guises respectively were from rich family backgrounds. The NA responses showed similar patterns; in the first test they disagreed with the statement, and during the other two visit tests the good majority agreed. This indicated that the NA respondents mostly agreed that both the NA and WA guises were seen as people who come from a rich family.

Second, the mixed and random test results of responses given by NA and WA respondents towards the statement 'Having a Good Sense of Humour' for the NA guise during all three visit tests can be seen in Figure 6.54 below. Based on the Figure, it shows that there were only responses gained from WA respondents in the first visit that trended differently to other results. 43.2% of the WA respondents agreed with the statement 'Having a Good Sense of Humour' for the

NA guise in the first visit. However, from other responses given, it showed that the majority of respondents from both NA and WA dialect backgrounds agreed with the statement that they associated the NA guise speaker as a person with a good sense of humour.

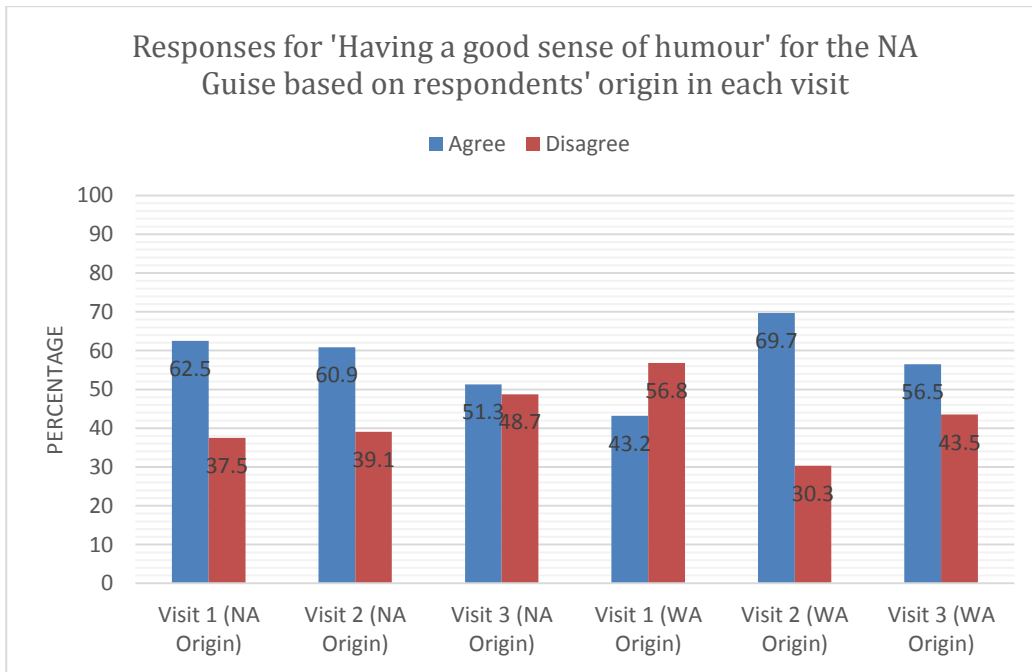


Figure 6.54: Judgement for North Acehese Guise on Having a Good Sense of Humour

The responses towards the personality trait 'Having a Good Sense of Humour' for the WA guise from both NA and WA respondents can be seen in Figure 6.55 below.

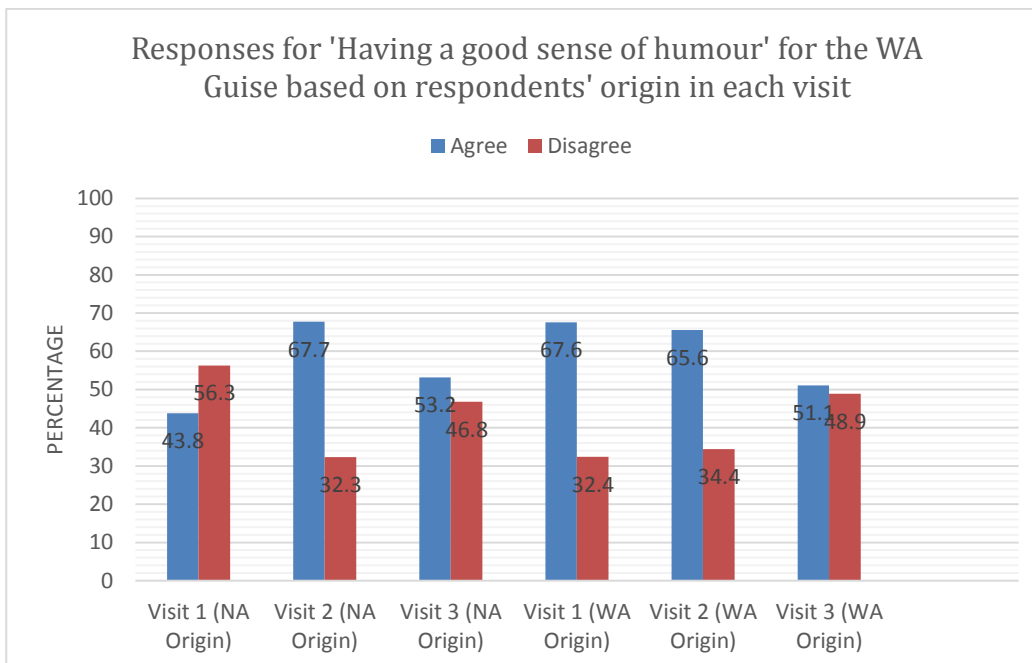


Figure 6.55: Judgement for West Acehese Guise on Having a Good Sense of Humour

Based on Figure 6.55 above, it can be seen that the trend for responses given by NA respondents on the first visit towards the statement ‘Having a Good Sense of Humour’ for the WA guise were opposite to their responses in the last two tests and to the responses given by their WA counterparts. On the first visit, 43.8% of the NA respondents agreed with the statement. However, on the other visits the NA and WA respondents showed similar patterns to the responses, even though this trend for WA respondents on the third visit test was not as pronounced.

Figure 6.54 and Figure 6.55 above show that the responses given by NA and WA respondents towards NA and WA guise speakers have very mixed results. In the second and third visit tests, all the respondents follow a similar trend even though only a very small majority of NA respondents and WA respondents agreed in the third visit for the NA guise and in the third visit for the WA guise respectively. On the first visit, NA respondents agreed with the statement for the NA guise, but they disagreed for the WA guise. In the same visit test, however, the WA respondents disagreed with the statement for NA guise, but they agreed concerning WA guise.

6.5 Recap of Matched Guise Test Results⁹

6.5.1 Visitation

Analysis of the matched guise test data from the three visits discussed in this study has shown that the results of the first, second, and third visits are not significantly different. When the test results from the first visit failed to show the predicted divisions between judgments of the NA versus WA guises, a second test was undertaken. The second test showed similar results to the first test. A

⁹ Please note that the results shown in this recap section have been appropriately inverted so that all parameters are presented in the positive.

third test was then conducted, in even more tightly controlled experimental conditions (see Chapter 3), and provided confirmation of the reliability of the first two tests.

Detailed figures for each guise for each visit, providing comparative assessments of NA versus WA respondents for each parameter, can be seen in Figure 6.56 - Figure 6.58. These Figures show few important differences in responses to the two guises. The charts of the first visit test have slightly different trends as the probable results of using in the test a story which contain less typical and salient West Acehese markers, as discussed in Chapter 2. The charts of the second test still show similar patterns to those of the first visit test, although a different text with highly salient West Acehese markers was used. Furthermore, the charts of the third test look quite the same to the second test charts; using different guises, employing completely different respondents, and controlling the test administration more strictly have not resulted in any clearly different results than the previous tests. This indicates that there were no random and unanticipated methodological issues that may influence the results of the tests in this study.

The least uniform pattern of responses between NA and WA respondents is found for the NA guise on the first visit. While it can be seen that both NA and WA respondents give similar assessments for the majority of personality traits, there are several parameters which show large differences in evaluations, namely: 'Independence', 'Religious Family', 'Humorous' and 'Courage'. These anomalies are not replicated in the results from other visits and guises, and therefore do not offer any reliable information that might be usefully interpreted for this study.

The test results for the WA guise on the first visit are almost identical except for the 'Humorous' personality trait where WA respondents regard the guise more favourably than the NA respondents. However, the difference is not very sizeable (as can be seen in Figure 6.56 below).

Detailed comparison across the three visits and respondents' place of origin for both the NA and WA guises can be seen in Figure 6.59 - Figure 6.61. These Figures also plot the comparison of the responses towards the NA and WA guises for each visit differentiated between NA and WA respondents. These Figures show few differences in responses to the two guises. However, a little more variability seems to occur for the first visit.

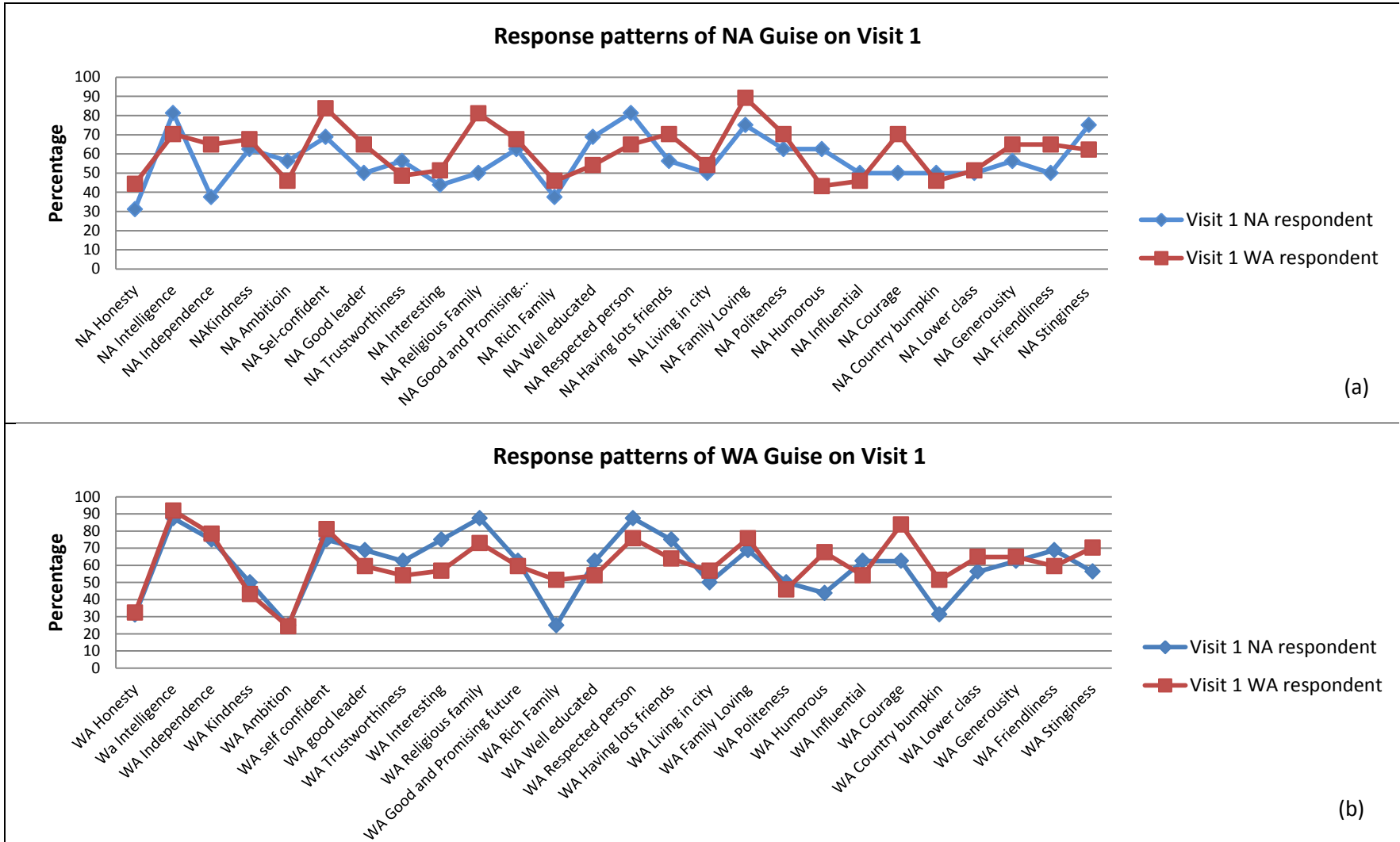
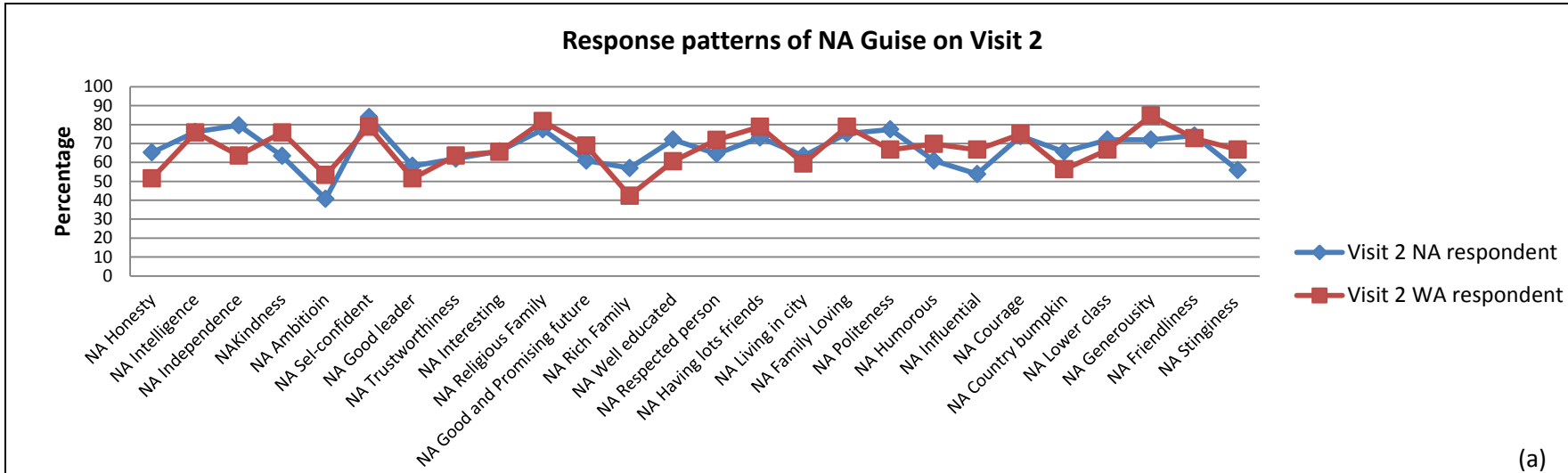
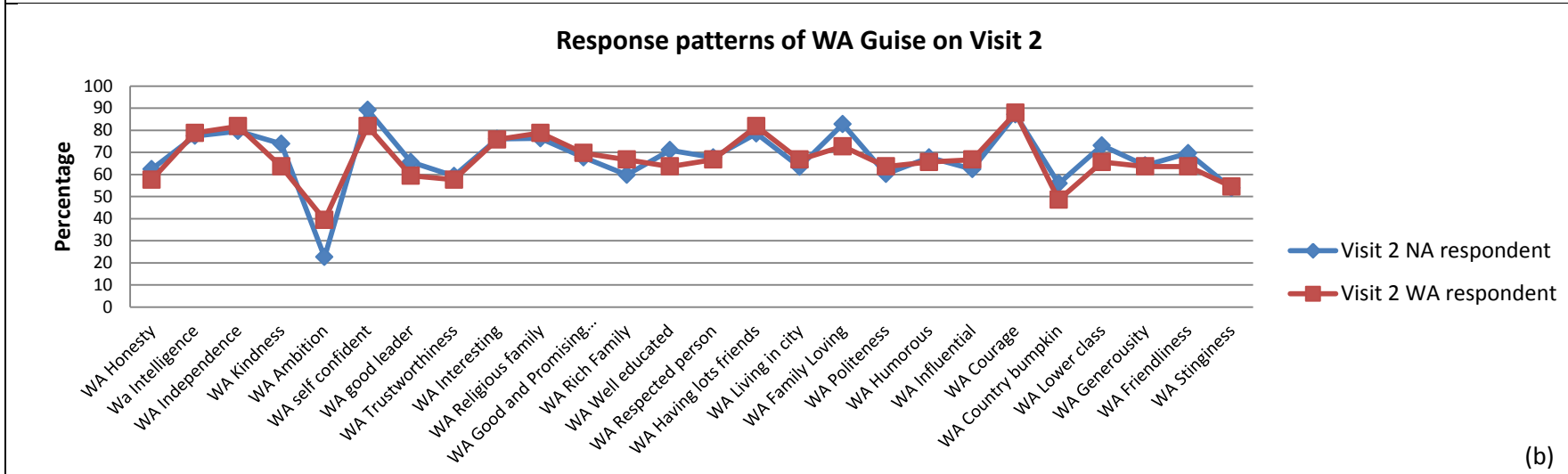


Figure 6.56: Response patterns (a) NA & WA respondents for NA guise and (b) NA & WA respondents for WA guise on Visit 1



(a)



(b)

Figure 6.57: Response patterns (a) NA & WA respondents for NA guise and (b) NA & WA respondents for WA guise on Visit 2

