

phonological accommodation in situbondo bondowoso subdialect of madurese

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**PHONOLOGICAL ACCOMMODATION
IN SITUBONDO-BONDOWOSO SUBDIALECT OF MADURESE**

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ABSTRACT

Situbondo and Bondowoso districts are located in the East Java Tapal Kuda area. Those districts are different from other districts in the Tapal Kuda area because about 90% of the speakers in these two districts are Madurese speakers. Although almost all speakers are Madurese speakers, there are variations that tend to be phonological variations. One of the reasons is the sound accommodation the speakers do. This study aims to describe phonological accommodation in Situbondo-Bondowoso subdialect of Madurese that causes variation and distribution of variations so that there is a division of sound areas in the two districts. Data collection methods were conducted by structured interviews on 32 informants at 8 points of observation. The list of inquiries used is a list of language center which consists of 1089 vocabulary. In addition, unstructured interviews were conducted to find out the reason for the speakers doing the accommodation. According to data analysis, the padan method is used to describe the process and causes of the accommodation. Isoglosic method is used to describe the distribution of phonological variations. The result of phonological accommodation in Madurese subdialect Situbondo-Bondowoso is a long-term accommodation that occurs in the direction of the migration of its speakers. The accommodation consisted of the transition of the mid vowel [ɨ] to the central vowel [ɤ], the transition of front vowel [a] to the central vowel [ɤ], the transition from the consonant of the geminated to the non-geminated, the transition from the consonant of the aspirated to the non-aspirated. Geographically, the Variations caused by accommodation configure the sound area in the two districts. Phonological accommodation is also used by young speakers to obtain dialect/subdialect which is socially considered to be prestigious in society and the ability of Indonesian language also influence it.

Keywords: phonological accommodation, phonological variation, subdialect of Madurese

INTRODUCTION

Situbondo and Bondowoso districts are located in the Tapal Kuda area of East Java. The two districts are different from the other districts in the Tapal Kuda area because about 90% of the speakers in these two districts are Madurese speakers. Madurese became the language of communication between speakers. Even in some government institutions, Madurese language is also used as a means of communication with the community.

The Madurese language spoken in Situbondo and Bondowoso is East Madura dialect (Savitri, 2015). Although almost all speakers are Madurese speakers with the same subdialect—Situbondo-Bondowoso subdialect—there is a phonological variation between old speakers and young speakers. The example of it are areas whose elder speakers retain a geminat contoid while their young speakers have varied the geminat contoid with the nongeminat kontoid. The situation is in Pakem Bondowoso area. It shows that phonological variations are not only horizontal, but also vertical, that is between the old speakers and young speakers.

One of the causes of phonological variation in Situbondo and Bondowoso is the phonological accommodation of the speakers. Therefore, this study aims to describe the phonological accommodation of the subdialect Situbondo-Bondowoso Madurese language that causes variation and distribution of variations so that there is a division of sound areas in the two districts.

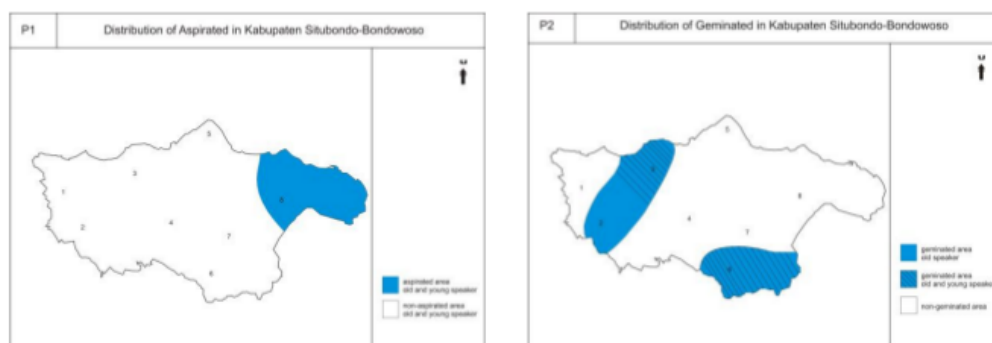
METHOD

The data were collected by using cakap method on 32 informants at 8 points of observation. The eight observation points are Wringin Anom Jatibanteng, Patemon Pakem, Central Source, Mangliwetan Tapen, Tanjung Pecinan Mangaran, Sukorejo, Sulingwetan Cermee, Kedunglo Asembagus. Each point of observation consists of 4 informants: 2 men and 2 women. The informants were divided into two groups: the old informant group and the young informant group. The questionnaire used is a list of Badan Bahasa which consists of 1089 vocabulary. In addition, unstructured interviews were conducted to find out the reason for the speakers doing the accommodation. In the data analysis, padan method is used to describe the process and causes of the accommodation and isoglosic method to describe the distribution of phonological variations.

