

LEXICAL VARIATIONS OF THE AGRICULTURAL LEXICON “PLOW” IN BANDUNG REGENCY

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Abstract

This study presents the sociolinguistic study on lexical variations of the agricultural lexicon “plow”. The study aims to elaborate on how the lexical variations are constructed morphologically and also explain how sociolinguistic factors affect those variations. The study is conducted by means of descriptive qualitative method. The data for this study were extracted from a register of the agricultural corpus that was created by recording and transcribing the farmers’ conversations in Bandung Regency. The findings show that the lexical variations for ‘wuluku’ or “plow” in Bandung Regency are dominated by the agricultural lexicons that are related to agricultural tools and other agricultural activities. Morphologically, in the speakers’ daily utterances, the variations for lexicons “plow” have been used attached to the prefixes *di-* and *N-* that function to create a verb. From the sociolinguistics view, it also appears that some variations come from adopting the Indonesian lexicon as the result of bilingual/multilingualism in the community.

Keywords: *agriculture; language variation; lexical variation; plow; sociolinguistics*

1. Introduction

Bandung Regency is an administrative area in West Java. Bandung Regency area is located at coordinates 107° 22' - 108° 50' East Longitude and 6° 41' - 7° 19' South Latitude and is situated in the highlands. The total area of Bandung Regency is 176,238.67 Ha and most of Bandung Regency’s areas are sited between the hills and the mountains that surround Bandung Regency. With these geographical conditions, based on data on the official website of Department of Agriculture of Bandung Regency, it is stated that the workforce in the agricultural sector is in the 3rd largest rank, namely 239,004 people (20.66%) spreading over the agricultural sector development areas (WP) in WP Soreang-Kutawaringin-Katapang, WP Baleendah, WP Banjaran, WP Majalaya, WP Cileunyi Rancaekek, WP Cicalengka, and WP Cilengkrang-Cimendan.

Ethnically, the paddy farmers that live in Bandung Regency are mostly Sundanese. In Sundanese culture, farming can be categorized as the main livelihood of Sundanese people. It is in line with the life of the Sundanese people who are surrounded by a fertile environment that supports them to plant any plants. The majority of Sundanese people residing in West Java live in the areas surrounded by hills, mountains, and valleys. Therefore, to fully make use of their environment,

Sundanese people manage their soil by doing agricultural activities (Darajat & Suherman, 2021).

Darajat & Suherman (2021) also state that in addition to environmental factors that affect their livelihoods, the settlement pattern of the Sundanese people also contributes as one of the supporting factors that encourage many Sundanese people to become farmers. Unlike some other ethics in Indonesia that are nomadic, the Sundanese settlement pattern is sedentary. Moreover, Sundanese people have carried out their agricultural activities for decades as recorded in the *Siksa Kanda Ng Karesian* manuscript, an ancient manuscript from 1518 AD (Aras, 2017).

Concerning language, living in a multicultural and multilingual community causes most Indonesian people to tend to mix one language with another. The language situation in Indonesia is very complex due to the various vernacular languages used by the various communities which have different cultural backgrounds. Those who live in different regions use different local vernaculars of their own. They will be able to understand each other if they use the Indonesian language. When they use the Indonesian language, their tone of voice or pronunciation may be different because their Indonesian is influenced by their mother tongues.

As a part of the Indonesian language community, just like the majority of Indonesians, paddy farmers in Bandung Regency mostly have the ability to speak more than one language. A greater number of them are native Sundanese speakers who use the Sundanese language in their daily conversation and in addition to their linguistics repertoire; they also have the capability to speak Indonesian fluently as the official language of the Republic of Indonesia.