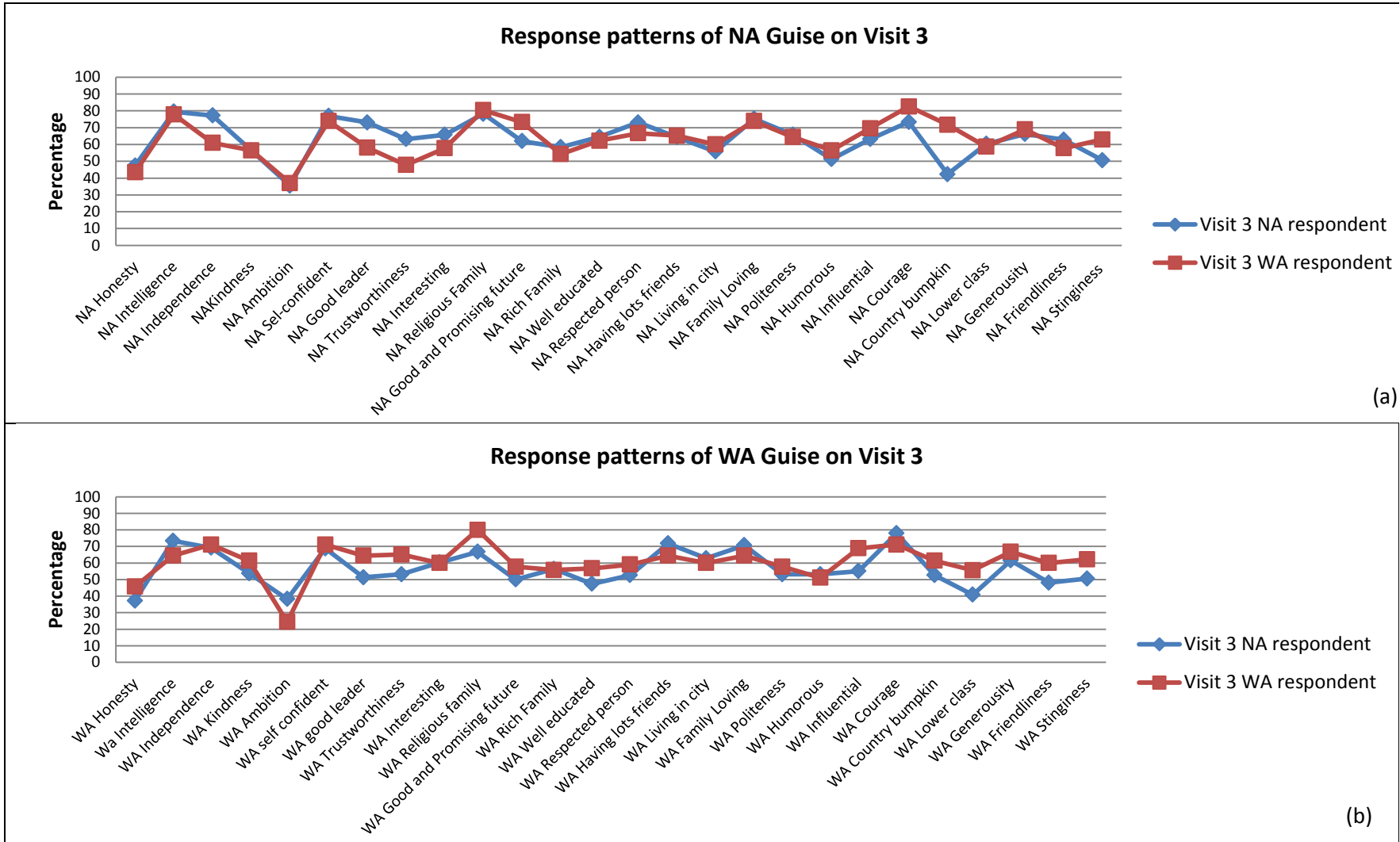


Figure 6.58: Response patterns (a) NA & WA respondents for NA guise and (b) NA & WA respondents for WA guise on Visit 3

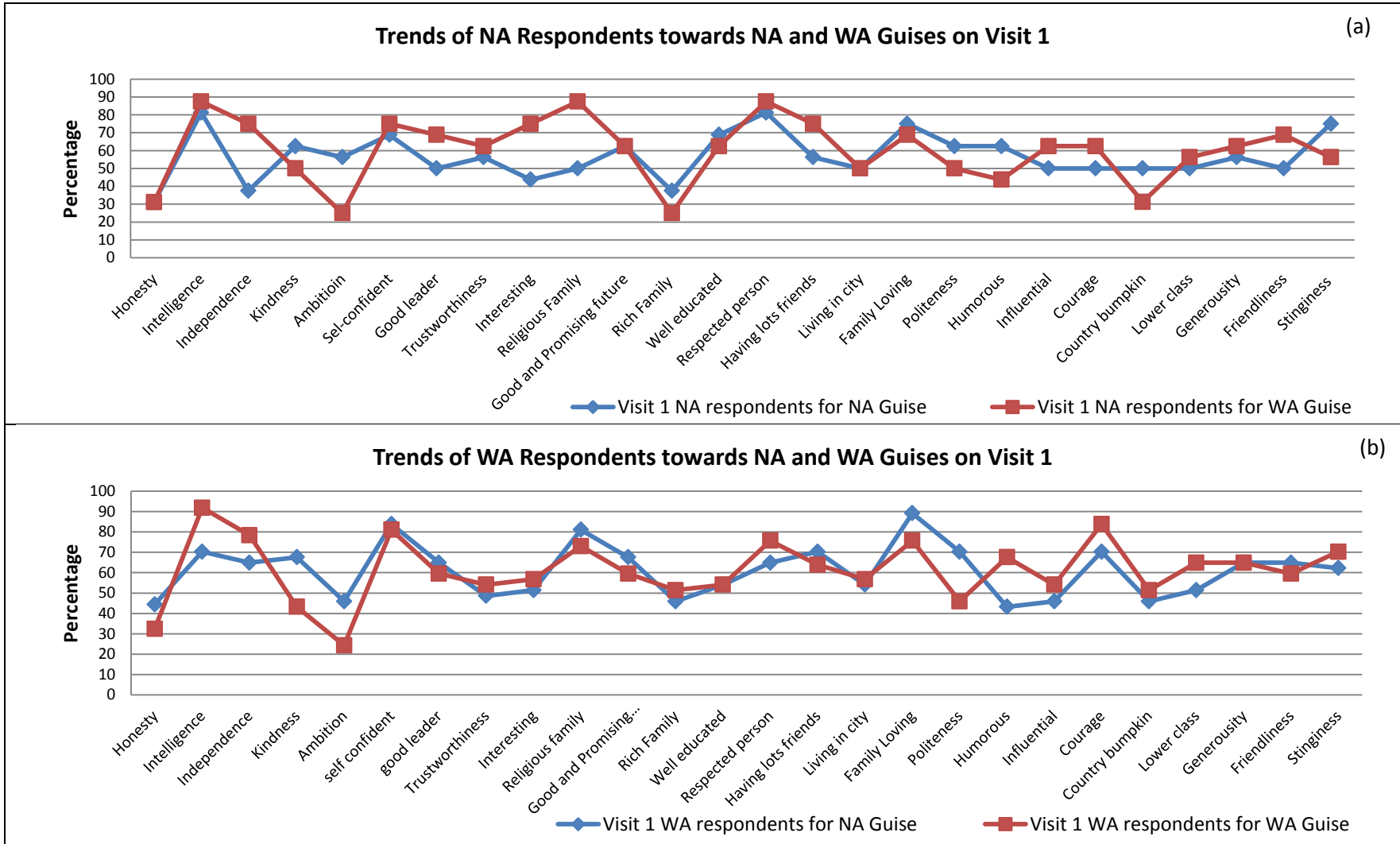


Figure 6.59: Response patterns (a) NA respondents for NA & WA guises and (b) WA respondents for NA & WA guises on Visit 1

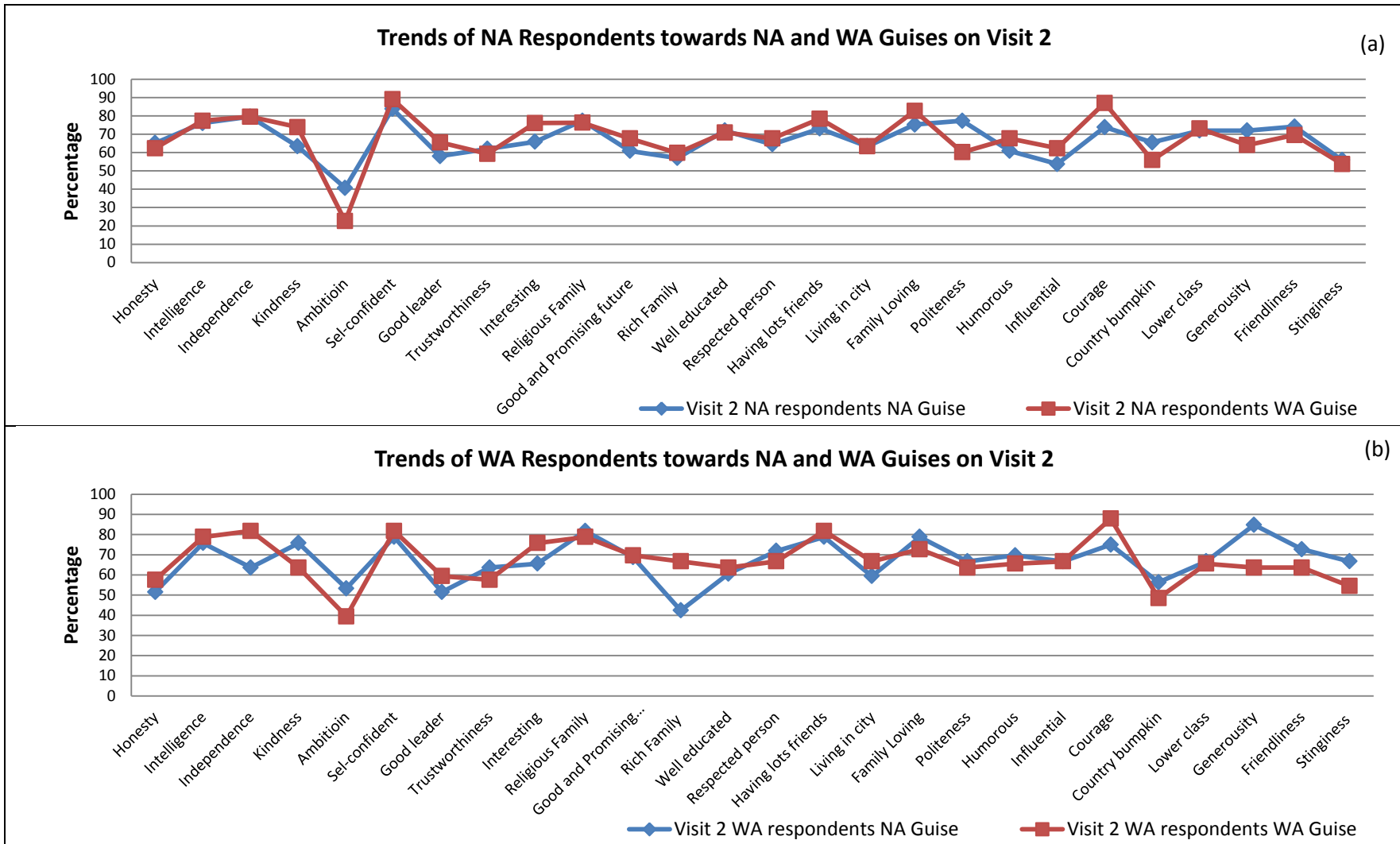


Figure 6.60: Response patterns (a) NA respondents for NA & WA guises and (b) WA respondents for NA & WA guises on Visit 2

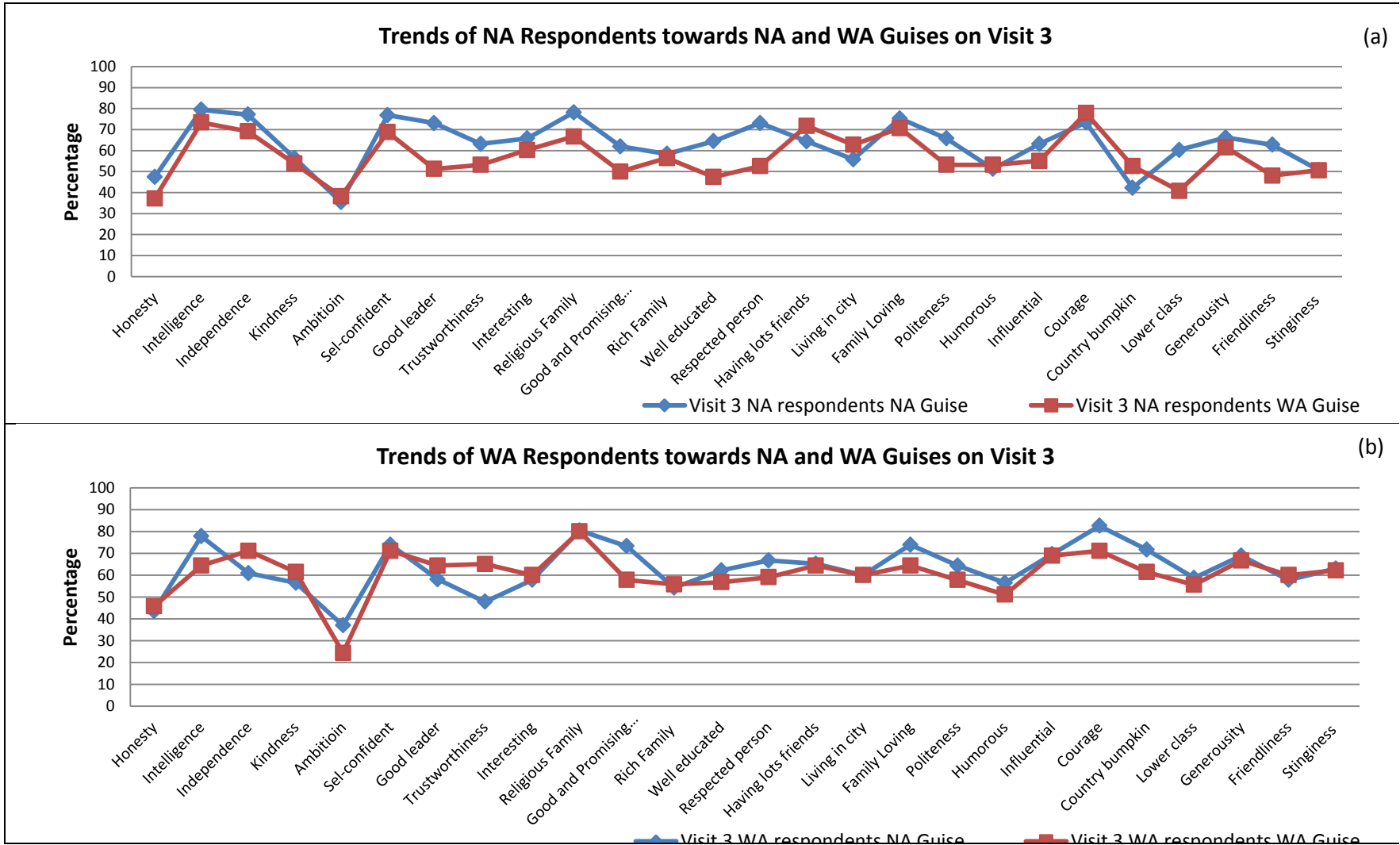


Figure 6.61: Response patterns (a) NA respondents for NA & WA guises and (b) WA respondents for NA & WA guises on Visit 3

We can undertake analysis of this data so as to determine whether any difference between NA and WA responses for any particular parameter are statistically significant. The group statistics and t-test results in the first visit, as can be seen in Table 6.8 below, show that there are some personality traits with significant differences ($p < 0.05$) and one trait with a very significant difference ($p < 0.01$). The positive numbers mean that the NA guise was significantly rated more favourably in personality traits of kindness and politeness, while the negative numbers for West Acehnese mean that that guise was rated significantly differently in regard to 'Intelligence' and 'Independence', and very significantly differently for the 'Ambitious' trait.

Table 6.8 : Group statistics and t-test results for the first visit test

	n	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Honesty	52	0.385	0.259	1.071	0.289
Intelligence	53	-0.085	0.290	-2.133	0.038*
Independence	53	-0.104	0.316	-2.394	0.020*
Kindness	53	0.104	0.345	2.192	0.033*
Ambition	53	-0.123	0.324	-2.757	0.008**
Self confidence	53	0.000	0.294	0.000	1.000
Good leader	53	-0.009	0.347	-0.198	0.844
Trustworthiness	53	-0.028	0.267	-0.772	0.444
Interesting	53	-0.066	0.340	-1.413	0.164
Religious family	53	-0.028	0.301	-0.685	0.497
Good and Promising future	53	0.028	0.346	0.596	0.554
Rich Family	53	0.000	0.340	0.000	1.000
Well educated	53	0.076	0.372	1.477	0.146
Respected person	53	-0.047	0.314	-1.093	0.279
Having lots friends	52	0.000	0.300	0.000	1.000
Living in city	53	-0.009	0.332	-0.207	0.837
Family Loving	53	0.057	0.320	1.287	0.204
Politeness	53	0.104	0.300	2.518	0.015*
Humorous	53	-0.057	0.362	-1.137	0.261
Influential	53	-0.047	0.314	-1.093	0.279
Courage	53	-0.066	0.311	-1.547	0.128
Country bumpkin	53	-0.009	0.360	-0.191	0.850
Lower class	53	0.057	0.320	1.287	0.204
Generosity	53	-0.009	0.318	-0.216	0.830
Friendliness	53	-0.009	0.302	-0.227	0.821
Stinginess	53	0.000	0.310	0.000	1.000

A t-test for the second visit, as can be seen in Table 6.9 below, identifies only four personality traits as showing significant differences ($p < 0.05$). The NA guise is still favourably regarded as polite, but the majority did not consider it as kind in this visit as in the previous test. Instead, the NA guise is now significantly associated with the generosity trait. The WA guise, on the other hand, is considered by majority as ambitious and courageous.

The t-test for the third visit test, as shown in Table 6.10 below, reveals that the significant differences ($p < 0.05$) are now inconsistent with those in the first and second visit tests. The NA guise in the third visit is rated highly favourable for the 'good future', 'well educated', and 'respect' traits. Meanwhile, the WA guise is rated highly significantly for the 'lower class' parameter.