ANALYSIS

2 Sound Area In Situbondo And Bondowoso Districts

The phonological variations occurring in the Situbondo and Bondowoso districts consist of four patterns: 1) the variation of the aspirate with nonaspirate, 2) the variation of the geminat contoid with nongeminat, 3) The variation of vocoid [a] with [ɔ:], and the variations of vocoid [ɔ] with [ɔ:]. Of the four patterns, which form the sound area are variations of the aspirate with nonaspirate, variation of the geminat contoid with nongeminat, and variation of vocoid [a] with [ɔ:]. The first pattern can be seen in the following map.



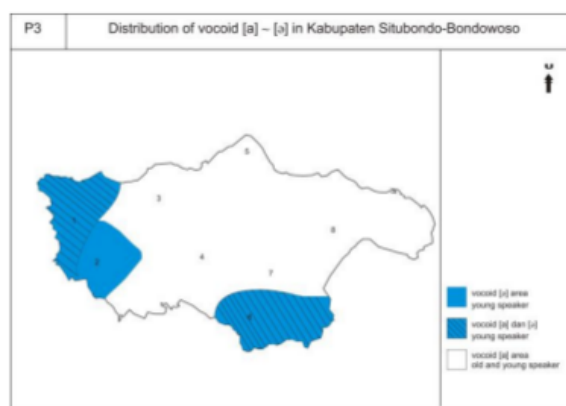
That map appears that the seven observation points are area of nonaspirated contoid. That means the seven points tend to vary the aspirated contoid —[bʰ], [tʰ], [kʰ], [ʃʰ]—to the nonaspirated contoid. It applies to both young and old speakers. This is different from what happens at the observation point 8. At that point old speaker and younger speakers tend to retain the aspirated contoid. Thus, in the two districts, the aspirated area is at the observation point 8 (Kedunglo Asembagus). The second sound region is a sound area indicating the distribution of the geminat contoid and nongeminat contoid. It is on map P2.

On map 2 it appears that the old speakers at the 2nd point of observation still retain a geminated contoid like [b:] in [b.:b:ih] 'pig', [c:] in [b:c:a] 'wet'. That means, there is a difference between an old speaker and a young speaker at the point of view. Younger speakers tend to vary the geminated contoid with the nongeminat kontoid. This is different from what happens at observing points 3 and 6. At these two points, there is an equation between young and old speakers, who both retain a geminated contoid in their speech.

The similarities between the native speakers and young speakers also occur at the observation points 1, 4, 5, 7, and 8. In these five points young speakers and native speakers tend to vary the geminated contoid with non-geminated contoid. If at point 3 and 6 there [b:c:a], then at five other points there [b:ca]. Based on the distribution it appears that what tends to appear in situbondo-

bondowoso is non-geminated kontoid. This is evident from the wider distribution of non-geminated kontoid than geminated kontoid.

The third sound area is an area indicating the variation of vokoid [a] with [ɔ]. One feature of the Madurese language of the Eastern Madura dialect is the presence of vokoid [a] as the nucleus of the first syllable. In the western Madura dialect, the vokoid [a] tends to be eliminated, so that if there is a word [tar↔tan] in East Madura dialect, then what appears in the western Madura dialect is [tr↔tan]. Therefore, the area of East Madura dialect is regarded as a three syllable area, whereas the area of west Madura dialect is regarded as a two syllable area (Savitri, 2015). What happens with the Eastern Madura dialect in Situbondo and Bondowoso is that the vokoid [a] tends to be varied by [ɔ] by some speakers. It can be seen on the following map.



On map 3 it appears that the distribution of vokoid [a] is wider than the vokoid distribution [ɔ]. That means both young and old speakers in Situbondo-Bondowoso tend to retain the vokoid [a]. However, there are regions that tend to vary the vokoid [a] with [ɔ], at the observation point 2. In that area, young speakers tend to bring up vokoid [ɔ], while the old speakers tend to retain the vokoid [a]. It shows that there is variation between old speakers and young speakers. This is in contrast to observation points 1 and 6. In both areas, young and old speakers tend to bring up vokoids [ɔ] as variations of vokoid [a]. Thus, if there is etyma [ma | ɔ: | iʋ] at the observation point 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, at observation points 1 and 6 will appear etyma [m: | ɔ: | iʋ] to both young and old speakers. At the point of observation 2 will appear etyma [m: | ɔ: | iʋ] in young speakers, whereas in old speakers etyma who appears fixed [ma | ɔ: | iʋ].