Nowadays, many members of the farming community start to pursue higher education levels and expand the range of their social communities and associations. In addition, the advancement of science and technology has led to rapid social changes. These rapid social change conditions lead to the creation of various variations in their register. Look closely at utterance below:

- (1) *ditektor heula ngawitan ditektor, tos ditektor ditanduran*
“(the soil) is plowed first, after that (the soil) is planted”

The lexicon ‘*ditektor*’ (1) is not originated from the Sundanese agricultural lexicon. Morphologically, the lexicon ‘*ditektor*’ is made of the prefix *di-* and the noun lexical ‘*tektor*’ (oral variation of ‘*traktor*’). *Traktor* is the tool/vehicle to plow the soil. The data show that this variation is used by the farmers in Bandung Regency in their speech as a substitution for the traditional lexicon of “plow”. Traditionally, to refer to the activity of plowing, the Sundanese use the word ‘*ngawuluku*’. However, over time, the lexicon *ngawuluku* is no longer familiarly used by the farmers in Bandung Regency as the tool ‘*wuluku*’ is also abandoned by the farmer community. The lexicon ‘*ditektor*’ is used because of the influence of the advance of technology which causes people to migrate to modern tools. Therefore, the lexicon also has to change.

In linguistics, especially sociolinguistics, variation and change in language are common norms. Walker, (2012) illustrates llinguistic variation as “differences in linguistic form without (apparent) changes in meaning. He also elaborates that language variation can be defined as “different ways of saying the same thing”. “Different ways” refer to differences in the form of language (sounds, words, sentences, ways of speaking) and “the same thing” refers to the intended meaning conveyed by those forms: talking about things or events in the world, marking distinctions required by the

language's grammar, conveying the speaker's intention, or indicating something about the speaker's social position or relationship to the listener (Walker, 2021). The language background differences of the speakers in various communities will create different kinds of language variety due to the different situations and social stratification of the speakers. Furthermore, many have believed that some kind of grammatical change in at least one of the languages is an inevitable outcome of bilingualism. It has also been commonly assumed that the propensity for change is heightened when speakers engage in code-switching going back and forth between languages (Cacoullos & Travis, 2018). Considering the majority of paddy farmers in Bandung Regency live in multilingual environments, lexical variations are highly possible to occur and affect their language register.

As an agricultural country, the studies regarding agricultural lexicons in Indonesia are vast. However, the studies that particularly focus on the agricultural lexicons of Sundanese People are still limited. A few noticeable works on Sundanese agricultural terms are the work of Aras (2017), Wahya et al. (2017), Nariswari & Lauder (2021), and Darajat & Suherman (2021). Aras (2017) focused his study on the structure and the semantics of the vocabulary of Sundanese traditional agricultural systems in general without being limited to a certain region. Nariswari & Lauder (2021) specified their study on the dialectology of agricultural terms in Karawang Regency. Darajat & Suherman (2021) wrote an inventory of the names and livelihood terms of Sundanese people, both public livelihoods and livelihoods documented in the ancient Sundanese manuscript *Sanghyang Siksa Kandang Karesian* (SSKK), the ancient manuscript that was completed in 1518 AD. The most similar study to the present study is the study by Wahya et al. (2017). Wahya et al. presented the study of the Sundanese term wuluku 'plow' and its geographical spreads. However, they looked at the variations of wuluku only in Bogor Regency, Cirebon, and the border between Bogor and Bekasi.

Different from the previous studies, the present study specifically examines the lexical variation and the change of the agricultural lexicon "plow" in Bandung Regency. This paper looks at how those variations are constructed morphologically and also explains how sociolinguistic factors affect those variations. We also present some examples of how those lexicons are used in daily conversations.

2. Research Method

This study is qualitative sociolinguistics research. Qualitative sociolinguistics research (QSR) is an approach to sociolinguistics research that focuses on how people in communities use language to accomplish things in the world and seeks to examine and explain the richness of language variation in particular contexts with an overall aim of understanding the relationship between language and the social world (Langman & Sayer, 2012). Thus, this study documents the lexical variations of the agricultural lexicon "plow" that exist in Bandung Regency and how the speakers' social factors have implications on the lexical variations.

In the QSR, researchers generally rely on observation or participant observation supported by some combination of questionnaires, interviews, field notes, and recordings (Langman and Sayer, 2012). In this case, we extracted the data for this study from the paddy farmer register corpus that we have created. To build the corpus, we collected farmers' natural speech by recording the farmers' conversations. After that, we converted the recording into a written transcription.

The number of informants is not determined because this study used the snowball model, namely the technique of determining the number of informants which is getting more and more following the needs of research data. However, the informants were limited only to the age 25-70. We randomly selected the informants from eight districts in Bandung Regency specifically Paseh, Solokan Jeruk, Baleendah, Ciparay, Arjasari, Majalaya, Ibum, and Banjaran. We selected these districts because these places are on the top list of rice producers in Bandung Regency.