Table 6.9 : Group statistics and t-test results for the second visit test

	n	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Honesty	128	0.016	0.338	0.524	0.601
Intelligence	128	-0.012	0.277	-0.479	0.633
Independence	129	-0.027	0.275	-1.122	0.264
Kindness	129	-0.027	0.333	-0.927	0.356
Ambition	124	-0.073	0.310	-2.604	0.010*
Self confidence	130	-0.027	0.244	-1.260	0.210
Good leader	129	-0.027	0.321	-0.961	0.338
Trustworthiness	127	0.024	0.356	0.749	0.455
Interesting	126	-0.044	0.303	-1.615	0.109
Religious family	130	0.008	0.278	0.315	0.753
Good and Promising future	128	-0.035	0.296	-1.346	0.181
Rich Family	128	-0.035	0.321	-1.329	0.218
Well educated	129	0.000	0.286	0.000	1.000
Respected person	128	-0.020	0.322	-0.685	0.494
Having lots friends	129	-0.027	0.275	-1.122	0.264
Living in city	128	-0.004	0.335	-0.132	0.895
Family Loving	129	-0.019	0.289	-0.761	0.448
Politeness	129	0.066	0.327	2.288	0.024*
Humorous	127	-0.028	0.347	-0.896	0.372
Influential	129	-0.027	0.302	-1.021	0.309
Courage	127	-0.059	0.257	-2.592	0.011*
Country bumpkin	128	-0.039	0.358	-1.233	0.220
Lower class	128	0.004	0.291	0.152	0.879
Generosity	128	0.055	0.296	2.091	0.039*
Friendliness	128	0.031	0.299	1.181	0.240
Stinginess	129	-0.019	0.309	-0.713	0.477

Table 6.10 : Group statistics and t-test results for the third visit test

	n	Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Honesty	124	0.020	0.334	0.673	0.502
Intelligence	123	0.037	0.295	1.377	0.171
Independence	124	0.004	0.296	0.152	0.880
Kindness	122	-0.008	0.321	-0.282	0.779
Ambition	122	-0.016	0.301	-0.601	0.549
Self confidence	122	0.025	0.286	0.948	0.345
Good leader	118	0.055	0.325	1.839	0.069
Trustworthiness	118	0.009	0.320	0.288	0.774
Interesting	121	0.017	0.273	0.665	0.507
Religious family	123	0.041	0.283	1.591	0.114
Good and Promising future	123	0.061	0.291	2.328	0.022*
Rich Family	120	0.008	0.330	0.276	0.783
Well educated	119	0.067	0.325	2.257	0.026*
Respected person	122	0.078	0.352	2.442	0.016*
Having lots friends	119	-0.025	0.275	-1.000	0.319
Living in city	123	-0.020	0.316	-0.713	0.477
Family Loving	120	0.042	0.294	1.552	0.123
Politeness	120	0.058	0.332	1.927	0.056
Humorous	122	0.000	0.295	0.000	1.000
Influential	121	0.029	0.298	1.068	0.288
Courage	123	0.008	0.286	0.315	0.753
Country bumpkin	121	0.012	0.332	0.411	0.682
Lower class	122	-0.062	0.292	-2.329	0.022*
Generosity	122	0.016	0.272	0.665	0.507
Friendliness	123	0.049	0.323	1.676	0.096
Stinginess	125	-0.004	0.321	-0.139	0.889

The visit to visit variation in assessment of each guise speaker suggests that the attitudes to each dialect are difficult to ascertain and explain adequately. Previous studies on language attitudes using the matched guise method (see, for example, Hiraga, 2005; Edwards, 1977; Giles, 1973; Lambert et al., 1960) have shown that guise speakers with standard language variety backgrounds were rated more favourably on competence and status (e.g. intelligence, well-educated, good future, influential, etc.); whereas non-standard language variety guises were rated more favourably on personal values and social attributes (e.g. friendliness, honesty, kindness, humorous, generosity, etc.). However, the results in this study do not clearly show a similar trend, as the differences in evaluations of the personality traits associated with the two guises are too weak to draw any conclusion that either guise is consistently favoured for any particular personality trait.

6.5.2 Place of origin of respondents

The distribution of respondents based on place of origin can be seen in Figure 6.62 below. Figure 6.62 shows that there is an unbalanced distribution with respect to place of origin; this is due to the fact that it was much easier to find respondents from a North Acehese background¹⁰ in higher education institutions in Banda Aceh, where I conducted my research. The majority of the population of these universities comes from the eastern part of Aceh. However, the place of origin imbalance does not influence the analysis of test results, because I use average or mean scores for comparison.

¹⁰ Though on the first visit it so happened that not so many North Acehese students were in the class who served as participants in the study.

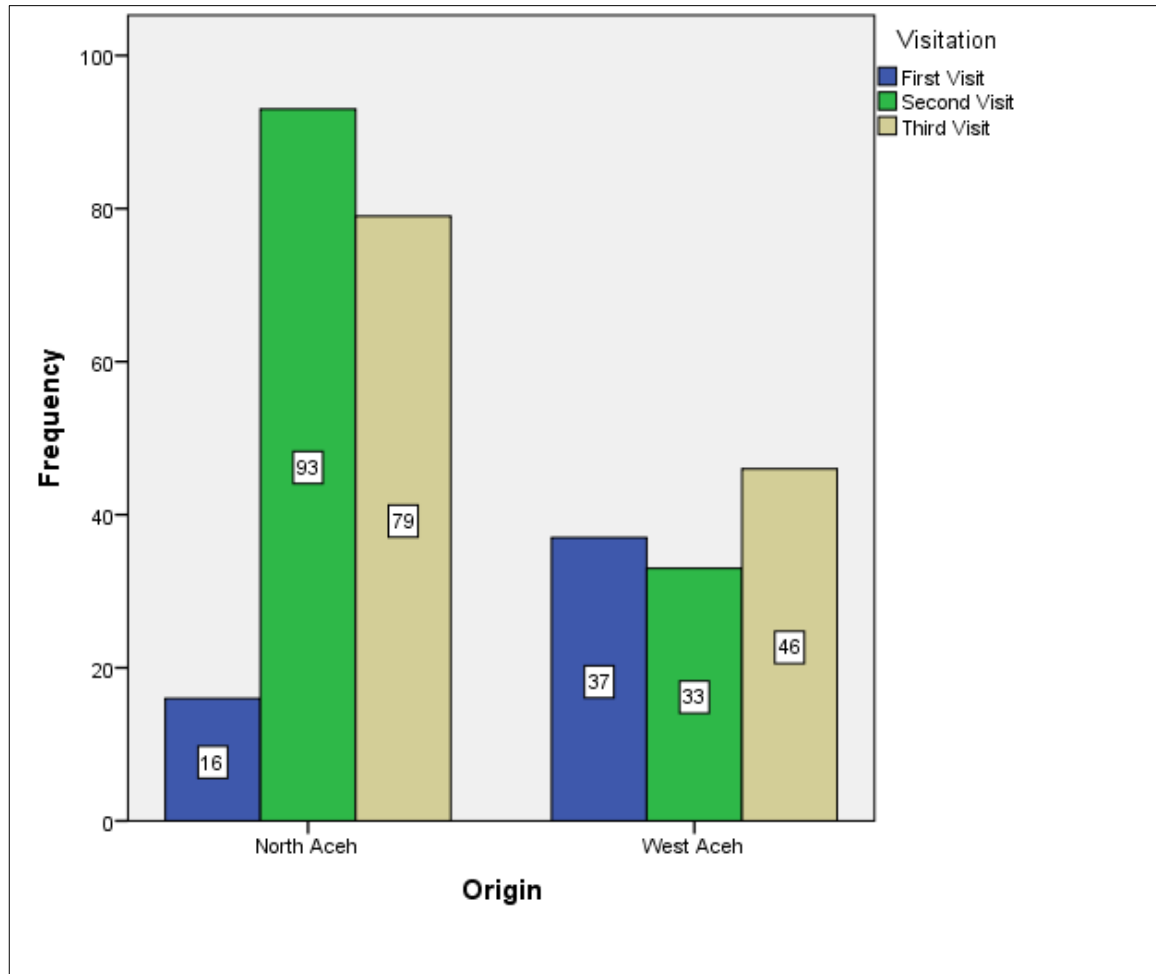


Figure 6.62: Respondent distribution based on place of origin

As we have discussed earlier, the West Acehnese dialect is stigmatised, and its speakers are subject to mocking by North Acehnese speakers. It was expected therefore that in the matched guise test North Acehnese speakers would produce significantly less favourable evaluations of the WA guise than of the NA guise, at least for those parameters which are highly salient in respect of manifesting superior social status, such as intelligence, level of education, rich family background, influential, or highly salient in respect of representing lower status, such as being a country bumpkin, honesty, generosity, and impoliteness (see 6.5.1 above). Equally, given that West Acehnese

speakers typically appear to share the view of North Acehese as the refined, standard dialect, and given their observed wholesale accommodation to the dialect socially, one might expect the West Acehese respondents to largely exhibit the same evaluation trends as the North Acehese, and to provide assessments of the two guises that differ significantly in key parameters.

However, of the 26 factors rated in the matched guise test questionnaire, only two show, across the three visits, statistically significant differences based on place-of-origin. These occur only for the NA guise, for the 'Religious Family' trait in the first visit, and for the 'Country Bumpkin' trait in the third visit test, as shown in Table 6.11 below. In the first visit North Acehese speakers rated the NA guise significantly higher for 'Coming from a Religious Family'. In the third visit, the West Acehese speakers rated the NA guise significantly higher for 'Being a Country Bumpkin' (see the discussion in 6.4.3.2.c).

Interestingly, the WA guise with any significantly lower or negative ratings, contradicting the key expectations.

Table 6.11 : Group statistics and t-test results for the first visit test based on repondents' place of origin

	Guises	NA Origin Mean	Std. Deviation	WA Origin Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Religious family Visit 1	NA	0.50	0.516	0.19	0.397	2.385	0.021*
	WA	0.13	0.342	0.27	0.450	-1.153	0.254
Country bumpkin Visit 3	NA	0.42	0.497	0.72	0.455	-3.283	0.001**
	WA	0.53	0.503	0.61	0.493	-0.924	0.357

6.5.3 Gender

More female than male respondents were recruited as assessors for the matched guise testing. Figure 6.63 below gives the gender distribution figures. The test results used in data analysis are based on mean scores of each gender; thus the imbalance in male and female numbers does not bias the results.

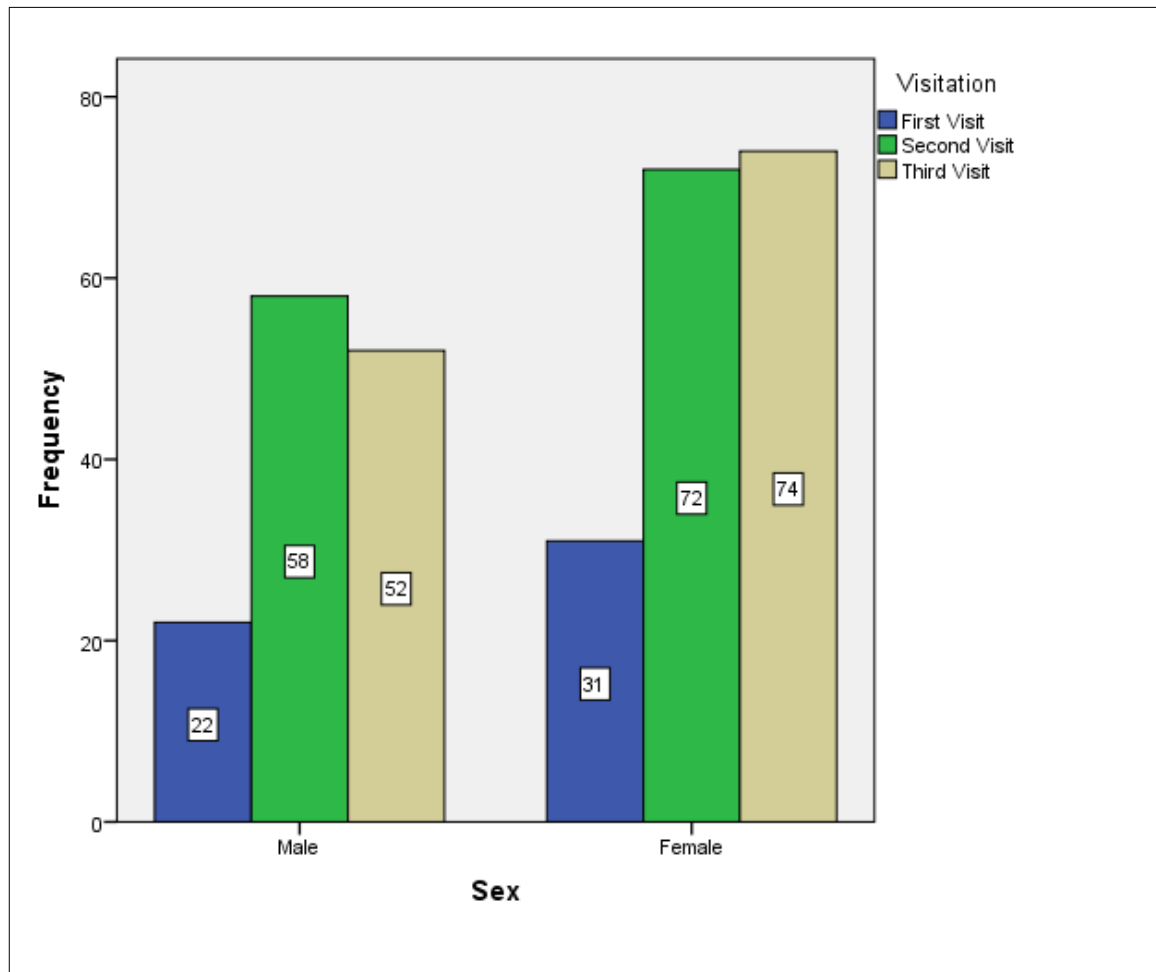


Figure 6.63: Respondent distribution based on gender

The analysis of the results provides no strong evidence to suggest any important gender-based difference in attitudes towards the dialects and their speakers. There are some statistically significant results for some personality traits, but these are spread over three different visit tests and on dissimilar parameters (see Table 6.12 below). In the first visit female respondents judged the WA guise as significantly higher for 'Self-Confident' and 'Having a Good and Promising Future'. Meanwhile, male respondents evaluated the NA guise significantly more highly in the first and the third visit tests as 'Well Educated'. During the second visit test, male respondents considered the WA guise as significantly more 'Honest' and the NA guise as significantly more of 'a Respected Person'. Furthermore, for the 'Family Loving' trait in the second visit test, male respondents rated the NA guise more favourably, whilst the WA guise received higher evaluations from female respondents.

Table 6.12 : Group statistics and t-test results based on gender

	Guises	Male Mean	Std. Deviation	Female Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Self-confidence Visit 1	NA	0.23	0.429	0.19	0.402	0.293	0.771
	WA	0.05	0.213	0.32	0.475	-2.554	0.014*
Good and Promising future Visit 1	NA	0.36	0.492	0.32	0.475	0.305	0.761
	WA	0.23	0.429	0.52	0.508	-2.172	0.035*
Well educated Visit 1	NA	0.59	0.503	0.29	0.461	2.251	0.029*
	WA	0.45	0.510	0.65	0.486	-1.378	0.174
Honesty Visit 2	NA	0.42	0.498	0.34	0.476	0.960	0.339
	WA	0.52	0.504	0.31	0.464	2.488	0.014*
Respected person Visit 2	NA	0.47	0.503	0.27	0.446	2.367	0.019*
	WA	0.32	0.469	0.32	0.470	-0.044	0.965
Family Loving Visit 2	NA	0.36	0.485	0.15	0.362	2.816	0.006**
	WA	0.12	0.331	0.26	0.444	-1.999	0.048*
Well educated Visit 3	NA	0.47	0.504	0.28	0.453	2.167	0.032*
	WA	0.46	0.503	0.52	0.503	-0.651	0.516

That is, the evaluation results from the three visit tests indicates that male respondents rated North Acehese guises more favourably regarding the traits of 'Well Educated', 'Family Loving', and 'Respected Person' and they rated the West Acehese guise higher in the 'Honesty' trait. Female respondents, on the other hand, rated the West Acehese guise more favourably in regard to the 'Self-Confidence', 'Good Future', and 'Family Loving' parameters.

Although female participants tend to react more favourably towards certain parameters, in general there is not enough evidence to suggest that the unequally proportioned gender of respondents affects the validity of the matched guise test results in this study. However, further research, utilising test instruments more specifically designed to drill down into possible gender differences in language/dialect attitudes, could be undertaken on this issue.

6.6 Summary

It has been shown that the North Acehese dialect, besides being prestigious, compared with the three other main dialects of the province of Aceh, is also accepted as a role model for the Acehese language. Because the North Aceh dialect is regarded as a normal and standard variety of Acehese, the speakers of the stigmatised West Aceh dialect accommodate their language style when communicating with mainstream dialect speakers. This shifting is the result of linguistic and non-linguistic factors. However, it was found that the code-switching practised by West Acehese speakers was only practised in the presence of mixed audiences where North Acehese and West Acehese speakers were present.

Regarding the attitudes of speakers of Acehnese towards certain dialects based on the results of observations and interviews, people from all backgrounds and regions said that the West Aceh dialect was ‘funny’, ‘rough’, ‘impolite’, and ‘confusing’. In addition, they said that West Acehnese is not ‘standard’. However, from the results of the matched guise test, the Acehnese people do not perceive speakers of the West Acehnese dialect as negatively as they do the language style, as there is no marked difference detected in attitudes towards the two guises.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSION, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusion

This study has investigated a stigmatised variety of Acehese spoken in West Aceh, Indonesia. By comparing this dialect with the North Aceh dialect, which has been studied and documented comprehensively by a number of linguists, several findings have emerged. To North Acehese speakers, there are some distinguishing features of the West Aceh dialect which are salient and others less so, to the point that people may not even notice the differences. The features which are most salient in the minds of speakers of Acehese include the realisation of the rhotic [r] as a uvular fricative [ʁ], different lexical items, and the usage and function of the pronoun *droeneuh* 'you'. In addition, differences in usage of kinship terms, differences in lexical semantics, the intonation pattern of question sentences, and unique phrases and expressions are also most salient.

The features mentioned above may provoke different types of attitudes from North Acehese speakers. In other words, different attitudes are associated with different linguistic features. Attitudes and reactions towards the speakers of the stigmatised West Acehese dialect trigger a range of observable behaviours. Each of these differences between the dialects have different implications. Certain features characterise West Acehese speakers as 'rude' and 'impolite'. Others features (e.g. uvular [ʁ]) are regarded by some as a speech impediment and not thought of as being inherently rude or impolite, but they are sources of confusion, amusement, ridicule, etc.