Phonological Accommodation as the Cause of Variation

Giles (Trudgil, 1986), if the speaker in a dyadic situation desires the approval of the speaker, he will adapt his accent pattern like the speaker by reducing the inequality of the expression. Giles (Trudgil, 1986) labeled the process as the convergence of accents and the reverse process as the accent divergence. Based on that convergence, Giles (Trudgil, 1986) uses language as data and constructs a theory called accommodation theory, focusing on speech, attempts to explain why speakers modify their language in the presence of other speakers according to the speaker.

The distribution of the kontoid and vokoid of Madurese subdialect Situbondo-Bondowoso indicates that there is a difference between native speakers and young speakers. The distribution of the non-geminated kontoid in young speakers tends to be wider than that of old speakers, as well as with the vokoid distribution [ɔ]. The distribution difference shows there is accommodation between old speakers and young speakers. The accommodation that occurs in this case is phonological accommodation.

Referring to the definition of accommodation (Trudgill, 1986), phonological accommodation in this study means adjustment or attempts to reduce the difference in sounds represented by contoid and vokoid differences between older speakers and young speakers; between one speaker and another. The adjustment is made by the speaker when interacting with other speakers, either between the old speaker and the young speaker or between one speaker and the other. An example of this is in the following table.

Table of Phonological Variation of Old and Young Speaker

no	gloss	Sound changes	etyma	
			Old speaker	Young speaker
1	alis	[↔]_[e]	[al↔s]	[ales]
	adik		[al↔s]	[ale√], [a_e√]
	suling		[s_↔]	[sole]
	tulis		[n_↔s]	[noles]
2	daging	[□]_[:], []_⊥	[d□]_[i]	[d:]_[i], [d:]_[i]
	bantal		[b□ntal]	[b:]ntal], [b:]ntal]
	jarum		[]_rum]	[]_rum], []_rum]
3	sepupu	[a]_[:]	[sap_↔p_↔]	[s:]p_↔p_↔]
	ketupat		[kat_↔pa√]	[k:]t_↔pa√]
	mertua		[mat:uwah]	[m:]t:uwah]
	Dua puluh limat		[sa:]_mi√]	[s:]_mi√]

Based on the table it appears that the vokoid [↔], [□], [a] dan aspirated—which are characteristic of Madurese language and the characteristics of East Madura dialect—tend to be maintained by old speakers.

The phonological accommodation as shown in the table is due to the following. First, the ability of Indonesian language owned by young speakers is one of the contributing factors of accommodation. Of the 32 informants in this study, all young speakers were able to speak Indonesian. Conversely, most of the old speakers can not speak Indonesian, a small part can speak Indonesian passively. Referring to the above table, the variations in sounds that young speakers tend to refer to sounds that are not Madurese. Non-aspirated, non-geminated, vokoid [:], and vokoid [e] are sounds in Indonesian and Madurese. It is different from the sounds of aspirated, geminated, vokoid [□] vokoid [↔], the sounds are characteristic of Madurese language.

Second, the presumption of the prestige of a dialect and language by speakers is responsible for the occurrence of accommodation. In this case, Madurese speakers in Situbondo and Bondowoso consider East Madura dialect (referring to Sumenep subdialect) more prestigious than any other dialect; Indonesian is considered more prestigious than Madurese. Therefore, the sounds that tend to be maintained in Situbondo and Bondowoso are the sounds that characterize East Madura dialect, for example vokoid [a] (three syllables) which is characteristic of East Madura dialect. On the other hand, Indonesian presumption is more prestigious than Madurese making speakers—consciously or not—accommodating Indonesian sounds. Therefore, the sounds of aspirated and geminated in Situbondo and Bondowoso tend to shift to nonaspirat and nongeminat (appearing on maps, distributions of nongeminat and nonaspirat wider). Presumption of Indonesian language more prestige due to Madurese language controlled by most speakers in Situbondo and Bondowoso is the language of Madura at the level of *enja' iya*¹.