3. Discussion

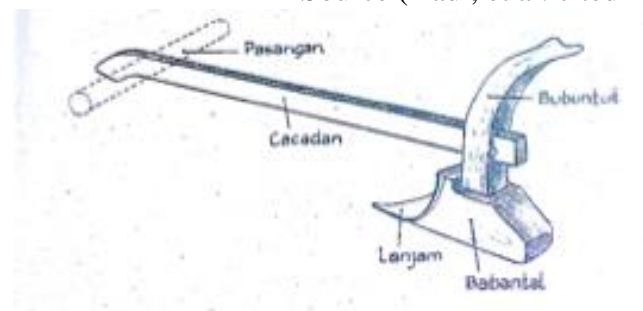
We mentioned in the introduction that language variation is an inevitable outcome of bilingualism or multilingualism. According to Walker (2021), as a result of bilingualism or multilingualism, variation occurs at all levels of the linguistics system. At the lexical level, different words can refer to the same thing (synonyms). Take for example the English words running shoes, runners, and sneakers may all be used to refer to the same type of athletic footwear.

Since they live in a bilingual and even multilingual environment, people in Bandung Regency familiarly use code-switching in their conversations. This condition gives results to the variations of the lexicon they use. In this discussion, we will elaborate morphologically on the lexical variations of the agricultural lexicon “plow” used by the paddy farmers in Bandung Regency and also how sociolinguistic factors affect those variations. In addition, we also present some examples of how those lexicons are used in daily speech. Before we look into the discussion, we would like to draw an overview of Sundanese agricultural conditions in general.

Generally, Sundanese use two forms of lexicon to describe the activity of paddy farming. As Adimihardja, (1980) says, in the Sundanese community, there are two types of agricultural activity related to paddy farming, namely “nyawah” and “ngahuma”. “Ngahuma” is a paddy farming activity that does not require irrigation/water flow. Contrary to “ngahuma”, “nyawah” requires irrigation/water flow. “Ngahuma” has been known by Sundanese since Neolithic Era. Therefore, it is considered more authentic to Sundanese culture than “nyawah”. However, nowadays Sundanese people are more familiar with nyawah than “ngahuma”. Therefore, this study is based on the lexicon “plow” of paddy farming called “nyawah”.

Traditionally, Sundanese uses the lexicon “wuluku” to signify the agricultural activity of “plow”. Therefore, to begin the discussion, we would like to explain the lexicon “wuluku” in the Sundanese agricultural term. Suriamiharja in Wahya et al., (2017) states that *wuluku* is a standard Sundanese (*Sunda lulugu*) lexicon for “plow”. The other forms of *wuluku* are *waluku* and *luku*, he adds . *Waluku* and *luku* are the variations that are used only in Bogor. *Wuluku* itself is a tool made of wood or iron for plowing the soil. This tool is normally attached to a buffalo. The tool is depicted by Hadi et al., below:

Figure 1. Picture of “Wuluku” Source (Hadi, et al. cited in Wahya, 2017)



Meanwhile, According to Sasmita, (2022) “wuluku” means plowing the soil by optimizing a buffalo’s strength. Sasmita specifies the lexicon “wuluku” only to the agricultural work of plowing that optimizes the strength of buffalo. He also states that plowing is also named as ‘singkal’. So, different from what Hadi describes, Sasmita refers to the lexicon ‘wuluku’ as a verb, while Hadi describes it as more of a tool (a noun). While ‘wuluku’ is the traditional lexicon for the term “plow” in the standard Sundanese, it is interesting that our data show that wuluku is no longer familiarly used in Bandung Regency. Despite the long history and tradition of paddy farming in Bandung Regency, the recent generation prefers to use other lexical variations as presented below:

Table 1. Lexical variations of “wuluku” in Bandung Regency

Lexicon	Variations
<i>wuluku</i>	<i>bajak (ngabajak; dibajak)</i>
	<i>singkal (disingkal; nyingkal)</i>
	<i>traktor (ditraktor)</i>
	<i>téktor (ditéktor)</i>
	<i>garap (ngagarap; digarap)</i>
	<i>pacul (dipacul)</i>
	<i>wuku (ngawuku)</i>

As we presented in Table 1, we discovered seven variations that semantically refer to the lexical “plow” used by the speakers in Bandung Regency. According to our findings, ‘bajak’ and ‘singkal’ appear as the most frequently used lexicon in the data, followed by ‘traktor/tektor’, ‘garap’, ‘pacul’ and ‘wuku’ respectively.