While a range of differences between the two dialects can be identified within the linguistic subsystems (e.g. lexical items, semantic differences, phonetic variants, intonation and idiomatic expressions), only a small number are sociolinguistically salient with regard to being identified consistently by speakers as representative of the different forms of the two dialects. Of these identified differences, a few lexical items, phonological differences and some expressions are singled out for special treatment because they trigger ridicule or other negative attitudes. Even though morphology and syntax play important roles in dialect distinctions in numerous other languages, in this study these linguistic aspects do not contribute to the perception of dialect differentiation between North and West Acehese.

The realisation of the rhotic as a uvular fricative [ʁ] in West Acehese has sparked the negative judgement of West Acehese speakers by North Acehese. It is one of the first signals that shows speakers of the mainstream dialect that a person is from West Aceh or Greater Aceh. This feature is presumed to be the marker of a speaker's dialect background identity.

The use of the uvular fricative [ʁ] in the West Acehese dialect is a noticeable characteristic of this language variety that corresponds to the alveolar trill [r] in North Aceh. This is similar to the variation of English, where /r/ is realised differently across regions, specifically in postvocalic position, for example, /r/ in *arm* in Scottish English is pronounced [r], in the north of England it is [ʁ], and in Lancashire and Kent it is [ɹ] (Francis, 1983, pp. 32-34). Like the English situation, in the two Acehese dialects in this study, the rhotic allophony is a completely regular and invariant feature, occurring in all relevant phonological environments. The uvular fricative in West Acehese is similar to that of

Parisian French with regard to its pronunciation; however, the social function and acceptance of such rhoticity in Aceh is different. Beginning in Paris, France (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004, p. 170), and spreading to other European countries, the uvular fricative [ʁ] has been considered prestigious. In Aceh, however, people who use it are stigmatised. They are easily recognised as a member of a minority Acehnese dialect. They are regarded as ‘deficient’ people as a result of their perceived inability to produce the ‘prestigious’ alveolar trill, despite the fact that they produce this very same trill when they speak Bahasa Indonesia.

There are two main reasons why Acehnese people who speak the mainstream dialect regard the uvular [ʁ] as ‘unacceptable.’ Firstly, Bahasa Indonesia is the official and dominant language used in formal and informal occasions. Almost everyone knows this national language, except for some older people. Bahasa Indonesia has /r/ as a clear alveolar trill [r], and there is no uvular [ʁ]. The North Acehnese people then assume that everyone should therefore pronounce /r/ ‘correctly’, as it is done in the Indonesian language. This is one of the claims North Acehnese people generally make when they ridicule speakers of the West Aceh dialect regarding the uvular fricative [ʁ].

The second reason that the West Aceh uvular [ʁ] is regarded as inferior is based on the fact that people who are unable to produce certain sounds correctly are considered ‘disabled.’ In Bahasa Indonesia, it is termed *cadel*, which means someone who cannot pronounce a certain sound in the language. When children are still learning to say some sounds correctly or when adult people lose the ability to produce a certain sound, they are referred to as *cadel*. The most common problem with the *cadel* people across Indonesia is that they are unable to produce the alveolar trill [r]. The West Acehnese uvular [ʁ] is ridiculed as it is

similar to the language of *cadel* people who are unable to produce [r] correctly. Therefore, this dialect is regarded by the North Acehese speakers as the variety of Acehese which does not use the ‘correct’ and ‘standard’ sound system and is regarded as a ‘childish’ dialect form. Because of the perceived ‘deficiency’, West Acehese speakers are usually said to be *tidak berpendidikan* ‘uneducated’ and are seen as *kampungan* ‘country bumpkins’. However, this assessment does not mean the West Acehese speakers are necessarily regarded *kasar* ‘rude, rough, crude’ and *tidak sopan* ‘impolite’ by speakers of the North Aceh dialect on the basis of this feature.

Loanwords from Bahasa Indonesia are treated differently in North Acehese and West Acehese, especially loanwords that end with /-as/. In North Acehese the segment /-as/ is replaced with /-aih/, while in West Acehese it is simply substituted with /-ah/ (see 4.3.6). This suggests that North Acehese has undergone diphthongisation.

Diphthongisation generally occurs in languages when vowel monophthongs become diphthongs as a result of sound change “due to a shift in articulation or to phonological or phonotactic pressures” (Bussmann, 1998, p. 316). For example, the monophthong [i] became [ai] in the Great Vowel Shift and [e] became [ɛi] in some dialects spoken in the south of USA (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998). Diphthongisation in North Acehese only happens in loanwords from Bahasa Indonesia. The diphthong [ai] of North Acehese under this category corresponds to the monophthong [a] in West Acehese. The different treatment of loanwords from Bahasa Indonesia in these dialects does not produce confused meanings and does not invite any particular attitude either towards the speakers or the dialects.

It is also found that Acehnese substitutes vowel monophthongs in loanwords from Bahasa Indonesia. The substitution of /u/ for /ə/ and other vowels in Indonesian loanwords (as discussed in 4.3.3) demonstrates that the occurrence of /u/ is more common than /ə/. This makes /u/ behave like a neutral, unmarked vowel. This accounts for its prevalence in loanwords. The use of /u/, which is high, tense, and unrounded, is a marked vowel and unusual amongst the world's languages because /ə/ usually takes this position. Andy Butcher (personal communication, December 10, 2012) states others have claimed that unmarked vowels (such as in epenthesis) always lack all features in the underlying representation. Therefore, when the prosodic requirements of the language force the insertion of a vowel, it inserts an 'empty' V slot which surfaces as [ə]. However, Butcher suggests this does not always happen because there are languages using /a/ as the unmarked vowel, including Mandarin. Butcher claims that a number of languages have /e/, as the epenthetic vowel, including Modern Hebrew, Basque, Sekani, Mohawk, Galician, Sawai, Gengbe and, arguably, French and Spanish. Brazilian Portuguese and Tunisian Arabic have /i/. It is, however, unusual for /u/ to be the unmarked vowel, but it could be argued that this is the case in Japanese, especially when it comes to the re-phonologising of loanwords.

Moreover, the substitution of a non-Indonesian vowel in Indonesian loanwords may be an act of Acehnese identity in order to make these words sound Acehnese, that is, non-Indonesian. This is similar to the borrowing of English words into Aboriginal languages that have medial r-sounds and substituting a rolled r for the English glide r, even though the language has both rolled and glide r-sounds.

There are some distinguishing features of West Acehnese which largely go unnoticed and do not provoke any reaction from North Acehnese speakers. For example, in West Acehnese the low-mid back vowel /o/ phoneme is realised as a mid-high back unrounded vowel [ɤ] when it is followed by voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ at word final, where in North Acehnese it remains /o/. As argued in section 1.5, the Acehnese language was first spoken in Greater Aceh. The realisation of /o/ as [ɤ] before the plosive /t/ appears to be the West Acehnese dialect innovation, with the original realisation still preserved in North Acehnese and Greater Acehnese dialects. The historical scenario outlined in section 1.5 was supported when I tried to confirm with speakers of the Greater Aceh dialect. I asked some people from the Greater Aceh dialect background to provide examples of words with the condition mentioned above. They produced them the same way as speakers of the North Aceh dialect. This suggests that the North Aceh dialect has maintained the form, which is rooted in Greater Acehnese.

The absence or presence of the second element [h] in consonant clusters [rh] and [gh] as differentiating feature between West Acehnese and North Acehnese is not easily noticed by speakers of these two dialects. Similar to the case of the realisation of [ɤ] as mentioned above, the absence of consonant clusters [rh] and [gh] in the West Aceh dialect does not invite any reaction from North Acehnese speakers.

Some lexical semantic distinctions are basis of the main negative judgement made about West Acehnese speakers by North Acehnese people that they are *kasar* ‘rude, rough, crude’ *tidak berpendidikan tinggi* ‘unintellectual’ and *tidak sopan* ‘impolite’. For instance, *ipôk* ‘pocket’ and *boh kréh* ‘candlenut’ which are commonly used in West Aceh are offensive in the North Aceh dialect, because

they mean ‘vaginal fluid’ and ‘testis’ respectively. Awareness of the meaning of these items in the North Aceh dialect has, therefore, strongly motivated the speakers of West Aceh dialect to substitute them with the North Aceh or Bahasa Indonesia equivalents, when they communicate with North Aceh.

In addition, the different usage of some pronouns in West Aceh has proved to be one of the most prominent distinguishing factors. West Aceh speakers’ lack of the respectful pronoun form *droeneuh* ‘you’ is interpreted by North Aceh dialect speakers as *kasar* ‘rude’, *tidak berpendidikan* ‘uneducated’ and *tidak sopan* ‘impolite’. This is one of the important distinctions that can shape the opinion and judgment of North Aceh towards West Aceh. The pronoun *droeneuh* ‘you’ which in North Aceh serves as the marker of politeness, is not generally used in West Aceh. It is rarely used in West Aceh, but when the speakers of this dialect do use it, it serves to ridicule other people. The use of *droeneuh* in North Aceh dialect is regarded as normal and polite. Mühlhäusler & Harré (1990, pp. 122-123) regard the ‘normal use of pronouns’ as follows:

Each culture has a normal usage, associated with proper personhood and with sufficient social competence on the part of the social actor to ensure a relatively trouble-free management of displays of deference, condescension and solidarity appropriate to one’s feeling.

The evaluation given by speakers of the North Aceh dialect background towards speakers of West Aceh, which does not use such a *halus* ‘refined’ pronoun, as *kasar* ‘rude’ is derived from negative beliefs and stereotypes. Speakers of West Aceh accept the fact that the ‘standard’ use of certain pronouns in dialect-contact situations follows the pattern of North Aceh. Because West Aceh people are subjected to ridicule, they accommodate to North Aceh

norms by modifying the use of the pronoun. This phenomenon has to be carefully considered by West Acehese speakers, even though they believe that it goes against the ‘standard’ use of such pronouns in their original dialect. The function and form of the pronoun *droeneuh* stands out and marks a clear distinction between the North Aceh and West Aceh dialects. It was found that this pronoun is regarded as polite in one dialect (North Acehese) but it is completely unacceptable in the other (West Acehese). It is also found that this pronoun can lead to a serious misunderstanding and/or hurt feelings for speakers of one dialect (West Acehese), but it is regarded as normal usage for speakers of the other dialect (North Acehese).

Besides these salient features of the dialect stigmatisation of West Acehese perceived by North Acehese speakers, there are some less salient features which provoke comment towards West Acehese speakers. One is the intonation pattern; especially in yes/no question sentences, and, more specifically, when the word order of such sentences is in the Predicate-Subject form. The patterns of intonation resulting from yes/no questions in West Acehese are perceived by North Acehese speakers as ‘funny’ (which is usually expressed as ‘melodic’) and ‘irregular’ in comparison with the North Aceh intonation (see 4.3.7). This intonation characteristic has become a marker of the identity of the speakers of West Aceh dialect. The speakers of North Acehese like to make fun of the West Acehese because of this ‘funny’ and ‘irregular’ intonation. They like to jokingly imitate the intonation patterns and laugh at their West Acehese friends, though West Acehese never react in any way towards North Acehese intonation. They usually regard North Acehese intonation as completely normal and ‘nice sounding’.

The West Aceh dialect has intonation patterns which are distinctive from those of North Aceh dialect, especially in interrogative sentences. These distinctive intonation characteristics of West Acehnese, I would suggest, have been influenced by a language with which it shares linguistic boundaries in the region: the *Jamee* language of Malay origin.

Asyik (1987, p. 7), when referring to the West Aceh dialect claims that “most speakers here are bilingual, speaking both Acehnese and the language of Aneuk Jamee (Basa Aneuk Jamee)”. However, in my observation, I did not find any evidence of extensive bilingualism. As a native speaker of West Acehnese, I also observe that not many West Acehnese people can speak the *Jamee* language. The Acehnese who live in the villages or around the villages where most *Jamee* people live might be able to communicate in *Jamee*, but it takes place only in some areas near Meulaboh, the capital of the West Aceh district. The influence of *Jamee* language in West Acehnese dialect occurs only in a few lexical items and some intonation patterns of yes/no question sentences as discussed above.

Unique phrases and expressions have also been found to be markers of West Acehnese, which can provoke comment from North Acehnese speakers. The identity of speakers of the West Aceh dialect, for example, can be revealed immediately when people listen to the expressions they use, such as *nyan* ‘o-‘o [ɲãn ʔɔ-ʔɔ] or *aleh paki-paki* [alɛh paki-paki], as discussed in section 5.8. These expressions are markers of distinctive West Acehnese identity that provoke North Acehnese teasing and ridicule. North Acehnese speakers use these phrases for West Acehnese speakers’ nicknames and they repeat these phrases and expressions in front of West Acehnese to mock them. It needs to be mentioned, however, that the ridiculing, funny, and imitating actions expressed by North

Acehnese towards their counterparts usually occurs among close friends of the same age.

Another feature in West Acehnese that provokes comment from North Acehnese speakers is the absence of the diphthong with the second element [ə] in the West Aceh dialect. The ‘centring diphthongs’ are missing in the West Aceh dialect. As a result, many words become homonyms, but the North Aceh dialect still treats them as two separate words, such as *bu* [bu] ‘steamed rice’ and *bue* [buə] ‘monkey’. The West Aceh dialect has only one word to refer to these two things, which is *bu* [bu]. Because of such homonyms, the North Acehnese speakers usually like to tease the West Acehnese speakers by commenting, for example, that West Acehnese should pronounce the word correctly, otherwise they cannot differentiate between eating rice and eating monkeys.

Other distinctive lexical items in West Acehnese do not provoke negative judgement by North Acehnese toward the dialect and its speakers. As it occurs in many different dialect studies, there are lexical items which are absent in one dialect, but present in another, and vice versa. In this study, the words *pop* ‘jerry can,’ *tok* ‘mouse trap,’ and *boh limo* ‘oranges’ are generally used in the North Aceh dialect, but *jeurigen*, *peutah tikôh* and *boh jruk* are used in the West Aceh dialect. These phenomena may create confusion and misunderstanding between different dialect speakers, but they do not invite ridicule or negative attitudes.

The attitudes perceived by North Acehnese speakers toward the stigmatised West Acehnese dialect have transferred to some extent to their reactions against its speakers. Cargile et al. (1994, p. 221), in describing the attitudes which underpin cognition, affect, and behaviour, note that judgment towards the personality of the speakers and their speech group as well as their group attributions can be

cognitively inferred by an interlocutor from the language they use. Green (2002, p. 226) also notes “in no uncertain terms, speakers are evaluated by the language they use”. Wardhaugh (2006, p. 53) argues that people mostly believe in issues regarding a language, and they usually make judgements that there are certain languages which lack grammar, one language is more logical than another, primitive languages exist, etc. No doubt through some specific linguistic features, such as their presence or absence, a speaker can be identified by place of origin, social class, profession, and so on (Wardhaugh, 2006, p. 53). Furthermore, Korth (2005, p. 25) suggests that “language attitudes and thoughts and feelings towards a specific language and their speakers are also closely connected to stereotypes about speakers of this language.” In her study of language attitudes between Russian and Kyrgyz in Kyrgyzstan, Korth (2005) found that Kyrgyz people regard the Russian language and its speakers as superior; meanwhile the Kyrgyz are regarded as inferior and unfavourable, thus reflecting the relative status of the two peoples.

North Acehnese speakers regard the West Acehnese dialect as unpleasant and *kasar* ‘rough’. Such attitudes derive from the fact that people try to judge the language based on their feelings when they hear a language variety, regardless of the language and its speakers and whether it is familiar or not (Cargile et al., 1994, p. 222). The judgment towards speakers based on the use of a language or language variety can hardly be separated, even though it is sometimes misleading. Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 110) notes that a perceived attitude is *socially diagnostic*, meaning that interlocutors use some features of a language to associate its speakers with certain social groups or sets of activities. Therefore, if speakers come from an uneducated, immigrant community and the language they

use is not an official language, such as Turkish in Western Europe, speakers of such a language or language variety are then viewed unfavourably by community members, even though in fact they are educated and professional people (Myers-Scotton, 2006, p. 110). Myers-Scotton (2006, p. 110) suggests that “attitudinal research often shows how the valuations of the language of a group affect judgments of individuals in seeming unrelated ways (e.g. judgments of intelligence or trustworthiness)”.

Even though West Acehnese speakers are considered, for example, *kasar* ‘rude’, they are still well accepted in the North Aceh community. It would appear there is little relationship between the cognitive and affective components of language attitudes with the behaviour of speakers. Cargile et al. (1994, p. 222) state that based on the results of many studies, this indicates the weakness of the link between someone’s attitudes about an object and influence towards their behaviour. In other words, the negative attitudes perceived by a group of people towards certain ethnicity, language, culture, etc., are not necessarily shown in direct unfavourable reactions to the people of those ethnic, linguistic and cultural backgrounds.

The lack of connection between the attitudes perceived by a group of people and their behaviour towards certain language speakers is found in this study. There are no indications that a minus value associated with West Acehnese ways of speaking by North Acehnese implies that West Acehnese *people* are considered inferior in any significant way. The focus of the stigmatisation is on the ‘roughness’ and perceived aberrant features of the West Acehnese dialect, its distinctive sounds and semantics, not on the personality traits of West Acehnese people. In other words, simply put, it is about how you speak rather than who

you are. And if West Acehnese speakers change some of their dialect features and substitute the corresponding North Acehnese forms, they are accepted well in the community as there is no difference in terms of food, clothing, appearance among the speakers of these two dialects. The dialect features which are *kasar* ‘rough’ from North Acehnese speakers’ perspective, the West Acehnese speakers are not associated as bad people morally.

7.1.1 Attitudes of West Acehnese toward North Acehnese

The stigmatisation of the West Acehnese has motivated the speakers of this dialect to shift their language style to accommodate the North Aceh dialect when they come to visit, stay, or live in non-West Acehnese regions. It has been found in this study, on the basis of interviews and observations, that there are several reasons why the speakers of West Aceh defer to the North Aceh dialect in such situations. Firstly, they want to gain the acceptance and respect from the local community, so that they feel comfortable in social interactions. Secondly, they try not to be regarded as outsiders by non-West Acehnese people. Thirdly, they avoid misunderstandings that may happen as a result of the perceived strangeness and irregularity of their language variety, either in terms of differences in the phonological system or lexical items. Finally, they want to be free from being mocked and ridiculed by people who speak the North Aceh dialect, as mentioned earlier.