¹ Based on the recognition of speakers and data collection, most of the Madurese speakers in Situbondo and Bondowoso can only speak Madurese at the *enja' iya* level. Thus, for certain contexts, speakers tend to borrow lexical Indonesian because it is considered more subtle in order to respect other speakers.

Process of Phonological Accommodations

Phonological accommodation in Madurese subdialek Situbondo-Bondowoso does not occur at a time. Referring to trudgill (1986), there are two types of accommodation: short-term accommodation and long-term accommodation. An example of long-term accommodation is a study by Preston (2003), which is the accommodation of three Northern Cities Chain Shift (NCCS) groups, which are vocal rotations in the northern urban areas of the United States. Almost the same as Preston (2003), which occurs in Madurese subdialek Situbondo-Bondowoso is long-term accommodation.

The process of accommodation is preceded by the intersection of speakers with other languages and other dialects. Examples of this stage are contacts of Madurese speakers in Situbondo-Bondowoso with other Madurese speakers, and Javanese speakers. In addition, the presence of contact speakers with the Indonesian language as a second language is also an early stage of the occurrence of accommodation. Associated with the distribution of sound variations, the intercepts are visible on the map. Accommodation with Indonesian sounds appears on maps 1 and 2, whereas accommodation with Javanese sounds and Western Madura dialect appears on map 3. On map 3, the area whose speakers tend to accommodate is peripheral areas. Geographically (Situbondo-Bondowoso), these peripheral regions tend to make contact with other regions that have different subdialects.

The second process, is the competition of sounds in both young and old speakers. The appearance of two etyma in young speakers indicates a sound competition between the original sound (inherited by the old speakers) with the sounds accommodated by young speakers. Referring to the table, it appears that the sounds that appear in young speakers are sounds that are not characteristic of Madurese language. The sounds that characterize the Madurese— aspirated, geminated, vokoid [ɔ], vokoid [↔]—appear in old speaker. In young speakers, the sound tends to be varied with the non-aspirated, non-geminated, vokoid [ɔ]. On the contrary, the emergence of two etyma in old speakers indicates that the sound competition has occurred in an old speaker, or it can be said that the accommodation has been done by an old speaker who is then chosen by a young speaker, which sounds are used as a form of accommodation.

The accommodation process did not last for a while but lasted for a relatively long time, in line with the migration of its speakers. In line with Chambers (2003) on the existing language gaps in Canadian immigrants—there are different societal attitudes to accent of immigrants different from local accents—it is understandable that phonological adjustments by Madurese speakers as immigrants in Situbondo and Bondowoso occur. In addition, Madurese speakers in Situbondo and Bondowoso tend to interact with Madurese speakers in Sumenep, rather than Madurese speakers in Probolinggo and Jember. Speaker's desire to gain recognition as "Madurese" also encourages speakers to adapt their isolates to be similar to the East Madura dialect that is considered to be prestige. That Prestige is constituted by the fame of the Kingdom (Duchy) Sumenep greater than the Kingdom of Bangkalan. Moreover, the name of Sumenep is listed in the *kitab Pararaton* "... *dinohaken, kinun adipati ring sungeneb, anger ing Madura wetan*." (Ma'arif, 2015).

CONCLUSION

Variations of aspirated sound with non-aspirated, geminated with non-geminated, and vokoid [a] with [ɔ] result in three sound areas in Situbondo-Bondowoso district in both young and old speakers. The three areas of the sound indicate the phonological accommodation of young and old speakers of Madurese in Situbondo-Bondowoso. That means there is an adjustment or an attempt to reduce the difference in sounds represented by the contoid and vokoid differences between older speakers and young speakers; between speakers Situbondo-Bondowoso with speakers outside Situbondo-Bondowoso. The phonological accommodation is due to the Indonesian language skills possessed by young speakers and the assumption of both young and old speakers that the Eastern Madura dialect is more prestigious than other dialects and Indonesian is considered more prestigious than Madurese. The assumption of Madurese dialect of Eastern Madurese and Indonesian language is more prestige to make speakers—consciously or not—accommodate the sounds of East Madura dialect and Indonesian language. Phonological accommodation in Madurese subdialek Situbondo-Bondowoso is long-lasting

accommodation, in line with the migration of its speakers. The process of accommodation is preceded by the intersection of speakers with other languages and other dialects. Furthermore, there is a competition of sounds in both young and old speakers. The next process is the determination of sound by the old or young speakers who serve as a form of accommodation.

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