

SUNDANESE LEXICAL VARIATION ON TRADITIONAL FOODS NAMING IN KUNINGAN REGION

VARIASI LEKSIKAL BASA SUNDA DALAM PENAMAAN MAKANAN TRADISIONAL DI DAERAH KUNINGAN

Eva Utami Durahman; Zenab Badriah

STIBA Invada
Jalan Brigjen Darsono 20, Cirebon, Indonesia
utamieva08@gmail.com

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Abstract

Sundanese has many dialects actively spoken all around Priangan. These dialects, to some extent, causes confusion and misunderstanding among the speaker itself. The phenomena attract variationists to dig deeper through their researches. Due to this mater, the study intended to describe Sundanese lexical variation on traditional foods naming in Kuningan region. The location was chosen due to the diversity of its citizen and geographical aspect of it. The qualitative method was utilized to get more detail of the problem. The data were collected in two steps (1) through questionnaires in google form and publicly distributed to Kuningan residents at reach and (2) online interview by using whatsapp application to those who filled up the google forms. The two steps data collecting techniques were done to enhance the validity of data considering the movement restriction on the pandemic period. The data gained were analized through two classification steps (1) based on which region the data came up and (2) based on variation in each data set. The result shown that the variation also exists in traditional foods naming on certain Kuningan region. The variations are spread across linguistic features from sounds to meaning. In the level of sounds, the variation appeared on both vowel and consonant sounds with the shift or addition or omission process. In the word level, the observable variations are (1) change in one element of the compound word, (2) morphophonemic phenomena in the form of repetition, omission, addition of certain syllable on the word, (3) addition of one morpheme to form compound, and (4) acronym. While other variations are observed in semantic aspect were semantic shift from hyponyms to hypernyms and complete lexical differences. The result amplified the fact that Sundanese lexical variation also existed in traditional foods naming.

Keywords: *Sundanese Lexical Variation; Traditional Foods Naming; Language Variation*

Abstrak

Bahasa Sunda memiliki banyak dialek yang digunakan secara aktif di seluruh wilayah Priangan. Dialek tersebut terkadang menimbulkan kebingungan dan kesalahpahaman antarpenutur bahasa Sunda sendiri. Fenomena tersebut menarik perhatian para peneliti bahasa, khususnya yang meneliti keragaman bahasa. Berdasarkan hal tersebut, penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan variasi leksikal bahasa Sunda dalam penamaan makanan tradisional di wilayah Kuningan. Wilayah ini dijadikan lokasi penelitian karena keberagaman masyarakatnya serta letak geografisnya. Metode kualitatif digunakan untuk mendapatkan informasi terperinci yang berkaitan dengan fenomena tersebut. Data diambil dengan dua cara penyebaran kuesioner secara daring menggunakan *google form* kepada penduduk

Kuningan dan wawancara langsung secara daring dengan menggunakan aplikasi *whatsapp* kepada partisipan penelitian yang mengisi kuesioner. Kedua cara tersebut dilakukan untuk meningkatkan validitas data selain dari terbatasnya pergerakan penelitian karena pandemi Covid-19. Data dianalisis melalui dua tahap klasifikasi berdasarkan: wilayah ditemukannya data dan (2) ada tidaknya variasi leksikal dalam setiap grup data. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa variasi leksikal bahasa Sunda juga terjadi pada penamaan makanan tradisional di beberapa wilayah Kuningan. Variasi leksikal ini tersebar pada beberapa fitur linguistik dari mulai bunyi sampai makna. Pada tataran bunyi, variasi leksikal terlihat pada bunyi vokal dan konsonan dengan proses peralihan, penambahan, dan penghilangan bunyi. Pada tataran kata, variasi yang terdeteksi adalah (1) perubahan pada satu elemen dalam kata majemuk, (2) fenomena morfofonemik dengan bentuk pengulangan, penghilangan, dan penambahan silabel tertentu dalam kata, (3) penambahan satu elemen kata untuk membentuk kata majemuk, dan (4) akronim. Variasi leksikal lainnya terjadi pada tataran semantik, khususnya pada pergeseran dari hiponim ke hipernim dan sebaliknya serta perbedaan leksikal yang merujuk pada benda yang sama. Hal ini memperkuat bukti bahwa variasi leksikal bahasa Sunda juga terjadi pada penamaan makanan.

