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#### POSTCOLONIAL ECOCRITICISM IN HUNGER BY ELISE BLACKWELL

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#### Abstract

Hunger, a novella by a contemporary American novelist, Elise Blackwell, centres in the story of a Russian botanist, Nikolai Vavilov, during the Leningrad siege in 1941. Vavilov protects his collection of seeds at the Research Institute of Plant Industry in Leningrad against all odds, to be preserved for research for future use. In the recounting moments during the siege, the narrative provides parallelism between Leningrad and the ancient city of Babylon. In postcolonial writing, this can be perceived as a form of nostalgic projection of the past (Walder, 2011). Such a parallelism triggers a postcolonial narrative analysis on the pairing of the two as affinity, focusing on the significance of the comparison between the two cities (between the apocalyptic present and the glorious past). The contribution of this parallelism will be discussed to understand the novella as a narrative mode of ecocriticism, with regards to the idea of prioritizing seeds over human lives, which also acts as the steering issue stirring the plot. By mainly referring to Garrard (2004) and Huggan and Tiffin (2010) on ecocriticism and postcolonial ecocriticism, this essay in general aims to investigate how the novella contributes new perspectives on the intertwining between postcolonial studies and ecocriticism.

Keyword: Elise Blackwell, postcolonial ecocriticism, nostalgic projection, postcolonial studies, ecocriticism

#### Introduction

Earning its recognition as Los Angeles Times' "Best Book of 2003" and Sidney Morning Herald's "Best Read of the Year", Hunger (2003), a novella by a contemporary American novelist, Elise Blackwell, is described as "a private story about a man wrestling with his own morality" (eliseblackwell.com/hunger). But this essay will show more than that, as the morality faced by an anonymous narrator who refers to a Russian botanist, Nikolai Vavilov, is framed within narrative traces of what Walder (2011) terms as postcolonial nostalgia. Not much has been discussed in the academic realm about this novella, other than in a very general sense it has been said to "[explore] various types of appetite, juxtaposing images of plenty and pleasure with images of scarcity, always in a pared-down but

stylised prose, the effectiveness of which varies" (McCloskey, 2003). The juxtaposition of images of plenty and images of scarcity foregrounds the juxtaposition of something more substantial. One main argument that this essay proposes is that Hunger presents the juxtaposition of Leningrad during the Leningrad siege in 1941, with the ancient city of Babylon as a narrative technique of parallelism to show a form of nostalgic projection of the past. In postcolonial studies, such projection is indicative to "a historicizing of the present" (Walder, 2011, p.163). And as such, this essay will show how attempts of "historicizing of the present" through the presentation of Leningrad and the ancient city of Babylon as an affinity between the apocalyptic present and the glorious past is presented. In general, this essay aims to investigate how the novella contributes new perspectives on the intertwining between postcolonial studies and ecocriticism. Also, the discussion will explain the impact of our historically poor relationships with the natural world that changes our perspective on our current understandings of nature.

Systematically, this essay will first of all provide historical information on the Leningrad siege to give a general idea on how devastating the situation was during the siege and how it impacted the people living there. It will also show textual evidences in the novella that describe similar situation during the siege. Afterwards, on narrative level, this essay will enter into the discussion by showing how the presentation of the steering issue of prioritizing seeds over human lives with the comparison between Leningrad with the ancient city of Babylon work as an attempt to historicize the present. Lastly, this essay will provide a bird's eye view on how such presentation of story contributes to new perspectives on our current understandings of nature.

#### Method

The method applied in this essay is by paying attention to the parallelism between Leningrad and ancient Babylon which contributes to understanding the novella as a narrative mode of ecocriticism, particularly through narratives which tell an idea of prioritizing seeds over human lives, which also act as the steering issue stirring the plot. With this in mind, the analysis conducted in this essay falls within the field of postcolonial ecocriticism, as it discusses how the concept of postcolonial nostalgia and the attempt of historicizing the present are built through plot development whose main issue is on the preservation of seeds, conducted as an anticipation for future ecological disasters. As such, in the discussion, this essay will therefore refer mainly to Garrard (2004) and Huggan and Tiffin (2010) on ecocriticism and postcolonial ecocriticism, and Walder (2011) on postcolonial nostalgia. One argument proposed in this essay is that the novella presents narrative mode of ecocriticism associated with ecophobia (Estok, 2013).

## Findings and Discussion The Leningrad Siege as Told in History and Hunger

Outside is a fountain where visitors toss pennies and rubles into icy water. Some leave roses and carnations, which instantly freeze.

How long ago was it? She asks. I can tell her how long ago but can't explain bread as stone or children turned to ice and bone (Longenecker, 2013, p.14).

The siege of Leningrad occurred from the summer of 1941 to the summer of 1944, which totals into 900 days and is thus known in world history as the 900day siege (Forczyk, 2009; Glantz, 2001). Leningrad was sieged by the German and Finnish armies during World War II, and it was known as "one of the most horrific events in world history", taking the lives of "somewhere between 1.6 and 2 million Soviet citizens" (Bidlack, 2005, p.1). Known today as the city of St. Petersburg, before the siege, "Leningrad was the capital of Russian creative life" (Salisbury, 1985, p.8) as Ballet and performances and classical music concerts were held every Saturday. In his enticing narration on the siege, Salisbury describes how grim the situation was to the citizens of Leningrad towards the end of spring in 1941, as they felt a gripping terror of the approach of the German army. In spring of 1941, there were military evidences that indicated that Adolf Hitler was preparing to attack the Soviet Union. During this time, some had already fled to Finland to avoid the speculated siege. In practice, during the siege, the German troop movement had been carried out in three stages: 1.) About thirty divisions were sent to East Prussia and Poland in the fall of 1940; 2.) Heavy troop movements began on May 25, sending in about one hundred military formations each twenty-four hours; and 3.) The movement of troops from the interior was to be completed in the second half of July (Salisbury, 1989, pp.89-90). The people of Leningrad realized that war had started. A few minutes after the war was announced, queues, especially in the food stores, began to grow, and at the State Savings Banks lines formed as depositors wanted their money. Canned goods were massively purchased, along with other necessities such as butter, sugar, lard, flour, groats, sausage, matches, and salt. To this reaction, Salisbury noted: "In twenty years of Soviet power Leningraders had learned by bitter experience what to expect in time of crisis" (1989, p.146).

Once the Nazis firmly grasped the town, all of the rail connections between Leningrad and the remainder of Russia were severed and all the highways were cut (Salisbury, 1989, p.335). This leaves the Leningraders trapped in their own town. Since the roads were cut, the citizens of Leningrad had to make do of anything they can have their hands on to survive. For instance, they drew water from a hole in an ice-clad street, as pictured below:



Figure 1. Leningrad citizens drawing water from a hole in an ice-clad street (Salisbury, 1989, p.378)

and ate whatever they have to survive. They went to nearby countrysides to look for cabbage or potatoes or beets, but found very little. The only non-rationed products sometimes available were coffee and chicory. More people started to fall because of hunger. One evidence of this heart breaking condition was recorded by Yelena Skryabina, a diarist, in her diary: "What do you think, young man, that this is a first-aid station?" she said sourly. "Hunger is a terrible condition. Your old man has collapsed from hunger. And I might collapse any day myself—I'm getting more and more swollen" (Salisbury, p.473).

In July 1941, Leningrad introduced a ration-card system for the procurement of foodstuffs and manufactured goods (Bidlack, 2005). In October, bread ration is reduced for the third time, based on category, to either 400 or 200 grams per day for most people (Bidlack, 2005). As food became scarce, non-workers and children, as of October 1941, received only one-third of a loaf of poor-quality bread a day. Roughly, for a month they got one pound of meat, a pound and a half of cereals or macaroni, three-quarters of a pound of sunflower-seed oil or butter and three pounds of pastry or confectionery. In addition, they had to survive on a total of five and a quarter pounds of food a month, which is a little more than a pound a week. Fish or canned goods were substituted for meat. Salisbury notes that "[t]he deaths which occurred in late September and October, surprising and shocking to the Leningraders who knew of them, occurred among people subjected to this radically reduced diet and who had no personal food reserves to fall back on (1989, p.474). In November, bread ration was reduced to 300 and 150 grams per day, and it was further reduced to 250 and 125 grams per day (Bidlack, 2005). In reaction to this, a cut in military rations was immediately instituted. Yet this did not have much effect. Starting November 1941, the Leningraders had to survive on breads containing 25 per cent "edible" cellulose. In Hunger, it is described that in the days of food rarity, the people of Leningrad eat "a bread made of five parts stale rye flour and one part each of salt, cake, cellulose, soy flour, hack dust, and bran" (Blackwell, 2008, p.39).

People were mobilized to collect "edible" pine and fir bark. What was worst, each region of the city was ordered to produce two to two-and-a-half tons of "edible" sawdust per day (Salisbury, p.500). In Hunger, this condition is described vividly and elaborately as follows:

All manner of animals—dogs and cats, sparrows and crows, rats and mice—and then their excrement were eaten. Soups were made from tulip bulbs stolen from the soil of the Botanical gardens, pine needles, nettles, rotten cabbage, lichen-covered stones, cattle-horn buttons torn from once-fine coats. Children were fed hair oil, petroleum jelly, glue (Blackwell, 2008, p.40).

The Leningraders were forced to cling on to life with whatever they can get their hands on. Yet starvation continues to occur despite an increase in the bread ration (350 gr, 200 gr, and 400 gr for the rear army) in December 1941. In January 1942, there was only a two-day supply of flour in reserve, causing the inhabitants to receive nothing but a bread ration. The first convalescent hospital (statsionar) for the treatment of starvation was opened in January 1942. It got worse; in the

same month, the last working hydroelectric power station closed, causing the city to be left without running water, heat, or electricity. In late January of 1942, 96,694 deaths were reported to the register office (ZAGS). The second increase in the food ration was instituted in February 1952, with only 500 gr of bread for factory workers, engineers, and technicians, 400 gr for office workers, and 300 gr for children and dependents.

In winter of 1943, a new crime emerged: people started murdering people for food; "They stole, connived, and killed" (Blackwell, 2008, p.40). There was cannibalism in Leningrad. Reports of the trade in human flesh can be seen in the published official histories. In the words of Vavilov in Hunger, this condition is described as follows: "They peddled their flesh. They peddled the flesh of the children needing to be fed" (Blackwell, 2008, p.40). Crimes-for-food became part of Leningrad's history. It was not until the beginning of spring of 1944 that a military operation was undertaken. The objective was to end the blockade of Leningrad. With operation code Iskra (the name of the first Social Democratic newspaper, the one which Lenin edited before the break between the Mensheviks and the Bolsheviks), Leningrad was finally liberated. Yet, the history of the siege remains.



Figure 2. Piskarevsky Cemetary (Salisbury, 1989, p.395)

After the devastation, Piskarevsky Cemetery was built as common graves of over one million victims of the Leningrad siege, also as a monument to remind the people of the world about the horrific and devastating tragedy, as poetically conveyed in the epigraph provided at the beginning of this section.

Using the Leningrad siege as its background, Hunger pictures the devastation hunger causes to the life of Nikolai Vavilov and the lives of other characters within his circle. Although Vavilov's name is not explicitly mentioned in the narratives, Blackwell implies at the beginning of her novella, before the story takes its start, that the main character in the story is the biologist Nikolai Vavilov. As a biologist, Vavilov is torn between two choices: preserving the seeds he and his colleagues have been collecting for research and future use or using the seeds to be planted, harvested, and consumed to survive starvation caused by the siege. The next two sections will first of all deal with parts in the novella where Vavilov's and his team's concern over the seeds is displayed. The section afterwards will discuss the parallelism between ancient Babylon and Leningrad and elaborate several ideas on how such parallelism can be used to see Leningrad by putting it into ancient Babylon context.

#### Seeds of Life, City of Death

The many thousands of specimens stored at the Research Institute of Plant Industry where Vavilov and his fellow researchers work include several hundred tubers; "Small and large. Smooth and warty. White, brown, yellow, purple, and blue" (Blackwell, 2008, p.8). The sacrifice and struggle they have to face are to a certain extent, heroic, as they "held [their] packs and [their] ground—all to save a few specimens of rare apple. [They] survived the ridicule and bullets of bandits who overtook [them] when [they] were collecting sorghum in Eritrea, and [they] outsmiled hostiles up and down the Orinoco (Blackwell, 2008, p.15). In the island of Ometepe, Vavilov and his team collect what they could of the coffee, sesame, and strange fruits that grew in its fertile volcanic soil, in the humidity of southern Louisiana they collect a variety of rice with nutty flavorflavour that can "give warmth and pleasure" (Blackwell, 2008, pp.54 & 71). At the institute, new ways are invented in agricultural engineering. Seed dormancy and germination can be manipulated in many ways "to shorten or lengthen the vegetative periods of cereals" (Blackwell, 2008, p.79). To Vavilov and his team, it is imperative that they protect the seeds, and the decision is made "all at once but by something like attrition" (Blackwell, 2008, p.9). They decide not to eat from the collections and that they will protect them at all cost (Blackwell, 2008, p.11). The idea of sacrificing themselves in order to protect the seeds is an act of prioritizing what could save future agricultural advancement over human lives. Despite the fact they have agreed upon, there is a time when Vavilov sneaks into the collection and retrieves "Just a few kennels of a few kinds, taking nothing too rare, taking the last of no variety, rearranging the remainder to hide [his] weakness" (Blackwell, 2008, p.59). And later, he finds himself ashamed of what he has done.

In real life, the idea of storing seeds for future use has been practiced by the Nordic Gene Bank (now NordGen), who had established a back-up seed storage facility in an abandoned coal mine outside Longyearbyen. Following the finalization of International Treaty on Plant Genetic Resources for Food and Agriculture (ITPGRFA) in 2001, the Treaty calls for establishing a multilateral system for plant genetic resources that includes global rules for access to and benefit sharing of those resources (https://www.seedvault.no/about/history/). This enables the world to have a global security storage facility in Svalbard, Norway, which was opened in February 2008, to house duplicates of seed conserved in gene banks all over the world. The freezing climactic nature of Svalbard global seed vault helps the preservation of the seeds, as can be seen below:



Figure 3. The Entrance of the Svalbard Vault in Norway (https://www.seedvault.no/)

The Seed Vault is carved into solid rock with storage area located more than 100 meters inside the mountain, and under layers of rock that range between 40 and 60 meters thick. Inside, the seeds are cooled to minus 18°C.

The Svalbard vault is a real evidence that human kind is preparing the worst that may come upon us in the future. As the world has been historically prone to wars and conflicts, it is imperative that the ecology of the world should be cared for as early as possible. In Hunger, the collecting and storing of seeds indicates not only efforts to advance agricultural engineering, but also a precaution on apocalyptical world in the future. In relation to this, in Blackwell's defence, Hunger is "to comment on what does and does not change about human life with changing leaders and gods—and on the tragedies of mighty civilizations" (Blackwell, 2008, p.134). Published in the time of Iraq war—an armed conflict by a United States-led coalition to overthrow Saddam Hussein government—Hunger also provides a critical view on the world at war and its impact on civilization. It highlights a tragedy not only experienced by the people of Leningrad, but also the people of the world. In this sense, the tragedy in the city of Leningrad is not sui generis, as nowadays war, conflict, and famine—big and small in scale—has become international headline news. With regard to tragedy and terror, Estok (2013) postulates that:

Terror and tragedy obviously have much in common: both attract and repel, ... both exploit our aversion toward unpredictability (an aversion that is at the core of ecophobia), both stimulate our distaste for violence against our own agency, and both present unequivocal notions of right and wrong. They both also assert assumptions about positions, about what and where we are in relation to other things and concepts (2013, p.2).

In this context, in Hunger, men's aversion toward unpredictability due to the German siege is depicted for instance through Alena's unwillingness to stay alive; she gives up eating, letting her physical condition to continue to drop. Vavilov expresses his distaste for violence by grimly describing how the few survivors of Leningrad turn into murderers for food. Through his narration, Vavilov also shows his notions of right or wrong by contemplating about his affair with Iskra. As a biologist, Vavilov is questioning his authority and his place at the institute and in Alena's life, which can be perceived as a manifestation of his assumptions about his positions and where he is in relation to other things around him.

Tragedy can potentially trigger a certain phobia. In the case of Hunger, there is a certain phobia of losing the seeds by consuming them even though it risks the lives of Vavilov and his circle. The act of collecting the seeds and preserving them is in itself a manifestation of phobia; a phobia on the possibility that the seeds will extinct and have to be genetically engineered in the future. As this is highly relevant to nature and the ecology of the world, such a phobia can be called ecophobia. Ecophobia, as mentioned in the citation, is defined as "an irrational fear (sometimes, of course, leading to a contempt or hatred) of the agency (real or imagined) of nature" (Estok, 2013a, p.74 in Estok, 2013b, p.2). Blackwell recounts that the one thing that triggered her to write Hunger is due to her accidental encounter with Vavilov's story in a publication of the Seeds Savers Exchange. Seeds Savers Exchange happens to be a non-profit organisation that

"conserves and promotes America's culturally diverse but endangered garden and food crop heritage for future generations by collecting, growing, and sharing heirloom seeds and plants" (https://www.seedsavers.org/mission). As such, this organization shares similar cause with the Svalbard global seeds vault. Hand in hand, people are collecting and storing endangered crops for future generations. This may come as a form of anticipation, instead of phobia. Either way, the idea of being precautious underlines this very concept.

Since its first initiation in the 1990s, ecocriticism has been known as a form of literary criticism more informed scientifically by ecology, environmental biology, and geology (Balaev, 2012; Buell, 2011; Fromm, 2012; Glotfelty, 1996; Heise, 2013; Marshall, 2005; Oppermann, 2011; Waage, 2013). As a mode of analysis, ecocriticism can help to comprehend the rise of ecophobia, as "ecocriticism also reflects a striking feature of the modern crisis of the natural, its challenge to the way human knowledge is organized" (Clark, 2011, p.8). Closely related to environmentally oriented developments in philosophy and political theory, like feminism and Marxism, ecocriticism acts as a political mode of analysis. It means that there is always a sense of urgency in it and that it involves a larger, global issue, thus "[e]cocritics generally tie their cultural analyses explicitly to a 'green' moral and political agenda" (Garrard, 2004, p.3). In relevance to this, Clark (2011) states that:

For an environmental critic, every account of a natural, semi-natural or urban landscape must represent an implicit re-engagement with what 'nature' means or could mean, with the complex power and inheritance of this term and with its various implicit projections what of human identity is in relation to the non-human, with ideas of the wild, of nature as refuge or nature as resource, nature as the space of the outcast, of sin and perversity, nature as a space of metamorphosis or redemption. Ecocriticism usually reads literary and environmental texts with these competing cultural conceptions of nature to the fore (Clark, 2011, p.6).

In this context, in Hunger, Leningrad is presented as the site where negotiations between human identity and nature as refuge and resource take place. It can also be perceived as the space of sin and perversity, particularly through Vavilov's reflection on his past engagements with other women.

Since what Vavilov and his team do in Hunger (protecting the seeds and refraining from consuming them) represents a global concern, it can then be perceived that this is the steering issue of the novella. The plot develops its way from present-day New York to past-time Leningrad and back to present-day New York as it is stirred by this issue. Within its course, the plot presents series of juxtapositions between Leningrad and the ancient city of Babylon.

#### Historicizing the Present: Putting Leningrad into Ancient Babylon Context

Plot wise, the story starts in present time Vavilov's New York apartment, years after the siege. The plot then moves to Vavilov's reminiscence of his bitter experience during the Leningrad siege. "Faced with his own mortality" (Anderson, 2003), Vavilov reminiscences his nostalgic memories on his deceased wife, Alena. Alena, as revealed towards the end of the novella, dies of starvation during the siege. Vavilov's memory on his experience during the siege starts on the 40 days into the 900 days siege, when the collection of seeds stored at the institute are moved to an experimental station in Estonia and are cared for by Leppik, the great director's colleague. Before the seeds are moved, Lysenko, the

great director, has already called the institute Babylon, because it has to be put to an end, saying that "Babylon must crumble", and referring it to "Dust" (Blackwell, 2008, p.23).

This naming progresses in the plot into series of association with the ancient city of Babylon. Vavilov, being on the opposite side of Lysenko, thinks of the naming as a compliment. To Vavilov, the ancient Baylonians are impressive in terms of their breakthroughs in agricultural science. He shares that "[1]ike the members of our expeditions, the Babylonians travelled widely to collect medicinal herbs and unusual fruits" and that they "planted world's first botanical garden" (Blackwell, 2008, p.25). Vavilov is also impressed with the fact that in ancient Babylonia, barley had more value over silver, and that it was the centre of the Babylonians' diet, which "united wealth and weight, [and] joined prosperity and health" (Blackwell, 2008, p.27). In the narratives after this, the mentioning of Babylon or ancient Babylon surfaces over time, placed in juxtaposition with: 1.) Vavilov's memory on his affair with Iskra, 2.) the lion statue over the Catherine Canal, 3.) the stone slabs which are put as foundation cellars of the hanging gardens, 4.) Leningrad's celebration, 5.) Leningrad in general, and 6.) the death of Albertine's parents.

When Vavilov reminisces about his affair with Iskra, he talks about sexual fealty, which he learns is prized by the Babylonians. He says: "Contrary to the imaginative indulgences of Herodotus, the Babylonians prized sexual fealty. Infidelities were punished harshly, but there was room for forgiveness. Though an adulterous wife caught in the act was actually bound to her lover and drowned in the Euphrates, her husband could grant her pardon" (Blackwell, 2008, p.70). By saying this, Vavilov is thinking about his own situation, wondering if he could get away with it the same way an infidel wife is forgiven by the husband in ancient Babylonian time. Another juxtaposition surfaces after Vavilov sees the lion statue over the Catherine Canal. Vavilov states:

In 1776, South of Baghdad, peasants found the unfurnished figure of a lion amid the ruins of what was once Babylon's Northern palace. This lion stands hard, trampling the hapless man who lies beneath his paws. Unlike the seated lions that gaze so elegantly at the Catherine Canal, the Babylonian statue was made by someone whose gods were intimately, if cruelly, involved with human fate and the lots of individual men (Blackwell, 2008, p.73).

It can be seen that to Vavilov, unlike the lion statue presiding "without interest" over the Catherine Canal, the Babylonian statue bears more meaning. The lions at the Catherine Canal, in a sense, are lacking purpose. They are standing there giving no impact to the passers-by, including him.

Another instance where ancient Babylon is juxtaposed is when Vavilov remembers about Alena's most vulnerable point in time of her descending health. Vavilov talks about the stone slabs that are piled as the foundation of the hanging gardens in ancient Babylon. The stone slabs are laid by slaves who are homesick, not knowing whether or not they will be able to see their wives again. At this point, the narrative highlights Vavilov's mental decline, as paralleled with Alena's physical decline due to starvation. In a different part of the novella, ancient Babylonian tradition is mentioned by Vavilov after a narrative describing him

seeing a woman smoking a cigarette. "The availability of tobacco signaled better times to come" (Blackwell, 2008, p.102) Vavilov thinks. This can be perceived as Vavilov's optimistic view on Leningrad's fate in the near future. After this, he talks about the Babylonians New Year's celebration in spring time known as Akitu; "It was believed that the gods ended each festival by letting human fortunes for the coming year" (Blackwell, 2008, p.103). This event is juxtaposed with Leningrad's very own anniversary of the October revolution. His new take on the banners from the Gorky Park celebration that says: HE WHO DOES NOT LAUGH, DOES NOT EAT into HE WHO DOES NOT EAT, DOES NOT LAUGH indicates that during the siege, eating causes joy. In other words, eating is the epicentre of everything else, as eating becomes the rarest activity that people do in those difficult times.

The next parallelism is seen when Vavilov juxtaposes the siege of Leningrad with the siege of Babylon. He states: "[The Assyrians'] long and bloody struggles with the Egyptians led to a siege of [Babylon] that lasted almost precisely as long as the siege of Leningrad would, so many years later" (Blackwell, 2008, p.105). At this point of the narration, it is becoming clear why Babylon is significant in the story. Babylon has similar historical experience with Leningrad, thus making the two reciprocal. The last juxtaposition in the narrative is triggered by the death of Albertine's parents in which Vavilov narrates: "When they spoke of it, and they spoke of it seldom, the Babylonians described the place of the dead as a place where dust is nourishment, clay is food. Convinced that their sins would be punished in this world, this life—whether by men or by gods—they had little use for hell" (Blackwell, 2008, p.108). Alena tries to console Albertine by saying that she will see her parents again, to which Albertine answers: "If anywhere, not here" (Blackwell, 2008, p.108). Here (Leningrad) is opposed to elsewhere, to the place of the dead, which in Vavilov's defence referring to the ancient Babylonians' tradition, is where sins are abolished. In other words, in this context, Leningrad is a place where sins are not abolished. In a sense, Albertine implies that she sees Leningrad as hell on earth.