The occurrence of the lexical and semantic variations, as discussed above, has sometimes resulted in a conversation interruption across dialect speakers. For example, North Acehnese speakers sometimes feel that they do not understand what West Acehnese speakers say, or mean, by certain words and expressions.

They still think that the stigmatised dialect speakers utter words or phrases differently and sometimes sound ‘funny.’

In order to avoid being the ‘victim’ of ridicule and to minimise the possibility of a disrupted conversation with North Acehese, it is observed that West Acehese use some systematic strategies. They sometimes code-switch into Bahasa Indonesia that serves as a neutral code, as it is the national and official language. They may also try to avoid or disguise salient West Acehese features. In other cases, these speakers also shift their language style into the North Aceh dialect. In this event, they usually accommodate their dialect with all codes of the North Aceh dialect. By doing so, they are able to manipulate their way of talking, so that interlocutors may not detect the foreignness of their speech. The long-term implications of such accommodation practice may lead to a language shift, so that speakers of the West Aceh dialect gradually start to use North Acehese and leave their original dialect behind. As a result, the West Acehese dialect may disappear altogether.

By adopting the North Aceh dialect in this way, West Acehese speakers have modified their communication based on the perceived norms and values of the overall speech community. This pattern of communication is referred to in the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) strategies, developed in the 1970s by Giles et al. (see Giles, (1973a); Giles et al. (1991)) as solidarity and affiliation of speakers converging towards other groups (Williams, 1999, p. 152). Williams (1999, p. 152) also argues that when people try to make their speech and communication styles identical to their interlocutors’ pattern, they are converging their communication in order to engender co-operative interpersonal and favourable responses.

The findings in this study show that West Acehese speakers have modified their communication patterns to accommodate the speech of North Acehese speakers. This accommodation has enhanced our understanding of the ‘survival’ methods employed by speakers of a stigmatised dialect that manipulate features of their language style. Therefore, the current findings add substantially to our understanding of the ways in which linguistic and sociolinguistic differences in the varieties of Acehese spoken in North Aceh and West Aceh are handled by speakers.

7.1.2 Matched guise test

The attitudes expressed by speakers of North Acehese towards West Acehese dialect and its speakers are not in line with the results of the matched guise test findings in this study. These results do not conform to Szecsy’s (2008, p. 47) argument that there is a correlation between the attitudes of people towards a language and their attitudes toward the speakers of that language. From the 26 personality traits of the guise speakers judged by the respondents of Acehese, the majority of the results fail to confirm the results of observations and the individual interview.

In the interviews, the Acehese people often criticised the West Aceh dialect and perceived its speakers as *kasar* ‘crude, rude’ and *tidak sopan* ‘impolite’. Such attitudes were expressed by the Acehese, regardless of their place of origin or background (including West Acehese themselves), towards the language style of West Acehese. The majority claimed and believed that West Acehese is non-standard, rough, funny, irregular and impolite. These attitudes are held

strongly and with conviction. Many people are forthright in expressing these views.

In addition, during the observations it was observed that North Acehese speakers also showed disapproving looks and negative reactions towards West Acehese speakers. In the matched guise test, however, they mostly passed judgment on the West Acehese people as positive and favourable. They did not judge the personal characteristics of the West Acehese speakers as negative and if they did, not with the same level of conviction. Many people simply do not judge them negatively.

The results of the matched guise test in this study suggest that the attitudes expressed by the respondents towards the West Acehese guise seem to be contradictory. The responses towards the West Acehese guise on some personality traits such as politeness and ambition were expected to be less favourable than those of the North Aceh guise, as should be the case for stigmatised variety speakers. The trends of the test results for such personal qualities seemed to confirm the initial expectations. However, the majority of parameters were positively rated by most respondents with regards to the West Aceh guise (e.g. intelligence, living in city, influential). This guise was not markedly associated with nor significantly different to the North Aceh guise on the 'country bumpkin' trait, which was one of the obvious judgements and was openly spoken of when North Acehese people talked about West Acehese. The results ran contrary to expectations for stigmatised variety speakers. Similarly, for the North Acehese guise, they were not judged as highly on the 'trustworthy' and 'independent' traits, for example, contrary to the expectations

for a prestige variety of Acehnese. North Acehnese guises were not judged to be more intelligent than the West Acehnese guise.

The unexpected results from the matched guise test may be confusing, because it seems that there is a disconnection between the attitudes toward language or linguistic features and the attitudes toward people. These attitudes expressed towards the guise speakers contrast with the opinions and judgment towards the West Acehnese dialect expressed during interview and observed during fieldwork. When respondents expressed their attitudes in real and spontaneous ways, they negatively regarded the West Acehnese speakers as *cahel* (having a speech impediment). But having a speech impediment was not included as a personality trait in the questionnaire of the matched guise test. The test did not measure such physical judgements. However, as discussed earlier in this Chapter, having a speech impediment is associated with a lack of education and such speakers are seen as country bumpkins.

These judgements perceived by the North Acehnese speakers towards the West Acehnese as *kasar* 'crude/rude', *lucu* 'sounding funny', and *tidak sopan* 'impolite' however, do not flow on significantly, for *tidak cerdas* 'unintellectual', *tidak berpendidikan* 'uneducated', and *kampung* 'country bumpkin' in results from the matched guise test. Therefore, these unexpected results would suggest that the Acehnese may be unable to express their genuine attitudes through the matched guise test instrument, as discussed below.

Overall results of the matched guise tests showed that the North Acehnese guise was more highly rated by male respondents in the factors of 'well-educated', 'family loving', and 'respect'. It indicates that male Acehnese people regard the speakers of the North Aceh dialect as having good access to education. On the

other hand, female respondents ranked the West Acehese guises favourably for 'self-confidence', 'good future', and 'family loving' variables. It was surprising that most female respondents felt more favourable towards the West Acehese guise in the 'family loving' personality attribute. This may suggest that irrespective to the stigmatisation of West Acehese guises, they were still highly valued by Acehese females as persons who love their family, have a good future, and show confidence. Looking at the West Acehese guises who were ranked more favourably by male respondents to be more honest, it may indicate that respondents believed that the speakers from rural (e.g. West Aceh) areas still maintain a sense of honesty.

In general, however, based on the average outcomes throughout the three visit tests, most of the results of the matched guise test did not show any significant attitude differences towards the personality traits and attributes of the North Acehese and West Acehese guises. The results have shown that both of the guises were valued similarly in all evaluations in the test. For example, the guises from both dialect backgrounds were honest, kind, trustworthy, and religious. The results of the test did not show that respondents' attitudes significantly confirmed the data from the interviews and observations.

The findings in the matched guise testing in this study were not as expected. The responses from the test do not support the notion that certain personality traits are strongly associated with speakers of a stigmatised dialect while other values are supposed to be attributed to the standard dialect. As a result, the use of such methods may need to be explored further in future research. El-dash & Tucker (1975) successfully conducted a study on language attitudes in Egypt towards Classical Arabic, Colloquial Arabic, Egyptian English, British English and

American English by using the matched guise technique, which were paralleled with other tests conducted in different contexts. In the Asian context, McKenzie (2008) used this approach in looking at the attitudes of Japanese students in Japan toward Englishes without encountering any unexpected results.

The matched guise test used in this study followed the same steps used by others. The administrations of the tests were also very well controlled. Even the third test, (as explained in more detail in Chapter 3), was conducted in a way so that the guise speaker was changed and the respondents were completely unaware of the previous studies. The results of this test, however, mostly confirmed the previous two tests. It suggests that there had been no crucial issues regarding the methodology of the test administration. It also strongly indicated that even though the test was carried out several times, the outcomes were similar. I would, therefore, suggest that the matched guise test may be unsuited to the study of attitudes to language in the Acehnese context because of some considerations, such as the combination and the inter-related issues of Islamic values and Asian culture. Firstly, evaluating cognate language varieties within a community of Acehnese who hold strong Islamic values may contribute to the interference of the test results (see below). Secondly, Asian culture may also add to the contradictory results.

Different from the Acehnese context, the investigations of El-dash & Tucker (1975) and McKenzie (2008), conducted in Islamic and Asian cultures respectively, were straightforward. They did not seem to have any issues with the results of their studies. This can suggest that they investigated languages where all people had been very aware of the different roles that those languages play in their speech communities. The Egyptian study was using respected

Classical Arabic which every Muslim in the research area, and in any Muslim community, respects as it is not associated with a particular group or sub-cultural or geographical location. This might indicate that respondents did not have any difficulties in passing on their judgments.

Even though the matched guise test has been considered to be an indirect structured method that avoids the social desirability bias (see Fisher, 1993; King & Bruner, 2000; Nederhop, 1995), it seems that respondents still hide their true feelings from what they actually express. The statements in the questionnaire are about judging the personality of the Acehnese guise speakers. The results of the matched guise test in this study, therefore, may have been influenced by the social desirability bias, where respondents agreed or disagreed to the statements, but these answers were not completely honest. According to Fisher (1993, p. 303) the phenomenon of the social desirability bias can be seen when respondents are “unwilling or unable to report accurately on sensitive topics for ego-defensive or impression management reasons”. The matched guise test respondents in this study may regard the questions in the questionnaire to be confronting and sensitive and may have been reluctant to share their views to unknown people. Due to the social desirability bias phenomenon, the perceptions that respondents strongly hold as “correct” and true may not be revealed as they are probably not socially acceptable (Maccoby & Maccoby, 1954, as quoted in Fisher, 1993, p. 303). Even though Fisher’s (1993) suggestion is in the context of attitudes of marketing and consumer research, not linguistics, it is still relevant to my study, because this phenomenon deals with social attitudes where every person may have a similar feeling or opinion in such situations.

The Acehese respondents, I would suggest, seem to regard the judgments toward the guise speakers as a sensitive issue; they want to refrain from giving negative responses or opinions on the guise's personal integrity in the questionnaire as they did not know who would read their judgments. Based on the interviews and observations, the attitudes of Acehese people show that they express their judgment over language, but they do not want to openly judge other people in a controlled setting as they are required to do so in the matched guise test. It seemed that this test has put them on the spot and forced them to consciously consider their attitudes, whereas they previously expressed themselves more spontaneously.

Furthermore, the reluctance to judge others through the matched guise test is strongly reinforced by both culture and religion. The majority of Acehese are practising Muslims and active worshippers, meaning they practise Islamic teachings from the *Al-Quran* (Koran) and the Sayings of their Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) in their daily lives. They understand that saying bad things about other people is prohibited. It is mentioned in Chapter 49 Al Hujurat, ayah 11 of the *Al-Quran* (Koran) that:

O you who have believed, let not a people ridicule [another] people; perhaps they may be better than them; nor let women ridicule [other] women; perhaps they may be better than them. And do not insult one another and do not call each other by [offensive] nicknames. Wretched is the name of disobedience after [one's] faith. And whoever does not repent - then it is those who are the wrongdoers.

Therefore, I suggest that the contrary results between observations and interviews compared with the evidence from the matched guise tests resulted from the respondents' willingness to negatively evaluate the language, something

which is not forbidden, but they were not willing to express similar attitudes towards the language speakers as people/human beings.

The matched guise test carried out by Anderbeck (2010) in nearby Jambi, Sumatra also produced several unexpected outcomes. In one description of the attitudes respondents had towards Bahasa Indonesia and Jambi Malay, Anderbeck states that “in fact, some surprising trends are instead observed: the Old have fairly positive attitudes towards Bahasa Indonesia and less positive attitudes towards Jambi Malay, while it is the young who have the most negative attitudes towards Indonesian” (p. 99). According to Anderbeck (2010) there are some factors that may influence the results of her study using the matched guise technique. The instrument of the test itself may have contributed to this unexpected result, as “a result of built-in problems with the measurement tools themselves” (e.g the age variable is not so important in predicting the language attitudes, though it is important in predicting language use) (p. 99). The validity of the test results is also of concern because respondents had given the same responses all the time without giving much thought to the language differences (p. 101). Participants might have also supported these factors, such as gender, because according to Anderbeck “sex has more of an impact on language usage, and less of an impact on language attitudes” (p. 100) as well as speakers’ backgrounds (i.e. educationally and economically). Anderbeck (2010, p. 101) has also suggested her concern regarding the length of the test which contributed to the results because the informants felt discouraged. Therefore, they just passed on simple responses by answering ‘yes’ carelessly to all statements as long as they could escape from the test. In my study, I have considered the factors that Anderbeck suggests which may have contributed to unexpected results, such as

the length of the study being shorter, the guise speakers used a single individual, and responses based on place of origins and gender were considered. However, my findings still confirm Anderbeck's results.

Besides the instruments (the technique used and the participants), Anderbeck (2010, p. 101) also highlights that the values of culture that respondents hold have undoubtedly influenced results. She said that "the informants, following local values, may have answered positively in most cases to avoid offending or displeasing anyone" so they do not want to say something bad about other people. Because Acehnese share the same cultural values as the Jambi Malay people, I would suggest that similar values have impacted my language attitudes study in Aceh.

Even though the Acehnese people freely expressed their negative attitudes towards the West Acehnese speakers, they did not show similar behaviour in indirect language attitude tests such as the matched guise test. The test results showed only weak support for the initial hypothesis that the West Acehnese guise would be judged negatively on the attributes openly and pronouncedly claimed by North Acehnese speakers. Therefore, I may conclude that the validity of the matched guise test in Indonesia, and especially Aceh, is in question. It does not work in the same way as it is applied in other contexts of language attitude studies that are described frequently in the literature.

7.1.3 North Acehnese as a 'prestigious' dialect

This study has found that the attitudes and reactions of Acehnese people from different regions toward the North Aceh dialect portray it as a 'prestigious' dialect. It is observed that many Acehnese hold the opinion that they believe the

'correct' form and variety of the Acehese language is the North Aceh dialect. Acehese has never been sanctioned as the official and standard language and it has never been used as a formal language. For this purpose, the Indonesian language is used. Therefore, it is difficult to identify the variety of Acehese that is regarded as the standard or correct written form. Acehese, irrespective of which dialect, is seldom written because Bahasa Indonesia is used instead. What we can observe is that the Acehese people have clear preferences with regard to whether certain dialects are good or bad.

Durie (1985, p. 6) states that the North Aceh dialect has been considered as 'standard' because it is the most uniform and has the most speakers. In addition, Durie (1985, p. 7), without further elaboration, chose the North Acehese dialect for his study, partly because it is perceived as prestigious and important. I would suggest that the main contributing factors at play in the perception of the North Aceh dialect are wealth, power and status. Although not a written standard form, and as such not institutionalised, North Acehese is informally regarded as constituting the norm, in other words providing the yardstick by which other dialects are judged.

The relative prestige of dialects of Acehese does vary to some extent across the province. Regional dialects have a certain level of prestige within their own regions, perhaps even surpassing the prestige of North Acehese. The prestige of North Acehese, therefore, does not automatically give the dialect high (H) diglossic status and another low (L) (Ferguson, 1959) (see 2.3.2). It does not fit in the Acehese context, to the extent that neither variant is a written language or there is no functional differentiation between formal and informal situations. Rather it is Bahasa Indonesia and Acehese that enter into such a diglossic

relationship, where Bahasa Indonesia plays the ‘high’ (H) status language and is used in media, government departments, and in the courts, etc. Acehese, however, is regarded as the ‘low’ (L) variant, which is used in an informal context among family members, for traditional events and so on.

It is likely that North Acehese is perceived as more prestigious because the majority of research in Acehese has been conducted by linguists working on North Acehese. According to Asyik (1987, p. 8), works on Acehese based on the West Aceh dialect consisted solely of the *Tatabahasa Atjeh* ‘the grammar book of Acehese’ for primary schools, written in 1968 by Djauhari Ishak, who was a teacher and writer. Djauhari Ishak was originally of West Acehese dialect background. Because the majority of works on Acehese have focused on the North Aceh dialect, this may have influenced the Acehese people to believe that the standard Acehese variety was North Acehese, which of course remains debatable.

The greater population of northern Aceh has played a role in the majority of Acehese speakers using the North Aceh dialect. I speculate *power* is the reason for North Acehese having a higher position than West Acehese in the Acehese linguistic stratification: in general, Acehese speakers in North Aceh hold more social, political and economic power than Acehese speakers in West Aceh. Within the Province of Aceh, North Acehese provides greater access to economic resources (e.g. business) and employment (e.g. official governmental positions) than West Acehese.

7.2 Limitations of the study

Overall, this study has shown that with regard to linguistic stigmatisation in Acehese, lexical semantics are salient and phonology plays a role, whilst morphology and syntax are unimportant. My results have shown that both lexical choice and varying sound systems and pronunciation are significant in shaping attitudes toward the West Aceh dialect.

The comparison of dialects carried out in this study has focused exclusively on two dialects: North Acehese and West Acehese. In this study, the main discussion has focused on the attitudes of speakers of Acehese toward North and West Acehese by using the matched guise test. There was a limitation in conducting the test because it was administered only to younger Acehese speakers from North and West Aceh dialect backgrounds who are studying in Banda Aceh.

Furthermore, the security situation in Aceh was not conducive to this research at the time the study was undertaken; the most appropriate subjects for confirming the wordlist data in Bireuen could not be obtained as they live in remote villages. However, the subjects were selected as close as possible to the study requirements in advance.

7.3 Recommendations

There are some recommendations to be made from the findings of this study.

1. The matched guise test was conducted in Banda Aceh. It is tempting to suggest that there be further studies using this test in the heartland of both North Aceh and West Aceh, so that results can be compared with

the data collected in Banda Aceh. However, it should be borne in mind that this may not be possible due to the lack of familiarity with the other dialect.