The first variation for “plow” is ‘bajak’. We presume that the lexicon ‘bajak’ that is used as a substitution for ‘wuluku’ is adopted from the Indonesian lexicon ‘bajak’ that refers to two meanings: 1) agricultural tool made of wood or iron for loosening and turning the soil; and 2) taking over by force, accompanied by threats (usually on a plane). The first meaning of ‘bajak’ refers to what Hadi et al., in Wahya et al., (2017) depict as ‘wuluku’ above. Meanwhile, according to the *Kamus Utama Basa Sunda* (Sundanese Main Dictionary), later in this paper called KUBS, ‘bajak’ lexically means “pirate”. Morphologically, in Indonesian, the lexicon ‘bajak’ as an agricultural tool is classified as a noun. In the data, however, the lexicon ‘bajak’ is rather used as a verb. Look at the examples presented in the example (2) and (3) below:

(2) *kapungkur mah waktos ngabajak téh nya dipacul teras-teras*

“Long ago, the moment of plowing was done by shoving continuously”

(3) *Taneuhna dibajak heula, didieu mah masih kénéh nganggé tanaga sato*

“The soil is plowed first, here (we) still use the strength of animal”

In the example (2) and (3), the lexicon ‘bajak’ is used attached to the prefixes *nga-* and *di-*. In Sundanese, either *nga-* and *di-* functions to derivate a noun, verb, or numeral into a verb (Djajasudarma & Novitasari, 2013). Meanwhile, Sudaryat et al., (2007) mention that *nga-* is an allomorph of the prefix *N-*, along with *m-*, *n-*, *ny-*, and *ng-*. As the allomorph of *N-*, *nga-* can derivate a lexical to have a meaning of doing, behaving, causing, giving, being, and feeling. In (2), the attachment of *nga-* to the verb

‘bajak’ causes the lexicon ‘ngabajak’ to present the meaning of “doing an activity of plowing”. In example (2), by using the prefix *nga-*, the speaker informs somebody is doing the activity of plowing the soil.

Meanwhile, the prefix *di-* in Sundanese can be considered as the prefix to mark either an active or a passive verb. It has meanings of doing (active), wearing (active), resulting (active), done (passive), done by (passive), and became (passive) (Sudaryat et al., 2007). Furthermore, the prefix *di-* is normally attached to a noun, a verb, or a numeral to present or create a verb (Djajasudarma & Novitasari 2013). In (3), the prefix *di-* functions as an active verb. Semantically ‘taneuhna dibajak heula’ means I plow the soil first. *Di-* here also implicitly shows the subject “I”. However, similar to example (2), the subject is not explicitly presented and rather hidden and blended into the prefix *nga-* and *di-*. This phenomenon happened due to the tendency of Sundanese speakers to drop subjects in their daily speech.

Despite the lexicon ‘bajak’ is not originated from the Sundanese lexicon and as we presume, it presumably was taken from the Indonesian lexicon. We discover that the speaker has used it in Sundanese utterances as if the lexicon has fully adopted into Sundanese. Therefore, we assume that the speaker has spontaneously mixed the language and unintentionally considered ‘bajak’ as the Sundanese lexicon. In sociolinguistics, it is natural when two or more languages are spoken by groups of speakers in the same geographical area, over time, features from one language can be transferred to the other language, especially when the languages in question are unequal in terms of prestige, institutional support, and demographic factors. The process that leads to the adoption of such features in contact languages is generally known as *interference* or *transfer* (Treffers-Daller & Mougeon, 2005). It is in line with the claim of Thomason and Kaufman (cited in Trefferes-Daller and Mougeon, 2005) that as far as the strictly linguistic possibilities go, any linguistic feature can be transferred from any language to any other language.