The name Babylon, which according to Lysenko is interchangeable with "dust", signifies an idea that the institute should exist no more. Yet, towards the end of the novella, the "dust", brought forth by Vavilov in his words of consolation to Albertine, signifies an element that nourishes, that gives life, which is a complete opposite of what the meaning is conveyed at the beginning. This can be seen as a narrative technique that shows that the story reaches its full circle; what is brought up at the beginning is mentioned again at the end to show how the two complete one grand idea of the story. Since its first mentioning by Lysenko, the ancient Babylon becomes a trope that provides contrasts with Leningrad. The contrasts are present in order to help the narrative work its way in understanding one from the other; Vavilov's narration tries to make sense of what Leningrad is during the siege compared with the ancient city of Babylon during its glorious time. And this is simultaneously done while Vavilov is reminiscing his past with Alena, which also has to do with his attempt on trying to understand his mortal being that must one day come to an end.

In order to understand the situation in Leningrad, the narrative shows its contrasts to the ancient city of Babylon. Immediately we can see this as narrative pattern that helps the readers interpret what Leningrad is through Vavilov's

perception. The juxtaposition of the two underlines a contrast between the apocalyptic present and the glorious past. In postcolonial writing, this can be perceived as a form of nostalgic projection of the past, as proposed by Walder (2011). Walder postulates that "[n]ostalgia begins in desire, and may well end in truth. It can, and often does, serve as a key to the multiple pasts that make us who and what we are, for better or worse" (2011, p.3). In this context, in a smaller scale, Vavilov's nostalgic memory of Alena brings him a form of "truth" in the end; a truth that enables him to understand his situation in the world after the siege. Also, in this context, in a bigger scale, the nostalgic memory of Alena in Leningrad gives surface to a narrative construct "that [reaches] back, and forward" (Walder, 2011, p.3) which is symptomatic to postcolonial nostalgia. Walder further states that:

Like all forms of nostalgia, postcolonial nostalgias have both positive and negative aspects: usually the latter is fore grounded, as the source of an insecure idealism or sentimentality, casting a beneficent glow over past suffering and anxiety; but there is also a positive side, which admits the past into the present in a fragmentary, nuanced, and elusive way, allowing a potential for self-reflexivity or irony appropriate for former colonial or diasporic subjects trying to understand the networks of power relations within which they are caught in the modern world, and beyond which it often seems impossible to move (Walder, 2011, p.16).

In this context, the juxtaposition between Leningrad and the ancient Babylon in Hunger can be perceived as a form of admitting the past into the present to allow self-reflexivity or irony. Vavilov in this case is the diasporic subject who is trying to understand such networks of power relations within which he is trapped, causing him to become immobile or in a state of paralysis one might say.

Vavilov's self-reflexivity is an attempt of historicizing his present that leads to a more substantial matter: an attempt of historicizing the present Leningrad. By paralleling what Vavilov sees, remembers, and experiences, the narrative is putting Leningrad into ancient Babylon context. Leningrad can be more critically understood by looking at it from the context of the history and tradition of ancient Babylon. It may well be called a longing; a longing for making Leningrad more meaningful. In this sense, the glorious ancient Babylon acts as a trope to the apocalyptic Leningrad. At this point, the intertwining between postcolonialism and ecocriticism forms a mode of analysis termed as postcolonial criticism, which was also once called green postcolonialism. Green postcolonialism, as defined by Huggan and Tiffin (2007, p.10), "brings out a truism that clearly applies to, but is not always clearly stated in, the different strands of both postcolonialism and ecocriticism: no social justice without environmental justice; and without social justice for all ecological beings no justice at all". Postcolonial criticism, on the other hand, "is that form of criticism which appreciates the enduring noninstrumentality of environmental writing, as well as gauging its continuing usefulness in mobilizing individual and collective support" (Huggan and Tiffin, 2010, p.33). Elise Blackwell's Hunger, in this sense, contributes to new perspectives on our current understandings of nature in a way that it showcases

the tragedy impinged by series of devastation and starvation ironically paired with the plentifulness of seeds of life.

#### Conclusion

From the discussion, it can be concluded that Leningrad and ancient Babylon juxtaposition can be understood as a form of admitting the past into the present to allow self-reflexivity or irony. Vavilov's self-reflexivity, in this sense, is an attempt of historicizing his present, leading to an attempt of historicising the present Leningrad. Parallelism on what Vavilov sees, remembers, and experiences in his self-reflexivity puts Leningrad into ancient Babylon context. All in all, it can be said that the amalgamation of historicizing the present through the longing for a utopic Leningrad with crisis of nature as its background suggests a scene of interplay between the element of the natural within history and the historical aspects of various concepts of nature.

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## ARBOREAL POETICS IN HOWARD NEMEROV'S "THE THOUGHT OF TREES" AND LUIS H. FRANCIA'S "LESSONS OF A TREE"

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#### Abstract

This paper discusses arboreal poetics in two contemporary poems "The Thought of Trees" by Howard Nemerov, an American poet and "Lessons of a Tree" by Luis H. Francia, a Filipino one. The objectives of this research are first to identify how Nemerov and Francia's vegetal poetics conveying ecological views; second, how their vegetal poetics evokes one's ecological awareness to conserve biodiversity and to consume material goods sufficiently. These behaviors help to reduce the exacerbation of the climate change phenomenon. This research used qualitative methods, in which the data were words and taken from the two poems and from several sources on trees, climate change, ecopoetry as a kind of criticism belonging to environmental humanities. The result shows that both poems anthropomorphize trees as indispensable interconnected and coexistent with any life forms and the physical environment. This further impacts on human's growing ecological conscience not to objectify but to conserve vegetation in particular and other natural resources in general through his sufficient consumption of the material goods for one's living necessities.

**Keyword**: arboreal poetics, ecopoetry, environmental humanities, ecological conscience

#### Introduction

A biotic life is an ecological one. This consists of an interdependent relation among any life forms (Leopold, p. 171-189; Wilson, p. 11-17; Tudge, p. 374-375). This ecological fact should make humans aware of the need for caring rather than objectifying non-human beings since they have a pivotal role in the ecosystem. In this millennium, anthropocentric culture tends to orientate toward extravagant use of material goods. One clear example is the use of plastic and fossil fuel-based products (Leonard, 2011). Plastic trash as non-biodegradable materials will not only endanger any life forms (Weiss, p. 43-46), but also produce carbon dioxide and other toxics to the atmosphere. The density of the toxics exacerbates the air quality as "local warming" and this synergizes with biodiversity depletion (Wilson, p. 11-17; Leonard, 2011). One objective of this research is to examine how two contemporary poems Howard Nemerov's "The

Thought of Trees" and Luis H. Francia's "Lessons of a Tree" convey an ecological vision of this biotic interconnectedness. Another objective is to decipher how the arboreal poetics of the two poems evoke one's ecological conscience in the recent Anthropocentrism and material engrossment. The implication of this conscience is that humans would cherish any life forms and consume material goods sufficiently to prevent worsening environmental problems including the recent issue of climate change that is exacerbated by deforestation and overconsumption of goods (Gorte & Sheikh, 2010; Wilson, p. 105).

In first-world countries, environmental concern has become a tradition. In the 1800s, the United States had transcendental writers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau who glorified Mother Nature in their writings (Coupe, p. 23-25; Buell, p. 97-120). In the UK in the same era, several Romantic poets such as William Blake, William Wordsworth, and Samuel Taylor Coleridge likewise expressed their esteem for Nature (Coupe, p. 16-22). In the 1920s, a science called 'anthroposophy' anthropomorphized Mother Nature as a living spirit (Steiner, 2008, p. 88-98). In the 1930s, an American environmentalist, Aldo Leopold promulgated the idea of biotic community and ecological conservation (Meine, p. 171-189). In this millennial era, this field is named environmental humanities, which aims to raise public's awareness of environmental issues especially those related to the depletion of biodiversity and climate change (Kern, p. 258-281; Bennett, p. 296-317).

I propose two problems in this research: (1) What ecological views do the poems convey through the arboreal poetics of trees as a persona?; (2) How do these arboreal poetics in the poems evoke individual ecological awareness to conserve biodiversity and to consume material goods sufficiently in order to reduce the phenomenon of global warming? In discussing these problems, analyses refer to several ecological concepts, Buddhist ecological notions, ecopoetry and environmental humanities in general.

#### **Research Method**

The source of data in this research is the two poems, Howard Nemerov's "The Thought of Trees" and Luis H. Francia's "Lessons of a Tree". This research is a descriptive qualitative one by focusing on words (imageries) in the poems as the major data. Since this research especially deals with ecological views of the poems, the analysis, therefore, refers to ecological knowledge and views given by some ecologists and ecocritics. The discussion, for instance, contextualizes these poems with ecopoetry as one genre of environmental humanities or ecocriticism (Bryson, 2005; Bate in Siewers, p. 108; Felstiner, 2009; Glotfelty, p. xv-xxxvii; Rueckert, p. 105-123; Howarth, p. 69-91; Kern, p. 258-281; Slovic, p. 160-162; Hass, p. xli-lxv). The ecological principles in poetry especially employ the notion of biodiversity as the organic qualities of the terrestrial life (Hass, p. lx; Wilson, p. 19-27; 1988; Leopold, p. 171-189). Besides, the analysis also briefly investigates some books on global warming and climate change to get a more solid background about the related topic (Pittock, p. 2; Drake, p. 1-6; Gorte & Sheikh, 2010; Ehrlich & Ehrlich, p. 88-89).

#### **Findings and Discussion**

In one chapter about Gary Snyder's ecopoems, an ecocritic John Elder discusses Snyder's poetics of place by calling it "rootedness in a chosen spot" and "principles of groundedness". This landscape poetry embodies "the interchange of past and presents through that spot's own cycle of renewing surrender and inheritance". Then he argues that "a poem's form" must conform to "its terrain", while a poet must find "the rooted relation with nature" and "the larger world" (1985, p. 40). Then, in one of his chapters, Ian Davidson discusses poetics of place in space, in which most contemporary poems "links time and space through the horizontal plane, the reading surface of the poem, with its sequence of overlapping links". For instance, the word 'food' becomes "a slice through the poem" that has a connection with other words "related to food" and "ideas related to food" (2007, p. 86). The two poems "The Thought of Trees" by Howard Nemerov and "Lessons of a Tree" by Luis H. Francia embody this "rootedness in a chosen spot" and a sense of place through the image 'tree' that serves as an analogy with human's spiritual and social growth.

## Arboreal Poetics as Ecological Views in Howard Nemerov's "The Thought of Trees" and Luis H. Francia's "Lessons of a Tree"

Nemerov's poem is a prose poem, while Francia's is a semi-lyric. In view of the stanzaic pattern, the first poem contains four stanzas in the form of a paragraph. In the first stanza, the poet analogizes trees with human world--

It is a common fancy that trees are somehow conscious and stand as the silent or whispering witnesses of the ways in which we bustle through the world. But it is a truth of poetical imagination that the trees are guardians and sponsoring godfathers of a great part of a thought. Not merely that various traditions have looked on trees as sacred figures of the cosmos, as the source of moral distinctions, as bearing all golden things, the apples, the bough, the fleece; but also that trees, more than we generally allow, have formed our view of the creation and nature of things, and, ambiguously responsible for these, the mind's image of its own process. This we are told by metaphors: a family tree, the root of the matter, a trunkline, a branch of the subject, and so on. (Nemerov, p. 494-495)

In this first part, the poet eulogizes trees not merely as discrete natural organisms but more especially as human animate comrades in which their organic and germinating qualities in their quiet growth are embodied within human's mind – "But it is a truth of poetical imagination that the trees are guardians and sponsoring godfathers of a great part of thought". Trees are not inanimate objects but a human medium of discerning any external phenomena in the natural world – "trees have formed our view of the creation and nature of things, and, ambiguously responsible for these, the mind's image of its own process." This

means that trees have ecological values not merely their merits to other living beings in the natural ecosystem, but also their analogy with human social aspects — "This we are told by metaphors: a family tree, the root of the matter, a trunkline, a branch of the subject, and so on." The naming of parts of trees in the various aspects of human social life indicates the rudimentary values of trees as natural entities. In the second part, the poet further depicts trees qualities in the interconnection between their physical parts and human's social and spiritual dimensions—

Trees appear as the formative image behind much thought brought to the critical point of paradox—

Where order in variety we see, And where, though all things differ, all agree, as Pope politely says of Windsor Forest. That trees, the largest of living things, are initially contained in tiny seeds, is already a spectacularly visible legend of the mysteries of generation and death. The tree, rooted in earth and flowering in heaven, intimates obscure and powerful reflexive propositions about the two realms; that root and top strangely mirror one another deepens and complicates the human analogy. The relation of single trunk and manifold branches forms the pattern for meditation on the one and the many, cause and effect, generality and particulars; while the movement in three stages, from many roots through one trunk to many branches, is supremely the image of historical process. The tree's relation with its leaves translates the paradigm into temporal terms, speaking of individual, generation, race, of identity continuous in change, of mortal endurance threaded through mortal evanescence, of times and a time. (Nemerov, p. 495)

In this second part, the poet further describes arboreal ecology, which refers to interdependent relation between one part and another – "That trees, the largest of living things, are initially contained in tiny seeds, is already a spectacularly visible legend of the mysteries of generation and death." The fact that trees as living organisms with large sizes are actually derived from seeds as small objects with different forms exemplifies this trees' ecological quality - the interconnection between one life form and another. The growing process of the trees itself also embodies ecological aspects, in which the seeds sprout collections of cells and further germinate into their various parts. The seeds sprout because of the roots, and the roots burst forth because of their interdependent upon soil, water, oxygen, and various nutrients in the soil (Turner, p. 46-48) – "The relation of single trunk and manifold branches forms the pattern for meditation on the one and the many, cause and effect, generality and particulars; while the movement in three stages, from many roots through one trunk to many branches, is supremely the image of historical process." The words 'image of historical process' indicate long temporal periods in embodying ecological qualities - the interconnection between the seeds and other elements including soil, nutrients, water, air, and sunlight. The last line similarly reveals another ecological aspect of the interconnection between trees and leaves, in which the latter can only spring up from the former. The leaves should also exist as parts of other parts of an entity called trees. People call this entity trees since they consist of their parts including roots, trunk, branches, and leaves. "The tree's relation with its leaves translates the paradigm into temporal terms, speaking of individual, generation, race, of identity continuous in change, of mortal endurance threaded through mortal evanescence, of times and a time." This line also poses an analogy between the qualities of trees and leaves and human life. This interconnection between trees and leaves tends to be temporary since the leaves will fall off under certain circumstances, for instance in autumn and winter time. The fallen leaves then are analogous with transient qualities of human material phenomena. Similar to leaves that turn colors from green to crimson, red, yellow and finally fall off in autumn, human's worldly affairs also last momentarily. In the third part, the poet equates trees with human's life; each part of the trees represents every aspect of human's quality—

Trees imagine life, and our imaginations follow as they may. The growth of a tree, its synchronous living and dying, from soft shoot to implacably hard (still growing) wood; the vast liquid transactions of capillarity within the solid form; the hard bark which nevertheless, as in the elm, reminds of water in its twisting flow; the enduring image of fluid life recorded in the rivery grain of boards (a mystical saying:---"Split the stick and there is Jesus"); the generalized simplicity composed of multitudinous complexity, generalized symmetry from the chaotic scrawl of upper branches; the simultaneity of freedom and order, richness and elegance, chance and destiny---these are some of the imaginings of the trees, which out of the earth and the air have dreamed so much of the human mind. (Nemerov, p. 495)

In this part, the poet depicts this tree ecology by comparing the trees with other natural elements as the interconnection between the trees with the elements – "the hard bark which nevertheless, as in the elm, reminds of water in its twisting flow; the enduring image of fluid life recorded in the rivery grain of boards". He also reveals this aspect through one's recognition of the inherent values of the trees; the ways the human views identify several qualities in the trees that human mind should also embody – "(a mystical saying:---"Split the stick and there is Jesus"); the generalized symmetry from the chaotic scrawl of upper branches; the simultaneity of freedom and order, richness and elegance, chance and destiny---these are some of the imaginings of the trees, which out of the earth and the air have dreamed so much of the human mind." The image 'Jesus' in the trees suggests a metaphor for 'sap' as the essential substance of trees as 'spirit' of humans. Jesus, in this case, is the holy spirit that all Christian adherents believe in as their religious faith. This human's discernment of the trees qualities and his ways of analogizing them with various qualities that humans should possess

indicate one's "ecological thought" (Morton, 2010). Simply put, the "ecological thought" means "the thinking of interconnectedness. It is a thought about ecology; it is also a thinking that is ecological. This thought is a practice and a process of becoming fully aware of how humans are connected with other nonhuman beings" (Ibid., p. 7). The ways the poet views and equates the trees with human's mind epitomize an ecological thought about coexistence between human and nonhuman beings. The poet's view of the trees as humans signifies another ecological thought, which substantiates human concern about the interconnectedness rather than his merely respect for Mother Nature (Ibid., p. 8; 2007, 24).

In the fourth part as the last stanza, the poet further portrays this trees' ecological quality through their analogy with humans. Trees have no longer lived apart but personas which humans have modelled on—

As architectural forms reflect their material origins, the first columns having been trees, so also with the mind. And so perhaps with its conclusions? "I shall be like that tree," Swift said to Edward Young, "I shall die first at the top." Since the eighteenth century, anyhow, when cathedrals began to remind people of forests and forests of cathedrals, it has come to seem sometimes that the mind acts in a drama staged with so high a regard for *realism* that the trees on the scene are carpentered at considerable cost out of real wood. Still, dryads and dendrones, the trees are within us, having their quiet irrefutable say about what we are and may become; how they are one of the shapes of our Protean nature, Melville in a single line expresses best—

The hemlock shakes in the rafter, the oak in the driving keel

---and it is the founding tenet of poetical imagination that such images are inexhaustibly speaking, they call to compelling, strange analogies all thought that flowers in its fact. (Nemerov, p. 496)

In this part, the poet exalts trees as having provided humans with intellectual nourishment. He imagines that human's aspiring mind should emulate the germinating trees – "I shall be like that tree," Swift said to Edward Young, "I shall die first at the top." This notion also unveils one's ecological thought since humans realize the importance of trees and the interconnected principles of the trees with other life forms. Yet, this part also envisions anthropogenic logging activities that have taken place since long time ago and might have wreaked havoc on the environment – "Since the eighteenth century, anyhow, when cathedrals began to remind people of forests and forests of cathedrals, it has come to seem sometimes that the mind acts in a drama staged with so high a regard for *realism* that the trees on the scene are carpentered at considerable cost out of real wood." This exemplifies how history of human logging has lasted since the eighteenth

century (see Buell, p. 97-119; Pease, p. 148-171) and perpetuated to contemporary times through poems of Gary Snyder, A.R. Ammons (Elder, p. 185-206; Snyder, 1978). Yet, once again the poet emphasizes this reverence for trees as the living spirit and aesthetic source for humans in their coexistence with the trees and other nonhuman beings — "Still, dryads and dendrones, the trees are within us, having their quiet irrefutable say about what we are and may become; how they are one of the shapes of our Protean nature; it is the founding tenet of poetical imagination that such images are inexhaustibly speaking, they call to compelling, strange analogies all thought that flowers in its fact."

In Francia's poem "Lessons of a Tree", the poet begins by quoting Carlos Bulosan's words that eulogize trees—

......I ascribed a mystical power to the tree, and in this urgent need to live, I worshipped it like a pagan.

Then he begins his first stanza by a question to trees—

How will I worship you, Tree?
I will not count the ways.
Rather, let my praise be
water for your days,
let my hymn and song
be recompense for all the wrongs
once perpetrated against you by a boy,
who cut branches to fashion slingshots,
who carved into your bark initials
a young heart once thought
forever dear.
(Francia, 98)

The poet expresses this ecological aspect through the interconnection between him and the tree that shows his esteem for the tree's merits. This aspect also includes the tree's interdependence on the water as a basic element for any living organisms to survive — "rather, let my praise be water for your days," in which he uses a metaphor 'praise' for 'water'. Then in the last lines, he depicts one boy's deed toward the tree that symbolically suggests human's disturbance to it for some purposes— "who cut branches to fashion slingshots, who carved into your bark initials a young heart once thought forever dear." In the second stanza, the poet further describes an ecological facet of the tree's interdependence on 'earth' or 'soil' and 'wind' or 'air' to sprout and grow big—

How shall I repay you for your forbearance, of my helter-skelter clambering up your crown, for your shade, for the green that attracts the cooling wind, hospitable even to those who would deny you your place on this Earth, this Earth to which you are not so much rooted as It is rooted to you.
Unrooted it falls, crumbles, Is blown away.
(Francia, p. 98)

The words "your forbearance, of my helter-skelter clambering up your crown," suggest the tree's 'reserved' and 'submissive' qualities to human's deeds over it. This implies an ecological disruption, an anthropocentric dominance over trees as co-existent organisms. The last line "this Earth to which you are not so much rooted as it is rooted to you" unveils the tree's interdependence on the earth or soil to grow and survive (Tudge, p. 252-254). At the same time, the line metaphorically suggests one's ecological thought as he compares human with the tree "that is not so much rooted to the earth" while "the earth is rooted to the tree". This implies an ecological phenomenon how humans, in general, are not rooted in the earth or 'Mother Nature' that means 'human's indifference or even disturbance to' the physical environment. Meanwhile, he points out that the Mother Nature nourishes humans both physically and spiritually. His depiction of the tree's root asserts the root's indispensability for any aspect of human's life since the root is the foothold of any living existence. Unless there is a root, everything crumbles and falls apart.

In the next three, four, and five stanzas, the poet delineates another ecological view of trees—

Once upon a time, the blood of a Gentle Galilean sanctified your wood. His death on your bough was for the good.

Once upon a time a man beneath you Sat the whole night. You had his back. The next morning Gautama was the Buddha.

You are a boat, abode, ark of life. (Francia 99)

The third and fourth stanzas feature a historical account of Jesus Christ who was crucified on the wooden cross and of Siddhartha Gautama or the Buddha who sat under the Bodhi tree (fig tree) for meditation and got spiritual enlightenment (Mann, p. 71-73, 142). The metaphor in the fifth stanza emphasizes the tree's merits for human's necessity. This line also reiterates a biblical account of Noah who built a wooden big boat (Nelson, 2009). In the sixth stanza as the last one, like in Nemerov's poem, Francia uses an analogy to compare himself as a poet and the life energy and spirit he needs with trees as a "spiritual teacher" that nourish and shelter human and nonhuman animals on earth—

From you, Tree, I learn.
Where I root myself will be in
Words, for thus will they free me.
May they be as you, a haven
for men and women to gather and
lean their weariness on, on
this poem, this apple,
this earth, this tree.
(Francia, p. 99)

The poet's willingness to learn from the tree and his way of imitating the tree's rooting in the earth (in metaphor 'words') exemplifies one's ecological thought of the interconnection between the trees and any other life forms.