Kata Kunci: Variasi leksikal Basa Sunda; Penamaan Makanan Tradisional; Variasi Bahasa

1. Introduction

There are many dialects of Sundanese actively spoken all around West Java area. Among other, Priangan dialect is spoken around Bandung, Cianjur, Sumedang, Garut, Tasik-malaya, and Ciamis (Arifin, 2018: 2); the south coast dialect is spoken around Pangandaran (Afsari and Muhtadin, 2019: 13); Majalengka dialect is spoken around Majalengka and Rajagaluh (Suhartinah, 2020: 1); and many others. All those variations that form the dialects of *Sundanese* mostly emerge on the level of sounds, words, meaning, and naming things including foods and beverages. Some of those variations may raise problem among *Sundanese* speakers in their communication. To solve this problem, researches related to language variation of *Sundanese* are conducted.

The boldest problem comes up from Sundanese dialect is a misunderstanding or false impression among its speakers (Rahmawati, 2011: 1; Widyastuti, 2017: 101). The following variation is a good example of it. In Parung Panjang, Bogor, the pronoun "he" has eight variations, namely *sia* [sia], *manéhna* [manəhna], *manéh* [manəh], *si éta*

[si éta], *nyana* [ñana], *enyana* [əñana], *kumanéh* [kumanəh] dan *sorangan* [sorəŋan]. While in Sidamulih, the pronoun "I" has three variations *urang* [urang], *déwék* [déwék], *abi* [abi]; the pronoun "you" has two variations *sia* [sia] and *manéh* [manéh]. Those examples, to some extent, may raise misunderstanding or false impression when Sundanese from different region in contact.

Apparently, Sundanese dialect appears in many aspects including naming things. The naming foods and beverages, especially the traditional one, is influenced geographically. Traditional foods and beverages are made of local ingredients that uniquely used by the local people to suit their taste and physical needs. The naming also reflects the culture (Devianty, 2017: 226) of the people who are used to consuming these kind of foods and beverages. Thus, the naming is affected by the natural resources and the local people who make use of those ingredients for living.

Same as other language variations, the naming of traditional foods and beverages raises confusion among Sundanese speakers

who live in different areas. The research conducted by Heryadi (2014) in north and south Majalaya is a good example of it. The result shows that there are naming variations of traditional food in both areas. Some of them are listed in the following table.

Table 1
Naming Variation on Traditional Foods in North and South Majalaya

No	Standardized Sundanese	North Majalaya	South Majalaya
1	<i>papais</i>	<i>misro</i>	<i>papais</i>
2	<i>jagong beledug</i>	<i>jagong beledug</i>	<i>borondong</i>
3	<i>rarawuan</i>	<i>rarawuan</i>	<i>gorengan kacang</i>
4	<i>kelepon</i>	<i>ondol-ondol</i>	<i>kelepon</i>

Those are the name of Sundanese traditional snacks that made from various local ingredients. *Misro* and *papais* are two different names that refer to the deep fried and sweet snack that made of grated cassava with brown sugar as its stuffing. *Jagong beledug* and *borondong* refer to Sundanese sweetened or unsweetened popcorn. *Rarawuan* and *gorengan kacang* refer to savory snack made of flour and tolo beans. *Kelepon* and *ondol-ondol* are also two different names that refer to the sweet rice cake balls filled with molten palm sugar and coated in grated coconut. The study raises question whether there is or is not lexical variation on foods and beverages naming in other regions.

To answer the question, this study is conducted which focuses on traditional foods naming. The study takes place in Kuningan at West Java. Kuningan is well known with its several natural resources such as sticky rice and its traditional foods and beverages such as *tape ketan*, *tahu susu*, *opak bakar*, *cuing*, *jeruk peras* and others. Kuningan is also one of boarder area between West and Central Java. It becomes the perfect location for investigating the variation of language

phenomena. Thus, based on these reasons, Kuningan is taken to be the locus of the study.