2. The matched guise test needs to be administered to a larger group or individual samples covering a wider spread of sociolinguistic variables including age, social status, education background, occupation, origin, etc. Further testing may involve a modified version of the matched guise instrument, revised to take into account the cultural context discussed above.
3. Future research should investigate the sub-dialects of Acehnese spoken in the West Aceh region to establish isogloss boundary lines separating the sub-dialect areas. The shared areas of Acehnese and *Jamee* language should also be investigated.
4. There needs to be more research on internal variation within the major dialects of Acehnese. This study is based on very few speakers.
5. A further study on attitudes toward Greater Aceh and Pidie dialects needs to be encouraged.
6. A study of language attitudes of Greater Acehnese and Pidie dialect speakers toward the stigmatised West Aceh dialect needs to be conducted.
7. More detailed work on language shifts and the influence of Bahasa Indonesia in Acehnese, i.e. language endangerment, is needed. This work hopefully will reveal how extensive the use of Bahasa Indonesia is by

Acehnese people when they speak to their children, and how often the national language is used by the younger generation, which poses a threat to Acehnese language.

8. In this study North Aceh and West Aceh dialects treat loanwords words from Bahasa Indonesia differently, especially in regard to marked vowels. This phenomenon requires further research.
9. More work on language policy at the local level and implications for language maintenance in the Province of Aceh should be carried out.
10. A major comparative work on the other two Acehnese dialects: Pidie and Greater Aceh should be carried out; with a view to ascertain differences and similarities between the four Acehnese dialects. Currently, the investigation of languages spoken in Aceh and the study of dialect differences in Acehnese remain limited. In addition, little has been written about the role of local languages in Aceh.
11. It is hoped that the local government of the Province of Aceh as well as the central government will review the literature on the languages of Aceh and implement measures to support and maintain the sustainability of languages in Aceh by promoting the uniqueness and richness of linguistic diversity in the region. They may also consider advocating for recognition of dialect identity within its own territory, so that the richness of local dialects will be preserved.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A : Texts of matched guise test on First Visit

North Acehese: Jeuem jimeusu teupat poh 5.30. matajih mantöng teupét. Si Rahma jilawan teungeut, jijak u kama manoe. ‘Oh lheueh jirhah muka nyang kueung langsung, si Rahma pih langsung jipeugoe Umijih mangat geuseumaang suboh. Umi pih geubeudöh bak teupat éh. Lheueh nyan, langsung bagah geucok ie seumayang.

‘Oh lheueh Umi geuseumayang, si Rahma jitanyong bak Umi, “Umi, Umi peue timphan ka lheueh neuseuop? Pakriban, peue bada ngön risol , kalheueh neucrôh?”

Umi si Rahma geujawuep sira geulipat seleukôm, “Kalheueh, Umi pubuet beuklam. Ban-mandum kuéh nyan ka Umi keubah lam leumari.”

Rahma sigra jijak u dapu, teupat umi geukeubah kuéh nyan. Lam leumari muwareuna coklat, ngön pinto kaca. ‘Oh lheueh jibuka pinto leumari, jicok adônan nyan langsung jimè u dapu.

Rahma mulai jicrôh peunajôh thô lam beulangöng minyeuk nyang ka mulai ju. Umi geuseuop adônan peunajôh basah. Jeunèh kuéh nyang jicroh lé Rahma kuéh risol, bada, ngön bakwan.

Umi geubungkôh kuéh lapéh, timphan, dan bulukat asoe kaya. Jinoe mandum buet ka seuleusoe sit. Ngön bajèe sikula nyang gléh, meusaneut leungkap ngön jilbap putéh gléh, ngön taih jisangkôt bak bahö, Rahma h’ana tuwö jimè kuéh, jipubloe bak rumoh sikula.

West Acehese: Jeuem imeusu teupat poh 5.30. matajih mantöng teupét. Si Rahma ilawan teungeut, ijak u kama manoe. ‘Oh lheueh irhah muka nyang kuneng langsung, si Rahma pih langsung ipeugoe makjih mangat geuseumayang suboh. Makjih pih geubeudöh bak teupat éh. Lheueh nyan, langsung bagah geujak tung ie seumayang.

‘Oh lheueh makjih geuseumayang, si Rahma itanyöng bak gobnyan, “Mak, Mak e, pu leupek ka lheueh geuseuop? Pakiban, pu pisang goreng ngön risol, kalheueh geucrôh?”

Mak si Rahma geujawuep sirang geulipat seleukôm, “Kalheueh, kupubuet beuklam. Ban-bandum kuéh nyan ka kukeubah lam leumari.”

Rahma bagah-bagah ijak u dapu, teupat makjih keubah kuéh nyan. Lam leumari meuwareuna coklat, ngön pinto kaca. ‘Oh lheueh ibuka pinto leumari, icok adônan nyan langsung imè u dapu.

Rahma mulai icrôh peunajôh thô lam beulangöng minyeuk nyang ka mulai ju. Makjih geuseuop adônan peunajôh basah. Jeunèh kuéh nyang icroh lé Rahma kuéh risol, pisang goreng, ngön bakwan.

Makjih geubungkôh kuéh lapéh, leupek, ngön bulukat asoe kaya. Jinoe bandum buet kalheuh cit. Ngön bajèe sikula nyang gléh, meusaneut leungkap ngön jilbap putéh gléh, ngön tah isangket bak bahö, Rahma h'ana tuwö imè kuéh, ipubloe bak rumoh sikula.

Appendix B : Texts of matched guise test on Second and Third Visits

(West Aceh Guise) Nyoe kuceurita beok peungalaman lon padum-padum uroe nyang kalikot i Banda Aceh. Beungeh nyan lon kujak u kanto ret simpang limeng. Pah tok bak simpang limeng, lampu lalu lintah teungeh mirah, jadi kupreh siat sampe ijo. Na siat kudeng, na sidroe aneuk ubit ijak peuto bak lon. Bak deuh, sang aneuk ubit nyan ureung meulake. Rupajih beutoi, jih ilake peng bak lon. Teuingat lam ate lon: Oma, ubit-ubit kajeut keutukang meulake. Lheuh nyan kuraba lam ipok iluweu kemeucok peng bicah, tapi hana seungaja karet peng nyan ubaroh teumpat duk moto. Hek kumita-mita hana meuteumeu padahai lampu jalan sang karap keumeu ijo. Kareuna sayang keu aneuk ubit nyan meunyoe hana kujok sapu, kucok peng nyang na lam ipok keu baje. Pah teulhuk, rupajih on limeng ribe. Ma daripada hana kujok peng keujih, kakeuh kujok ju peng limeung ribe nyan. Padahai kupu ma tajok peng ke aneuk ubit le that. Meu limeung reutoh kenjeut meudeh. Wate isurung jaro kemeucok peng bak lon, kutanyeng bak jih. Dek, na kajak sikula kah? Klah padum ka? Hana iteumeu jaweub le kareuna lampu pih ka ijo, iplung ju keudeuh bak bineh jalan aneuk meutuah nyan. Cuma seumpat iklik dari jioh ipeugah: “cek, jangget cek panyang that.”

(North Aceh Guise) Nyoe long ceurita bacut peungalaman long padum-padum uroe yang kauilikot di Banda Aceh. Beungeh nyan long lonjak u kanto ret simpang limeng. Paih trok bak simpang limeng, lampu lalu lintaih teungeh mirah, jadi long preh siat sampo ijo. Na siat long deng, na sidroe aneuk miet jijak peuto bak long. Deuh bak ruman, sang aneuk miet nyan ureung meulake-lake. Rupajih beutoi, jih jilake peng bak long. Teuingat lam ate ku: Oma, banyak-banyak kajeut keutukang meulake. Lheuh nyan long raba lam keh siluweu keuneuk cok peng grik, tapi hana seungaja karhet peng nyan u miyup teumpat duk moto. Hek long mita-mita hana meurumpok padahai lampu jalan sang karap keuneuk ijo. Kareuna sayang keu aneuk miet nyan meunyoe hana long jok sapu, long cok peng nyang na lam keh keu bajee. Pah teulhuk, rupajih on limeng ribe. Ma daripada hana long jok peng keujih, kakeuh long jok ju peng limeung ribe nyan. Padahai keupu ma tajok peng ke aneuk miet le that. Meu limeung reutoh kenjeut meudeh. Wate jisurung jaro keuneuk cok peng bak long, long tanyeng bak jih. Dek, na kajak sikula kah? Glah padum ka? Hana meurumpek jaweub le kareuna lampu pih ka ijo, jiplueng ju keudeuh bak bineh jalan aneuk miet meutuah nyan. Cuma seumpat ikrip dari jioh ipeugah: “cek, janggot droe neuh panyang that.”

The different markers :

West Aceh	North Aceh	English
lon	long	I
kaliket	kaulikot	in the past
beok	bacut	a little
pah	paih	at the time
lampu lalu lintah	lampu lalu lintaih	traffic lights
ku-	lon-	I (pronominal prefix)
tok	trok	arrive
sampe	sampo	until
aneuk ubit	aneuk miet	a little child
lon	ku	I
i-	ji-	he/she (pronominal prefix)
ubit-ubit	manyak-manyak	little child
ipok	keh	pocket
iluweu	siluweu	trousers
keumeu	keuneuk	intention
bicah	grik	small change
ret	rhet	fall
ubaroh	umiyup	under
meuteumeu	meurumpek	find/be able to
baje	bajee	shirt
klah	glah	class (at school)
klik	krip	shout
jangget	janggot	beard
cek	droe neuh	pronoun

Appendix C : Questionnaire of matched guise test

No.	Pertanyaan	1 – Sangat setuju	2	3	4	5	6 – Sangat tidak setuju
1	Pembicara itu tidak jujur						
2	Pembicara itu pintar						
3	Pembicara itu mandiri						
4	Pembicara itu orangnya tidak baik						
5	Pembicara itu berambisi						
6	Pembicara itu penuh percaya diri						
7	Pembicara itu seorang pemimpin yang baik						
8	Pembicara itu orangnya kurang dapat dipercaya						
9	Pembicara itu orangnya menarik						
10	Pembicara itu berasal dari keluarga yang agamanya bagus						
11	Masa depan pembicara itu cerah dan menjanjikan						
12	Pembicara itu dari keluarga kaya						
13	Pembicara itu tidak berpendidikan						
14	Pembicara itu orangnya terhormat						
15	Pembicara itu mempunyai banyak teman						
16	Pembicara itu tinggal di daerah perkotaan						
17	Pembicara itu mencintai keluarganya						
18	Pembicara itu orangnya tidak sopan						
19	Pembicara itu mempunyai rasa humor yang bagus						
20	Pembicara itu orang yang berpengaruh						
21	Pembicara itu orangnya berani						
22	Pembicara itu kampungan						
23	Pembicara itu dari keluarga rendahan						
24	Pembicara itu orangnya dermawan						
25	Pembicara itu tidak bersahabat						
26	Pembicara itu orangnya pelit						

English translation:

No.	Questions	1 – Strongly agree	2	3	4	5	6 – Strongly disagree
1	The speaker is dishonest						
2	The speaker is intelligent						
3	The speaker is independent						
4	The speaker is unkind						
5	The speaker is ambitious						
6	The speaker is self confident						
7	The speaker is a good leader						
8	The speaker is untrustworthy						
9	The speaker is interesting						
10	The speaker is coming from religious family						
11	The speaker is having good and promising future						
12	The speaker is from a rich family						
13	The speaker is not well-educated						
14	The speaker is a respected person						
15	The speaker has a lot of friends						
16	The speaker is living in city						
17	The speaker loves his family						
18	The speaker is impolite						
19	The speaker has good sense of humour						
20	The speaker is influential						
21	The speaker is courageous						
22	The speaker is a 'country bumpkin' (<i>kampungan</i>)						
23	The speaker is lower class						
24	The speaker is generous						
25	The speaker is unfriendly						
26	The speaker is stingy						

Appendix D : Questions for semi-structured interviews

Latar Belakang
Dari daerah mana asal Anda di Aceh?
Apakah kedua orang tua Anda asli suku Aceh?
Apa bahasa pertama Anda yang digunakan di rumah sehari-hari?
Berapa lama Anda pernah belajar dan tinggal di Banda Aceh?
Apa jenjang pendidikan Anda?
Tentang Bahasa Aceh
Bahasa Aceh yang dianggap baik dan halus berasal dari mana? Kenapa?
Bahasa Aceh yang dianggap TIDAK baik dan kasar berasal dari mana? Kenapa?
Apa pendapat Anda dengan bahasa Aceh dari pantai Utara yang dianggap lebih baik dan halus?
Kalau Anda berbicara dalam bahasa Aceh yang dianggap TIDAK baik dan kasar, bagaimana sikap Anda waktu Anda berbicara dengan orang yang menggunakan bahasa yang baik dan halus? Akankah Anda mengikuti orang yang menggunakan bahasa yang baik dan halus tersebut?
Kalau Anda berbicara dalam bahasa Aceh yang dianggap TIDAK baik dan kasar, apakah Anda akan merubah logat Anda dengan dialek yang lebih baik waktu berbicara? Kenapa iya? Atau kenapa tidak?
Kalau Anda berbicara dalam bahasa Aceh yang dianggap TIDAK baik dan kasar, apakah Anda merasa malu atau rendah diri kalau Anda tetap mempertahankan logat asli Anda kalau Anda berbicara dengan orang yang berbeda logat dengan Anda?
Apa komentar teman-teman sekolah atau kampus Anda kalau Anda berbicara memakai logat asli Anda yang dianggap TIDAK baik dan kasar?
Kalau Anda merubah logat berbicara Anda sesuai dengan logat rata-rata teman Anda di sekolah atau kampus, apakah Anda melakukannya secara permanen?
Apakah Anda akan memakai pengaruh logat rata-rata ketika Anda kembali ke tempat asal Anda?

English translation:

Background
What Aceh district do you come from?
Are your parents both originally Acehnese ethnicity?
What is your first language do you use at home?
How long have you been living and studying in Banda Aceh?
What level of education do you earn?
About Acehnese
What Acehnese variety is regarded as ‘good’ and ‘refined’? Why?
What Acehnese variety is regarded as NOT ‘good’ and ‘rough’? Why?
What is your opinion regarding the North Aceh dialect that regarded as ‘better’ and more ‘refined’?
If you are speaking the variety of Acehnese which is regarded as NOT ‘good’ and ‘rough’, how do you react when communicating with people of ‘good’ and ‘refined’ variety? Will you change or shift your speech into the interlocutor’s variation?
Do you shift you original dialect (if you speak the stigmatised dialect) into the mainstream dialect in your communication? If yes, why? If no, why not?
Do you feel embarrassed or inferior if you maintain to speak your original dialect, if it is stigmatised, when you speak to people whose dialect is different from you?
What comments do you usually hear from your friends at school or campus when you speak your own dialect, if it is a stigmatised variety?
If you speak a stigmatised dialect and you shift your speech into the mainstream dialect when you communicate with your friends at school or campus in Banda Aceh, do you do so for permanently or it is just for temporary?
Do you use the mainstream dialect when you return to your dialect background place?

Appendix E : The basic lexicostatistic list of North Aceh and West Aceh dialects

No.	Semantic field	North Aceh dialect	West Aceh dialect	English
1	adjective	raya [raja]	raya [ɾaja]	big
2	adjective	panyang [paŋãŋ]	panyang [paŋãŋ]	long
3	adjective	luwah [luwah]	luwah [luwah]	wide
4	adjective	teubai [tubai]	tubai [tubai]	thick
5	adjective	ghön [ghøn]	geuhön [guhøn]	heavy
6	adjective	ubiet [ubiət]	ubit [ubit]	small
7	adjective	paneuek	paneuk [panũʔ]	short
8	adjective	arat [arat], ubeut [ubut], ubit [ubit]	seumpet [sumpet], arat [aɾat], ubit [ubit]	narrow
9	adjective	lipeh [lipeh]	lipeh [lipeh]	thin
10	adjective	seu-uem [Suʔuəm]	seu-um [Suʔum]	warm
11	adjective	sijuek [Siʔuəʔ]	sijuk [Siʔuʔ]	cold
12	adjective	troe [troə]	tro [tɾo]	full (food)
13	adjective	sarat [Sarat]	punoh [punõh]	full (load)
14	adjective	baroe [baroə]	baro [baɾo]	new
15	adjective	tuha [tuha]	tuha [tuha]	old
16	adjective	göt [gət]	göt [gət]	good
17	adjective	jheut [jhut]	jahat [jahat]	bad
18	adjective	brok [broʔ]	brok [bɾoʔ]	rotten
19	adjective	kuto [kutɔ]	kuto [kutɔ]	dirty
20	adjective	tupat [tupat]	tupat [tupat]	straight
21	adjective	bulat [bulat]	bulat [bulat]	round
22	adjective	tajam [taʃam]	tajam [taʃam]	sharp
23	adjective	tumpoi [tumpoi]	tumpoi [tumpoi]	dull
24	adjective	haloh [haloh], licen [licen]	aloh [aloh], licen [licen]	smooth
25	adjective	basah [baSah]	basah [baSah]	wet

26	adjective	tho [tho]	tho [tho]	dry
27	adjective	beutoi [buutoi]	beutoi [buutoi]	right/correct
28	adjective	rab [rap]	to [tɔ]	near
29	adjective	jioh [jiʔoh]	jioh [jiʔoh]	far
30	adjective	uneun [unũn]	uneun [unũn]	rightside
31	adjective	wie [wiə]	wi [wi]	lefside
32	animal	meulatang [mũlatəŋ]	binatang [binātəŋ]	animal
33	animal	eungkot [ũŋkot]	eungkët [ũŋkɔt]	fish
34	animal	cicém [cicem]	cicém [cicem]	bird
35	animal	asèe [aSɛə]	asè [aSɛ]	dog
36	animal	gutèe [guteə]	gute [gute]	louse
37	animal	uleue [uluə]	uleu [ulu]	snake
38	animal	glang [gləŋ], ulat [ulat]	glang [gləŋ], ulat [ulat]	worm
39	animal product	kulet [kulet]	kulet [kulet]	skin
40	animal product	sie [Siə]/asoe [aSɔə]	si [Si]/aso [aSɔ]	meat/flesh
41	animal product	darah [darah]	darah [daʀah]	blood
42	animal product	tuleueng [tulwəŋ]	tuleung [tulwŋ]	bone
43	animal product	gapah [gapah]	gapah [gapah]	fat/grease
44	animal product	boh- (+ name of animal) [bɔh]	boh- (+ name of animal) [bɔh]	egg
45	animal product	lungkèe [luŋkɛə]	lungkè [luŋkɛ]	horn
46	animal product	ikue[ikuə]	iku [iku]	tail
47	animal product	bulèe [buleə]	bulè [bule]	feather
48	body part	ôk [oʔ]	ôk [oʔ]	hair
49	body part	ulèe [uleə]	ulè [ule]	head
50	body part	geuleunyueng [gulwɯnũəŋ], punueng [pɯnũəŋ]	geulinyung [gulɯnũŋ]	ear
51	body part	mata [mata]	mata [mata]	eye
52	body part	idong [idoŋ]	idong [idoŋ]	nose