The second variation for lexicon “plow” is the lexicon ‘singkal’. In KBUS, the lexicon ‘singkal’ is categorized as a noun. It refers to the part of “wuluku”, specifically the sharpest part of “wuluku”, the one that is usually made of iron. In the data, the lexicon ‘singkal’ is used morphologically attached to the prefix *N-* (in the form of *ny-*) and *di-* as in (4) and (5) below:

(4) *Teras disingkal ku munding ku traktor tiasa*

“Then (the soil) is plowed by buffalo, also (it) can be (done) by tractor”

(5) *Ngawitan, ngagalenganan teras nyingkal, teras dianglér teras dicaplak, teras ditebarkeun,*

“First, make an embankment then plow the soil, then flatten the soil then draw the lines on the soil, the sow the rice seeds”

As in (4) and (5), the lexicon ‘singkal’ is used to represent the activity of plowing. The term ‘singkal’ in KBUS donates to the iron part of ‘wuluku’ that has the function to turn up the soil. In (4) the lexicon ‘singkal’ as a noun is attached to the prefix *N-* (in the form of *ny-*), creating the meaning of doing work by using the iron (*singkal*; as Djajasudarma & Novitasari (2013) and Sudaryat et al. (2007) mention, the prefix *N-* in Sundanese functions to create a verb.

Therefore, literally, ‘nyingkal’ shows the meaning of plowing the soil using what is called ‘wuluku’, since ‘singkal’ is a part of ‘wuluku’. However, in the daily utterance as presented in (4) and (5), the farmers in Bandung Regency utilize the term ‘nyingkal’ to demonstrate the activity of loosening and turning up the soil even by using a tractor instead of a traditional tool ‘wuluku’.

Our data also show that the speakers use the lexicon ‘traktor’ as a variation for the lexicon “plow”. The lexicon ‘traktor’ or in English equal to ‘tractor’ is a modern agricultural vehicle that functions to pull heavy things or plow the soil. Therefore, ‘traktor’ morphologically is categorized as a noun. In the data, the lexicon ‘traktor’ emerged as a basic lexicon and also as a derivated lexicon that attached to the prefix *di-*. Despite so, those two forms still represent the meaning of an activity (a verb), not a vehicle (a noun) as can be seen in examples (6) and (7) below:

(6) *Tanem heula, naon wé heula. Traktor, ngararata, nyaplak, tandur*
“Plant (it) first, anything at all. Then plow, flatten, make lines, and plant the rice”

(7) *ditraktor heula, dirarata, ditanduran... melak paré, dipupuk wé terakhir*
“First, (the soil) it is being plowed, flattened, planted... planted the rice, fertilized the at last step”

In (6), the lexicon ‘traktor’ as the variation for the lexicon “plow” appears in the form of a basic word without any additional affixes. However, it does not represent the lexical meaning of ‘traktor’ as a modern agricultural vehicle. Instead, it contextually refers to the agricultural activity of plowing the soil. In (7), the lexicon ‘ditraktor’ is made of the prefix *di-* + *traktor*. In Sundanese, we mention above that the prefix *di-* can function either as a passive or active voice (Sudaryat et al., 2007). In this case, the prefix *di-* is used to mark a passive voice. In result, ‘ditraktor’ implies ‘being plowed’.

It appears that in Bandung Regency, especially in Majalaya, the lexicon ‘traktor’ also has oral variation namely ‘téktor’. ‘Téktor’ is used as the variation of the lexicon “plow” by the speaker similar to the lexicon ‘traktor’. Morphologically, in the data (8), the lexicon ‘téktor’ is attached by the prefix *di-* to derivate it into a verb as presented below:

(8) *bahasa sunda mah ditéktor, teras di lelepa, tos di lelepa teras ditandur*

“In Sundanese, it is called *ditéktor* (being plowed), then (it is) being flattened, after (it was) flatten, it is being planted”

We assume this variation appeared because Sundanese people tend to incorporate double consonants in a lexicon. Or, they just simplify the pronunciation of the lexicon ‘traktor’ as ‘téktor’ because ‘traktor’ sounds too foreign to them. It goes along the way as speakers adopt features from other varieties, they tend not to copy actual forms but rather expand upon categories that already exist in their language. It is in line with what Drinka, (2013) states that when speakers adopt features from other varieties, they tend not to copy actual forms, but rather expand upon categories that already exist in their language. Generally, speakers engage in less direct processes of copying, such as calquing (polysemy copying), metatypy, or grammatical replication. In this case, we argue that the speaker has done calquing. Calquing (polysemy coping) is

when speakers reshape forms already in existence in their language, refashioning them in imitation of desirable patterns in another language.