The literature review on language variation in Kuningan leads this study to find the list of Kuningan traditional foods name. It is ethnographically studied by Hadiyaniyah (2016: 97) The result listed 73 traditional foods in Kuningan region namely (01) *ades*, (02) *ampyang*, (03) *apem*, (04) *awug*, (05) *bakasem kadongdong*, (06) *béca*, (07) *bongko*, (08) *bola-bola*, (09) *bolu ungu*, (10) *bubur kemplang* (11) *bubur lemu*, (12) *buras*, (13) *cikak*, (14) *cilok*, (15) *cimplo*, (16) *cuhcur*, (17) *cuing*, (18) *dodol salak*, (19) *dodol peuyeum*, (20) *dodol boled*, (21) *doko-doko*, (22) *emping*, (23) *gémét*, (24) *gemplong*, (25) *gemplong kancing*, (26) *gemplong ungu*, (27) *gendar*, (28) *getuk*, (29) *golono*, (30) *hucap*, (31) *jagong marning*, (32) *jawadah*, (33) *jalabria*, (34) *kasréng*, (35) *kelepon*, (36) *keremes*, (37) *ketan uli*, (38) *kiripik bayem*, (39) *kiripik nangka*, (40) *kiripik gadung*, (41) *kiripik sampeu*, (42) *kiripik sukun*, (43) *kiripik tahu*, (44) *koécang*, (45) *kuéh satu*, (46) *kuéh saroja*, (47) *kulub hui*, (48) *kulub sampeu*, (49) *leupeut*, (50) *manisan cermé*, (51) *manisan jahé* (52) *manisan mangga*, (53) *manisan roséla*, (54) *manisan tomat*, (55) *moho*, (56) *noga kalapa*, (57) *opak bakar*, (58) *papais monyong*, (59) *peuyeum ketan*, (60) *pia-pia*, (61) *putri noong*, (62) *rangginang*, (63) *raragudig*, (64) *rarawuan*, (65) *rubi-rubi*, (66) *rujak kangkung*, (67) *sasagon*, (68) *sop tutut*, (69) *tahu lamping*, (70) *tahu susu*, (71) *tumis rebung*, (72) *wajit Subang*, dan (73) *wiwingka*.

While the previous study generated the list of traditional food names from Kuningan region, this study is intended to identify and describe lexical variation on the naming of traditional foods in Kuningan region by making use of the result of previous study as the starting point. Thus, the aim of this study is to identify and describe lexical variation on the naming of traditional foods in Kuningan region.

2. Method

The study utilized qualitative design to explore a central phenomenon (Creswell, 2012: 16), in this case, the lexical variation on foods naming in Kuningan region. Five-phased step (Yin, 2011: 177) were done in conducting the study. First, data was compiled to establish database. The data was gained from questionnaires and online direct interview by using *whatsapp*. The questionnaire was arranged based on the previous study that generated the list of traditional food names in Kuningan region. It was made by using *google form* that publicly shared to Kuningan residents at reach. The result of the questionnaire was tabulated to become the database. To enhance the validity of each data, direct interview was done by using *whatsapp*. These online data collecting steps were done considering the pandemic circumstances.

Second, data was disassembled by classifying them based on which districts it came up. Due to physical distancing policy to prevent the spread of the covid19 virus, the study could not pursue data through field work. Thus, from 32 districts in Kuningan region, the questionnaire was only reached 9 districts namely (1) Kuningan, (2) Cilimus, (3) Jalaksana, (4) Cibeureum, (5) Mandirancan, (6) Pasawahan, (7) Cibingbin, (8) Cipicung, and (9) Hantara.

Third, reassembling data by dividing them into two groups namely, zero variant cluster and variant cluster. Zero variant cluster is the group of data that has no variation, in other words, data gained from nine district is the same as the gloss. Otherwise, variant cluster is the group for data that has variation in naming traditional foods. At this phase, data reductions were also taken place.