## Arboreal Poetics as an Entreaty to Biodiversity Conservation and Sufficient Consumption of Material Goods to Combat Climate Change

Nemerov and Francia's poems both describe trees as the essential organisms in the natural ecosystem. Their poetics of vegetation evokes one's ecological awareness or what Morton calls ecological thought in discerning trees as being coexistent with other forms of life. He calls this interconnectedness of human and nonhuman beings "mesh" and one's ecological thought certainly is aware of this mesh of the natural phenomena (2010, p. 28).8 The way Nemerov and Francia eulogize and personify trees substantiates one's ecological thought since this suggests an insight into the interconnectedness between human and nonhuman beings. When Francia relatively "objectifies" trees as he distances them as 'other' from his consciousness, Nemerov interiorizes trees as parts of human consciousness or mind - "the trees are guardians and sponsoring godfathers of a great part of thought" and "trees appear as the formative image behind much thought brought to the critical point of paradox" (Nemerov, p. 494-495). Even the title of the poem "The Thought of Trees" clearly epitomizes the living persona of the trees rather than being as inanimate objects. As a revelation of ecological awareness and thought, one possible interpretation of the poet's crediting trees to human mind is that human way of thinking needs to emulate the flourishing and unwavering qualities of the trees. In the fourth stanza, the poet again asserts this tree and human spiritual amalgamation by embodying them in his consciousness, in which the spirit of the trees will guide humans to walk on a right path – "the trees are within us, having their quiet irrefutable say about what we are and may become; how they are one of the shapes of our Protean nature," (Ibid., p. 496). In a milder tone, Francia rhapsodizes the qualities of the tree as suggesting grounded and resilient aspects that humans need to emulate in their life-

From you, Tree, I learn. Where I root myself will be in Words, for thus will they free me. May they be as you, a haven for men and women to gather and lean their weariness on, on this poem, this apple, this earth, this tree. (Francia, p. 99)

The parts of the tree especially the root that goes deep down into the earth characterize it as a living organism with a solid lineage. This is why 'roots' become an image and an entity that any form of human's social aspect also needs to have. Trees and their organic metabolism signify their "countless values" and their natural language (Mann, p. 177) from which humans emulate and embody their ecological thought.

The trees' coexistence with other life forms is a social network. These forms are what Aldo Leopold called "biotic community" or Gary Snyder named "the commons" (Meine, p.172-173; Snyder, p. 33). In terms of ecology, there is an interconnection between forest clearing (deforestation) and climate change (see Gorte & Sheikh, 2010). A forest functions as "carbon sinks" (storing more carbon than they release). Furthermore, trees have roles to "absorb CO2 and convert carbon into leaves, stems, and roots, while releasing oxygen" (Ibid., p. 1). The activity of deforestation emits more or less "5.9 GtCO2 (gigatons or billion metric tons of CO<sub>2</sub>) annually, or about 17% of all annual anthropogenic GHG emissions" (Ibid., p. 1). Deforestation itself means to remove tree cover because of human activities including "farming or ranching" and "conversion of natural forests to plantations" (Ibid., p. 3; Wilson, p. 60). Deforestation can have impacts on "carbon fluxes in the soil, vegetation, and atmosphere". For instance, logging activity will "lead to carbon storage if trees are converted to wood products" so that "deforested areas will be restored" (Gorte & Sheikh, p. 3). Forest clearing may have impacts on reducing habitat, any native predator or herbivore species, carbon capture, and introducing pollutants that further "degrade pure aquatic habitats" (Wilson, p. 60). Several causes of this depletioncome from anthropogenic activities that scientists called HIPPO, namely "habitat destruction, invasive species, pollution, population growth, and overhunting (for animals) (Wilson, p. 57-58). The overpopulation, for instance, increases human and extraction of material goods. Consequently, overconsumption of goods would increase "ecological footprint" that further contribute to climate change and biodiversity depletion (Ibid., p. 58; Leonard, p. 152-153). In a word, these ecological impacts clearly make humans aware of the trees' pivotal roles in sustaining the natural biodiversity.

Trees embody earthly and heavenly qualities. As earthly organisms, the trees solidify the soil from any environmental disasters, such as floods, landslide, and rockslide. As heavenly beings, the trees nourish any other life forms, produce oxygen for other living organisms, and sequester carbon dioxide from the atmosphere. The interconnection between the tree and the soil and other parts of the tree analogizes human interconnectedness with each other fellow, the tree, other nonhuman beings, with the physical environment as social beings that coexist and share the planetary life (Meine, p. 172-175; Snyder, p. 27-51). One's

awareness of the tree's roles and the impacts of forest clearing on biodiversity and climate as the stanza describes should accordingly encourage him/her not to objectify trees and other life forms. This ecological conscience and "enlightened self-interest" (Meine, p. 175) or ecological thought should enlighten each individual in living with other beings in the natural environment. This has an implication that humans should consume material goods properly rather than extravagantly so that their activities do not cause detrimental effects on other life forms and the natural environment (see Leonard, p. 180-181). This conscience may also consider religious teachings such as those of Buddhism and Christianity that encourage one to practice rightful ways of consuming material things for one's necessity (Kaza, p. 39-61; Koizumi, p. 133-145). The interconnected parts that make the entity of the trees and their analogous qualities with human traits mean that trees are not discrete but coexistent companions with humans. Buddhist adherents esteem trees as another embodiment of human selfhood - "I know that in our previous life we were trees, and even in this life we continue to be trees. Without trees, we cannot have people, therefore trees and people inter-are. We are trees, and air, bushes and clouds. If trees cannot survive, humankind is not going to survive either" (Hanh, 218). Even more so, in India there is a ritual to hug trees "hug-the-tree" movement that illustrates people's awareness of the values of the trees for their earthly life and the physical environment (Ibid., p. 218). In view of environmental humanities or literary ecology, these two poems with the subject of trees convey what an ecocritic calls "the energy pathways that sustain life" (Rueckert, p. 108). What the poems reveal about the trees arousespositive energy in contrast with the emission of carbon dioxide produced by non-degradable plastic trash, non-renewable fossil fuels, land clearing and forest burning. The law of ecology or the interconnectedness between human and the trees, between the roots and five basic natural elements and other parts of the trees, serves as a model for "energy flow, community building, ecosystems" (Ibid., p. 110) or biotic community (Meine, p. 173) or the commons or sangha (1990, p. 33; 1999, p. 105). Arboreal poetics in these two poems then substantiates the "language of trees" (Gagliano, et. al., 2017, p. xvii-xx) that evoke one's knowledge about the tree's ecological merits.

#### Conclusion

In this technologized life, Mother Nature has become a virtual one. Humans as the earth inhabitants having more authority over other non-human creatures play a great role in denaturalizing the biotic life. Unrelenting market demands for material goods often trigger each individual to behave rampantly in socially fulfilling his needs for the goods. Humans now need to realize that every act one does with his environment would bring impacts on other life forms. Even more so, when one desires to always maximize his pursuit of material goods beyond one's needs, this act would impact on damaging the ecological system. Consequently, this exploitation wreaks havoc on the physical environment and escalates the climate change. Nemerov and Francia's vegetal poetics evokes one's awareness to care about the planetary life through cherishing trees as the natural nourishers. The symmetry that the poets portrays between themselves and the trees evokes one's willingness to learn from the trees in the ways they as well as human mind

always grow and germinate new lives and respectful consciousness. In this material world when consumerist demands and anthropocentric euphoria keep burgeoning every single day, it is always rudimentary for anyone to wisely "think and act like trees." This *thinking and acting like trees* means to always be aware of consuming material goods properly rather than extravagantly and of cherishing the ecological coexistence.

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## MIGRATION AND THE MANGGARAIANS' CULTURAL IDENTITY AS REPRESENTED IN MANGGARAIAN RAP SONGS

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#### **Abstract**

Manggaraian rap songs have become one of the means to see the phenomenon of migration and the desire of the Manggarai people to maintain their cultural identity. Therefore, this study aims to find out why Manggarai people migrate and how they manage their cultural identity overseas. The concept of "rural idyll" suggested by Marc Mormont is used to understand the Manggaraians' perspective on their home region, and the concept of identity as defined by Stuart Hall is used to examine the Manggaraians construe their cultural identity. This study is focused on 30 Manggaraian rap songs that feature migration and Manggaraian cultural identity as the themes of the lyrics. The study has led to the insight that the main reasons that motivate the Manggaraians to migrate are their desire to continue their education, find a better livelihood, gain new experiences in distant regions and look for better access and facilities that are unavailable in their home region to achieve their goals. The experience of living among people from many different cultures in distant regions confront them with the need to maintain their cultural identity and contact with their home region. To fulfil this need, they make attempts of revitalizing Manggaraian traditional values that they are familiar with throughout their growing-up years in Manggarai.

Keywords: migration, cultural identity, rap, Manggarai

#### Introduction

Migration is a geographical mobility that has been caused by economic, social, political and cultural factors. Some other reasons why people decide to migrate are infrastructure development, information technology advancement and suggestions from the people in the prospectus migrants' social environment. Migration has been defined as "a movement of people within national boundaries" (Gottdiener & Budd, 2005, p. 60). This definition refers to what is called internal migration which are undertaken either to move permanently or temporarily, including long-distance commute that is also known as "circular migration" (Samers, 2010).

Some Manggaraian migrants from Nusa Tenggara Timur are temporal migrants, and some others are permanent migrants. The majority of them move from rural areas to the nearby urban areas. The rest of them take on longer-distance migration by moving to big cities outside Flores such as Makassar,

Jakarta, Surabaya and Yogyakarta. Some portrayals of migration by the Manggaraians that give some account of why and how it is undertaken can be found in some products of Manggaraian popular culture. The most interesting ones are arguably Manggaraian rap songs.

Rap has become a popular musical genre in Manggarai since the 2000s (Allin, 2012; Bell, 2017). Like American rap, Manggaraian rap features perspectives on and images of various economic, political, social and cultural issues in the society where it originated. Thus, Manggaraian rap songs specifically present images about the Manggaraians in both their home region and foreign regions. Many of Manggaraian rappers write lyrics that talk about the causes and the effects of migration they have undertaken and Manggaraians' motivations to do so. Their lyrics reveal several problems that Manggaraian migrants generally encounter in their various endeavors that are mostly related to conficts stemming from cultural identity crisis while living outside their place of origin.

Based on the migration-related phenomena presented above, the present study seeks to answer the following questions: (1) What reasons that have motivated some Manggaraians to migrate? and (2) How do Manggaraian migrants perceive their cultural identity? Through a critical discussion focusing on the two subjects represented by these research questions, this article attempts to offer an insight about the general motivations behind Manggaraian migrants' decision to move out of their home region and the ways it affects their perception of their cultural identity through a close reading and interpretation of Manggaraian rap songs as part of this ethnic group's popular culture.

#### Method

Manggaraian rappers' creative exploration of their sociocultural circumstances in producing their music is influenced by their perspective on their origin in the agrarian society of Manggarai and on the urban environment they have migrated to. Their conception of geographical environments reflects their cultural identity. To have a critical understanding of the Manggaraians' perspective on their place of origin, a concept called "rural idyll" is used as a reference in discussing it. The concept, which was suggested by Marc Mormont, stands for an image of rural areas as a peaceful, tranquil and simple environment (Woods, 2011).

The Manggaraians' perception of cultural identity is elucidated through its correspondence with the conception of cultural identity posited by Stuart Hall (Morley, 2019) as follows.

"Essentially, it is assumed that cultural identity is fixed by birth, part of nature, imprinted through kinship and lineage in the genes, constitutive of our innermost selves. It is impermeable to something as "worldly," secular, and superficial as temporarily moving one's place of residence." (p. 208)

In general, the Manggaraians' migration is motivated by economic, social and cultural circumstances that make it necessary for them to leave their home region and move to various other regions in Indonesia. Be that as it may, all Manggaraian migrants wish to go back to their place of origin no matter how long they have been away from it. This disposition can be seen as an important fact with which the lyrics of Manggaraian rap songs that talk about hometown and life in foreign places can be analysed.

This study in this article is focused on 30 Manggaraian rap songs which were selected for their themes that present some of the Manggaraians' perspectives on migration and their cultural identity.

#### **Findings and Discussion**

Based on Jilis Verheijen's account of the Manggaraians (Hagul & Lana, 1989), there have been sigificant sociocultural changes in Manggaraian society's life since the 1950s, and half of them is essential part of its structure. These changes are associated with the rapid development of infrastructure in rural areas such as improvments in roads and electricity networks during the REPELITA IV (5-Year Development Plan IV) period under the New Order administration in Indonesia (Webb, 1994). The impacts of improved availability of road access and electricity are, among others, an increase in population mobility and greater access to information from radio and television that has been available for people living in rural areas. This improvement in infrastructure is followed by improvement in the Manggaraians' income from agriculture as a staple of their economy since they are supported by better means of distributing their produce to their consumers, better access to healthcare services which are mostly available in the cities, and easier access to consumptive goods. However, along with the abovementioned impacts, influences from the outside are increasing. Income improvement has apparently led to higher consumption of non-necessity items such as electronic appliances and motor vehicles. Electronic appliances such as radio and television allow greater access to information, whereas motor vehicles make long-distance mobility easier, which means Manggaraians can now reach places that are too far without this kind of transportation.

Television and radio broadcastings have reached audiences in many parts of Manggarai, and they have greatly affected the way Manggaraian people think about their land and other lands beyond their territory. On the one hand, exposure to more information from the outside provides Manggarai's inhabitants with a lot of new knowledge that may contain ideas of ways of improving their livelihood such as educational information on agricultural technology, crop and cattle farming methods, land cultivation, seed selection and irrigation. In addition, the medicine for crops and high-quality seeds advertisements made by several agricultural stores in Ruteng can help local farmers improve their crop production. Information related to health and healthcare can help Manggaraian people improve their physical condition as well as learn to live healthier and therefore prevent themselves from catching various diseases. Broadcast such as radiogram from one of local radio stations has been a medium that connects Manggaraian families to various sources of information which were not available for them in the past because of geographical issue. On the other hand, the mass media also carry particular information that can possibly give them ideas of going to places they have never been before, which means media like TV channels and radio programs have the potential to encourage Manggaraian audiences to undertake geographical mobility to various regions through their visual and verbal messages. In short, the availability of modern infrastructure and transportation encourages mobility because they make it much more feasible. This phenomenon has something to do with a particular human tendency called social mobility. In the globalization era, a lot more people are motivated to engage in social mobility.

Anthony Giddens (2006) describes social mobility as a shift in an individual's or group's socioeconomic position. It is classified into two categories: vertical mobility and lateral mobility. Vertical mobility refers to one's upward and downward movements in socioeconomic hierarchy when his/her social and economic status or position is increasing or decreasing respectively in terms of property ownership, annual income, or professional position. Lateral mobility is defined as geographical movement across different areas, regions, or countries. Motivations for doing the two kinds of mobility are connected to each other. Motivations behind an individual's or a group's decision to move out of their hometown or homeland are mostly economic. Moreover, as pointed out earlier, technology plays crucial role in the development of infrastructure and transportation and therefore contributes greatly to the increasing number of people being able to travel to different geographical territories. Discussions of migration and the social issues related to it are always multidimensional since migration's causes and effects involve multifaceted reality of migrants' life. Nikos Papastergiadis (2000), for example, argues that:

"Migration must be understood in a broad sense. I see it not just as a term referring to the plight of the 'burnt ones', the destitute others who have been displaced from their homelands. It is also a metaphor for the complex forces which are integral to the radical transformations of modenity." (p. 2).

The key idea of Papastergiadis' view quoted above that is relevant to the present study is that migration is the integral part of transformations of modernity. There have been many people migrating from their home region to another region with the hope of experiencing a more modern social environment than the one they were originated in. The most common cause of migration is economic factors such as higher minimum wage standard and greater job opportunity in various sectors in other regions compared to the ones in the migrants' home regions. Another economic factor that has attracted many migrants is better public facilities and entertainment in those regions. Other than economic factors, one factor with major contribution to migration is close interpersonal relationship between migrants and prospective migrants that is closely related to migration chain effect (Brown, 1991).

However, the existing conception of migration chain effect, which puts emphasis on economic factors as the main contributor to a region's development, wage rate and job opportunity availability, is less relevant as an approach to observe the related phenomena in the third world. The conventional model of mobility in the third world countries is based on migrants' role in suggesting migration to others by imparting information to their relatives and close friends about how their current place of living is different (and better) from the one in which they were born and grew up. A large number of people have followed their relatives' or friends' footsteps in migrating out of their home region. Nevertheless, the concept can be taken as a premise to shift the main emphasis on the powerful effect of the interpersonal communication between migrants and their relatives or friends in helping the incoming migrants settle down in the new place and adjust themselves in the new social environment.

Manggaraians' mobility examined in the abovementioned context is closely connected to the important position of extended family in Manggaraian kinship (Allerton, 2004; Erb, 1999). It is to be expected that the Manggaraians' migration destinations are the cities where Manggaraian communities exist in relatively large numbers such as Makassar, Jakarta, Malang and Yogyakarta. The strong bond between fellow Manggaraians is reflected in Manggaraian migrants' feeling of obligation that they have to tell their relatives and friends in Manggarai about some promising job opportunities they have found in the city and provide temporary place to stay for the newly arrived Manggaraian migrants. For relatives or friends who come to visit them in the city, these migrants generally make some effort to make sure that they are well accommodated and looked after. From the perspective of Manggaraian culture, these favors they do are not merely a form of primordial solidarity. Their solidarity is an act of valuing the sense of kinship among the Manggaraians in their cultural territory that has been preserved through generations. A research conducted by L. A. Brown in Costa Rica revealed that kinship has greater influence than higher wage rate, job opportunity and other economic factors in various degrees from region to region (Brown, 1991).

Urbanization is one of the common kinds of migration in this industrialization era. In Louis Wirth's perspective, as quoted by Giddens (2006), urbanization is a lot more than the number of population recorded in statistics related to urban demography and the available employment opportunities for city dwellers. It involves urban environment with substantial impacts on human's social life. City is the controlling center for economic, political and cultural dynamics that has always drawn people in remote areas to its orbit, and, as a result, brings together people of different bakgrounds and spheres of activity in a plural society (p. 898). In other words, the cities, as the center of governmental, social, economic and cultural activities, are a powerful magnet that can make people in its periphery come to experience its hustle and bustle.

Wirth's observation here can be taken as a reference to understand the mobility of Manggaraians from their villages to the cities in which the main offices of regional governments reside such as Ruteng, Labuan Bajo, Borong, as well as other cities outside Manggarai's cultural territory. Most of Manggaraian migrants in these cities earn a living as small vendors, small retailers, bus conductors, drivers of public transportation and blue collar workers at a store or a market. Their motives range from finding a better livelihood to continue their education; and also from finding better public facilities to escaping a conflict with some people in their home village. It can be inferred that the bottom line of the Manggaraians' motives is that they are encouraged to have social mobility by moving to big cities and participate in the modernity of urban life. Their perception that rural life is associated with traditionalism, underdevelopment and poverty has made them decide to move to big cities, either temporally or permanently.

A work by Thomas Solomon (2005) on Istanbul as a migration destination is one of the studies that reveal the appeal of experiencing modernity as an influential factor in urbanization. Solomon describes that many people from the rural areas on the city outskirt want to participate in the transformation process into modernity in Istanbul that is supported by the government. Another work about the similar phenomenon was written by Arun Saldana (2002), presents a

portrayal of urban life in Bangalore that is characterized by modernity and superfluity; two qualities that have attracted many people outside its territory to move in as their effort to make a better life and, along the way, be part of modern urban life.

Likewise, cities in western Flores, where regional government offices are located, have been attracting people in adjacent areas to visit or move into them to experience life with better availability of public facilities and more advanced infrastructure. Those cities also offer more diverse job vacancies than rural areas do, and therefore, they attract more job seekers than rural areas do. Nonetheless, urban modernity and higher diversity of job opportunities are not a guarantee of higher wage rate. In fact, most of the migrants that chose to survive in urban areas did so more because of the wide range of facilities those places can offer than the amount of wages they can take from their jobs.

Furthermore, although cities in Manggarai territory are not as big and vibrant as the ones in Java, they are still better developed compared to the areas in their neighborhood. Tourism development in Labuan Bajo and municipal development in Borong for instance have been a big enough appeal for businessmen who want to expand their businesses or even moved in there. These business people and investors contribute to the increasing number of new settlers and the growth of non-agricultural economic sectors. The growing economy is followed with the growing number of businesses leading to the higher employment rate, particularly for manual workers or domestic workers. This higher employment rate in non-agricultural sector, in turn, encourages population mobility.

Based on the data from the Center Bureau of Statistics (BPS) of Kebupaten Manggarai, the sub-district or kecamatan with the highest number of immigrants is Kecamatan Langke Rembong in which Ruteng, the capital city of Manggarai, is located. In 2009, the number reached 2045 (BPS Kabupaten Manggarai, 2009). Although the data on the regions where the migrants in the kecamatan come from has not been available, the statistics of its migrants suggests that the majority of people who have moved to Langke Rembong come from the rural areas in Manggarai. The data correspond to the statistics of workers in existing sectors that show increases annually. Moreover, the data from Economy Indicator of Kabupaten Manggarai show a decrease in workforce in agricultural sector from 34.23% in 2011 to 33.36% in 2013 and an increase in service and industrial sectors from 30.23% to 30.46% (BPS Kabupaten Manggarai, 2014). The data on labor composition indicate that there are more women workers than men workers. This composition can be seen as an indication that the number of men workers who have moved to another sector outside of their villages is increasing (pp. 12-14).

In terms of cultural environment, urban areas in Manggarai are not that different from rural areas in the same territory. The significant different is in the level of physical infrastructure and economic developments. Urban modernity supported by the two factors is embodied in items such as cellphones, well-provided electricity, motorbikes and cars. It is also represented in negative behaviors such as street races, conflicts with security guards, lack of empathy, money-oriented activities, lavish lifestyle and lack of respect for older people or senior relatives.

People migrating from rural areas to Ruteng commonly work or seek employment in service and industrial sectors. Many of them work as vendors and as manual workers for home industries or small businesses in Ruteng. The majority of migrant vendors sell daily needs such as food, foodstuff and fuel. Some of them have a stall in a market, and some others are mobile food vendors. Some of popular food products they sell are kompiang (one of Manggaraian traditional cookie covered with sesame seeds), toasted bread, cilok, and pia. Other foods that are commonly peddled, particularly by migrants from Java, are bakso (Indonesian meatballs) and mie ayam (Indonesian chicken noodle). Street peddlers usually sell their food by going from house to house, school to school, office to office, store to store, or several other places downtown where many people frequently gather.

Foodstuffs that are peddled by many street vendors in Ruteng are vegetables and fruits. Most of these vendors are migrants from rural areas who usually get their goods from their home villages. Many of them have some relatives from their villages that supply the foodstuffs to them. Indeed, one of the reasons why these people are still regularly connected with their relatives in their home villages is that they have farmland or some productive land plots together to take care and whose produce is harvested for daily consumption and for sale. In that case, to do their business, these vendors engage in circular migration (Samers, 2010). They make regular travel between their villages and the city where they sell their goods weekly or more frequent than weekly. Their mobility is supported by rural public transport system that runs along various routes and enables them to reach Ruteng. Clearly, the villages where they come from are within commuting distance of the city. Some of them are located in Kecamatan Ruteng, Lelak, and Rahong Utara, which are less than 20 kilometers from Ruteng downtown. These rural areas and Ruteng are connected by trans-Flores road whose surfaces have been built with asphalt to make it possible for public transportion to run across it all round.

Other important goods are fish. Supplies of fish and fish products are obtained from coastal areas such as Labuan Bajo and Reo. They are brought using containers and transported in pickup trucks that can access remote areas in the region. Fishermen sell their catch to several wholesaler or suppliers which mostly Madurese people who do their business in coastal areas. The majority of fish vendors in Ruteng either buy the fish directly from fishermen or from wholesalers. Much like vegetable and fruit vendors, fish vendors sell their goods either by peddling them from place to place or by running a stall in the market. The difference is that fish vendors are not commuters since they don't have to go to their home villages to get the fish supply.

Like fish vendors, kerosene and gasoline vendor in Ruteng are usually not commuters. Most of them are migrants from the neighboring areas of the city. Both fuel peddlers on the street and fuel retailers in the market are considered illegal fuel vendors. They make profit from the difference between fuel retail price and fuel price in gas station.

Upon closer observation, there are several particular reasons why rural people engage in urbanization. The first one is the fact that it is easier to acquire cash from selling goods and services. Back in Manggaraian home villages, money is not the only means of exchange. Barter is even more common medium of exchange in Manggaraian rural economy. So, exchanging goods for other goods

as well as services for other services are common practices in there. They would exchange rice for coffee or corn for example, with an agreed quantity.

Exchange using cash is commonly practiced when rural Manggaraians have to make a commercial deal with people from outside of their villages or when there are occasions where they have to make expenses on money such as make a donation for relatives who need financial support to hold a gathering or party, to seek medical treatment, to buy consumer goods, to purchase agricultural appliances and fertilizers, to pay their children's tuition, to pay some household levies, or to pay certain taxes. When farmers need to make quick cash, they are compelled to sell their produce at a low price. Some of them even succumbed to middlemen who buy their produce in a very low price when they are in emergency for cash. Circumstances can go worse when crops price rate in general is dropping or when the farmers' traditional cultivating method is unable to prevent crop failure. In that case, working in the city becomes a more reasonable option to make an income in cash that they can use for various purposes such as fulfilling their daily necessities, paying bills and many other household needs that cannot be meet by means of barter.