53	body part	babah [babah], abah [abah]	babah [babah], abah [abah]	mouth
54	body part	igoe [igə]	igo [igə]	tooth
55	body part	lidah [lidah]	lidah [lidah]	tongue
56	body part	gukee [gukɛə]	guke [gukɛ]	finger nail
57	body part	gaki [gaki]	gaki [gaki]	foot
58	body part	gaki [gaki]	gaki [gaki]	leg
59	body part	teu-ot [tuʔot]	teu-ët [tuʔɛt]	knee
60	body part	jaroe [jarə]	jaro [jarə]	hand
61	body part	sayeup [Sajup]	sayeup [Sajup]	wing
62	body part	pruet [pruət]	prut [pɹut]	belly
63	body part	taloe pruet [talə pruət]	talo prut [talə pɹut]	guts
64	body part	takue [takuə]	taku [taku]	neck
65	body part	dada [dada]	dada [dada]	breast
66	body part	jantông [janton]	jantông [janton]	heart
67	body part	ate [ate]	ate [ate]	liver
68	body verb	jep [jep]	jip [jip]	drink
69	body verb	pajoh [paʝoh]	pajoh [paʝoh]	eat
70	body verb	kap [kap]	kap [kap]	bite
71	body verb	hiruep [hiruəp]	irup [iɹup]	suck
72	body verb	rudah [rudah]	ludah [ludah]	spit
73	body verb	muntah [mũntah]	muntah [mũntah]	vomit
74	body verb	pruh [pruh]	prôh [pɹoh]	blow
75	body verb	naph'ah [nãphãh]	naph'ah [nãphãh]	breathe
76	body verb	khem [khem]	khem [khem]	laugh
77	body verb	udep [udep]	udep [udep]	live
78	body verb	mate [mãte]	mate [mãte]	die
79	color	mirah [mirah]	mirah [miɾah]	red
80	color	ijo [ijo]	ijo [ijo]	green
81	color	kuneng [kunɛŋ]	kuneng [kunɛŋ]	yellow
82	color	puteh [puteh]	puteh [puteh]	white
83	color	itam [itam]	itam [itam]	black
84	conjunction	ngon [ŋõn]	ngon [ŋõn]	with
85	conjunction	ngon [ŋõn]	ngon [ŋõn]	and

86	conjunction	meunyo [mũŋɔ̃], adak [adaʔ]	menyo [mũŋɔ̃], adak [adaʔ]	if
87	conjunction	sabab [Sabap], seubab [Suɔp], saweub [Sawuɔp]	seubab [Sabap], sabak [Sabaʔ], saweub [Sawuɔp]	because
88	environment	kayèe [kajɛə]	kayè [kajɛ]	tree
89	environment	uteun [utuɔn]	uteun [utuɔn]	woods/forest
90	environment	bak [baʔ]	bak [baʔ]	stick
91	environment	boh kayèe [bɔh kajɛə]	boh kayè [bɔh kajɛ]	fruit
92	environment	bijeh [bijɛh]	bijeh [bijɛh]	seed
93	environment	ôn [on]	ôn [on]	leaf
94	environment	ukheue [ukhuə]	ukeu [uku]	root
95	environment	kulet kayèe [kulet kajɛə]	kulet kayè [kulet kajɛ]	bark
96	environment	bungong [buŋɔ̃ŋ]	bungong [buŋɔ̃ŋ]	flower
97	environment	naleueng [nãluəŋ]	naleung [nãluŋ]	grass
98	environment	lupie [lupiə]	leupi [lupi]	freeze
99	environment	mata uroe [mata urɔə]	mata uro [mata urɔ]	sun
100	environment	buleuen [buluən]	buleun [buluɔn]	moon
101	environment	bintang [bintaŋ]	bintang [bintaŋ]	star
102	environment	ie [iə]	i [i]	water
103	environment	ujeun [uʃuɔn]	ujeun [uʃuɔn]	rain
104	environment	krueng [kruəŋ]	krung [krɔŋ]	river
105	environment	dano [danɔ̃]	dano [danɔ̃]	lake
106	environment	la-ot [laʔot]	la-et [laʔɛt]	sea
107	environment	sira [Sira]	sira [Sira]	salt
108	environment	batèe [batɛə]	bate [batɛ]	stone
109	environment	anoe [anɔ̃ə]	ano [anɔ̃]	sand
110	environment	abèe [abɛə]	abè [abɛ]	dust

111	environment	tanoh [tanõh]	tanoh [tanõh]	earth
112	environment	awan [awan]	awan [awan]	cloud
113	environment	sagôp [Sagop]	sagôp [Sagop]	fog
114	environment	langet [lanĕt]	langet [lanĕt]	sky
115	environment	angen [aŋĕn]	angen [aŋĕn]	wind
116	environment	eh (ie) [ɛh] ([iə])	eh [ɛh]	ice
117	environment	asap [aſap]	asap [aſap]	smoke
118	environment	apui [apui]	apui [apui]	fire
119	environment	abèe [abɛə]	abè [abɛ]	ashes
120	environment	tutong [tutoŋ]	tutong [tutoŋ]	burn
121	environment	re-uh [rəʔuh]	ret [ɾət], jalan [jalan]	road
122	environment	gunong [gunõŋ]	gunong [gunõŋ]	mountain
123	human	inong [inõŋ]	inong [inõŋ]	woman
124	human	agam [agam]	agam [agam]	man/male
125	human	ureueng [uruəŋ]	ureung [urɯŋ]	man (human being)
126	human	aneuk [anũʔ]	aneuk [anũʔ]	child
127	human	peurumoh [pɯrumõh]	peurumoh [pɯɾumõh]	wife
128	human	lakoe [lakɔə]	lako [lakɔ]	husband
129	human	mak [mãʔ], ma [mã], umi [umĩ], mi [mĩ]	mak [mãʔ], ma [mã], mi [mĩ]	mother
130	human	ayah [ajah], yah [jah], abu [abu], abi [abi], pak [paʔ], tu [tu]	ayah, [ajah], yah [jah], abu [abu], abi [abi], pak [paʔ]	father
131	human	nan [nãn]	nan [nãn]	name
132	human verb	meulagu [mũlagu]	meulagu [mũlagu]	sing
133	human verb	meu-'en [mũʔĕn]	meu-'en [mũʔĕn]	play
134	human verb	keumeng [kumõŋ]	keumeng [kumõŋ]	swell
135	impact	poh mate [poh mate]	poh mate [poh mate]	kill

136	impact	mupake [mũpake]	meupake [mũpake]	fight
137	impact	tiyeup [tijwɔp], peucrok [pɯcrɔʔ], let [let]	tiyeup [tijwɔp], peucrok [pɯcrɔʔ], let [let]	hunt
138	impact	poh [pəh]	poh [pəh]	hit (people/animal)
139	impact	peh [pəh]	peh [pəh]	hit (thing)
140	impact	koh [kəh]	koh [kəh]	cut
141	impact	plah [plah]	plah [plah]	split
142	impact	top [tɔp]	top [tɔp]	stab/pierce
143	impact	guréh [gureh]	guréh [guʁeh]	scratch
144	impact	kueh [kuəh]	kuh [kuh]	dig
145	location	bak [baʔ]	bak [baʔ]	at
146	location	lam [lam]	lam [lam]	in
147	misc verb	cop [cɔp]	cop [cɔp]	sew
148	misc verb	bileueng [biluəŋ]	bileung [biluŋ]	count
149	motion	meulangu [muɭaŋũ]	meulango [muɭaŋõ]	swim
150	motion	phö [phə]	pö [pə]	fly
151	motion	jak [jaʔ]	jak [jaʔ]	walk
152	motion	teuka [tuuka]	jak [jaʔ]	come
153	motion	éh [eh]	éh [eh]	lie (be in lying position)
154	motion	duek [duəʔ]	duk [duʔ]	sit
155	motion	deng [dəŋ]	deng [dəŋ]	stand
156	motion	belok [belɔʔ]	belok [belɔʔ]	turn
157	motion	rhet [rhət]	ret [ʁət]	fall
158	motion	apong [apoŋ]	apong [apoŋ]	float
159	motion	ilé [ile]	ilé [ile]	flow
160	perception verb	kalön [kalən]	kalon [kalən]	see
161	perception verb	dengö [dɯŋə]	dengö [dɯŋə]	hear
162	perception verb	tupu [tupu]	teupu [tupu]	know
163	perception verb	pike [pike]	pike [pike]	think
164	perception verb	com [com]	com [com]	smell
165	perception verb	takot [takot]	takët [takɔt]	fear

166	perception verb	eh [eh]	eh [eh]	sleep
167	perception verb	peugah [puɣah]	peugah [puɣah]	say
168	pronoun	long [loŋ]	lôn [lon]	I
169	pronoun	droeneuh [drœnũh], kah [kah]	kah [kah]	you (singular)
170	pronoun	jih [jih]	jih [jih]	he/she
171	pronoun	kamoe [kamɔ̃ə]	kamo [kamɔ̃]	we
172	pronoun	droeneuh mandum [drœnũh mãndum]	awak nyo [awaʔ nɔ̃]	you (plural)
173	pronoun	awaknyan mandum [awaʔnã mãndum]	awaknyan [awaʔnã]	
174	pronoun	nyoe [nɔ̃ə]	nyo [nɔ̃]	this
175	pronoun	jeh [jeh], nyan [nã]	jeh, [jeh], nyan [nã]	that
176	pronoun	sino [Sinɔ̃], hino [hinɔ̃]	ino [inɔ̃]	here
177	pronoun	hideh [hideh], sideh [sideh], sinan [sinã], hinan [hinã]	ideh [ideh], inan[inã]	there
178	pronoun	soe [Sɔ̃ə]	so [Sɔ̃]	who
179	pronoun	pue [puə]	pu [pu]	what
180	pronoun	pat [pat]	pat [pat]	where
181	pronoun	pajan [paʃan]	pajan [paʃan]	when
182	pronoun	pakriban [pakriban]	pakiban [pakiban]	how
183	quantifier	han [hã], hana [hãã], tan [tan]	han, [hã], hana [hãã], tan [tan]	not
184	quantifier	mandum [mãndum]	bandum [bãndum]	all
185	quantifier	le [lə]	le [lə]	many

186	quantifier	padum-padum boh/droe/neuk etc. [padum- padum bɔh/drɔə/nũʔ]	padum-padum boh/droe/neuk etc. [padum- padum bɔh/dʁɔ/nũʔ]	some
187	quantifier	la-en [laʔen]	la-en [laʔen]	other
188	quantifier	sa [Sa]	sa [Sa]	one
189	quantifier	dua [dua]	dua [dua]	two
190	quantifier	lhè [lɛə]	lɛ [lɛ]	three
191	quantifier	peuet [pɯət]	peut [pɯt]	four
192	quantifier	limöng [limõŋ]	limöng [limõŋ]	five
193	time	malam [mālam]	malam [mālam]	night
194	time	uroe [urɔə]	uro [uʁɔ]	day
195	time	thon [thɔn]	thon [thɔn]	year
196	tool	taloe [talɔə]	talo [talɔ]	rope
197	transfer	brie [briə]	bi [bi]	give
198	transfer	mat [māt]	mat [māt]	hold/take
199	transfer	prah [prah], ceupat [cupat]	prah [pʁah], cupat [cupat]	squeeze
200	transfer	geusok [gɯSəʔ]	geusok [gɯSəʔ]	rub
201	transfer	rhah [rhah]	rah [ʁah]	wash
202	transfer	lhap [lhap]	lhap [lhap]	wipe
203	transfer	tarek [tareʔ]	tarek [tʁɛʔ]	pull
204	transfer	tulak [tulaʔ]	tulak [tulaʔ]	push
205	transfer	böh [bəh]	böh [bəh]	throw
206	transfer	ikat [ikat]	ikat [ikat]	tie

Appendix F: Results of group statistics for first visit of matched guise test based on place of origin

	Guises	NA Origin Mean	Std. Deviation	WA Origin Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Honesty	NA	0.69	0.479	0.56	0.504	0.884	0.381
	WA	0.69	0.479	0.68	0.475	0.083	0.934
Intelligence	NA	0.19	0.403	0.30	0.463	-0.822	0.415
	WA	0.13	0.342	0.08	0.277	0.494	0.624
Independence	NA	0.63	0.500	0.35	0.484	1.871	0.067
	WA	0.25	0.447	0.22	0.417	0.265	0.792
Kindness	NA	0.38	0.500	0.32	0.475	0.351	0.727
	WA	0.50	0.516	0.57	0.502	-0.446	0.658
Ambition	NA	0.56	0.512	0.46	0.505	0.679	0.500
	WA	0.25	0.447	0.24	0.435	0.051	0.959
Self confidence	NA	0.31	0.479	0.16	0.374	1.233	0.223
	WA	0.25	0.447	0.19	0.397	0.493	0.624
Good leader	NA	0.50	0.516	0.35	0.484	1.006	0.319
	WA	0.31	0.479	0.41	0.498	-0.631	0.531
Trustworthiness	NA	0.44	0.512	0.51	0.507	-0.500	0.619
	WA	0.38	0.500	0.46	0.505	-0.560	0.578
Interesting	NA	0.56	0.512	0.49	0.507	0.500	0.619
	WA	0.25	0.447	0.43	0.502	-1.253	0.216

Religious family	NA	0.50	0.516	0.19	0.397	2.385	0.021
	WA	0.13	0.342	0.27	0.450	-1.153	0.254
Good and Promising future	NA	0.38	0.500	0.32	0.475	0.351	0.727
	WA	0.38	0.500	0.41	0.498	-0.204	0.839
Rich Family	NA	0.63	0.500	0.54	0.505	0.560	0.578
	WA	0.75	0.447	0.49	0.507	1.979	0.078
Well educated	NA	0.31	0.479	0.46	0.505	-0.987	0.328
	WA	0.63	0.500	0.54	0.505	0.560	0.578
Respected person	NA	0.19	0.403	0.35	0.484	-1.186	0.241
	WA	0.13	0.342	0.24	0.435	-0.965	0.339
Having lots friends	NA	0.44	0.512	0.30	0.463	0.980	0.332
	WA	0.25	0.447	0.36	0.487	-0.778	0.440
Living in city	NA	0.50	0.516	0.46	0.505	0.266	0.791
	WA	0.50	0.516	0.43	0.502	0.446	0.658
Family Loving	NA	0.25	0.447	0.11	0.315	1.321	0.192
	WA	0.31	0.479	0.24	0.435	0.516	0.608
Politeness	NA	0.38	0.500	0.30	0.463	0.547	0.587
	WA	0.50	0.516	0.54	0.505	-0.266	0.791
Humorous	NA	0.38	0.500	0.57	0.502	-1.283	0.205
	WA	0.56	0.512	0.32	0.475	1.638	0.108
Influential	NA	0.50	0.516	0.54	0.505	-0.266	0.791
	WA	0.38	0.500	0.46	0.505	-0.560	0.578
Courage	NA	0.50	0.516	0.30	0.463	1.413	0.164

	WA	0.38	0.500	0.16	0.374	1.715	0.092
Country bumpkin	NA	0.50	0.516	0.46	0.505	0.266	0.791
	WA	0.31	0.479	0.51	0.507	-1.347	0.184
Lower class	NA	0.50	0.516	0.51	0.507	-0.089	0.930
	WA	0.56	0.512	0.65	0.484	-0.585	0.561
Generosity	NA	0.44	0.512	0.35	0.484	0.585	0.561
	WA	0.38	0.500	0.35	0.484	0.162	0.872
Friendliness	NA	0.50	0.516	0.35	0.484	1.006	0.319
	WA	0.31	0.479	0.41	0.498	-0.631	0.531
Stinginess	NA	0.75	0.447	0.62	0.492	0.896	0.375
	WA	0.56	0.512	0.70	0.463	-0.980	0.332

Appendix G: Results of group statistics for second visit of matched guise test based on place of origin

		NA Origin Mean	Std. Deviation	WA Origin Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Honesty	NA	0.35	0.479	0.48	0.508	-1.388	0.168
	WA	0.38	0.487	0.42	0.502	-0.481	0.631
Intelligence	NA	0.24	0.429	0.24	0.435	-0.038	0.970
	WA	0.23	0.420	0.21	0.415	0.161	0.872
Independence	NA	0.20	0.405	0.36	0.489	-1.836	0.069
	WA	0.20	0.405	0.18	0.392	0.276	0.783
Kindness	NA	0.37	0.484	0.24	0.435	1.288	0.200
	WA	0.26	0.442	0.36	0.489	-1.115	0.267
Ambition	NA	0.41	0.494	0.53	0.507	-1.211	0.228
	WA	0.23	0.420	0.39	0.496	-1.881	0.062
Self confidence	NA	0.16	0.370	0.21	0.415	-0.657	0.513
	WA	0.11	0.311	0.18	0.392	-1.098	0.274
Good leader	NA	0.42	0.496	0.48	0.508	-0.648	0.518
	WA	0.34	0.478	0.41	0.499	-0.628	0.531
Trustworthiness	NA	0.38	0.488	0.36	0.489	0.170	0.866
	WA	0.41	0.494	0.42	0.502	-0.175	0.861
Interesting	NA	0.34	0.477	0.34	0.483	-0.031	0.975
	WA	0.24	0.429	0.24	0.435	-0.038	0.970
Religious family	NA	0.23	0.420	0.18	0.392	0.525	0.600
	WA	0.24	0.427	0.21	0.415	0.284	0.777