The reduction was done based on the data reduction criteria that set up at the research

plan of this study as follow. Due to geographical position of Kuningan, the data reduction eliminated many lexical items related to traditional foods naming. It was done under consideration of limiting the influence of Indonesian and Javanese on the data. The reduction also reduced biases on the study related to unconfirm data due to the data collecting technique on that carried out in pandemic time. Fourth, interpreting data to build a thick description of the addressing phenomenon and the last was concluding the study.

3. Findings and Discussions

The study found that there are variations on traditional foods naming in Kuningan region. Those variations are identified by linguistic variable in the form of lexicon related to traditional foods naming as its variants which are met the principle of accountability. This principle makes it possible for those variants to be defined as a closed set of variants (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015: 149). The database showed that from nine districts six of them, (1) Kuningan, (2) Cilimus, (3) Jalaksana, (4) Cibeureum, (5) Mandirancan, and (6) Pasawahan, have different name from the gloss that refer to the same traditional foods. While the rest regions, (1) Cibingbin, (2) Cipicung, and (3) Hantara, have the same naming of gloss. To enhance the legibility, this section is divided into two discussion sections, namely zero variant cluster and variant cluster.

3.1 Zero Variant Cluster

Zero variant cluster is the group of data that have no variation. From the 73 traditional foods naming on the gloss, the study found that there are 34 zero variants traditional foods naming. It means that the data shows no differences on those naming. The 32 traditional foods naming are as follow.

Table 2
The Gloss of Zero Variant Traditional Foods Naming

Data Code	Zero Variant	No	Zero Variant
1	<i>apem</i>	18	<i>ketan uli</i>
2	<i>bongko</i>	19	<i>leupeut</i>
3	<i>bubur kemplang</i>	20	<i>manisan jahe</i>
4	<i>buras</i>	21	<i>manisan mangga</i>
5	<i>cilok</i>	22	<i>manisan tomat</i>
6	<i>cimplo</i>	23	<i>opak bakar</i>
7	<i>dodol salak</i>	24	<i>peuyeum ketan</i>
8	<i>dodol peuyeum</i>	25	<i>peuyeum uli</i>
9	<i>doko-doko</i>	26	<i>pia-pia</i>
10	<i>emping</i>	27	<i>putri noong</i>

11	<i>gemblong kancing</i>	28	<i>raragudig</i>
12	<i>gemblong ungu</i>	29	<i>rarawuan</i>
13	<i>hucap</i>	30	<i>rubi-rubi</i>
14	<i>jalabria</i>	31	<i>rujak kangkung</i>
15	<i>koecang</i>	32	<i>tahu susu</i>
16	<i>kueh satu</i>	33	<i>tumis rebung</i>
17	<i>kulub sampeu</i>	34	<i>wajit subang</i>

3.2 Variant Cluster

Variant cluster is the group of data that have variation in naming traditional foods. The study found that there are 39 traditional foods naming which have lexical variation on certain district in Kuningan region. The data are described below.

Table 3
The Gloss of Variant Traditional Foods Naming

Data Code	Gloss	Variant (V1)	Variant (V2)	Variant (V3)	Variant (V4)
35	<i>ades</i>	<i>adas</i>	<i>hades</i>	<i>hadas</i>	<i>awug kalapa</i>
36	<i>ampyang</i>	<i>gula suuk</i>			
37	<i>awug</i>	<i>dodongkal</i>			
38	<i>bakasem kadongdong</i>	<i>manisan donggala</i>			
39	<i>bubur lemu</i>	<i>bubur sumsum</i>			
40	<i>bolu ungu</i>	<i>bolu taleus</i>			
41	<i>cikak</i>	<i>kocia</i>			
42	<i>cuing</i>	<i>cuwing</i>	<i>cingcau</i>	<i>cincau</i>	
43	<i>cuhcur</i>	<i>cocor bebek</i>	<i>cucur</i>		
44	<i>dodol boled</i>	<i>dodol</i>			
45	<i>gemblong</i>	<i>jalabria</i>			
46	<i>gemet</i>	<i>gepeu</i>	<i>golovin</i>		
47	<i>getuk</i>	<i>getuk lindri</i>	<i>gegetuk</i>		
48	<i>golono</i>	<i>asmun</i>	<i>goreng aci</i>	<i>blengep goreng</i>	
49	<i>jawadah</i>	<i>jawadah</i>	<i>jaragudig</i>	<i>dodol</i>	
50	<i>jagong marning</i>	<i>goreng jagong</i>	<i>kiripik jagong</i>	<i>borondong jagong</i>	<i>boronong garing</i>
51	<i>kiripik bayem</i>	<i>kiripik bayeum</i>			
52	<i>kiripik gadung</i>	<i>goreng gadung</i>	<i>gadung</i>		