The second reason for engaging in urbanization is the perception that they can have better chance of securing a regular income source, particularly monthly income. In fact, many rural Manggaraians feel that working in the city offers higher level of certainty than working in their home villages. There are challenges in being a traditional farmer in their village that they do not want to go through such as dependence on growing/planting seasons and the impact of weather condition on crops. Dramatic weather change may increase the risk of crop failure, and therefore, the level of harvest unpredictability from season to season is higher. Moreover, price fluctuation in agricultural markets in which middlemen take part has frequently made harvest season unprofitable. In some worst periods, they even experience depressing shortfall because the income from the harvest fails to compensate for the production expenses. So, being an unskilled worker or a vendor in the city is seen as an alternative income source with lower risk. It is because wage rate is usually set and peddling or retailing is easier than farming. They will not be burdened by obligation to pay for farm labor and to anticipate the possible crop failure.

The third reason is that some Manggaraians are simply lack of resources to cultivate their farmlands. Hiring agricultural workers and providing means of production can be too costly. It is not to mention that fertilizers and medicine crop prices are on the rise. For these people, leaving farming for wage-paid jobs or peddling in big city is a reasonable decision. Some of them who have decided to move to the city permanently bring their whole family to live with them in their new place, while some others leave their family in their village to move into one of their relative's place in the city. Manggaraians who do not bring their family to move to the city work to make money for supporting their family's daily financial needs or agricultural needs to take care of their farm in their village.

The fourth reason is the motivation to have a new or different life experience. Most of Manggaraian migrants with this impulse are young people. They are commonly tired of living a rural life where they have to work hard on farmland. Many of them have decided to leave their villages to work in the city as blue collar workers or ojek (motorcycle taxi) drivers. Not only do they want to be able

to provide for themselves, they also want to enjoy many kinds of entertainment and modern lifestyle that urban life can offer. For them, ompared to the highly time-consuming and laborious work on farmland, wage-paid jobs in the city are more preferable.

Big cities other than Ruteng which have been migration destinations for the Manggaraian are outside of Flores. Many young Manggaraians migrate to these cities to pursue higher education. The reason is apparently the inadequate educational support system in Flores, particularly in terms of quality and facilities. Young Manggaraians who migrate for the purpose other than continuing their education work in oil palm plantations in Kalimantan and Sumatra with the expectation that they will be paid higher than what they used to earn in their villages in Manggarai.

In Manggarai, population mobility in general and urbanization in particular have caused a number of problems for inhabitants of both rural and urban areas. One of the problems is that the significant increase in the number of people migrating from villages to cities is followed by the increase in the workforce supply in urban areas. Surplus in labor supply, in turn, affect wage rate. In reality, most of workers coming from rural areas have not been paid according to the prevailing regional minimum wage. In most cases, the amount of wages paid is set based on the kind of job the worker is employed for and the period of his/her employment with the company or organization he/she has been working for. Wages are also varied from employer to employer although there is usually an agreed level of minimum wage among employers in the same region.

It is not uncommon that employers hire certain individuals on the recommendation of their workers. This reality has something to do with the interpersonal affinity or kinship between migrants in the city and the prospective migrants discussed in the earlier part of discussion about the causes of population mobility (or social mobility) and urbanization (Brown, 1991). It is related to the concept of migration chain effect mentioned in the discussion in which migrants inform their relatives or friends in their home villages about urban life and better job opportunities they have enjoyed in the city. Moreover, the Manggaraians' preference for moving to the city where their migrant relatives or friends have been in suggests that interpersonal affinity in the forms of kinship and friendship between people in different positions along the migration chain help the incoming migrants adapt to their new place.

Migration chain that significantly contributes to urbanization in Manggarai not only serves as a support system for the prospective migrants, but also for Manggaraian migrant workers that have been in the city for some time. Manggaraian workers in the cities feel most comfortable in the company of their fellow Manggaraians because of their shared habits, sense of solidarity, and primordial camaraderie. The presence of these three factors here is capable of creating a metaphorical home that plays a role as a mental and emotional comfort for Manggaraian migrants while being away from home and being among people of various backgrounds.

For employers, primordial friendship between their employees can be an advantage because workers with common backgrounds tend to create fewer conflicts than those with diverse backgrounds. These same-background workers can also help them find new recruits whenever necessary. However, the downside

of employing workers of the same background is that their friendship may become counterproductive to industrial work system. In cases where one of the Manggaraian workers resigns, for example, his/her fellow Manggaraian workers of the same background will follow suit to prove their solidarity especially when the resigning worker is a person whom they much respect. Likewise, when one of them asks for some days off to attend a traditional event in their home village, his/her Manggaraian friends may also do the same thing to attend the same event. In some cases, they do not even tell how long they will be off from work. They may or may not go back to work for certain considerations. Their time off may end in a resignation when, for example, their friends and relatives ask them to take a different job or work at different company or organization with them. Thus, different attitudes towards industrial work system between workers coming from rural areas and employers who are accustomed to urban way of life may create conflict between employers and their employees.

Another problem that may create conflict between workers and employers is different work ethics between urban people who grew up in an industrial society (most employers) and rural people who grew up in an agricultural society (most employees). The most obvious indication is their difference in work pattern and work pace. The employer may think that rural people are lazy and tardy.

Indeed, the wish to experience modernity has consequences. Georg Simmel, as quoted by Giddens (2006) suggests a concept called "mental life of the city". The concept describes the ways the city shapes its inhabitants' mentality by bombarding their mind with hundreds of images, impressions, sensations and diverse activities. In contrast, rural life is characterized with tranquility and slower life rhythm. In big cities, people are trying to protect themselves from potential criminal impulse in their social environment and distorted images of social reality by keeping their emotional distance with others and focusing only on what matters to survive in urban way of life. Giddens observes that this mental life of the city creates detached and lonely individuals (p. 896).

According to Ferdinand Tönnies, urbanization is responsible for the diminishing gemainschaft or communities whose members are brought together by shared traditional values, strong solidarity, reliable interrelationship between friends and between individuals and environment and definite positions in society. Urban mentality has transformed gemeinschaft into gesellschaft. Gesellschaft refers to communities whose members' relationship are transitory or instrumental in nature. Interpersonal relationship in this kind of community is built upon certain bakground and interests, and therefore, one's position is valued according to the role he/she plays in society. In the two socilogists' views, the cities are a place full of strangers (p. 896).

It can be inferred that Brown, Simmel and Tönnies's perspectives on urbanization are interrelated, particularly in providing a framework to explain the reality of Manggaraians' social mobility and their involvement in urbanization. The transition they experence from rural life to urban life causes particular conflicts and challenges. To deal with this issue and to survive urban mental life, they rely on their friendship, solidarity and kinship with people of the same background. The incoming Manggaraians migrants adjust themselves to the new place under the guidance of and with the support from their relatives or friends who have migrated to the city before them. Being at later point in migration chain,

all they need to do is follow their predecessors' lead to make their rural-to-urban transition much easier than that experienced by the pioneering migrants.

The environment of modernity may also cause the feeling of uprootedness. The Manggaraians, who were born and grew up in an agrarian society, are so accustomed to a closely knit community that they need some time and efforts to adjust themselves to the industrial society which values individualism as the most important quality. This sociocultural discrepancy leads to the growing need for maintaining connection with the cultural origin among Manggaraian migrants in the cities so as to not lose their cultural identity (Yuliantari A. P., 2016); (Yuliantari, Adi, & Ganap, 2015).

These mental tendencies are represented in Manggaraian rap music as creative part of the Manggaraians' cultural narratives. The lyrics of Manggaraian rap songs express the struggle for preserving their cultural identity through criticisms on urban lifestyle such as the way city people dress, their dependence on sopisticated communication devices and social media, and the way boys and girls adopting kinds of attitudes they have learned from the mass media. These forms of criticism can be found in the lyrics of the following songs: "CBL" written by KBR community; "Alay" "ABG", "Cewe Matre" and "Cewek Pantat Bensin Murahan" by MC Firman; "Leng Bail Umet" by Putra and Z-Lo MBC; and "Molas Gincu" by Ricky Radu. Manggaraian rappers' criticisms are also targeted at rural people who prefer foreign cultures to their own culture. Criticism on this preference can be found in the lyrics of "Wa Mai Tana" and "Ruteng is Da City" written by Lipooz. The two songs present an image of Manggaraians who have lost respect or appreciation for their own tradition. They behave as if they have abandoned their identity as a member of Manggaraian culture. In short, the two songs are written to criticize some Manggaraians who try to adopt modern lifestyle at the cost of their Manggaraian identity.

Some rappers express their cultural identity by writing songs that suggest images of rural life as compared to urban lifestyle. Their portrayals of countryside and rural life correspond to the description and conception of rural areas proposed by D. Stead (2002) and C. T. Stewart Jr. (1958). Rural area as a spatial setting is characterized by these features: the majority of its inhabitants are farmers, most part of their lands is cultivated as farmland, its population is relatively small, and public facilities and entertainment in there are relatively limited. Manggaraian rap songs that offer images of rural areas as a spatial setting are, among others, "Kador Neka Culas Bail" written by Vian Mahon, "Reggae Manggarai" by Dodi RBC, "Enu Molas Maras" by Rifand To'oz, "Molas Baju Wara" and "Hip Cha Cha" by Lipooz, "Leng Bail Umet" by Ricky MC (singers: Putra MBC dan Z-Lo MBC), and "Gaya di Enu Rimpet" by Ricki Radu. These rap songs give some perspectives on Manggaraians' social reality and its various aspects. Some of them are conflicts among young Manggaraians, shift in social and cultural values causing by daily contacts with modern lifestyle mediated by the mass media, and Manggaraians' geographical mobility from their countrysides to many different areas outside Manggarai.

As argued by Marc Mormont (Woods, 2011), rural area or countryside as an abstract concept is represented in imaginations and interpretations that give certain meanings to a spatial setting, a natural environment and way of life. Manggaraian rappers who have been living in the city for some time express their

abstract ideas of the rurality of Manggarai in the lyrics of their songs. Their ideas reflect its image as a "rural idyll" by which Manggarai is perceived as a peaceful, tranquil and simple place, compared to the hustle and bustle of urban life. Some of the songs with this portrayal are "Ruteng is da City", "Manggarai Kotaku Tercinta", and "Ingin Kembali ke Kota Kecilku". Songs with this kind of theme, according to Eliot in Kruse (2003), are written and rendered "to imagine a different way of living, or at least to minimize the burdens and oppressions of everyday life" (p. 156). Thus, the imagination of Manggarai as countryside in songs' lyrics serves as an escape for these rappers from the complexity of urban life. Their songs are their way of reonstructing the rural idyll of their home villages and their expression of their longing for its tranquility and for the sense of kinship of its people.

In essence, their lyrics suggest the contrasting mentality of urban and rural lives. Their village is a peaceful, hospitable and self-sufficient place they will always miss, whereas the city where earn a living is a demanding, tough, merciless and competitive place to work in. Manggaraian rap songs that emphasize this contrast are, among others, Vian Mahon's "Boleng My Place" and "Ingin Kembali ke Kota Kecilku", Dodi RBC's "Aku Retang Bao" dan "Terbayang Reo Kota Kecil", Boyz of West Manggarai's "Tanahku Labuan Bajo", and Arlan Colol's "Manggarai Timur".

Manggaraian rap songs that focus on the fierce competition in the city and the struggle to survive it are Eman Tonjo's "Gesar Dami Anak" dan "Lako Pala". The songs' lyrics picture the tough reality of living in the bic cities in which the available choice for the migrants who came to work in there without particular skills to offer is being a manual worker. Unlike urban life that put unskilled workers in hardship, rural life can give them a sense of kinship and contentment. So, what they later found is that although the limited job opportunities in their village have motivated them to move to the city, living in scarcity in there is more rewarding than living in poverty in the city without relatives and close friends to keep them company. The song titled "Gesar Dami Anak" for example, communicates that solidarity and harmony in rural areas are the support system that will always be cherished by Manggaraians who live far away from their home villages. Amity, peace and solidarity are the tradition and social setting that Manggaraian migrants are deprived of during their residency in the cities.

The song titled "Naring Cama Ora Komodo" written by Z-Lo MBC and "Labuan Bajo" by Firman MC present another comparison between rural and urban areas in which the writers mention specific names of the regions they talk about in the lyrics. These are the places that urban people are usually attracted to as destinations for vacation. The idyllic atmosphere of the places helps tourists take a break from the exhausting routine in the city. In "Labuan Bajo," MC Firman describes that Labuan Bajo is so great that anyone who visits it would wish to never leave it. The lyrics also describe it as a rural area that can offer urban modernity to enjoy. Having been developed as a tourist destination, it has modern facilities such as that in the cities.

Like "Labuan Bajo", "Naring Cama Ora Komodo" by Z-Lo MBC talks about rural area as tourism object, but it also communicates a message that its natural beauty needs to be continuously preserved since it is the main reason that urban people come to visit the area as well as other rural areas. Therefore, the

development of modern infrastructure and facilities in those areas, as much as it is important to accommodate tourists, it should be kept in check to prevent any harm on the natural environment. Nature preservation is important not only to protect its beauty but also to maintain the traditional values that are attached to it. In traditional perspective, nature is emas mongko or treasure that is vital for people's welfare in general.

Manggaraian rap songs that specifically present images of urban areas were written by migrant Manggaraian rappers who still live outside their home region. Their lyrics represent their concern about how different the values and lifestyle in the city is from those in here they come from. This concern can be found in Potas Tribe's "Indahnya Pagi", Potazz's "Jakarta Suruh Siapa?", Potazz dan Z-Lo's "This is my Life", and Lipooz's "Harapan". Their lyrics reveal some conflicts and negosiations the Manggaraians have to undergo in their attempt to maintain their cultural identity as Manggaraians among a pluralistic society in the city that is full of people from different backgrounds. They feel that urban society is more materialistic and lack of the kinship solidarity of rural society. They have to continuously negotiate and renegotiate with their social environment to not to lose their cultural identity and, at the same time, to survive urban life. Throughout their struggle to make a better life in the city as migrants, things such as morning coffee, memory of their parents' advice, and other things that are valued in Manggarai become their anchor whenever they need to stay connected to their origin. Lipooz's "Harapan" brings into attention the importance of friends to go through the indifferent nature of urban social life.

Some Manggaraian rap songs highlight the disagreeable sides of urban life such as its materialistic orientation, the hedonistic lifestyle of its people, corruption, moral degradation and indifferent attitude. These negative images are represented in the lyrics of Potaazz's "Because of the Money" dan "Kemanakah Merdeka", Dodi RBC's "Perang Malapetaka" dan "Keadilan", Aldo MBC's "Interesti Suara Rakyat", Lanooz's "Playboy Freestyle", and Selo Kapet's "Perempuan Malam". These songs reflect Manggaraian rappers' awareness and concern of how these negative qualities may affect Indonesian nation in general and Manggaraian society in rural areas in particular.

## Conclusion

It should be clear by now from the above discussion that Manggaraian rap songs which feature migration as their theme give particular insights into the causes and the effects of Manggaraians' migration and their reasons to move from their villages to various cities. From the closer observation of the reality of this ethnic group and Manggaraian rap song, it is apparent that the fundamental cause of Manggaraians' migration is the shift in their worldview and way of life as a result of their transformation from an agrarian society into an industrial society. Their reasons to migrate out of their home villages can be summed up by the fact that they feel motivated to be part of modernity.

One of important effects of migration and the Manggaraians' increasing contact with people from various sociocultural backgrounds is the occurrence of cultural identity issue. With the growing need for maintaining their connection with the culture where they were born and grew up and prevent themselves from feeling alienated in the city, Manggaraian migrants affirm their cultural identity

through various material and non-material representations of Manggaraian culture.

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# TWO ADJACENT VOWELS IN PAGU AND THEIR ALTERNATING WORD STRESS PLACEMENT

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#### **Abstract**

Some diphthongs in Pagu, rather than being pronounced as a single syllable in a normal/rapid speed of speech, can alternate to appear in two different adjacent syllables when pronounced in a slow speech. In Pagu, the speed of speech affects the words syllable number and word stress placement. The previous study suggests that word stress in Pagu is placed on the penultimate syllable. This paper will discuss word stress placement in Pagu in two different speed of speech (normal and slow) as well as two adjacent vowels as affected by the speed and their position in the word. This sheds a light on the behaviors of two adjacent vowels in the stress placement area i.e. whether they are different vowels they can alternate between a diphthong or two separate vowels in two different syllables and when they are identical they cannot be separated into two different syllables when occur in the final position.

Keywords: stress placement; non-Austronesian (Papuan) language; diphthongs; long vowels; syllable structure

#### Introduction

On my first stage of studying the Pagu language for the Indonesian Institute of Sciences' (LIPI) project (on the endangered languages in Eastern Indonesia documentation/revitalization in 2012-2014), I asked its speakers a lot of questions, e.g. how to say 'bird', 'fish', 'dog', 'cat', 'the sun', 'the sea', the moon' any other nouns, verbs, adverbs, and adjectives in Pagu? I listened to them painstakingly and always asked them to repeat several times in order to spot the word stress placement. The first answered words are always pronounced quicker than those repeated ones. Interestingly, for certain words their syllable numbers are not the same, that is the first pronounced words count one less syllable than the repeated ones. The two words in table 1 below exemplify this.

Table 1. Words with two different and identical adjacent vowels in the prefinal position

Words	Normal speech	Slow speech
/t <b>ii</b> la/ 'bad'	[ˈtiː.la]	[ti.'(?)i.la]
/tuane/'eight'	[ˈtua.ŋe]	[tu.'(w)a.ŋe]

In table 1 above, in each the two words /tiila/ 'bad' and /tuane/'eight' there are two adjacent (identical) /ii/ and (different) vowels /ua/ that occur in the prefinal position (each is followed by a CV syllable). These words can have either two syllables when pronounced in a normal (rapid) speed, or three syllables, in a slow speed. The identical ones can be pronounced as a long vowel [i:] in one syllable (in normal speech) or two [i]s in two separate syllables (where both can be separated by a glottal [?]). The different ones /ua/, can be pronounced as a glide [w] plus [a] in one syllable [wa] (in normal speech) or [u] and [a] in two separate syllables (where between the syllables, the glide [w] can occur).

Furthermore, when two different adjacent vowels occur in the final position in any of the following four possible vowel-consonant patterns: VV, VVC, CVV, or CVVC, the different vowels can also alternate to become one or two syllables (see table 2). In contrast however, long vowels in the final position never alternate to become two identical vowels in two separate syllables (see table 3).

Table 2. two different adjacent vowels in the final position

Patterns	Words	Normal	Slow
VV	/ao/ 'bring'	[ˈao]	[ˈa.o]
VVC	/aun/ 'blood'	[ˈaun]	[ˈa.un]
CVV	/so <b>ŋou</b> / 'guilty'	[so.ˈŋou]	[so.ˈŋo.u]
CVVC	/goun/ 'real'	[ˈgouŋ]	[ˈgo.uŋ]

Table 3.two identical vowels (a long vowel) in the final position

Expected Patterns	Words	Normal/slow	Slow
(of the slow speech)			
VV	Not exist		
VVC	/ook/ 'to defecate'	['?o:k]	*['?o.ok]
CVV	Not exist		
CVVC	/ku.t <b>uu</b> l/ 'big'	[kuˈtuːl]	*[kuˈtu.ul]

The words in table 2 have two different vowels that occur in the final position (they are not followed by another syllable). Like the examples in table 1, they can also alternate to have two different numbers of syllables depending on the speed, i.e. the normal (rapid) one has one and the slow one has two syllables.

Those in table 3 on the other hand when occur in the final position they are always long vowels. Note that Pagu words cannot have the four-possible vowel-consonant patterns in the final position. Unlike those in table 1 and 2, they cannot alternate to have two syllables but rather one only; even when pronounced in a slow speech. (The asterisk (\*) symbol means that the pronunciation is not possible).

Figure 1 below outlines the alternating number of syllables of words with two different adjacent vowels in the four possible syllable structures when occur in the final position. They can alternate into two syllables, that form V.V, V.VC, CV.V or CV.VC syllable structure, or a single syllable as they are pronounced as a diphthong.

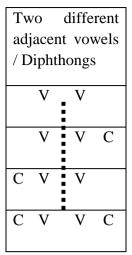


Figure 1. two possible syllabe structure of two different and identical adjacent vowels in the in final position

Because of the facts mentioned above, the word stress in Pagu can be said not always to occur in the penultimate but also in the final position. This determined by four factors: (i) the speed of the speech (normal/rapid vs slow) (ii) the two types of the adjacent vowels (identical vs different vowels) and (iii) the position of the vowels in the words (final or prefinal), and (iv)the heaviness of the syllable. Note that diphthongs and longs vowels are heavy syllables (Hayes 2009), therefore they must be assigned a stress when occur in the final position.

We will see further in this paper that the two different adjacent vowels in the final position can alternate to have one or two syllables based on the following two circumstances:

- (a) A slow speech will result a glide insertion: glide /y/ or /w/ always can be inserted between the vowels and functions as a 'syllable boundary' (represented by the dashed vertical line in the left table above). Whether the glide is /y/ or /w/ depends on the first vowel, for example: the front high /i/ or /e/ will allow /y/ whereas, the back high /u/ or /o/ will allow /w/.
- (b) A normal/rapid speech can result a vowel replacement by a glide: /i/ is replaced by /y/ and /u/ by /w/.

The identical vowels in the final position on the other hand are always a long vowel, i.e. they cannot alternate to become two syllables. In any other position it can always split into two syllables, and a glottal /?/ can always occur in between as a syllable barrier. Thus, orthographically it suggests that the long vowels in the final position must be presented with two vowels instead of one (e.g. *tuuk* 'to burn' and *feen* 'turtle').

This paper does not present a theoretical perspective rather a descriptive one that makes use of the traditional phonological theories such as the syllabification i.e. onset and rhyme (Selkirk 1982 among others) and heavy syllable (Hayes 2009). I will describe the phenomenon based on the Pagu phonological nature, i.e. certain types of adjacent vowels; whether different or identical adjacent vowels;

which combinations of those vowels allow alternation to become one or two syllables; which ones don't.

By studying this issue, we will better understand the characteristics of long vowels, diphthongs (vowel glides) and glides in Pagu in relations with the language syllable structure. We will also find out that word stress placement is not always on the penultimate but with certain vowels words and under different speed of speech can alternate to appear on the final. In addition, stress is assigned in the final because it is a heavy syllable.

Section 1 will discuss about the Pagu language, section 2 the method. In order to get into the alternating word stress phenomena in Pagu, I will present several Pagu phonological features: phonemes, diphthongs and vowels in section 3 and syllable structure in section 4. In section 5, I will discuss the word stress placement (including the alternating word stress and that additional affixes that follow the base word i.e. epenthesis and suffixes do not affect the word stress placement). Section 6 will conclude this paper.

## The language

Pagu is a Papuan (Non-Austronesian) language spoken in the south-eastern end of the west-north peninsula of the Halmahera island (see figure 2). Following Voorhoeve (1983) it belongs to the North Halmaheran language family of the west Papuan phylum that comprises two sub-families: southern and northern sub-family. The former one consists of West Makian and the latter is divided into Ternate Group (Ternate and Tidore) and the Mainland Group that includes Tobelo, Galela, Modole, Tabaru, Loloda, Sahu, and Pagu (see figure 3).

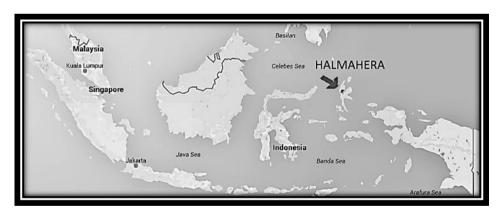


Figure 2. the Pagu area in the Indonesian map (in the black highlight pointed by the arrow).