Later, we also discover the lexicon ‘pacul’ as the substitution for the lexicon “plow”. The lexicon ‘pacul’ in Sundanese refers to a traditional tool to plow the soil. In English, it is equal to the lexicon “hoe”. Just like the other variations, the lexicon ‘pacul’ is a noun that is derivated by the speaker into a verb by adding the prefix *di-* as can be seen in (9).

(9) *ti awal dipacul dugika dianglér*
“From the start, (the soil) is plowed until it is flattened”

In (9), the prefix *di-* is attached to the basic word ‘pacul’. The lexicon ‘pacul’ is classified as a noun. So, the addition of the prefix *di-* to the lexicon ‘pacul’ has derivated the noun into a passive verb. Thus, contextually the lexicon ‘dipacul’ indicates the activity of plowing the soil by using a hoe. Differing from the previous variations, however, in the data, this specific lexicon ‘pacul’ is not frequently used by the speakers.

The other variation that exists for “plow” that we encountered in Bandung Regency is the lexicon ‘garap’. The lexicon ‘garap’ in Sundanese, especially in agricultural culture has the meaning of making a farm in general. Thus, the lexicon ‘garap’ covers all processes of rice farming. In our data however, it appears that the lexicon ‘ngagarap’ which is made of the prefix *ng-* + *garap* has been used specifically as the variation for the lexicon “wuluku” or “plow” as presented in (10) and (11) below

(10) *Kanggo ngagarap nyaéta traktor ayeuna mah*
“To plow the soil (we use) tractor these days”

(11) *tah tos kitu siap ditebar, ditebar téh kedah digarap heula néng ku muning*

Then after (the paddy seeds) are ready to be spread, before (the paddy seeds) are being spread, (the soil) need to be plowed by a buffalo”

Last, we also discover the lexicon “wuku”. We assume the lexicon ‘wuku’ comes as the shorter version of “wuluku”. Uniquely, despite the lexicon “wuku” being the closest variation to “wuluku”, the lexicon ‘wuku’ appeared as the least frequent variation among the others variations. It emerged only once, uttered by an elder farmer in Baleendah.

(12) *ngawuku, ngawuku téh nyawah nembéan*
“Plow the soil, ‘ngawuku’ is the first step in the rice farming process”

In (12) the lexicon ‘ngawuku’ is made of the prefix *ng-* + *wuku*. The prefix *ng-* functions to derivate the basic lexicon into a verb as mentioned in the previous section. Thus in (12), the attachment of the prefix *ng-* to the basic lexicon ‘wuku’ indicates and emphasizes the activity of plowing the soil or known traditionally in Sundanese as ‘wuluku’.

4. Conclusion

To summarize the discussion in the previous section, we conclude that the lexical variations for ‘wuluku’ or “plow” in Bandung Regency are dominated by the agricultural lexicons that are related to agricultural tools such as *singkal*, *traktor/tektor*, and *pacul*. The other lexical variations are taken from agricultural lexicons that are

related to agricultural activity such as *bajak*, *garap*, and *wuku*. However, these variations that come from agricultural activity lexicons have shifted semantically from the original lexical meaning. Morphologically, in the speakers' daily utterances, the variations for lexicons "plow" have been used attached to the prefixes *di-* and *N-* that function to create a verb, whether it is an active or a passive verb. Sociolinguistically, it also appears that some variations come from adopting the Indonesian lexicon as the result of bilingual/multilingualism in the community. It is understandable since in a bilingual or a multilingual community, the speakers tend to mix their language and as a result, features from one language can be transferred to the other language. In the later research, since this study has not covered the lexical variations for the lexicon "plow" from a dialectology perspective, it is feasible to see whether this variation is only used by personnel or has become a regional dialect. Therefore, for future research, the study of dialectology on agricultural lexicons in the Bandung Regency is highly encouraged.

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