53	<i>kiripik nangka</i>	<i>nangka</i>	<i>kurupuk</i>	
54	<i>kiripik sukun</i>	<i>sukun goreng</i>	<i>goreng sukun</i>	
55	<i>kiripik tahu</i>	<i>kulit tahu</i>	<i>kurupuk kulit tahu</i>	<i>krupuk tahu</i>
56	<i>gendar</i>	<i>goreng intip liweut</i>		
57	<i>kelepon</i>	<i>klepon</i>		
58	<i>keremes</i>	<i>keremesan</i>	<i>sisig ratu</i>	
59	<i>bola-bola</i>	<i>ciled</i>	<i>bobobi</i>	
60	<i>moho</i>	<i>bolu kukus</i>		
61	<i>kulub hui</i>	<i>boled</i>		
62	<i>manisan cerme</i>	<i>manisan cireme</i>	<i>manisan buah cereme</i>	<i>cereme</i>
63	<i>manisan rosella</i>	<i>manisan asem</i>	<i>rosela</i>	
64	<i>kasreng</i>	<i>naskas</i>		
65	<i>noga</i>	<i>teng-teng</i>		
66	<i>opak beca</i>	<i>opak</i>	<i>kicimpring</i>	<i>beca</i>
67	<i>papais monyong</i>	<i>papais</i>	<i>papais sampeu</i>	<i>celurut</i>
68	<i>rangginang</i>	<i>raginang</i>		
69	<i>saroja</i>	<i>kembang goyang</i>		
70	<i>sasagon</i>	<i>sagon</i>	<i>tigopo</i>	<i>sagon bakar</i>
71	<i>sop tutut</i>	<i>karaca</i>		
72	<i>tahu lamping</i>	<i>tahu kopeci</i>	<i>tahu</i>	
73	<i>wiwingka</i>	<i>bika ambon</i>	<i>wingka</i>	

The table above shows four major types of lexical variation on traditional foods naming in certain Kuningan regions. Those types are (1) phonological shift, (2) morphological change, (3) semantic shift, and (4) complete lexical differences. The detail description of those were in the following subtitles.

3.2.1 Phonological Shift

In the level of sounds, the variation is simply visible by differences in phonological features (Tagliamonte, 2006: 205). In this case, the study finds out that (1) vowel shift, (2) vowel addition, (3) vowel omission, (4) consonant addition, and (5) consonant omission.

The vowel shift is found in data (35.V1), (35.V3), (51.V1), (62.V1). The shift mostly happens from [e] to [a]/[eu]/[i] and located around the syllable of the word. The following example shows these phenomena better.

(35.V1) from *ad[e]s* to *ad[a]s*

(51.V1) from *kiripik bay[e]m* to *kiripik bay[eu]m*

(62.V1) from *c[e]rme* to *c[i]reme*

The vowel addition is found in data (62.V1), (62.V2), (62.V3). All data shows addition of [e] sound to form the second syllable on the word. The following is the example:

(62.V1) from *cer[ø]me* to *cir[e]me*

The gloss consists of two syllable [*cer*] and [*me*] while the syllable of the variant is counted three syllables by the addition of [e] sound; [*ci*], [*re*], [*me*].

The vowel omission is found in one data (57.V1). It happens on the first syllable of the word with the sound [e] to be omitted.

(57.V1) from *k[e]lepon* to *k[ø]lepon*

The consonant addition involves the addition of [h] sound found in (35.V2), (35.V3) and [w] sound found in (42.V1). The addition takes place on the first syllable of the word and between diphthong. The following are the example.