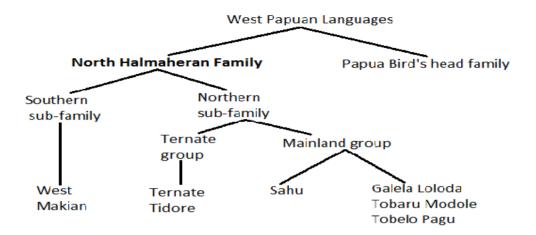


Figure 3. The Voorhoeve's classification of the North Halmaheran family

All previous works on these languages including Pagu (Wimbish 1992) suggest that word stress in each of them is placed on the penultimate when the syllable of the word is more than one (see Ternate (Hayami-Allen 2001), Tidore (van Staden 2000), and Tobelo (Holton 2003) except Sahu that is more 'not predictable' (Visser and Voorhoeve 1987:19).

#### Method

The data is mainly taken during the Indonesian Institutes of Sciences' (LIPI) project (2012 – 2014) on saving the language from being extinct. I was hired by LIPI to be in charge of documenting and describing the language. Pagu can be considered as an endangered language based on at least the two following reasons: (a) the active speakers of the language are in average aged 45 years old or older and (b) the older generation do not transfer it to the younger generation (Hisyam et.al. 2013).

This paper is taken as a revised version of a phonological phenomenon from the phonology chapter of my PhD thesis entitled "A descriptive grammar of the Pagu language (Perangin Angin 2018), written as a requirement to obtain my PhD degree at the University of Hong Kong.

All data is recorded with an excellent quality of a wav formatted audio recorder. It contains different genres such as folklore telling and conversations among two or three people. All of the recordings have been transcribed in ELAN and Toolbox annotator program. Secondly, the elicitation on how to pronounce words in the normal (rapid) or slow speed are also recorded in the same format, that allow me to carefully listen to the difference in the number of syllables of various words.

In addition, I also use a triglot dictionary of Pagu-Indonesian-English with 1300 entries (Perangin Angin 2014). This is produced by transferring the transcribed recordings in ELAN and Toolbox into Words format that consist of word entries, word pronunciation, examples in sentences and also word stress placement. Note that entries in the dictionary are taken from the natural situation thus they are representations of the the normal/rapid speech.

## Phonemes, diphthongs and long vowels

There are twenty four phonemes in Pagu consisting of nineteen consonants (table 4) and five vowels (table 5). Table 4 shows the place and manner of articulation of the consonants and table 5, the height (high, mid and low) as well as the frontness (front, central and back) of the vowels.

Table 4. Consonants in Pagu

	Labial	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Laryngeal
Nasals	m	n	n	ŋ	
Plosives (stops)	рb	t d	сj	k g	
Fricatives	f	S			h
Trill		r			
Lateral		1			
Glides	W		y		

Note that Wimbish (1991) and (1992) excludes the /h/ sound. I include this phoneme because of its appearance in several words; it appears in few words and only in the initial position of the following words [hai'wani] 'animal', ['hali] 'expensive', ['hambak] 'job', ['hara] 'sort', ['hawa] 'k.o. fish trap' and [ha'bari] 'news'. The /h/ sound cannot be omitted (not optional) otherwise it will change the meaning e.g. ['ali] (the one without /h/ means 'to cry'), or become meaningless.

Table 5. Vowels in Pagu			
	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		O
Low		a	

In addition, there are also twenty possible vowel combinations that appear as diphthongs (two vowels with different targets that occur in a single syllables). They are listed in table six below. Basically, any combinations of the five vowels in table 5 above are possible. However, they can be categorized into the four groups (A, B, C, and D) because of their distinctive characteristics when deals with: (i) word stress placement, (ii) their position in the word and (iii) whether pronounced in rapid or slow speech. These can affect whether they can split into two vowels in two different syllables and whether a glide (/y/ or /w/) can be inserted between the two or not. I will discuss these phenomena in more detail in section (4).

Table 6. Pagu diphthongs in four different types

A: /ia/, /iu/, /ie/, /io/, /ua/, /ue/, /uo/, /ui/
B: /ai/, /ei/, /oi/, /au/, /eu/, /ou/
C: /ea/, /eo/, /oa/, /oe/
D: /ae/, /ao/

The four groups of the diphthongs are categorized based on their height and frontness, as the following:

group A: the high front /i/ or high back /u/ is followed by any other vowels.

group B: the low /a/, or mid /e/ or /o/ is followed by either the high front /i/ or high back /u/.

group C: the mid front /e/ is followed by mid back /o/ or vice versa, or followed by the low /a/.

group D: the low /a/ is followed by the mid /e/ or /o/.

When pronounced in a slow speech, these diphthongs can have different manifestations. Diphthongs in Group A and C can have a glide insertion i.e. /y/ in the first four and /w/ in the last four (of A) and /y/ in the first two and /w/ in the last two (of C) (see table 7). Those in Group B and D cannot have a glide insertion (table 8). In contrast, when pronounced in rapid speech, those in Group A and B can have a glide replacement i.e. /i/ is replaced by /y/ and /u/ by /w/. Those in Group C and D cannot have such a sound replacement.

Table 7. Examples of glides replacement and glide insertion in Group A and C in normal and slow speech

	Normal/rapid speech		Slow	speech
	No glide Glide		No glide	Glide
		replacement		insertion
/dud <b>ua</b> l/ 'waterfall (A)	[duˈdual]	[duˈdwal]	[duˈdu.al]	[duˈdu.wal]
/k <b>iu</b> k/ 'to pull out' (A)	[ˈkiuk]	[kyuk]	[ˈki.uk]	[ˈki.yuk]
/doe/ 'end' (C)	[ˈdoe]	*	[ˈdo.e]	[ˈdo.we]
/teol/ 'to squeeze' (C)	[ˈteol]	*	[ˈte.ol]	[ˈte.yol]

Table 8. Examples of glides replacement and glide insertion in Group B and D in normal and slow speech

	Normal/rapid speech		Slow	speech
	No glide Glide		No glide	Glide
		replacement		insertion
/lepait/ 'sandfly' (B)	[leˈpait]	[leˈpayt]	[leˈpa.it]	*[le'pa.yit]
/beleul/ 'delta' (B)	[be'leul]	[be'lewl]	[beˈle.ul]	*[bele.wul]
/laem/ 'to lick' (D)	[ˈlaem]	*	[ˈla.em]	*['la.yem]
/sao/ 'to wrap' (D)	[ˈsao]	*	[ˈsa.o]	*[ˈsa.wo]

Because of the characteristics of the glides given above, glides in Pagu can be categorized into two different types: 'absolute' or 'optional'. An absolute glide (/y/ or /w/) is one that appears as a 'pure' consonant (non-syllabic; it must occur with a vowel and function as a syllable barrier). It neither can be replaced by vowel /i/ or /u/ respectively. This is exemplified by the six words in table 6 below. As an optional one here it means that /y/ can be replaced by /i/ and /w/ by /u/ as we have seen in the examples above.

Table 9. Examples of absolute glides.

Word	Meaning	Correct	Glide
		pronunciation	replacement
yayam	'mutter'	[ˈya.yam]	*[ˈia.yam]
yeku	'hill'	[ˈye.ku]	*[ˈie.ku]
you	'leg'	[ˈyou]	*[iou]
wola	'house'	[ˈwo.la]	*[ˈuo.la]
wecar	'headache'	[ˈwe.car]	*['ue.car]
wuis	'flow'	[ˈwu.is]	*['uu.is]

The first three ones are words with an absolute /y/ and the last three others are with an absolute /w/. As compared with the optional glides, /y/ and /w/ that can replace the vowel /i/ and /u/ respectively, as the absolute ones cannot.

All the five vowels in Pagu have the long vowel counterparts: /iː/, /uː/, /eː/, /oː/ and /aː/. Each of them can occur in the final or prefinal position.

Table 10. long vowels in the final position

Word	Meaning	Normal speech
waas	'pour'	[ˈwaːs]
ber <b>ee</b> k	'dirt'	[be. 're:k]
gol <b>oo</b> l	'grease, fat'	[go.ˈloːl]
nuus	'island'	[ˈnuːs]
ding <b>ii</b>	'footprint'	[di.ˈŋiː]

Table 11. long vowels in the prefinal position

Word	Meaning	Normal speech
booto	'finished'	['bo:to]
g <b>aa</b> ni	'head louse'	[ˈgaːni]
t <b>ii</b> la	'bad'	[ˈtiː.la]

When a long vowel is in the final position it must be assigned a stress ('). Note however, when the long vowel is in the prefinal it can split into two different syllables. I will discuss this in more detail in section 5.

# Syllable structure

Pagu has four syllable patterns: V, CV, VC and CVC (see also Wimbish 1991 and 1992). It does not have a consonant cluster (in a single syllable) or adjacent consonants in two different syllables.

Figure 4 below sketches the syllable combinations of a Pagu word. As we can see, the last sound of the front syllable cannot become a consonant (coda) if the first sound of the following syllable (onset) starts with a consonant (marked with (\*)). Two vowels however can be adjacent in two different syllables (nucleus and nucleus).

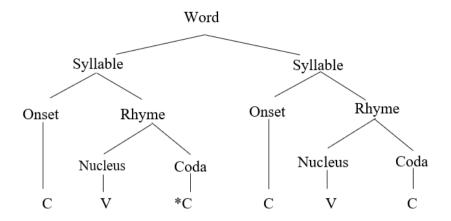


Figure 4. Pagu syllable structure

Pagu words can be monosyllabic (see examples in table 12), disyllabic (table 13), trisyllabic (table 14) or quadrisyllabic (table 15). There are no words with more than four syllables except the reduplicated ones. The four tables below provide with examples of words with each of the given number of syllables mentioned above as pronounced in a slow speech.

Table 12. the four syllable patterns in one-syllabled words/particles

No.	Syllable	Pronunciation	Meaning/function
1	V	[o]	A noun marker particle
2	CV	[de]	'and/with'
		[ma]	A relational noun linker
		[ka]	'only'
3	VC	['o:k]	'to defecate'
4	CVC	[tu:k]	'to burn'
		[fe:n]	'turtle'

Table 13. the eight syllable combinations in two-syllabled words

No.	Syllable	Pronunciation	Meaning/function
1	V.V	[a.o]	'to bring'
2	V.CV	[u.wa]	'don't'
3	V.CVC	[o.sis]	'to pee'
4	V.VC	[a.un]	'blood'
5	CV.V	[mi.a]	'monkey'
6	CV.CV	[bu.di]	'to cheat'
7	CV.VC	[lo.at]	'four'
8	CV.CVC	[wa.lik]	'to open'

Table 14. the eight syllable combinations in three-syllabled words

No.	Syllable	Pronunciation	Meaning/function
1	CV.CV.CV	/de.we.la/	'morning'
2	CV.V.CVC	/ki.a.lon/	'basket'
3	CV.CV.CVC	/ki.ki.siŋ/	'fin'
4	CV.CV.V	/so.ŋo.u/	'guilty'
5	CV.CV.VC	/sa.ma.ek/	'shy'
6	CV.V.V	/ki.a.u/	'young'
7	CV.V.CV	/ki.a.ni/	'only'
8	V.CV.CV	/i.yo.lo/	'yes'

Table 15. the eight syllable combinations in four-syllabled words

No.	Syllable	Pronunciation	Meaning/function
1	CV.CV.CV.CV	/ka.la.ce.ce/	'gecko'
2	CV.CV.CV.V	/ti.ŋi.ka.i/	'onery'
3	CV.CV.CV.CVC	/ku.lu.bi.taŋ/	'worm'
4	CV.CV.V.CV	/ka.wu.u.lo/	'when'
5	CV.CV.V.CVC	/so.so.o.yol/	'jelly fish'
6	CV.V.CV.CV	/sa.u.ra.mo/	'fog'
7	CV.V.CV.CVC	/gi.a.to.mal/	'wrist'
8	CV.V.CV.V	/ga.i.lo.a/	'tomorrow'

As predicted by the Pagu syllable structure in figure 4, and as we can see through the examples in the four tables above, a closed syllable (either VC or CVC) never appears in the initial or medial position. They however can appear in the final position only.

We have seen above that the number of syllables of a word with a diphthong or long vowel will alternate between one or two when pronounced in normal/rapid or slow speech respectively. When the syllable with a long vowel occurs in the final position it cannot alternate to become two different syllables, but in the prefinal position it can. Diphthongs on the other hand by contrast have different behaviors. The different behaviors of the four groups of diphthongs in Pagu when dealing with their position can be outlined in table 16 below.

Table 16. the possible alternation in prefinal and final position of the four groups of Pagu diphthongs

Diphthongs types	Alternation in pre-final	alternation in final
A: /ia/, /iu/, /ie/, /io/, /ua/, /ue/, /uo/,	<b>√</b>	$\checkmark$
/ui/		
B: /ai/, /ei/, /oi/, /au/, /eu/, /ou/	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
C: /ea/, /eo/, /oa/, /oe/	$\checkmark$	$\checkmark$
D: /ae/, /ao/	$\times^*$	$\checkmark$

<sup>\*</sup> can appear in one syllable only

Those of group A can alternate to become one or two syllables in both the prefinal and final position. They can alternate to become two syllables by splitting

the diphthongs into two different syllables or by inserting a glide (as a syllable boundary) in between. They can also become a syllable by replacing the first target /i/ or /u/ with the glide /y/ or /w/ respectively (see table 17 below).

Table 17. Glide insertion and /i/ or /w/ replacement in group A.

	/ie/	/ia/	/iu/	/io/	/uo/	/ua/	/ue/	/ui/
2Sil	[i.(y)e]	[i.(y)a]	[i.(y)u]	[i.(y)o]	[u.(w)o]	[u.(w)a]	[u.(w)e]	[u.(w)i]
1Sil	[ye]	[ya]	[yu]	[yo]	[wo]	[wa]	[we]	[wi]

Those in Group B and C by contrary can alternate to become two different vowels in two different syllables while those in Group D can alternate in the final position only.

#### Word Stress Placement

In the syllable weight theory both VC and CVC are known as a heavy syllable. In addition, when the V is either a long vowel or a diphthong it is also considered as a heavy syllable too (Hayes 2009:280). We have seen above that when a long vowel occurs in the final position it must be assigned a stress either in normal or slow speech. However, when a diphthong occurs in the final position it can alternate to appear as two different vowels when pronounced in a slow speech. Thus, by default (normal speech) a diphthong in the final position is a heavy syllable and must be assigned a stress.

Word stress in Pagu by default is assigned to the penultimate syllable when the two final syllables of the word has the V.CV, V.CVC, CV.CV or CV.CVC structure (see word examples in table 18 below). We must notice however: (i) the final consonant must begin with a consonant and (ii) the vowel in both syllables must not be a long vowel or a diphthong. If the syllables of the word have these two criteria above whether pronounced in rapid or slow speech, the stress placement will remain in the penultimate syllable.

Table 18. syllable structure that must be assigned a stress on the penultimate

Syllable	Word	Meaning	Pronunciation
V.CV	uwa	'don't'	[ˈu.wa]
V.CVC	osis	'pee'	[ˈo.sis]
CV.CV	budi	'cheat'	[ˈbu.di]
CV.CVC	walik	'open'	[ˈwa.lik]

# Word stress with long vowels or diphthongs

When the vowel is a long vowel or a diphthong however the stress placement is not automatically on the penultimate, but rather it is determined by two phonological factors: (i) the speed of speech and (ii) their position in the word i.e. prefinal vs. final.

When a diphthong occurs in the final position by default (in the normal speech) it must be assigned a stress. When it is pronounced in a slow speech then it splits into two different syllables (see table 19).

Table 19. Diphthongs in the final position pronounced in normal or slow speech.

Word	Meaning	Normal	Slow
ao	'bring'	[ao]	[ˈa.o]
aun	'blood'	[ˈaun]	[ˈa.un]
samaek	'shy'	[saˈmaek]	[saˈma.ek]
mia	'monkey'	[ˈmia]	[ˈmi.a]

When it occurs in the prefinal position it can also alternate to occur in one or two syllables depending on the speed of speech (table 20). Note that whenever it occurs as a diphthong or two separate vowels the stress is always assigned on the penultimate syllable.

Table 20. Diphthongs in the prefinal position pronounced in normal or slow speech.

Word	Meaning	Normal	Slow
beika	'try'	[ˈbei.ka]	[be.ˈi.ka]
kaugon	'yesterday'	[ˈkau.gon]	[ka.ˈu.gon]
baliara	'care'	[ba.ˈlia.ra]	[ba.li.ˈar.a]
kialon	'basket'	[ˈkia.lon]	[ki.ˈa.lon]
tuange	'eight'	[ˈtua.ŋe]	[tu.ˈa.ŋe]

A Long vowel in contrast when occurs in the final position cannot alternate to occur in the two syllables, and it is always assigned a stress (table 21).

Table 21. long vowels the final position pronounced in normal or slow speech.

Word	Meaning	Normal	Slow
golool	ʻoil'	[goˈloːl]	*[goˈlo.ol]
muaan	'to yawn'	[muˈaːn]	*[ˈmua.an]
nuus	'island'	[ˈnuːs]	*[ˈnu.us]
ook	'to defecate'	['?o:k]	*['?o.ok]

However, when it occurs in the prefinal, it can alternate in one or two syllables and the stress remains on the penultimate syllable (table 22).

Table 22. long vowels in the prefinal position pronounced in normal or slow speech.

Word	Meaning	Normal	Slow
guule	'to play'	[ˈguːle]	[gu'ule]
kiipit	'to pinch'	[ˈkiːpit]	[kiˈipit]
kawuulo	'when'	[kaˈwuːlo]	[kawu'ulo]

# Word stress and vocalic epenthesis or suffixes

The word stress placement in Pagu whether assigned on the final or penultimate syllable (in normal or slow speech) only applies to base word. This means that any other sound that comes after the base will not affect the word stress placement.

In natural conversations, Pagu base words that end in a consonant i.e. VC or CVC commonly will be accompanied by a vocalic epenthesis. It is a vowel that follows the last consonant. The vocalic epenthesis is normally a copy of vowel that appears before the last consonant. Note however when the vowel is long the epenthesis will be the short version and the diphthong will result in the last target vowel. This is exemplified by the words in table 23 below. The vocalic epenthesis are those in bold.

Table 23. Words end in a consonant followed by a vocalic epenthesis in normal or slow speech.

Word	Meaning	Normal speech with epenthesis	Slow speech with epenthesis
aun	'blood'	[ˈaun <b>u</b> ]	[ˈa.un <b>u</b> ]
kiipit	'to pinch'	[ˈkiːpit <b>i</b> ]	[kiˈipit <b>i</b> ]
samaek	'shy'	[saˈmaek <b>e</b> ]	[saˈma.ek <b>e</b> ]
nuus	'island'	[ˈnuːs <b>u</b> ]	(not possible)

Likewise, suffixes that come after the base words in Pagu do not affect the word stress placement.

(1) no-jaga no-**kodel**-<u>uku-si-li</u> doka

2S-guard 2SG-busy-downwards-IMPRF-REPET yonder

e ma sakai ma i-**olak**-<u>uwa-si-li</u>

EXCL ART cook but 3NH-cooked-NEG-IMPRF-REPET

'you take care of your child while you yourself are really busy, while over there the meal isn't cooked yet'

In the sentence above, there are two base words (those in bold) that are followed by suffixes i.e. *kodel* 'busy' and *olak* 'cook'. The stress placement of each word is on the penultimate ['ko.del] and ['o.lak] respectively. The occurrence of the suffixes (those underlined) do not affect the stress placement namely each remains on the penultimate.

#### Conclusion

This paper has affirmed whether stress placement in Pagu is not always assigned on the penultimate. It can also appear in the final position when the V is a long vowel, or a diphthong pronounced in a normal/rapid speech. The number of the syllables of words with a long vowel and diphthong when occur in the prefinal position can also alter as a result of it being pronounced in a rapid or slow speech. This happens because they can 'stretch' into two different vowels in two different syllables or remains 'intact' as a single sound in a rapid speech. This paper, not

only has discussed those aforementioned findings but also outlined several features of the phonology of Pagu, such as its phonemes inventories, syllable structure, and different characteristics of diphthongs and long vowels.

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# THE COURTESY CALL: STUDY ON POLITENESS OF FICTION CHARACTERS

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#### Abstract

This research is an attempt to study politeness issues based on utterances of Osamu Dazai's short story characters entitled "The courtesy Call", the English translation from Japanese "Shinyu Kokan" by Ivan Morris. By using politeness maxim theory proposed by Leech, it is found that the antagonist often violates 6 politeness maxims which tend to obey by the protagonist and his wife. The violation and the obedience of politeness maxims constitute a reflection of character differences intended by the writer. Utterances expressed by Fiction's characters are a rich source to exploit for studying politeness for pragmatic studies as their creation is based on careful observations of the author toward the world realities.

Keywords: politeness, maxim, and fiction

## Introduction

Matter factually, speech act constitutes one of the most important aspects of the study of pragmatics. In a line with this statement, Leech (1983, 14), in trying to describe context which he called "speech situation", proposes that every utterance produced by the speakers is a product of verbal act. Accordingly, human beings can perform various kinds of speech acts in order to communicate their, thoughts, ideas, and emotions with other interlocutors. From those unlimited number of speech acts, experts then classify them into five big categories, those are representative, directive, expressive, commisive, and declaration (Leech, 1983, 105-106; Dardjowidjojo, 2003. 101-107). Meanwhile, Searle added with one more category, i.e question (Searle, 1976, 1-24; Parker and Riley, 2014, 32-33). Each speech act category can also be expressed through various strategies, the choice of each is determined by various sociopragmatic factors which in many cases is not always easy to explain. No matter what kind of strategy the speaker chooses, the choice is mostly underlined by his/her intention to create a comfortable speech situation to whom (s)he communicates with. For achieving speech convenience, all conversation participants should be cooperative and polite to one another (Allan, 1986, 10-12). Therefore, politeness matter plays a very central role in any communicative interlocution. However, studies on politeness

and mainly impoliteness in language use are not always easy to carry out. Researchers often face a lot of difficulties to find primary materials that can authentically describe the use of impoliteness between two or more conversants. The concrete situations of people using language impolite utterances, such as usually found when they quarrel with each other, express indecent or swearing expressions are very difficult to gather. For overcoming all these conditions, the politeness study in this paper will try to use data that clearly, though imaginatively, describe such speech situations in literary work. This kind of data is considered quite representative to describe the situations because in creating their works, fiction writers usually have carried out long and careful observations toward any life reality for enable them describing it vividly in their works.

The use of imaginative works in linguistic studies has been done by many researchers, such as Kramer (Wardaugh, 1986, 308-309) in order to investigate the differences between male and female languages. Basing his research on cartoon characters found in The New Yorker magazine published between February 17 and May 12, 1973, he finds that in spite of the choice of conversation topics, in which men choose ones related to business, politics, legal issues, taxes, and sports, and women rather do one's concern with social life, books, food and drink, life troubles, and lifestyle, men and women languages are also clearly shown in their various linguistic habits, such as in the frequency use of swearing words, empty adjectives, and the bluntness of the utterances. Men's languages are more forceful, use more indecent words, and blunter than those of women. Basing his research paper on the negative and positive theory of politeness proposed by Brown and Levinson, Wijana (2014, 197-219) tries to describe the politeness differences of utterance expressed by the protagonist and antagonist characters in Oka Rusmini's short story entitled "Harga Seorang Perempuan" (Woman Dignity). In this paper I will try to describe with a different theory, the politeness differences of expressions of protagonist and antagonist characters of short story entitled The Courtesy Call written by Javanese writer Osamu Dazai. The politeness theory I use to approach is one proposed by Leech (1983, 132-133).

### **Theoretical Framework**

Politeness, according to Folley (2001, 270), is a buttery of social skills whose goal is to ensure everyone feels affirmed in social interaction. To Achieve this mutual satisfaction, different from Brown & Levinson (1987) which based their theory on positive and negative face-saving, Leech (1983, 132-133) proposes his politeness theory based on cost and benefit scale of self and other. According to this theory, politeness in verbal interaction can be attained by maximizing and minimalizing cost and benefit of self (addreser) and other (adressee) of six conversational maxims, i.e tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and symphaty maxim. For each maxims, every speech participant should obey these following rules:

- 1. Tact maxim: Every participant must minimize the cost to others, and maximize the benefit of others.
- 2. Generosity maxim: Every participant must minimize benefit to self and maximize cost to self.

- 3. Approbation maxim: Every participant must minimize the dispraise of others and maximize prise of others.
- 4. Modesty maxim: Every participant must minimize prise to self and maximize dispraise to self.
- 5. Agreement maxim: Every participant must minimize disagreement and maximize agreement between self and other.
- 6. Sympathy maxim: Every participant must minimize antiphaty and maximize symphaty between self and other.