Good and Promising future	NA	0.39	0.491	0.31	0.471	0.790	0.431
	WA	0.32	0.470	0.30	0.467	0.206	0.837
Rich Family	NA	0.43	0.498	0.58	0.502	-1.441	0.152
	WA	0.40	0.493	0.33	0.479	0.693	0.489
Well educated	NA	0.28	0.451	0.39	0.496	-1.218	0.225
	WA	0.29	0.456	0.36	0.489	-0.778	0.438
Respected person	NA	0.35	0.481	0.28	0.457	0.756	0.451
	WA	0.32	0.470	0.33	0.479	-0.112	0.911
Having lots friends	NA	0.27	0.446	0.21	0.415	0.639	0.524
	WA	0.22	0.413	0.18	0.392	0.402	0.688
Living in city	NA	0.37	0.484	0.41	0.499	-0.407	0.685
	WA	0.37	0.484	0.33	0.479	0.330	0.742
Family Loving	NA	0.25	0.434	0.21	0.415	0.405	0.686
	WA	0.17	0.379	0.27	0.452	-1.244	0.216
Politeness	NA	0.23	0.420	0.33	0.479	-1.217	0.226
	WA	0.40	0.492	0.36	0.489	0.344	0.732
Humorous	NA	0.39	0.491	0.30	0.467	0.898	0.371
	WA	0.32	0.470	0.34	0.483	-0.218	0.828
Influential	NA	0.46	0.501	0.33	0.479	1.285	0.201
	WA	0.38	0.487	0.33	0.479	0.438	0.662
Courage	NA	0.26	0.442	0.25	0.440	0.120	0.905
	WA	0.13	0.337	0.12	0.331	0.115	0.909
Country bumpkin	NA	0.66	0.478	0.56	0.504	0.941	0.349

	WA	0.56	0.499	0.48	0.508	0.731	0.466
Lower class	NA	0.72	0.451	0.67	0.479	0.579	0.564
	WA	0.73	0.446	0.66	0.483	0.803	0.424
Generosity	NA	0.28	0.451	0.15	0.364	1.468	0.145
	WA	0.36	0.482	0.36	0.489	-0.050	0.960
Friendliness	NA	0.26	0.440	0.27	0.452	-0.163	0.871
	WA	0.30	0.463	0.36	0.489	-0.622	0.535
Stinginess	NA	0.56	0.499	0.67	0.479	-1.074	0.285
	WA	0.54	0.501	0.55	0.506	-0.077	0.939

Appendix H: Results of group statistics for third visit of matched guise test based on place of origin

		NA Origin Mean	Std. Deviation	WA Origin Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Honesty	NA	0.53	0.503	0.57	0.501	-0.424	0.672
	WA	0.63	0.486	0.54	0.504	0.925	0.357
Intelligence	NA	0.21	0.406	0.22	0.420	-0.222	0.825
	WA	0.27	0.445	0.36	0.484	-1.046	0.298
Independence	NA	0.23	0.422	0.39	0.493	-1.961	0.052
	WA	0.31	0.465	0.29	0.458	0.217	0.828
Kindness	NA	0.44	0.499	0.43	0.501	0.012	0.990
	WA	0.46	0.502	0.39	0.493	0.800	0.425
Ambition	NA	0.36	0.482	0.37	0.488	-0.158	0.875
	WA	0.38	0.489	0.24	0.435	1.552	0.123
Self confidence	NA	0.23	0.424	0.26	0.444	-0.375	0.708
	WA	0.31	0.466	0.29	0.458	0.262	0.794
Good leader	NA	0.27	0.446	0.42	0.499	-1.689	0.094
	WA	0.49	0.503	0.36	0.484	1.407	0.162
Trustworthiness	NA	0.37	0.486	0.52	0.505	-1.665	0.099
	WA	0.47	0.502	0.35	0.482	1.259	0.210
Interesting	NA	0.34	0.478	0.42	0.499	-0.877	0.382
	WA	0.40	0.493	0.40	0.495	-0.028	0.978
Religious family	NA	0.22	0.416	0.20	0.401	0.292	0.771
	WA	0.33	0.474	0.20	0.405	1.582	0.116

Good and Promising future	NA	0.38	0.488	0.27	0.447	1.277	0.204
	WA	0.50	0.503	0.42	0.499	0.828	0.409
Rich Family	NA	0.42	0.496	0.46	0.504	-0.440	0.660
	WA	0.44	0.499	0.44	0.502	-0.063	0.950
Well educated	NA	0.36	0.482	0.38	0.490	-0.247	0.805
	WA	0.53	0.503	0.43	0.501	0.994	0.322
Respected person	NA	0.27	0.446	0.33	0.477	-0.748	0.456
	WA	0.47	0.503	0.41	0.497	0.691	0.491
Having lots friends	NA	0.36	0.482	0.35	0.482	0.092	0.927
	WA	0.28	0.453	0.36	0.484	-0.845	0.400
Living in city	NA	0.44	0.500	0.40	0.495	0.445	0.657
	WA	0.37	0.486	0.40	0.495	-0.308	0.759
Family Loving	NA	0.25	0.434	0.26	0.444	-0.173	0.863
	WA	0.29	0.458	0.36	0.484	-0.705	0.482
Politeness	NA	0.34	0.478	0.36	0.484	-0.149	0.882
	WA	0.49	0.576	0.42	0.499	0.691	0.491
Humorous	NA	0.49	0.503	0.43	0.501	0.555	0.580
	WA	0.47	0.502	0.49	0.506	-0.226	0.822
Influential	NA	0.37	0.486	0.30	0.465	0.717	0.474
	WA	0.45	0.501	0.31	0.468	1.503	0.135
Courage	NA	0.27	0.445	0.17	0.383	1.171	0.244
	WA	0.22	0.417	0.29	0.458	-0.838	0.403
Country bumpkin	NA	0.42	0.497	0.72	0.455	-3.283	0.001

	WA	0.53	0.503	0.61	0.493	-0.924	0.357
Lower class	NA	0.60	0.493	0.59	0.498	0.170	0.865
	WA	0.41	0.495	0.56	0.503	-1.578	0.117
Generosity	NA	0.34	0.476	0.31	0.468	0.299	0.765
	WA	0.38	0.490	0.33	0.477	0.565	0.573
Friendliness	NA	0.37	0.486	0.42	0.499	-0.548	0.584
	WA	0.52	0.503	0.40	0.495	1.274	0.205
Stinginess	NA	0.51	0.503	0.63	0.488	-1.345	0.181
	WA	0.51	0.503	0.62	0.490	-1.245	0.216

Appendix I: Results of group statistics for first visit of matched guise test based on gender

	Guises	Male Mean	Std. Deviation	Female Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Honesty	NA	0.59	0.503	0.60	0.498	-0.065	0.949
	WA	0.55	0.510	0.77	0.425	-1.777	0.082
Intelligence	NA	0.32	0.477	0.23	0.425	0.741	0.462
	WA	0.05	0.213	0.13	0.341	-1.016	0.314
Independence	NA	0.45	0.510	0.42	0.502	0.250	0.804
	WA	0.14	0.351	0.29	0.461	-1.316	0.194
Kindness	NA	0.27	0.456	0.39	0.495	-0.856	0.396
	WA	0.59	0.503	0.52	0.508	0.530	0.598
Ambition	NA	0.50	0.512	0.48	0.508	0.114	0.910
	WA	0.23	0.429	0.26	0.445	-0.252	0.802
Self confidence	NA	0.23	0.429	0.19	0.402	0.293	0.771
	WA	0.05	0.213	0.32	0.475	-2.554	0.014*
Good leader	NA	0.36	0.492	0.42	0.502	-0.401	0.690
	WA	0.41	0.503	0.35	0.486	0.394	0.695
Trustworthiness	NA	0.55	0.510	0.45	0.506	0.663	0.510
	WA	0.50	0.512	0.39	0.495	0.807	0.424
Interesting	NA	0.36	0.492	0.61	0.495	-1.810	0.076
	WA	0.27	0.456	0.45	0.506	-1.321	0.193
Religious family	NA	0.27	0.456	0.29	0.461	-0.137	0.891
	WA	0.27	0.456	0.19	0.402	0.669	0.507

Good and Promising future	NA	0.36	0.492	0.32	0.475	0.305	0.761
	WA	0.23	0.429	0.52	0.508	-2.172	0.035*
Rich Family	NA	0.68	0.477	0.48	0.508	1.433	0.158
	WA	0.50	0.512	0.61	0.495	-0.807	0.424
Well educated	NA	0.59	0.503	0.29	0.461	2.251	0.029*
	WA	0.45	0.510	0.65	0.486	-1.378	0.174
Respected person	NA	0.32	0.477	0.29	0.461	0.214	0.832
	WA	0.18	0.395	0.23	0.425	-0.382	0.704
Having lots friends	NA	0.27	0.456	0.39	0.495	-0.856	0.396
	WA	0.27	0.456	0.37	0.490	-0.703	0.485
Living in city	NA	0.50	0.512	0.45	0.506	0.341	0.734
	WA	0.32	0.477	0.55	0.506	-1.671	0.101
Family Loving	NA	0.23	0.429	0.10	0.301	1.304	0.198
	WA	0.18	0.395	0.32	0.475	-1.138	0.261
Politeness	NA	0.18	0.395	0.42	0.502	-1.850	0.070
	WA	0.55	0.510	0.52	0.508	0.207	0.837
Humorous	NA	0.45	0.510	0.55	0.506	-0.663	0.510
	WA	0.50	0.512	0.32	0.475	1.297	0.200
Influential	NA	0.55	0.510	0.52	0.508	0.207	0.837
	WA	0.41	0.503	0.45	0.506	-0.302	0.764
Courage	NA	0.36	0.492	0.35	0.486	0.065	0.949
	WA	0.14	0.351	0.29	0.461	-1.316	0.194
Country bumpkin	NA	0.45	0.510	0.48	0.508	-0.207	0.837

	WA	0.59	0.503	0.35	0.486	1.716	0.092
Lower class	NA	0.50	0.512	0.52	0.508	-0.114	0.910
	WA	0.73	0.456	0.55	0.506	1.321	0.193
Generosity	NA	0.41	0.503	0.35	0.486	0.394	0.695
	WA	0.23	0.429	0.45	0.506	-1.692	0.097
Friendliness	NA	0.36	0.492	0.42	0.502	-0.401	0.690
	WA	0.45	0.510	0.32	0.475	0.967	0.338
Stinginess	NA	0.73	0.456	0.61	0.495	0.856	0.396
	WA	0.55	0.510	0.74	0.445	-1.491	0.142

Appendix J: Results of group statistics for second visit of matched guise test based on gender

	Guises	Male Mean	Std. Deviation	Female Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Honesty	NA	0.42	0.498	0.34	0.476	0.960	0.339
	WA	0.52	0.504	0.31	0.464	2.488	0.014*
Intelligence	NA	0.30	0.462	0.21	0.411	1.126	0.262
	WA	0.21	0.409	0.24	0.428	-0.395	0.694
Independence	NA	0.33	0.476	0.19	0.399	1.804	0.074
	WA	0.19	0.395	0.21	0.409	-0.263	0.793
Kindness	NA	0.36	0.485	0.32	0.470	0.507	0.613
	WA	0.26	0.444	0.29	0.458	-0.356	0.723
Ambition	NA	0.37	0.487	0.47	0.503	-1.125	0.263
	WA	0.33	0.473	0.25	0.436	0.971	0.334
Self confidence	NA	0.24	0.432	0.14	0.348	1.499	0.136
	WA	0.14	0.348	0.13	0.333	0.216	0.830
Good leader	NA	0.47	0.503	0.40	0.494	0.714	0.477
	WA	0.32	0.469	0.42	0.496	-1.174	0.242
Trustworthiness	NA	0.45	0.502	0.30	0.460	1.799	0.074
	WA	0.41	0.497	0.43	0.498	-0.167	0.867
Interesting	NA	0.26	0.444	0.40	0.493	-1.625	0.107
	WA	0.17	0.381	0.31	0.466	-1.807	0.073
Religious family	NA	0.26	0.442	0.19	0.399	0.870	0.386
	WA	0.21	0.409	0.26	0.444	-0.754	0.452

Good and Promising future	NA	0.45	0.502	0.34	0.478	1.214	0.227
	WA	0.34	0.479	0.32	0.470	0.304	0.762
Rich Family	NA	0.53	0.503	0.40	0.494	1.499	0.136
	WA	0.37	0.487	0.41	0.495	-0.458	0.648
Well educated	NA	0.31	0.467	0.33	0.475	-0.277	0.783
	WA	0.30	0.462	0.33	0.475	-0.422	0.674
Respected person	NA	0.47	0.503	0.27	0.446	2.367	0.019*
	WA	0.32	0.469	0.32	0.470	-0.044	0.965
Having lots friends	NA	0.33	0.473	0.19	0.399	1.741	0.084
	WA	0.19	0.398	0.21	0.409	-0.214	0.831
Living in city	NA	0.44	0.501	0.31	0.464	1.562	0.121
	WA	0.39	0.491	0.33	0.475	0.616	0.539
Family Loving	NA	0.36	0.485	0.15	0.362	2.816	0.006**
	WA	0.12	0.331	0.26	0.444	-1.999	0.048*
Politeness	NA	0.29	0.459	0.24	0.428	0.731	0.466
	WA	0.30	0.462	0.46	0.502	-1.864	0.065
Humorous	NA	0.34	0.479	0.41	0.495	-0.736	0.463
	WA	0.30	0.464	0.35	0.479	-0.518	0.605
Influential	NA	0.45	0.502	0.42	0.496	0.359	0.720
	WA	0.33	0.476	0.42	0.496	-0.964	0.337
Courage	NA	0.21	0.414	0.28	0.451	-0.819	0.415
	WA	0.11	0.310	0.15	0.362	-0.788	0.432
Country bumpkin	NA	0.58	0.498	0.67	0.475	-1.020	0.310

	WA	0.60	0.495	0.51	0.503	0.932	0.353
Lower class	NA	0.66	0.479	0.74	0.444	-0.997	0.321
	WA	0.74	0.444	0.70	0.460	0.405	0.686
Generosity	NA	0.22	0.421	0.25	0.436	-0.341	0.733
	WA	0.37	0.487	0.34	0.476	0.355	0.723
Friendliness	NA	0.28	0.451	0.25	0.436	0.331	0.741
	WA	0.30	0.462	0.34	0.476	-0.476	0.635
Stinginess	NA	0.59	0.497	0.58	0.496	0.033	0.974
	WA	0.56	0.501	0.54	0.502	0.222	0.825

Appendix K: Results of group statistics for third visit of matched guise test based on gender

	Guises	Male Mean	Std. Deviation	Female Mean	Std. Deviation	t	Sig. (2-tailed)
Honesty	NA	0.62	0.491	0.49	0.503	1.352	0.179
	WA	0.61	0.493	0.58	0.497	0.297	0.767
Intelligence	NA	0.22	0.415	0.22	0.417	-0.046	0.963
	WA	0.25	0.437	0.33	0.473	-0.947	0.346
Independence	NA	0.35	0.480	0.26	0.440	1.081	0.282
	WA	0.25	0.437	0.35	0.479	-1.156	0.250
Kindness	NA	0.50	0.505	0.40	0.493	1.137	0.258
	WA	0.42	0.499	0.44	0.499	-0.149	0.882
Ambition	NA	0.41	0.497	0.33	0.475	0.885	0.378
	WA	0.35	0.483	0.32	0.471	0.332	0.741
Self confidence	NA	0.23	0.425	0.26	0.442	-0.374	0.709
	WA	0.29	0.457	0.31	0.466	-0.254	0.800
Good leader	NA	0.30	0.463	0.35	0.479	-0.543	0.588
	WA	0.46	0.503	0.43	0.498	0.360	0.720
Trustworthiness	NA	0.52	0.505	0.35	0.481	1.865	0.065
	WA	0.47	0.504	0.40	0.493	0.770	0.443
Interesting	NA	0.35	0.483	0.39	0.492	-0.462	0.645
	WA	0.38	0.491	0.42	0.496	-0.356	0.722
Religious family	NA	0.17	0.382	0.23	0.426	-0.808	0.421
	WA	0.21	0.412	0.35	0.479	-1.647	0.102

Good and Promising future	NA	0.33	0.476	0.35	0.481	-0.207	0.837
	WA	0.38	0.491	0.54	0.502	-1.735	0.085
Rich Family	NA	0.50	0.505	0.38	0.488	1.388	0.168
	WA	0.50	0.505	0.40	0.493	1.096	0.275
Well educated	NA	0.47	0.504	0.28	0.453	2.167	0.032*
	WA	0.46	0.503	0.52	0.503	-0.651	0.516
Respected person	NA	0.31	0.469	0.29	0.456	0.310	0.757
	WA	0.45	0.503	0.46	0.502	-0.080	0.936
Having lots friends	NA	0.33	0.476	0.36	0.484	-0.326	0.745
	WA	0.29	0.457	0.32	0.470	-0.366	0.715
Living in city	NA	0.44	0.502	0.42	0.497	0.217	0.829
	WA	0.38	0.491	0.39	0.491	-0.048	0.962
Family Loving	NA	0.19	0.398	0.29	0.458	-1.259	0.211
	WA	0.31	0.466	0.33	0.475	-0.296	0.767
Politeness	NA	0.37	0.488	0.32	0.471	0.553	0.581
	WA	0.46	0.609	0.46	0.502	-0.032	0.974
Humorous	NA	0.46	0.503	0.46	0.502	-0.035	0.972
	WA	0.44	0.502	0.49	0.504	-0.552	0.582
Influential	NA	0.29	0.457	0.39	0.492	-1.214	0.227
	WA	0.42	0.499	0.39	0.491	0.380	0.705
Courage	NA	0.25	0.437	0.23	0.424	0.261	0.795
	WA	0.25	0.437	0.25	0.438	-0.044	0.965
Country bumpkin	NA	0.62	0.491	0.48	0.503	1.504	0.135

	WA	0.50	0.505	0.59	0.495	-1.028	0.306
Lower class	NA	0.54	0.503	0.63	0.486	-1.024	0.308
	WA	0.44	0.502	0.49	0.503	-0.472	0.638
Generosity	NA	0.37	0.488	0.31	0.464	0.772	0.442
	WA	0.35	0.480	0.38	0.488	-0.327	0.744
Friendliness	NA	0.35	0.483	0.42	0.498	-0.799	0.426
	WA	0.48	0.505	0.48	0.503	0.014	0.989
Stinginess	NA	0.48	0.505	0.61	0.492	-1.416	0.159
	WA	0.52	0.505	0.56	0.500	-0.466	0.642