(35.V2) form *[ø]ades* to *[h]ades*

(42.V1) from *cu[ø]ing* to *cu[w]ing*

The consonant omission involves the omission of [h] sound found in (43.V2) and [ŋ] sound found in (68.V1). The omission happens on the first syllable of the word. The following are the example.

(43.V2) from *cu[h]cur* to *cu[ø]cur*

(68.V1) from *ra[ŋ]ginang* to *ra[ø]ginang*

The consonant shift appears on one cluster data (42.V2) and (42.V3). The shift involves between [ŋ] and [n] sound, the following is the illustration of the phenomena.

(42.V2) *ci[ŋ]cau* (42.V3) *ci[n]cau*

3.2.2 Morphological Change

As in the sound level, the variation on the word level is marked simply by the change on morphological features. There are four major morphological change finds on the data; (1)

change in one element of the compound word, (2) morphophonemic phenomena in the form of repetition, omission, addition of certain syllable on the word, (3) addition of one morpheme to form compound, and (4) acronym.

Compounds are formed of two (or more) bases, roots, or stems (Lieber, 2009: 43). Thus, the change on compound data takes place in both left and right bases that composed it. Those data show the compound of traditional foods naming consist of two or three bases and the change takes place on one of those bases. The change on the left base was found in data (50.V1), (50.V2), (50.V4), (52.V1), (54.V2), (55.V1), and (55.V3). Those data built the compounding that consist on two nouns. The following are the example of this phenomena.

(50.V1) from *{jagong} marning* to *{goreng} jagong*

(50.V2) from *{jagong} marning* to *{kiripik} jagong*

(50.V4) from *{jagong} marning* to *{borondong} jagong*

Data (39.V1), (40.V1), (54.V1), (67.V2), (70.V3), (72.V1) were the compounding consist of two nouns with the change take place on the right bases that composed it. The following are the example of this phenomena

(39.V1) from *bubur {lemu}* to *bubur {sumsum}*

(67.V2) from *papais {monyong}* to *papais {sampeu}*

(72.V1) from *tahu {lamping}* to *tahu {kopeci}*

While the previous data are consisted of two nouns, the end result of data (55.V2) and (62.V2) are compounding of three words. The change take place on the left bases with the

additional base on it. The following are the example of this phenomena.

- (55.V2) from {kiripik} tahu to {kurupuk kulit} tahu
- (62.V2) from {manisan} cerme to {manisan buah} cereme

The realization of certain allomorph in data (47.V2), (70.V1), (73.V2), and (58.V1) indicate the lexical variation on traditional foods naming. These are in the form of repetition of the first syllable on data below.

- (47.V2) from ge{Ø}tuk to ge{ge}tuk

The omission of the first syllable of the word as in data below.

- (70.V1) from sa{sa}gon to sa{Ø}gon
- (73.V2) from wi{wi}ngka to wi{Ø}ngka

The addition of the last syllable of the word or suffix as in data below.

- (58.V1) from keremes{Ø} to keremes{an}

Data (47.V1) shows the addition of one morpheme or base to form the compound word that refer to the same reference. The data is displayed below.

- (47.V1) from getuk to getuk {lindri}

Data (64.V1) is in the form of acronym. The detail is shown below.

- (64.V1) form kasreng to naskas

While the gloss is in the form of one morpheme as base, *Kasreng*, the variant adds one other base to form compounding, *nasi kasreng*. The compounding undergoes two morphological processes namely clipping and blending. Clipping process omits the second syllable of the left and right base with the exception of the consonant sound of the left syllable; [nas] and

[kas]. The leftover syllable, then, blends to become one morpheme.

3.2.3 Semantic Change

The semantic shift phenomena finds in the data deal with inheritance hierarchy (Reimer, 2010: 274). The gloss of the data is in the form of specific name of traditional foods or hyponyms while the variant shifts into the superordinate of the wordnet or hypernyms. The data which shifts to the hypernyms found in (44.V1), (49.V1), (52.V2), (53.V2), (66.V1), (53.V1), (62.V3), (63.V2), (67.V1), (72.V2). While the data (66.V3) shifts into the specific name of the traditional food or hyponym.