From the six rules outlined above, it can be stated that the first four maxims (tact, generosity, approbation, and modesty maxim) are bipolar scaled maxims, while the rest (agreement and sympathy maxim) are unipolar scaled maxims. To enable bipolar scaled maxims to work properly in order to achieve polite utterances, every participant should apply a pragmatic paradox. If one participant try to maximize the benefit of others, the addressee (person) whom s/he speaks with must also paradoxically minimize the benefit or maximize the cost of him/herself. If one participant try to maximize the prise of others, the addressee (person) whom he/she communicates to, should also minimize the praise or maximize the dispraise of him/herself. For example, I will try to describe this phenomenon by using a dialog between the two characters Santiago (the old man) and the boy found in Ernest Hemingway "The Old Man and The Sea" (1) below":

- (1) + "What do you have to eat?" the boy asked.
  - "A pot of yellow rice with fish, Do you want some?"
  - + "No, I will eat at home. Do you want me to make the fire?
  - "No I will make it later on. Or I may eat the rice cold."
  - + "May I take the cast net?"
  - "Of course"

There was no cast net and the boy remembered when they had sold it. But they went through this fiction every day. There was no pot of yellow rice and fish and the boy knew this too (page 16).

To maintain the mutual respect that has been tied in between the old man and the boy, both characters always try to maximize the benefit and minimize the cost of others as outlined by the first (tact) and the second (approbation) maxim. The old man offers something to the boy, and in turn, the boy politely refuses the offer. Conversely, when the boy offers some help to take the cast net using the polite question "May I take the cast net?", the old man gives him permission. With regard to adherence of the third (approbation) and forth maxim, Quoting Miller (1967, 289-290) Leech exemplifies the following (2):

- (2) + My what a splendid garden you have here the lawn is so nice and big, it's certainly wonderful, isn't it.
  - Oh, no, not at all, we don't take care of it at all anymore, so it simply doesn't always look as nice as we would like it to.
  - + Oh no, I don't think so at all- but since such a big garden, of course, it must be quite a tremendous task to take care of it all by your self; but

even so, you certainly do manage to make it look nice all the time: it certainly is nice and pretty any time one sees it.

- No, I am afraid, not at all.

In (2) it is clearly shown that (+) always tries to maximize the praise in admiring the beauty of the interlocutor's garden. Meanwhile, the garden's owner (-) paradoxically responds it by mitigating such admiration (see also Wijana, 2005, 6-7). Based on this politeness theory, it can be hypothesized that in order to strengthen the characterization of the protagonist and antagonist of fiction, the obedience and disobedience of politeness maxims are not difficult to find. The protagonists in order to show good manners, tend to obey the politeness maxims, but the antagonists incline to flout them. These matters are explicitly described in "The Courtesy Call".

# **Synopsis**

"The Courtesy Call", the title of Dazai's short story ironically refers to the informal and annoying visit of two friends who have not met for years with each other. The host (Osamu, protagonist) who acts as a protagonist living with his wife receives a guest (the antagonist), his playmate in primary school. Their meeting is full of boasting and empty impolite talks of the antagonist concerning many things about his life in Tokyo. No matter how disgusting and impolite the guest is, the hosts (Osamu and his wife) must serve him with full of their good manner. Everything which concerns the impoliteness of the guest and politeness of the hosts in association with the obedience and violation Leech's politeness theory will be described in the following sections.

# The Antagonist's Verbal Acts

The bad or wicked behavior of the antagonist is described by Osamu's narration in the opening of the short story as quoted below in which the guest without any adequate evidence always tries to slender and insult the protagonist's life in Tokyo.

"Until my death, I shall not forget the man who came to my house that afternoon last September.[.....]. For me, these men foretold a new species of humanity. During my years in Tokyo, I had frequented the lowest class of drinking house and mixed with some quite appealing rouges. But this man was in a category all his own: he was far and the way the most disagreeable, the most loathsome I had ever met; there was not a jot of goodness in him (page 467)"

After years of separation, there would be no intimacy left between the antagonist and protagonist, and this condition obliges both hands to respect each other. In fact, because of his bad character, the antagonist often violates Leech's tact and generosity maxim. He frequently forces or imposes the protagonist for the benefit of himself. In fact, as stated by Fraser (1990), to achieve politeness, every speaker should not impose, give options, and always make the interlocutor feel good (See also Watts, Ide & Ehlich, 1988, 5). For this matter see the imposition

done by the antagonist in forcing Osamu to take some drink, and asking Osamu to call his wife to pour the drink in spite of some indecent expressions, such as *little woman*, *damned stingy*, and *your stinginess*, and *book worm* he uses to insult the protagonist and his wife.

- (3) "Come on" he said, "you needn't look as if you'd never heard of the stuff. Theey tell me you've always got a good supply put away. Let's have a little drink together! Call the missus! She can pour for us" (page 469)
- (4) Protagonist: I dont have any sake," I said. "I hope you won't some whisky."

Antagonist: "It'll do," he said. But I want your little woman to pour the stuff."

Protagonist: I am sorry but my wife isn't at home," I said.

Antagonist: Of course she'is at home", he said. "Tell her to come and do the pouring" (page 470).

- (5) Good gracious, madam, he said, "you shouldn't heve gone to all that trouble. I don't want anything to eat. I come here to drink. But I want you to do the pouring from now on. This husband of yours is too damned stingy for my liking."
- (6) Protagonist: You can have this bottle," I said handing it to him.

  Antagonist: "Hey, hey", he said. "None of that! I have enough of your stingeness for one day. You've still got another full bottle stored away in that cupboard, haven't you? Let me have it! (page 481)"

Although it is undeniable that sometimes the antagonist constructs utterances which look like obeying tact and generosity maxims, but those utterances are implicatively lowering or offending the protagonist's dignity. For example, in (7) and (8) the antagonist's offers treat the protagonist as a very poor person despite his boasting strategies to maximize the prise of himself and maximize the dispraise of others as manifestations of violation of approbation and modesty maxims.

- (7) "If you are ever short of food, you can come to my farm too and I will give you whatever you need. Iam not the sort of fellow who'd drink a man's liquor for nothing. I'll repay you-down to the last penny. We farmers are grateful folk. (page 474)"
- (8) "I was just telling Osamu here that if you ever need any food, be sure to come round to my place. I've got plenty of everything: potatoes, vegetables, rice, eggs, chikens. What about some horse meat? I'm a great expert at stripping horsehides, you know. Come a long tomorrow and I'll go out tomorrow morning a whole horse's leg to take home. Do you like pheasant? Of course you do! Well. I'm the most famous famous shot in these parts. (page 476)"

The other examples of approbation and modesty flouting are (9) and (10) below:

(9) Protagonist: "It was very good of you to support my brother," I said with a sardonic smile.

Antagonist: "Don't get me wrong", he said. "I did it out of common humanity-not because I thought he was any good. Your family may have got ahead in the world now, but a couple of generations ago they, common oil sellers. Did you know that. I've been doing a bit of research. Your family use to sell cans of oil and if anyone bought half a pint or more, they gave him a piece of toffee as a premium."

(10)Antagonist: "I my self come from a really old family, though, he continued. "My ancestors move to this village hundred of years ago from Kyoto."

Protagonist: "Really? In that case, I expect you are noble lineage."

Antagonist: "You may not be far wrong," he said wit a nasal laugh. "Of course, you wouldn't think it to see me in this clothes. But both my brothers went to university. The older one's made quite a name for himself in the government. You've probably seen his name in the papers."

Protagonist: "Yes, of course," I said (page 473-474).

- In (9) the antagonist dispraises the protagonist's ancestors, while in (10) he praises his own. And, the following (11) is the antagonist insult of Osamu's wife, and the antagonist's praise to his own and family:
  - (11)Protagonist: "She's no good!" he shouted, as soon as my wife had left the room."

Antagonist: "Your missus is no damned good, I tell you! Now take my old woman, for instance. There's a real wife for you! We've got six lovely kids and we're as happy a family as you'll find anywhere in these parts. Ask anyone in the village if you don't believe me." ... Your missus she can make a fool of me by walking out like that. Well, I'm going to bring her right back to say she'is sorry? In the bed room, I expect. I'll go and drag her out of her bedroom (page 480)."

The antagonist is also shown several times maximizing disagreement with the protagonist. In (12) the antagonist refuses that he had already been separated from the protagonist *for years*, but for him, it was already *for decades*. In fact, these to terms according to the host is not significantly different, and useless to debate. In (13) the protagonist tries to mitigate his disagreement because he doubted it for unable to recall the fight events, but it is rudely rejected by the antagonist.

(12) Antagonist: "Well, well," he said loudly, "It 's been a long time, hasn't it?"

Protagonist: "Yes years and years."

Antagonist: "Years?", he shouted. "Decade, you mean! It mus be over twenty years since I last saw you. I heard some time a go that you'd to move to our village but I've been far too busy on the farm to call (page 468)."

(13) Antagonist: "D'you remember how we used to fight at school?" he said, starting a new tack. "We were always fighting, you and me."

Protagonist: "Were we really?"

Antagonist: Were we really, indeed!" he said, mimicking my intonation. "Of course we were. I've got a scar at the back of my hand to remind me. You gave me this scar (page 468)"

Finally, the antagonist effort to always minimize sympathy to his old friend constitutes evidence of his impolite behavior. In (14) instead of expressing condolence to the interlocutor about the bombing the protagonist experienced in the wartime, he forced to take the blanket of the protagonist's wife. Consider the following conversation.

(14) Antagonist: "Where do you life in Tokyo?"

Protagonist: "I lost my house in the war."

Antagonist: "So, you were bombed out, were you?" That's the first I've heard of it. Well in that case you must have got that special allocation of a blanket that they gave each family of evacuees. [...] Give me the blanket . It's meant to be quite good wool. My wife can make me a jumper with it. I suppose you think it's funny of me to ask you for the blanket like this. But that's the way I do things. If I want something, just ask for it (page 477).

The antagonist seems not knowing how precious is the blanket for the protagonist's family. See the Osamu's narration (15) below:

(15)I still stared at him blankly. This wool blanket, which we had been given as a sort of consolation prize, seem to be my wife's most treasured possesions. When our house was bombed and we moved to the country with our children, like family crabs whose shells have been smashed and who crawl naked and helpless across a hostile beach, she had kept the blanket constantly in sight, as though it were some sort of talisman. The man who now faced me could never know how a family felt who had lost their house in the war, or how close to committing mass suicide such families often were (page 477).

## The Protagonist's Verbal Acts

As the host, Osamu always shows his politeness by continuously respect his old friend, Hirata. No matter how sarcastic the guest insulting him, he keeps trying to contain his feeling for the sake of the guest's comfort. For example, in (16) he pretends for not forgetting the friend, and invite him respectedly to come in

(16)Antagonist: Don't say you've forgotten me! I'm Hirata your old friend from primary school."

From the dim recesses of my memory there emerged some vague recollection of the face. We may indeed have known each other in scholl, but as for being old friend I am not so sure.

Protagonist: "Of course I remember you," I said with a great show of urbanity. "Do come in, Mr. Hirata (:page 468).

Being aware of his position as a new resident, he did not dare to ask the guest to leave, instead, he offers some fruit to him. Consider (17) below:

(17) I suddenly wanted to ask him to leave. Yet the fact was that I did not dare to. Our position in this village was far from secure and I could not risk offending someone who appeared to be an old and well established inhabitant. Besides, I was afraid that if I asked him to go, he might think that I looked down on him for being an educated farmer. I went to the living room and come back with a plate of fruit.

"Have a pear", I said. "It'll do you good (page 472)."

## Osamu's Wife Verbal Act

Osamu's wife takes the smallest part of this short story. There only two verbal acts expressed by this character. One when she was introduced to the guest (18), and the other when she asked permission to leave the guest and her husband because her baby was crying (19). All of her utterances and gestures are intended to please and respect the guest and their reunion.

- (18)Protagonist: "Let me Introduce Mr. Hirata," I said, "my old friend from primary school. We were always fig hting when we were kids. He's got mark on the back of his hand where I scratched him. To day he's come to get his revenge." Protagonist's wife: How terrifying!, she said, laughing. Anyhow, Iam glad to meet you." She bowed in his direction (page 476)."
- (19) My wife laughed good-naturedly and stood up. "I am afraid I'll have to leave you," she said. "I hear the baby crying (page 480)."

#### Conclusion

In line with the language function for creating harmony between speech participants, politeness and impoliteness are important topics discussed in the study of pragmatics. However, the study on them is often not easy to carry out. The researchers are often faced with the difficulties of data recording which representatively describe politeness and moreover impoliteness locution of human language use. As such, this paper recommends the use of utterances expressed by imaginative characters abundantly found in various kinds of fiction, such as cartoons, novels, short stories and the like. The writers of such works are commonly based their creations on careful observations for enabling them to mimic as close as to the world realities.

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# ROALD DAHL'S INGENIOUS LANGUAGE PLAY IN THE USE OF FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

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#### **Abstract**

Roald Dahl is widely known for being one of the most creative writers, both in the ideas of the stories and the language use. His use of language is exceptional and tends to show some playfulness which makes the writing even more attractive. This play on language is in fact considered his writing style. What is worth noticing further is that playfulness can also be seen in the use of figurative language. This paper specifically focuses on the figurative language such as similes, metaphors, and personification in Dahl's novels for children: *The BFG, Charlie and the Great Glass Elevator*, and *The Witches*. Since this paper reveals Dahl's use of language play as his writing style, it belongs to Stylistics, the study of style. The paper uses a descriptive qualitative method. The data of similes and personification are collected and then analysed in terms of how they show the ingenious side of the writer in using language. The findings show that the figurative language used in the novels indeed makes optimal use of sound play and word play. Besides, the figurative language is also closely associated with the fact that the novels are intended for children.

Keywords: language play, figurative language, style

## Introduction

Playing with language is something common for people to do on daily basis, and it is possibly done unintentionally. In daily life, everyone plays with language or at least gives responses to the use of language play. This can be so because, as in Crystal's (1998, p. 1; Playing with Words/Language, n.d.) opinion, language play is an activity that becomes a source of enjoyment. People definitely enjoy playing, including playing with language.

Playing with language involves language manipulation, by bending as well as breaking the language rules. By language, what is referred to here is all features that exist in language, such as "... a word, a phrase, a sentence, a part of a word, a group of sounds, a series of letters..." (Crystal, 1998, p. 1). Someone is said to break or bend the language rule when he or she takes a language feature and makes it do things which are not in accordance with what the rules say. However, since this is a play, the only reason for doing this is basically for fun.

There are various texts in which language play can be found, for example in daily conversation, campaigns and advertisement slogans or taglines, newspaper articles, comics, literary works such as poems, drama, and novels. Language play forms are even often found in second language teaching materials as well as in supposedly serious texts like sermons and speeches.

Language play is often used in newspaper article headlines, most probably with the intention of attracting readers, as shown in the following *The Jakarta Post* headline, "Pakistan's free lampoons "Mush and Bush"." The last two words in the headline, *Mush* and *Bush*, will most likely attract readers' attention since they are a form of minimal pairs which creates a pleasant sound effect. The word *Mush* refers to the former Pakistan President, Pervez Musharraf. It is not the normal short name of the former president's name obviously, but morphologically speaking, it follows the rule of forming a word, that is through the clipping process. This is cleverly intended to sound similar to the name *Bush*, which refers to the former US President, George Bush.

Language play forms have actually been detected since a long time ago. Julius Caesar's victory slogan, *veni vidi vici* ("I came, I saw, I conquered") for instance, is undoubtedly easy to remember and attractive, not only because it is short, but also because the three words have the same number of syllables with the same initial consonant sound /v/ and the same final vowel sound /I/ so that when the slogan is read aloud, the rhyme and rhythm are beautiful.

Another example is Dwight D. Eisenhower's well known presidential campaign slogan, I like Ike. This slogan is a very effective form of language play as it contains the same diphthong sound [aɪ] in each of the three words. Besides, they are all one-syllable words with the last two words perfectly rhyming ( $like \sim I$ ke). In this case, there is a form of exploitation of a particular thing, which is in this case a sound repetition.

All the examples above show how language play is used in everyday life. If connected with the purpose of making the messages appear more beautiful and attractive, an advertisement or a campaign slogan containing language play is expected to make people who receive the messages attracted and hopefully persuaded more to agree with the idea or the service or product sold. If the text containing language play is a newspaper headline, it is expected that many people will be interested in reading the article. Thus, roughly concluded, it can be said that the functions of language play found in texts in everyday life are those related to aesthetics and persuasion.

Besides in everyday life, language play forms can also be found in literary texts, such as novels or poems. This means that the writer has to be able to manipulate the language in such a way that the writing can be creatively interesting. To be able to achieve this, Leech (1991, p. 23) mentions that a writer has to "escape from banality". In this case, a writer needs to exploit language in an outstanding way, by using it in ways that are different from how other people use it so much so that readers will be able to detect that there is something "wrong" with it, or what is known in Stylistics as "foregrounding" (Wales, 2001, pp. 181–182).

This shows that language play demands a high language competence level from a writer; a writer is required to have a good level of creativity. The use of language play shows creativity, which then proves a higher competence level than just using the language accurately according to the rules. They have to first fully understand how the linguistic features work or what the linguistic rules are before trying to exploit the rules in terms of breaking or bending them in order to make them look more interesting. This is for sure not a simple thing to do; that's why writers with this skill deserve high appreciation (Wijana, 2004; Tanto, 2010).

Roald Dahl (1916-1990) is a British writer is one of the few writers who are witty with the language use, in which he often deviates from the norms. This makes his works unique, attractive and liked by many people. Another reason for his popularity is because his works are indeed good and able to explore children's imagination and creativity (Nodelman & Reimer, 2003, p. 124). This paper will focus more on Dahl's use of figurative language in his three children's novels, *The BFG*, *Charlie and the Great Glass Elevator*, and *The Witches* which can also be regarded as Dahl's style of writing.

The analysis belongs to Stylistics, which is "the study of style ... defined as the analysis of distinctive expressions in language and the description of its purpose and effect" (Verdonk, 2002, p. 4; McArthur, 1996, p. 914; Chapman in Fakuade, 1998; Turner, 1988; Widdowson, 2000, p. 4). Style is further defined as "linguistic characteristics of a particular text" (Leech, 1981, p. 12; Crystal & Davy, 1980, p. 54). In analyzing a text, what needs to be paid attention to are the type, the way in which language is used in the text, and the writer's intention or reason for choosing a certain style. Moreover, Stylistics deals with literary appreciation and linguistic description in order to get the aesthetic function as well as linguistic evidence (Leech, 1981, p. 13).

Verdonk (2002, p. 6) comments that in making a stylistic analysis, the focus will not be on every form and structure in the text, but more on those elements which stand out in it. This is due to the fact that those elements "hold a promise of stylistic relevance with the reader's or listener's interest or emotions" (Verdonk, 2002, p. 6).

In Stylistics the psychological effect is called foregrounding, a term which is borrowed from the visual arts. Foregrounded elements often include "a patterning of parallelism in a text's typography, sounds, word choices, and grammar or sentence structure" (Verdonk, 2002, p. 6). Other potential markers are repetitions of "some linguistic element, and deviations from the rules of language in general or from the style we expect in a particular text type or content" (Verdonk, 2002, p. 6).

The research is significant as it can elevate the value of language play, which at the moment is probably not considered serious enough to deserve people's attention. It can also encourage people to appreciate the writers more as language play requires an ingenious and creative skill. Besides, the research will describe another function of language which many people are not aware of yet; it is not only a communication function, but language also has a ludic or playful function (Crystal, 1998, p. 1).

The research has some limitations as it only analyses the use of language play in Roald Dahl's three novels for children, *The BFG*, *Charlie and the Great Glass Elevator*, and *The Witches*. It will be better if the research can be extended and have more data sources so as to get Dahl's writing style more accurately. It will even be much better if the research is expanded to more various writers who use

language play in the writings so that the ludic function originating from the use of language play can be elaborated more thoroughly as well.

# Language Play

Play is generally understood to be a very broad subject and there are so many kinds of play spanning over time and place. Play can be rule-free, but it can also be governed by complicated rules. There are five basic criteria of play: purposeless, voluntary, outside the ordinary, fun, and focused by rules (Eberle, 2013, p. 214; Warner, 2004).

Interestingly, these criteria can be applied in language play as well, confirming the notion that language play is indeed a kind of play in the normal sense. Crystal (1998, p. 1) straightforwardly states that the only purpose of doing language play is for fun. As for the rules of doing language play, he describes it in his definition of language play, that playing with language should involve manipulation of the language rules by bending and breaking them. The definition also informs us that all features of language – from letters, sounds, words, phrases, sentences, parts of words – can be the source of the language manipulation (Crystal, 1998, p. 1). Furthermore, despite its chief goal of enjoyment, language play can actually be applied to something as serious as language learning for children, which is said to be a kind of applied ludic linguistics (Crystal, 1998, p. 218).

Another linguist, Cook (2000, p. 5) complements Crystal's definition of language play by stating that playing with language can also mean exploiting the language and that language play is to be exploited to our advantage in many areas of human activity, including language learning. This particular opinion is in line with Crystal's that language play is effective for children in learning a language. Besides, both linguists agree that language play equals to linguistic creativity.

A writer can be said to use language creatively if all possibilities existing in language are used in an original way and if all other possibilities in language which do not exist before are invented (Leech, 1991, p. 24). These two types of creativity are called originality and inventiveness. This kind of creativity makes it possible for writers to have everything a language has, whether it is connected with Phonology, Morphology, Syntax, Semantics, Graphology, and also Typography (Crystal, 1998, p. 1).

A similar topic on the use of figures of speech is done by Suarez-Toste in his article "A Slightly Obscene Wine: Premodification and Personification in Roald Dahl's *Taste*". This article discusses the style of character portrayal in Dahl's story, *Taste*. He puts his focus on the style of personification of the object that is the central of the story—a bottle of wine—and the portrayal of the human characters. Suarez-Toste asserts that the process of personification of the wine has a reversal effect on the portrayal of the human characters, which he describes as being objectified throughout the story.

Since the focus is the description of both the wine and the characters, Suarez-Toste observes the use of adjectives and adverbs in the story, which he describes as having been used "mischievously" by Dahl. According to Suarez-Toste, it is common for a real wine-taster to use personification when describing the wine that they taste; therefore, what Dahl does in his story reflects real life. In addition to this, Suarez-Toste mentions that the personification of the wine follows a general metaphorical schema that treats wine as a living creature. From his

analysis, it is found that when describing the wine, Dahl uses various adjectives that have positive meaning.

A different tone is used in Dahl's description of the human character. Suarez-Toste points out that while Dahl keeps the wine in a positive light by using adjectives with positive meaning, his depiction of the human characters, especially the character named Richard Pratt, is quite the opposite. The character is portrayed through his physical appearance as well as gestures, from which it can be drawn that the character is not a nice person. Suarez-Toste asserts that Dahl manages to create a vivid image of the character without having to use many adjectives.

The conclusion part of this analysis aims to make a connection between the portrayal of the wine and that of the characters. Suarez-Toste also draws a connection from the story to real life and culture by mentioning that the narrator of the story helps to make the act of wine-tasting more acceptable for people in general instead of something that can only be enjoyed by affluent people.

Even though Suarez-Toste manages to describe the different portrayals by analyzing the diction of the story, he does not utilize other stylistic devices that may help deepen his analysis. The article is a very good read for people who want to understand more about how different choices of words affect the portrayal of something or someone in the readers' minds; however, for those who are looking for a deeper understanding on how linguistic aspects bring forth the style of the writer this article may not satisfy their curiosity. The strongest part of the analysis is the examination of the wine portrayal as Suarez-Toste is very thorough in describing everything; meanwhile, the weakest part of the analysis is actually the conclusion, since until the end there is no clear statement on the style of Dahl's writing.

While Suarez-Toste's paper discusses how some linguistic aspects of the story support the portrayal of the important points of the story, this paper focuses more on the use of language play in the figurative language found in Dahl's novels, which leads to Dahl's signature as a writer. Figurative language itself is interesting to analyze as it is an indirect way of communicating something which might have been communicated directly. Consequently, according to Sadock (1993, p. 47), there must be something more in the effect that the writer intends to convey through this nonliteral form.

## Figurative Language

Figurative language is language in which figures of speech such as metaphors, similes, and personification occur (Figurative Language, n.d.). Furthermore, figurative language contains figurative meaning, which is the extension of the meaning of a word, or sometimes called metaphorical meaning (Wales, 2001, p. 175). In language play, the words used in the phrase can be replaced so as to produce something creatively uncommon. For example, in *The BFG*, the idiom *disappearing into thin air*, which figuratively means disappearing mysteriously, is changed into *disappearing into thick ear*, making it have a literal meaning as it refers to the Big Friendly Giant's gigantic ear.

A simile is a figure of speech in which "... two concepts are imaginatively and descriptively compared: e.g. as white as a sheet" (Wales, 2001, p. 421). The definition is made more complete by Harris (2013), who states that a simile is a form of comparison between two things that are not the same but similar. In the

construction a simile is usually introduced by such conjunctions as *like*, *as*, *as* though, *as* if, *as* ... *as*, *so* ... *as*. Besides, a simile can also use words like resembling and suggesting (Leech & Short, 1994, p. 88). For example, in the simile the lamb is as white as snow, there are two concepts involved: a lamb and snow, which are connected with the conjunction *as* ... *as*.

A simile which is a form of language play can be seen for example in the sermon titled *God is Beautiful, Man*, written by Carl Burke, when it compares two unusual things like man and hamburger filling. According to Burke, if the filling already gets rotten, it cannot be made to taste good again: *You are like the stuff you put on hamburgers. If it tastes rotten, you can't make it taste good again. So it's no good and gets thrown in the junk bucket and the city dump guys haul it away* (Crystal, 1998, p. 155). Another example is when a writer, in describing the moustache of a man, says: *The driver was an oldish man with a thick black drooping moustache. The moustache hung over his mouth like the roots of some plant* (Dahl, 2007, p. 182).

Another figure of speech found in the novels is personification, which is also a comparison form between two things, in which "...an inanimate object, animate non-human, or abstract quality is given human attributes (Wales, 2001, p. 349), for example *I can't get the fuel pump back on because this bolt is being uncooperative* (Harris, 2013). When uncommon things are used in the personification, language play occurs, for example the whiskers of a mouse are described to be *jumping up and down like crazy* as the mouse speaks (Dahl, 2007, p. 52).

#### Method

This paper will focus on Dahl's use of figurative language in his three novels for children, *The BFG*, *Charlie and the Great Glass Elevator*, and *The Witches*. It particularly done to show how unique and special it is, which later also forms Dahl's style of writing and at the same time proves Dahl's being an outstanding writer.

The research uses a qualitative descriptive method. It starts with collecting and selecting the data of figurative language containing language play which are found in the novels. Then they are analyzed in terms of the linguistic processes involved in the forms of language play. The data are then connected with the context of the story in order to interpret their purposes and functions, especially their connection with children as the target readers.

#### **Findings and Discussion**

In the three novels that are analysed, Dahl's similes obviously deserve much attention. They are unique, funny as well as attractive. Dahl obviously chooses to use uncommon words in the comparisons, as seen in the following table:

Table 1. Similes with sound play

	rable 1. Billines with sound play
Data	Utterances
Number	
(1)	the President turned white as the White House.
(2)	"He's cracked as a crab!"
(3)	You're dotty as a doughnut!

- (4) "We're **safe as sausages** in here!" shouted Mr. Wonka.
- (5) "He's **batty as a bullfrog!**" cried Grandma Georgina.
- (6) "He's **cracked as a crayfish!**" cried Grandma Georgina.
- (7) "He's **bogged** as a beetle!"
- (8) "He's dotty as a dingbat!"
- (9) "Bald as a boiled egg," my grandmother said.
- (10) "Frrrizzled like a frrritter," said the Grand High Witch.
- (11) 'Nothing **hots** a cold giant up **like a hot Hottentot**,' the BFG said.
- 'Dreams,' he said, 'is very mysterious things. They is floating around in the air like **wispy-misty** bubbles. All the time they is searching for sleeping people.'
- (13) 'You mean you can hear things I can't hear?' Sophie asked.
  - 'You is **deaf as a dumpling** compared with me!' cried the BFG.
- (14) 'And you is **dotty as a dogswoggler!**' cried the Bloodbottler.
- (15) 'Please be **still as a starfish** now.'
- (16) 'We is helpless as horsefeathers.'

It is interesting to notice that all the similes in Table 1 use uncommon words as comparisons. Similes like (2) *cracked as a crab* or (6) *cracked as a crayfish*, for example, are uncommon as what is usually more familiar are expressions like "as crazy as a loon" or "as crazy as a coot". The use of uncommon words in the similes is already considered a form of language play as there is a manipulation of language. In Table 1 above it can be observed that all the similes use uncommon words, which definitely contributes a lot to the big attraction of the novels.

In addition, this uncommon choice of words is intentionally done so that Dahl can also play with sounds. Many of the similes play with the sounds as they contain words having repetitive sounds. In data (2) *cracked as a crab* and (6) *cracked as a crayfish* above, the sound /kr/ is repeated in the words *cracked*, *crab*, and *crayfish* and thus, it can be said that the similes also have an alliteration.

This is the same in the other data in Table 1 that they all contain repetitions, whether it is a word repetition or sound repetition. Data (1) white as the White House shows a word repetition in the word white. Other data show repetition of consonant sounds in the initial position of the words or alliteration: (3) dotty as a doughnut (/d/), (4) safe as a sausage (/s/), (5) batty as a bullfrog (/b/), (7) bogged as a beetle (/b/), (8) dotty as a dingbat (/d/), (9) bald as a boiled egg, (10) frizzled as a fritter (/fr/), (13) deaf as a dumpling (/d/), (14) dotty as a dogswoggler (/d/), (15) still as a starfish (/st/), (16) helpless as horsefeathers (/h/). As a whole, these similes are funny and at the same time pleasant to the ears.

Moreover, in data (12) ...like wispy-misty bubbles, the reduplication wispy-misty is also uncommon to describe bubbles. Furthermore, these two words are pleasant in the ears as they repeat the vowel sound /ɪ/ four times and make it a great assonance. The same thing can be seen in data (11) Nothing hots a cold giant up like a hot Hottentot ..., in which an assonance /p/ is created through the words hots, hot, and Hottentot. Playing with word choice and sounds at the same time clearly uncovers Dahl's wittiness as a novelist.

In Table 1 it is clear that quite a lot of the similes describe the condition of losing sanity or not being normal. Dahl uses various words to refer to this condition: *cracked* (used twice), *dotty* (used twice), *batty*, and *bogged*. Considering the target readers, which are children, this use of synonymous words

definitely is good for children as they can have richer vocabulary. This also means that Dahl concerns a lot about who his target readers are and this, once again, proves Dahl's smartness as a novelist.

The similes in Table 2 below still show the novelist's choice of uncommon words in the comparisons. Unlike the similes in Table 1, these words are chosen not for the purpose of creating a sound play. However, these similes are also special and funny because there is an exaggerated or hyperbolic sense. In describing the hoarse voice of the witch, it is compared to a throat full of drawing-pins; the condition when a giant drops a small girl is depicted as a rasher of bacon in some gigantic frying-pan sizzling with fat. Furthermore, the giant's teeth are described to be like huge slice of white bread and his ear to be as big as the wheel of a truck. When a little girl is frightened, she is illustrated to be trembling just like a leaf in the wind. The humorous effect is definitely something that can be resulted from these similes, which shows Dahl's outstanding resourcefulness.

Table 2. Similes with uncommon comparisons

Data	Utterances
Number	
(1)	Her voice had a curious rasping quality. It made a sort of metallic sound,
	as though her throat was full of drawing-pins.
(2)	He will drop me like a rasher of bacon into some gigantic frying-pan
	sizzling with fat.
(3)	The <b>teeth</b> were very white and very square and they <b>sat in his mouth like</b>
	huge slice of white bread.
(4)	He had truly enormous ears. Each one was as big as the wheel of a truck
(5)	She was <b>trembling like a leaf in the wind</b> ,

Another ingenious point from Roald Dahl in the use of similes in the three novels is that, despite the uncommon comparisons, Dahl actually chooses the words wisely by considering children as the target readers of the novels. Words like *crab*, *doughnut*, *sausages*, *boiled eggs*, *fritter*, *bullfrog*, *white bread*, *bacon*, *frying pan*, *bubbles*, *starfish*, *truck wheel*, *leaf*, *wind* etc. are familiar for children. This is essential because in using similes, a writer in a way is asking the readers to imagine something that is similar to the thing he or she is trying to describe to the readers. Hence, when children as the target readers know the things used in the similes quite well, it is indeed very helpful.

The following table contains data of personification found in the three novels:

Table 3. Personification

Data	Utterances
Number	
(1)	His black <b>moustache</b> was <b>jumping up and down</b> like crazy as he spoke.
(2)	His whiskers twitch with excitement.

The two data of personification show how someone's moustache and whiskers are described in a funny way. Readers are asked to imagine how the moustache is jumping up and down and how the whiskers twitch or give a sudden jerking movement. When children as the target readers can imagine this

condition, they will find these two data of personification very funny and they will most probably be amused.

#### Conclusion

All in all, it can be said that Roald Dahl is proven to be very witty in playing with words, especially in the use of figures of speech, such as similes and personification. These figures are not only unusual, but also funny and beautiful at the same time. In addition, the findings also show that Dahl consistently plays with language in his novels, which confirms that this can be regarded as one of his signatures in writing children's novels. This is definitely not a simple thing to do and thus, Dahl does deserve more acclaim. Another point that is worth noticing is Dahl's smartness in always connecting himself a writer with the target readers of the three novels discussed, who are children. This, together with the language play in the use of similes and personification, undoubtedly adds to Dahl's ingenuity. For these reasons, readers should also be demanded to appreciate writers of this great quality. When this quality level fails to be detected by readers, it will be a great loss both for the writers and readers. Simply put, writers' ingenuity should be balanced with readers' sensitivity in detecting that ingenuity.

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#### APOCALYPTIC NARRATIVE SCHEMAS IN DYSTOPIAN FILMS

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#### **Abstract**

This research investigates the way dystopia as film genre is attributed with catastrophe or, what will be regarded here as apocalyptic events. We question the way in which the genre represents state of affairs of humanity in the face of a catastrophe, in catastrophe, and after catastrophe. A narrative analysis is conducted using cognitive semiotics approach, by identifying narrated events, and actions of the protagonist as constituting parts of event. We argue that narrative in dystopian films represent three types of apocalyptic schema (i.e. pre-apocalyptic, apocalyptic, and post-apocalyptic). Each schema seems to have distinct model of storyline, regardless of the predefined genre of the film (e.g. adventure, sci-fi, fantasy, etc.). Despite the distinct schemas, the analyzed films illustrate typical tone of hopefulness wherein humanity prevails over catastrophe and dystopian state of affairs. Another typical representation in dystopian films analyzed here is portrayal of collective fear among the protagonist. Our study leads to a point that humanity is portrayed as being adaptive to catastrophic situations, therefore it is able somehow to survive. Here we offer narrative standard in dystopia genre using the light of cognitive semiotics perspective, which differs to a great degree with theories offered by classical literary studies.

Keywords: films, genre, dystopia, cognitive semiotics, apocalyptic events schema,

#### Introduction

Extensive etymological explanation regarding the concept of utopia by Fatima Vieira includes the discussion about dystopia (Vieira, 2010). The discussion addresses notions of utopia and dystopia as if entangled into a polarizing dichotomy. Among many things, an important insight one can draw is that dystopia can be understood as literary genre referring to "imaginary places that were worse than real places, but also works describing places such as these." (Vieira, 2010). We favor the relativity the word *worse* implies, though at the same time it leaves uncovered gap.

Dystopia is considered different from the apocalyptic narrative, because the primary target of its narrative is to represent impossibility of ideal society that motivates one to construct state of affairs as such. In this sense, dystopian narrative should not situate the end of the world or the humanity. Instead, it should call forth optimism towards humanity and society as a persisting idea. Indeed, it is important to distinguish apocalyptic narrative from dystopia. But, supposed an apocalypse in whatever sense is considered a challenge posed to humanity, where the possible outcomesare whether humanity persists or perishes, would then apocalypse have something to do with dystopia? In our view, apocalypse seems tohold something to do with dystopia at certain degree.

Accounts regarding dystopia often talk about utopia as if they both are inseparable (Claeys, 2013; Deese, 2011; Greene, 2011; Klonowska, 2018). While our interest resides with dystopia as a narrative genre, wepinpoint our interest to the elaborative account from Claeys that the notion of dystopia has other properties than merely a literary genre. It is but encompassing as well ideology and communal movement, as specifically a portrait of societyliving in fear and under threatening situations. Dystopia in some respects may be analogous to what religious narrative propagates as hell. At this point, one can notice how dystopia as an account of place is not entirely the same as doomsday or Armageddon.

The latter may justify what Vieira's view. However, the religious narrative regarding doomsday and hell is linear. That is to say, supposed the former means the end for every living individual, of who will be anyway continue living in afterlife be it in hell or heaven. Vieira does not seem to take that into account; therefore we are siding on Claeys' view. It should be noted as well that the polarization of dystopia-utopia is likely to work in a spectrum, instead of black and white palette. That is to say, the polarization is relative to whose perspective is anchored in viewing a given state of affairs. In other words, one's dystopia might be utopia of the others and vice versa. Our view here echoes Claeys explanation about "'identity' definition of dystopia" (Claeys, 2013). Here, utopia and dystopia are related somehow in the way they contrast each other.

Claeys regards three variations of dystopia (e.g. despotism, totalitarianism, and Doomsday or Armageddon) as corresponding in the way they represent human volition has been undermined thus destabilized by intervening external force, however the form or the figure. He concludes that dystopia in metaphorical statement that it is a trip to hell with no return. Thus we add, and in hell we can imagine ourselves tormented and constantly pressured by horrifying and painful torture. However, it seems difficult to accept that dystopia is spatially limitless, considering its interrelation with utopia as a whole spectrum.

Dystopia as literature genre and its exemplifying works have been studied. For instance (Conkan, 2012) evaluates theoretical views regarding dystopia as a genre, and as a representation within stories under sci-fi and fantasy. Some typical words such as *pessimistic*, *apocalyptic*, *repression* are embedded issues within humanity

state of affairs. Further, fantasy and sci-fi might narrate dystopian story in disparate ways. The former seems to anchor on "metaphorical evil", whereas the latter metonymically put into play evil that can be present realistically in society.

Indeed, dystopia seems to manifest in pessimism, repression, and disaster. In a particularly meticulous study, senior high school students were asked to imagine what would happen to the world and how they would experience it in the future, then they were given a task to write their prediction (Nordensvard, 2014). The study found that majority of the students wrote pessimistic prediction, in which there are occurrences and states of affairs such as what has been pointed as situated in dystopian world. These occurrences deviate what is quo in the world at present into a world wherein there is dehumanization, social inequalities, and conflicts that are pertained by competition over depleted resources. Another point of interest is that dystopian narrative seems to be associated with hopefulness, despite it is in itself a pessimistic projection of future.

Typical representation, popular themes, and tropes in dystopian contemporary films have been studied (Klonowska, 2018). The study argues two specific films considered as structured by dystopian narrative (i.e. *The Hunger Games* and *Elysium*. It is argued that there is a shift within dystopian narrative from focusing on political state of affairs to character-driven focus narrative. Klonowska seems to have concern with the essence, the value, the conception of dystopia (and utopia). Practically, we do not share such concern. Any given shifts in the way certain narrative genre serves the narration may indicate dynamicity of genre, which has to do with produced texts and situations.

#### Problematizing dystopia as genre

The central issue of our paper is elaborating the standard of dystopian narrative, and the event variables that comprise the narrative (Friend, 2012). Although the existing literature so far has imported valuable insights regarding dystopia as a genre and a notion in particular, it is seemingly short in laying down the configuration of the narrative (Vieira, 2010; Claeys, 2013; Conkan, 2012; Deese, 2011; Nordensvard, 2014; Klonowska, 2018). Our study is interested in looking closely at the way film narrative represents dystopian state of affairs. Indeed, not all of the films studied here is under dystopia genre. However, we assume they do not have necessarily be so. Dystopia has to do with what we regard here as catastrophe or apocalyptic event, that refers an occurence which pertains great deal of suffer to humanity. By no means we are implying dystopia is a form of apocalyptic narrative, or the catastrophe an apocalypse that ends humanity. Rather, in this paper we argue event as such is property of dystopian narrative as a form of precedent, immediate or ongoing present, and potential precedent. This underlying assumption guides our view that film narratives studied are in possession of such features as narrative schema, however they are formally represented in narration. That being said, genres that are typically considered under dystopia category (e.g. sci-fi and fantasy) can nevertheless narrate conception of apocalyptic event or catastrophe in relation to representation of dystopia. The representation appears as in variations which Claeys calls forth (i.e. despotism, totalitarianism, and apocalypse).

Dynamic interconnectivity between genre, text, and situations imply the involvement of social context so to bring those three constraints, modifications, responses, and propagations. Ostergaard and Bundgaard (2015) provide detailed account of genre dynamics as mentioned, as formulating model and parameter one should address in distinguishing certain text genre from others. It is tempting to use their theoretical model of The Double Feedback Loop and The Parameter Theory of Genres here, as we are attempting to study dystopia as particular genre. However, the limited resources and time pose challenges to carry. Additionally, the internal features of dystopia as narrative text are not yet clear. In other words, our objective is to necessarily delineate prototypical representation of dystopia in a given narrative text, prior to elaborating its dynamics and parameters.

A narrative text can appear as non-fiction or fiction. They are themselves certain genre which has its ontological status, thus indebted speech act principles (i.e. illocutionary act in specific) as Searle has put it eloquently (2006). In fiction, the only principle of illocutionary act that is complied by author is the sincerity rule. This implies authors are committed into believing what they are expressing as they write fiction. And, generally the assertion itself conceives a pretended speech act in the sense of not deceiving its receptor but make-believe to the content of the assertions. It is this special status that allows reception of fictional narration excused from the text fidelity (Hendersen& Clark, 2007; Zwaan, 1994). That is to say, unlike fiction, the way we exploit our cognitive resources in grasping fictional text differs from nonfictional one, as we are more attentive to the superficial level (i.e. expression) of the former comparably to the latter. In contrast, our attention delves into seeking the situation level or the content of the latter.

Fiction is a genre which product can be a form of literary works, film, or anything of the sort. Cognitive ability of our species allows creative endowment in producing narrative text, be it fiction or nonfiction. This cognitive ability is a byproduct of long evolutionary process of humankind that at some point incites Cognitive Revolution (Harari, 2014). Fictional narrative serves fundamental principle that it transmits information within and across group in large numbers. Common myth is most likely fictional, story that tells about ghosts, spirits, and supranatural agents. The conceptions of those entities are made possible by exploitation of domains within our cognitive architecture prompted by imaginary process (Sørensen, 2005). These contents should as well be yielded by creative neural processing that involves semantic and episodic memories.

At the broadest sense, our species is predisposed to this cognitive ability of producing and receiving narrative, as the ability itself is an evolutionary by-product. Thereby, it makes sense to think business with production of fictional narrative is essentially for the sake of preserving existence of our species. Dystopian fictional

narrative, and presumably nonfictional as well, then represents what the species reflects as ill-suited kind of living condition or "habitat" so to speak. This representation projects what the species wants to anticipate or avoid, therefore will not be materialized, as its upbringing would call forth great risk and reduction to survival.

There is something that Searle overlooks when he says fiction has no inherent properties, in terms of narrative structure and its comprising language. As a matter of fact, fiction as a genre is constituted by a set of standard (i.e. constituting properties of certain work), contra-standard (i.e. excluded properties that used in certain work), and variables (i.e. differentiating properties within certain class) (Friend, 2012). The shifts of narrator perspective are considered standard of fictional narrative, while continuous immediate consciousness contra-standard to non-fictional text, and variables can be exemplified as the extent of details of character description. It should be emphasized that her theoretical framework is not constrained only to fiction, as she illustrates the application of her proposition using music and any other form of arts (see Friend, 2012).

Adapting Friend's proposition then implies that fictional narrative has inherent structure, though may be varying. Given that dystopia is a genre under fiction, it should embody as well the narrative structure that standardizes fiction. However, one can assume that dystopia as a certain genre would have theme of its own which makes itself distinct and particular. If dystopian themes are manifested in terms of repressive society situated under totalitarian, despotism, and apocaliptic atmosphere, this study posits a question such as how the themes of the genre of dystopia are represented schematically in the narrative.

# The framework of semiocognitive text processing

Film semiotics is aimed to unearth imperceptible system of signification which is embedded on screen, and has underlying assumption that film has language of itself which is similar to what Saussure coined as parole (Metz, 1991). Having said that, film semiotics gives the impression that it concerns the way in which spectators make meaning as they watch film. The problem is that in doing so the approach of film semiotics makes no direct reference to what is going on in the mind of spectators. They are rather considered as passive and that meaning making is autonomous to their mental processing which is renderred by cognition. As what will be elaborated the framework of cognitive semiotics complements what the traditional film semiotics has failed to account.

One assumption in cognitive semiotics is that film aesthetic experience is multimodal. In that sense information processing that takes place in mind as endowed cognitive capacity receives more than one sensory information. Human brain is wired for that capacity (Magliano and Zacks, 2011; Coegnarts and Kravanja, 2015; Suchan and Bhatt, 2016). Semiocognitive text processing assumes filmmakers employ available tools in producing film narrative such as auditorial and visual stimulus (e.g. sound, music, shot, color, etc.) with semiotic intent. Spectators then actively process those stimuli so to make meaning (e.g. conceiving diegesis and storyworld). This process that is occuring in the mind of spectators is

the very same process to make sense the reality, and that it has no prerequisite competence as what is propagated by cognitivist under Chomskian influence.

Contextual information provided by certain scene and occuring dialogue are stored in working memory, thereby enabling spectators have mental model of the narrative in its entirety. Reflecting on the interrelation between what is on screen and what is in the mind might yield emotional response among many other things. It is arguably the work of human neural equipment as well that renders perception of characters represented on-screen, who are actually a person enacting or enunciating invented persona, to be theorized to have mind of their own. Thereby, they are perceived as intentional agents who are able to carry out action, perception, give emotional response, etc. This already echoes what embodied cognition propagates in the way we process text and make meanings out of it, which view is central in the cognitive semiotics standpoint.

In film aesthetics, *mise-en-scene* (i.e. how things appeare on-screen and situate event) and *mise-en-shot* (i.e. how certain scene is filmed) are two crucial aspects of building film narrative and narration. In our case, we counted shots taken in order to pinpoint what events are represented as scenes. Thereby, we put the events into chronological order to locate spatiotemporal positions of the recount and and the unfolding story. We consider the schema conceived by the chronological order with respect to situated state of affairs and events wherein. By schema, we refer to perceived recurring structure (Johnson, 2013). The recurring structure is constituted as certain pattern of schema. In itself, it is the mechanism of our event-perception in mind.

We consider that the latter is of essential to our study, thus positions cognitive semiotics as the compatible approach. The study places its central issue at human meaning-making process, where neural process is taken into account. Meaning-making process in the way we construe narrative is one of the topics of cognitive semiotics. Cognitive semiotics may share similar assumption with traditional semiotics that in a narrative, there is an invented entity called narrator which anchors the perspective and the source of information, as well as furnishes details and consciousness representation (Genette, 1983; Stanzel, 1986; Chafe, 1994; Herman, 2007; Bundgaard, 2010). However, in case of narrative comprehension traditional film semiotics may not account for inference that is generated by spectators/readers in building situation model from representational meaning (Zwaan and Magliano, 1995; Muwaffaq, 2018).

As to film, Muwaffaq (2018) has attempted using semiocognitive approach in studying horrifying Christchurch massacre video. It is argued the clip represents creational reality of showing off force to spectators, and shaping manhunt schema. Further, the study is predicting practical implications of publishing the atrocity in motion picture clip. Our study is not yet reaching the question of what kind of cultural information is being transmitted, though, nor spelling out the creative employments of film maker in terms of *mise-en-scene* and *mise-and-shot*. The

objective of our study is to find out prototypical representation of dystopian narrative in films, which can be offerred as standard in seeing dystopia as a certain genre.

#### Method

Studying certain genre is a matter of classifying or categorizing. It should be noted then categorization that this study is committing itself into does not necessitate drawing static criterial definition. Rather it is seeing attributes that are shared across films, and treating those films that are positioned in fuzzy boundary still as member of the category but less prototypical. By elaborating the shared attributes across films this study then uses descriptive approach, and by discussing the implication to humanities based on the already described attribute this study employs as well functional approach in genre studies (Buckland, 2015).