The gloss of data (44.V1), (49.V1), (52.V2), (53.V2), (66.V1) are the hyponymic hierarchy or specific name used for the particular traditional foods, while those data shift into the superordinate form of it namely **kinds of traditional snack**.

- (44.V1) from *dodol boled* to *boled*
- (53.V2) from *kiripik nangka* to *nangka*
- (66.V1) from *opak beca* to *opak*

While data (53.V1), (62.V3), (63.V2) shift into the superordinate form of it namely **kinds of fruit and flower**.

- (53.V1) from *kiripik nangka* to *nangka*
- (63.V2) from *manisan rosella* to *rosela*

Data (67.V1) shifts into the making process and data (72.V2) shifts into the basic ingredient.

- (67.V1) from *papais monyong* to *papais*
- (72.V2) from *tahu lamping* to *tahu*

3.2.4 Complete Lexical Differences

The following data shows complete lexical differences from the gloss of the study. Those data are:

- (35.V4) from *ades* to *awug kalapa*
(36.V1) from *ampyang* to *gula suuk*
(37.V1) from *awung* to *dodongkal*
(38.V1) from *bakasem kadongdong* to *manisan donggala*
(41.V1) from *cikak* to *kocia*
(42.V2) from *cuing* to *cingcau*
(43.V1) from *cuhcur* to *cocor bebek*
(45.V1) from *gemblong* to *jalabria*
(46.V1) from *gemet* to *gepeu*
(46.V2) from *gemet* to *golovin*
(48.V1) from *golono* to *asmun*
(48.V2) from *golono* to *goreng aci*
(48.V3) from *golono* to *blengep goreng*
(49.V2) from *jawadah* to *jaraguding*
(50.V3) from *jagong marning* to *boronong garing*
(56.V1) from *gendar* to *goreng intip liwet*
(58.V2) from *keremes* to *sisig ratu*
(59.V1) from *bola-bola* to *ciled*
(59.V2) from *bola-bola* to *bobobi*
(60.V1) from *moho* to *bolu kukus*
(61.V1) from *kulub hui* to *boled*
(63.V1) from *manisan rosela* to *manisan asem*
(65.V1) from *noga* to *teng-teng*
(66.V2) from *opak beca* to *kicimpring*
(67.V3) from *papais monyong* to *celurut*
(69.V1) from *saroja* to *kembang goyang*
(70.V2) from *sasagon* to *tigopo*
(71.V1) from *sop tutut* to *karaca*
(73.V1) from *wiwingka* to *bika ambon*

4. Conclusion

In Sundanese, lexical differences that forms Sundanese dialect are also found in the naming of traditional foods. The lexical differences appear in phonological level, morphological level, and semantic level. In phonological level, certain vowel and consonant at the same cluster can be interchangeable and form fake minimum pairs. In other cluster, the insertion of certain vowel at two or more juxtaposed consonants do exist. While omission of

certain weak vowel and consonant do happen to support the principle of least effort in producing Sundanese words.

In morphological level, the differences take place mostly in compound word and certain syllable that form the word itself. Compound that formed in two or three words are subject to changes at one of its elements, whether it is addition or omission process. In the traditional foods naming, even, acronym that formed from compounding is also appeared. The other morphological phenomena found is repetition or deletion of the first syllable in the naming of traditional foods and complete lexical differences with the same referent in one cluster.

In semantic level, the word shifting appear in certain cluster of variants. The shift happened in the -nyms of inheritance hierarchy, namely hypernym and hyponym. Some name shifted from specific to general, while some other shifted from general to specific. The hypernym and hyponym involve the kind of traditional food names, the name of fruit or flower, and the name of ingredient or making process. These shifts generate a bit change in the sense of meaning.

This finding, although, obtained from the small place in West Java that dominantly used Sundanese as communication me-dium, emphasizes that language variation also happened in the naming of traditional foods. Research related to Sundanese variation in foods naming was also conducted by Heryadi in Majalay region. However, to make sure its claim, further research should be conducted in another region as well.

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