In order to carry out the study, we have selected several films, they are Annihilation (Garland, 2018), The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring (Jackson, 2001), World War Z (Forster, 2013), The Road (Hillcoat, 2009), and The Hunger Games (Ross, 2012). Our selection takes into consideration that the films are adaptation from, originally, fiction novel. Indeed, it would be interesting very much to study the original text since it is fair to assume film has placed itself as a popular kind of art and media worth studying. This pertains film should be studied critically as narrative medium, regardless of whether or not spectators or public merely see it as an entertainment.

At the broadest sense, the use of semiocognitive framework in textual processing in great respects is employing the available cognitive facility. However, this needs to be explicated. The process of our anlysis started by noting the down number of shots. Noting down shots allowed seeing the way the narrative is established. Thereby, we introspectively described situated events based on narration, by accounting underpinning context and actions of characters. Described events were ordered chronologically, and patterns recurring from the order were considered schematic. We noticed there were features that constitute events, thus we accounted them by considering their recurrence as event-structuring variables.

#### **Findings and Discussion**

#### Apocalyptic narrative schemas

To begin with, it seems necessary to clarify what it means by the apocalyptic events or catastrophe. We would use the term interchangeably. They refer to an occurrence that urges humanistic individuals either to anticipate as a problem-solving state of affairs otherwise extinct, or to persevere with the hardship of living under threatening immediate environment. This occurrence pertains to a situation wherein humanity and humanistic in whatever sense are represented as reduced.

We propose dystopian narrative has hhumanistic individuals as the protagonist. They are not necessarily portrayed by human in physiological nature. In fantasy film, for instance The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring, these individuals appearing in races (e.g. hobbit, dwarf, and elf). However, the formal

representation does not necessarily take out humanistic properties inherent to the representation. On the contrasting antagonist side there are orcs, goblins, and the likes. They represent what seem to be monstrous, brutal, immoral, and whatever else that represent them less humane or inhumane.

The antagonistic characters are not to be considered humanistic individuals, thoughthey might be as human-like as the humanistic ones. Trivially, they are represented as able to talk, act, have belief, etc., irrespectively to their physiology. What distinguishes the humanistic ones from the other is the former seems exemplifying humane characters. It is this trait that should allow us to perceive the characters, again however the physiological characteristics, as humanistic individuals. We suspect that this is made possible by the operating mechanism that allows us to have supranatural representation (e.g. ghost, evil spirits, etc.). As to film narrative, its multimodal information helps shaping perception and semantic of these two polarizing characters so to render the aesthetics.

The dystopian narrative is attributed with representation of apocalyptic events or catastrophe in ways that can be classified into three types of schemas, namely pre-apocalyptic, apocalyptic, and post-apocalyptic schema. Narrative is recount of events which devises what spectators find as story (Zwaan and Magliano, 1995; Genette, 1983; Stenzel 1986; Chafe, 2004; Muwaffaq, 2018). In this sense we can assume stories are sequences of events that have been passed. This follows that narrative is anchored at the same spatotemporal point with with the audience. It serves as the source of information regarding the stories, by recounting past events. In doing so, it sets up perspective to the way the story is recounted, and how the story is. In this case the latter is typically reclined without respect to chronological order. Such is the standard<sup>1</sup> of fiction, and this implies films under fiction share similar property (Friend, 2012). However, we have cognitive ability to chunk situated actions and their context so to perceive them tied together as particular event. Events in a given narrative then, though chronologically scrambled, can be ordered as a linear flow (Zacks and Magliano, 2011). It is based on the linearity of sequential events in the studied film narrative we classify the types of apocalyptic event schema.

## Pre-apocalyptic narrative schema

The pre-apocalyptic schema narrates catastrophe as a representation of occurrence to be anticipated, or a problem to be solved. It urges humanistic individuals as protagonist to respond so to the upcoming apocalyptic event. Here, dystopia seems to be a predicted alternative and subsequent antecedent had the protagonist failed her anticipation. In this sense, we perceive the catastrophe as yet to happen and to potentially entail dystopia. Its occurrence may be represented on screen as hints in some sort of protagonist's premonition or antagonist's threat, in case of *The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring*. In Annihilation the occurrence of catastrophe is merely predictive statements given by an authoritative character. But, we are allowed to draw inference as the narrative feeds information regarding the actions and events of protagonist along the the narrative. For instance, the protagonist explains the phenomenon that happens in The Shimmer. It should be noted that lines of protagonist and other characters are not the only instance we

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can rely on in comprehending the narrative. The film *mise-en-shot* supplies information by representing alien object that is crashing into the earth, alien material which behaves similarly to pathology, and caption.

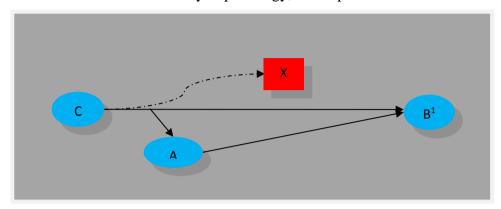


Figure 1. Pre-apocalyptic schema in dystopian films

Figure 1 illustrates pre-apocalyptic schema which structures the narrative in Annihilation and The Lord of the Rings: The Fellowship of the Ring. Based on the chronological order of the narrative, there seems to be four spatiotemporal position. C represents precedent state of affairs which istypically portrayed by flashbacks. C is positioned with respect to immediate present A, and the outcome of anticipating the possible catastrophe as antecedent  $B^I$ . Here, the possible catastrophe is marked by X. We consider B is at the same level with C because they situate the narrative as a whole. This implies A is a sort of specified and isolated space and time with respect to the whole scale of the narrative. It is merely a part where the story is centralized, and where the narrative point is anchored. But, it should not be considered representing the whole state of affairs within the narrative. It is this point that spectators follow as the main story, as it takes major part of the narrative. These two interlinking narrative points are proceeding to B.

When ordered based on this spatiotemporal points, the narrative of annihilation starts with the coming of extraterrestrial object to the earth. This leads to the emergence of what is regarded by The Shimmer, its spread, and deployment of investigations into the area within as countermeasure. This leads to deployment of expedition teamthat enlists a sergeant whosemotivation is self-destructive tendency, andwho knows his wife is unfaithful. The team never survives in The Shimmer. However, his alien duplicate returns home as a person who suffers serious affliction. It is at this point the narrative transitions to the immediate present. That is to say, spectators would follow along the expedition of protagonist which somehow annihilates The Shimmer. At the end, protagonist is interrogated by authority as she is the only survivor in her team.

The narrative consists of the act of recount and the story recounted. Spatiotemporal location of the recount and the recounted story are essentially different. However, they can be assumed as designed to overlap, jumbled, or to be in ways that we cannot anticipate insofar the narrative is constructed as a whole. As to *Annihilation* the interrogation of protagonist underpins  $B^1$ , whereas A is underlying her adventurous expedition, and C her memory and shots of alien object going into earth.

Interestingly, there is no explicit representation about the catastrophe in *Annihilation*. There is only statement from authoritative character that we can use

as basis of inference. As to the representation itself we can draw information from scenes that represent the mission of protagonist. In our inference *X* is the annihilation of whatever organism exists on earth due to continuous mutation caused by environmental influence of The Shimmer, and its replacement with alien and mutants. Had this happened, we refuse to believe there would be dystopia. Rather evolution that put off humans from selections, thereby humanity perishes. However, the process to the total annihilation would be likely to attain dystopian state of affairs.

There is explcit difference between *Annihilation* and *LOTR* in the way the latter represents catastrophee. There are scenes of protagonist premonition if he should fail, though it does not entirely sketch the whole picture. Again, by inference we can model the catastrophe and the dystopia entailed. To be specific, the catastrophe would be the return of The One Ring to Sauron as followed by his domination over Middle Earth. We can imagine Sauron dominating force would conquer the free folk of Middle Earth. Afterwards, humanity as represented by Sauron's counterpart (i.e. humanistic individuals) would be replaced with repressive kind of society, in which nonhumanistic individuals rule. There, we have dystopia in Middle Earth which is analogous to some respects with representation of repressive society in *The Hunger Games*. However, humanistic individuals in *LOTR* prevail and Middle Earth is saved from threats of Mordorunder Sauron's command. That is the antecedent from protagonist successful quest (i.e. destroying The One Ring).

Humanity is represented by depiction of different races that bear humanistic values (e.g. human, hobbit, elf, dwarf, etc.). Fantasy seems to be unique in the way the genre intermingles the variation of races. And the condition that we can make sense the varying races may be humanistic or nonhumanistic is appropriatized by our practice of exploiting domains within cognitive architecture. The narration in the opening, which positions narrative point *C* has already furnished spectators with formal representation that informs spectators which is humanistic and nonhumanistic. It is fortified as we follow along the journey of protagonist which arcs from him as a common hobbit to become hero of Middle Earth after destroying The One Ring. It should be noted, the journey of protagonist situates narrative spatiotemporal *A*. And, similarly to *Annihilation* the story is centralized in A. But, the narrative point does not fully represent the whole state of affair of Middle Earth per se.

#### Apocalyptic narrative schema

A catastrophe occurs in apocalyptic schema and leads to dystopia, unlike that of pre-apocalyptic schema. However, the occurring catastrophe is resolvable thereby urging humanistic individuals into finding ways to overcome the event (see

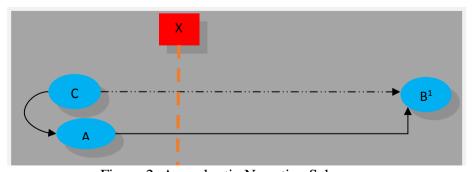


Figure 2. Apocalyptic Narrative Schema

figure 2). The occurrence of catastrophe is represented by X. Generally, it may be represented as different kind of occurrence that deviates the quo state of affairs as represented by C. The immediate present which spectators find as unfolding story is similarly to the pre-apocalyptic schema. It is localized part of the whole narrative. The relation between A to the antecedent  $B^I$  is direct, in a sense it situates action of protagonist in resolving the catastrophe. On the other hand, C and  $B^I$  are indirect considering the resolution of apocalyptic event would impact the whole narrative, and that the former is background to A.

In World War Z, C what is represented as news broadcast until protagonist is stuck in a traffic jam. There is not explicit representation of zombie outbreak, except statements from news about the spread of virus and case of strange behaving people. Protagonist soon realizes the apocalyse and struggle preserve his life. At this point, spectators are already served with immediate present A. Technically, A is over as protagonist reunites with his family. However, his discovery of camouflage situates the antecedent B: the fighting of humans against the infected. Spectators experience perceiving representation of the world that they know is shifting into an unprecedented catastrophic world. There, dystopia appears as the collapse of social institution, chaos, etc. Similarly, the resolution of catastrophe seems to represent the prevail of humanity.

# Post-apocalyptic narrative schema

Catastrophe X is a precedent in post-apocalyptic narrative schema respectively to the immediate present A. The narrative may or may not give specific information regarding the apocalyptic even, which has happened at some time prior to A. Due to X implied past state of affairs has been shifted due to the occurrence of catastrophe. Here, the latter situates narrative space and time C. It is in this schema the representation of dystopia as livable environment seems salient, albeit the environment in itself is ingrained by repressive threats by authoritarian rule or some sorts. Spectators would follow the immediate present A wherein protagonist is struggling under dystopian condition. The struggle leads to the point where he is surviving in the dystopian condition, or able to bring down repression that causes dystopia. The latter is marked by  $B^1$ , and it represents successful attempt of preserving humanity (see figure 3).

The protagonist in *The Road* is able to get by as he finds migrating companion after losing his father. This leaves piece of information that allows us to believe his chance of surviving remains. As to The Hunger Games we can already sense that there is a brewing resistance against the oppressive state of Panem, and eventually protagonist manages to turn down oppressive government. It is those points that we consider the narrative has reached point B<sup>1</sup>. In *The Road*, dystopia is a representation of place in which society is repressed by environmental and societal threats. However harmful the environment, it is yet bringing an impression of livable place. Protagonist, with his humanistic traits taught by his father, survives. Other than that, dystopia seems to be reparable. The repairdeviates the place as less and less repressive, or less and less dystopic.

There is no explicit explanation on apocalyptic event X in narrative of *The Road*, which is different from *The Hunger Games*. For this matter, spectators are able to infer from information supplied by narrative. In contrast, the former has representation of C that is portraying the life of one of the protagonist prior to X while the latter does not. Both narratives represent immediate present A wherein,

protagonist is migrating to safer place (*The Road*) and is trying to rebel against authoritarian rule (The Hunger Games). It should be noted that, as illustrated by figure 4, the event X motivates protagonist to take action proceeds her struggle to reach point  $B^{I}$ .

Similarly, to the previous schemas, A is localized in the sense it only represents protagonists' whereabouts. At least in *The Hunger Games* the winning of rebellion resolves dystopia in global scale. *The Road* does not seem to exemplify the same state of affairs, yet the surviving protagonist implies there is a great possibility that others may share the same experience at the global scale. It is the underlying reason of why C and  $B^I$  are at the same level.

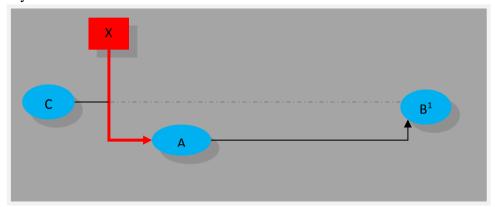


Figure 3 Post-apocalyptic narrative schema

## Event-structuring variables in apocalyptic schema

In earlier section we have proposed dystopia as a particular genre is characterized by narrative that situates catastrophe or apocalyptic schema which entails humanity under repressive state of affairs. What we mean by schema is generic conceptual representation that is structured by typical or recurring process of events. Perception, as result of cognitive process, holds key role in shaping recurring events into schema. This echoes Gestalt principle as the operating mechanism of our perception. An event is configured by chunks of action underpinned by contextual situation. We refer those chunks of action and their contextual underpinning as event-structuring variables.

A film narrative furnishes spectators with contextual information and action that are situated and perceivable to the eye of spectators. We propose several event-structuring variables that configure apocalyptic schema in dystopian narrative. Concept of THREAT is one of event variables which stimulate protagonists into reacting. It situates context of the event. By its appearance, THREAT can be segmented into NON-AGENTIVE or AGENTIVE. The former is represented by natural disaster or whatever it is coming from natural setting. As to AGENTIVE, it represents entities at the broadest sense which are not always as necessarily human being. Therefore, any organism capable of posing danger or harm to protagonist by carrying out particular action can be considered AGENTIVE THREAT (e.g. zombies, orcs, peacekeeper, cannibal, mutant bear, etc.).

In responding to THREATS, the protagonist carries out certain actions. The actions are represented on screen differently. The way they are represented is analogous across and within a dystopian narrative. That is to say they fundamentally

serve the same purpose, which typically has anything to do with surviving or preserving humanity. Thereby, we argue those actions are conceptualization of ACTS OF SURVIVAL. It should be noted, though, the purpose of ACTS OF SURVIVAL is not necessarily exclusive to the protagonist. Other characters can as well be targeted as patient of the acts of protagonist, or protagonist can be the beneficiary from acts of others. It is in situation such as the former we consider protagonist action altruistic, while the latter an example of altruism by others.

Altruistic acts represent actions that are able to preserve existence of herself and her fellow. They are inherently practical implementation of humanistic motive. ACT OF SURVIVAL is segmented into MIGRATION (i.e. protagonist movement from threatening environment to less threatening one), SELF DEFENSE refers to fighting or fleeing threats, and looking for their information under the ongoing catastrophe or apocalyptic event. FORAGING is referring to looking or gathering resources for survival. AFFECTION means altruistic and psychologically comforting acts. Finally, SEEKING HELP OF OTHERS is communicating needs to conspecifics or the likes in order to earn support.

We pinpoint INSTITUTIONAL ACTS as a structuring-event variable which can be generated by protagonist and the antagonist. This is so because both sides are often narrated as part or agent of larger whole. Here, we consider the whole social institution, in whatever kind of forms. At the very least, a group of friends is a representation of social institution, while at broader level it appears as government, alliance of races, etc. SOCIOCOGNITIVE SIGNAL is an instance of INSTITUTIONAL ACTS. This refers to action, gesture, sign, or linguistic expressions of others that furnish protagonist knowledge by perceiving them.By this instance, the protagonist can sort of learn or gain knowledge about ongoing catastrophe or enclosing threats. There are occasions where SOCIOCOGNITIVE SIGNAL seems to be transmitted by mass in panic over fearing threats. For an example, in *World War Z* the protagonist is trying to inform himself by processing signals conveyed within panicking mass.

Typical in apocalyptic narrative protagonist has limited knowledge regarding the catastrophe. Protagonist represents part of social institution whose place is the closest to common citizen. Take for instance Frodo (*LOTR*) is a simple hobbit, Gerry (*WWZ*) a full time dad—UN investigator retirement, and Katniss (*The Hunger Games*) a regular townswoman. The protagonists in dystopian films, at least discussed here, are often portrayed as naive. Throughout the narrative they are informed by other characters that are part of social institution, which has more authoritative resources and power than the protagonist (e.g. Gandalf, Thierry, or Mitch). The information allows protagonist to be cautious in facing catastrophe and its pertaining threats. Thereby, given information from social institution seems relevant to protagonist survival. This bases our reason to consider it as an event-structuring variable typical in apocalyptic narrative schema, as referred by INFORMING.

Already mentioned previously protagonist is particularly represented as less authoritative. This leaves asymmetric relation between protagonist with the more authoritative characters, regardless to whether the characters are in the side of protagonist or its counterpart. Importantly, the asymmetric relation privileges these characters to exerting force or to issue certain instructions for any interest of the

social institution as a whole. We identify actions as such as event-structuring variable under social INSTITUTIONAL ACTS, namely IMPOSITION.

A dystopian film has apocalyptic narrative in which protagonist survives despite the threats or the occurrence of a catastrophe. We notice protagonist may have shortcomings as represented on screen in many ways (e.g. death and disloyalty of group members, losing supports, obstructions). We consider the representation of shortcomings as mentioned is a conception of DEFECTS. It is another event-structuring variable under INSTITUTIONAL ACTS, which refers to hindrance entailed by action of others. In many occasion, DEFECTS can portray what is resulted from collective fear and can imply the sense of hopefulness in the narrative.

INSTITUTIONAL ACTS may be represented by the group preparing plans, conferring on decision, or any sort of cooperative as well as collaborative actions. Taken together, they are property of sociocognitive ability as portrayed on screen. In themselves, they are carried out in order to solve problem. We take this as part of INSTITUTIONAL ACTS sub-variation, which referred by COLLECTIVE ACTION. Table 1 notes event-structuring variables that are elaborated previously.

Table 1. Event-structuring variables in apocalyptic schema

Threats	Acts of survival	Institutional acts
Non-agentive	Migration	Socio cognitive signal
Agentive	Self defense	Informing
	Foraging	Imposition
	Affection	Defects
	Seeking help of others	Collective acts

#### Apocalyptic narrative schemas in dystopia: the significance to humanities

We have elaborated how dystopian film narrative is structured by what we regard here as apocalyptic event schema. This schema is configuration of chronological arrangement of the narrative in which catastrophe or apocalyptic events are narrated as potential occurrence, occurring, or has occurred. It has been noted as well the schema has event-structuring variables as its property. Granted what has been explained is the case of dystopian narrative as a particular genre under fiction, then it seems we have a grounding to formulate what kind of genre is dystopia.

In our view, post-apocalyptic schema serves the prototypical standard of dystopian genre, while apocalyptic and pre-apocalyptic turn them as less prototypical. They, nevertheless, bear familial resemblance to the prototype, thus should be accounted as belonging to the same genre. Further, it seems plausible to consider the argued prototype as representation of standard of dystopian genre. It narrates the world has suffered from certain devastating event, which causes expensive cost to humanity. As aftermath, the event generates collective fear of authoritarian rule or socio-environmental threats to the remaining or the existing humanistic individuals, who would then put efforts to alter the world to be less dystopianso to keep on surviving. We also propose here the event-structuring variables as elaborated earlier should be counted within the set of standard of dystopian narrative genre. This variation may appear in different kind of formal representations.

Indeed, film narratives studied here are strictly limited, but we predict the same event-structuring variables would be represented on screen and as narrated. In themselves the variables are concept vary in the way they are depicted. But, the way they are depicted as visual information perceivable to spectators is merely a semiotic form. The semiotic form, thanks to neural makeup in processing information, is paired to semiotic meaning. In other words, variation of forms leads to the same mental representation, rendered by the semi cognitive information processing that shapes our perception.

Interestingly, in our reflection it does not seem to be a problem supposedly we neglect the fact the films studied here differ in their already given genre. This leads us into thinking when dystopia is remarked as genre in prototypical sense; it takes fantasy, sci-fi, action, drama, and any other sort of film types as variables. Therefore, wizard, elf, aliens, cannibals, wildfire, earthquake, authoritarian soldiers, mutant, zombies, etc. are but formal representation to conception of threats, in agentive or non agentive, to humanistic individuals.

At this point, in many ways dystopia already seems associated with catastrophe that drastically changes environmental condition. Catastrophe or apocalyptic events as represented in films, and maybe text of fiction, may or may not specify the causality of its occurrence. To this we argue that spectators or readers can readily, perhaps as easily, dismiss such underspecified causal explanation. This is so because the narrative focuses not on whatever issues relevant to environment that triggers the event, so to the collapse of representation of the world as we know into the world we consider representing dystopia, which spectators might have never conceived in mind.

Rather, the narrative focuses on humanistic individuals anticipating the apocalyptic events, or attaining their survival under the events and their aftermath. At least, films that are studied here exemplify humanistic individuals prevail, which is often represented triumphantly, epically, and dramatically. This leads to somewhat implicit triumph of humanity against whatever there is antagonizing, repressing, or threatening. It is here we get the sense optimism in dystopian narrative. At least textually speaking, however, the optimism set asides environmental issues to be secondary and peripheral respectively to what becomes the focus and central subject matters: humanity.

There are some issues in our study, especially in its methodological sense. That is to say albeit our study is proposing prototype or standard of how dystopian narrative is, qualitatively, future study is nevertheless suggested to pursue whether the prototype is applicable. For that matter, one can study different narrative under the same genre, be it in film or prose. Moreover, further study might as well be conducted in direction of quantitative method, specifically by experimental approach.

Our suggestion sees possibilities of using emotional reaction (i.e. fear) as dependent variable that might be triggered by THREATS in the studied films. Granted the resources, one can experiment on the hypothesis whether or not empathetic response of spectators would be triggered by represented THREATS. Certainly, there are more uncovered gaps that are yet to cover and to discuss. Pursuing them would shed more lights regarding dystopian narrative, film aesthetics, and even the relation between mind, meaning-making, and narrative at

the broadest sense. However, considering the limitation, it seems very much unlikely we can dispell the gaps in this occasion.

#### Conclusion

Dystopia, either as genre or thinking, has been regarded as criticism towards how human and its doings to the world. Instead of impressing the world as a place where every individual can have piece of positive state of affairs, it offers the contrast that the world is not as positive and can be worse. But, the world here does not seem to be necessarily in reference to environment, let alone its issues. And, environmental issues in our understanding are, plainly, pollution, climate change, global warming, etc. They do not seem tackled by dystopian narrative, and if the narrative taps into them, it is but merely a sort of condiment to the dish. However, we refuse to consider the mentioned as deficiency of dystopia as a particular genre in addressing environmental issues. Assuming it may help addressing environmental issues is plausible. But, we thought that the genre is not reliable very much for helping to raise the awareness of the real problems. In our view, the genre would reinforce confidence to and in humanity that it is so adaptive despite the apocalypse and the entailing aftermath.

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# TRANSLATION TECHNIQUES AND QUALITY OF THE TRANSLATION OF LEGAL TEXT ON IMMIGRATION LAW

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## **Abstract**

This research aims to (1) analyze translation techniques by using Molina's & Albir's theory (2002) in the text of the Immigration Law in English, (2) analyze the quality of the translation in terms of accuracy, acceptability and readability by using Nababan's theory (2012) in translating legal of the Immigration Law into English; and (3) analyze the impact of translation techniques on the quality of the translation in the text of the Immigration Law in English. This research is qualitative research with a descriptive approach. The source of data is the Immigration Law written in two languages, namely Indonesian as the source text (TS) and English as the target language (TL). Based on the analysis, it is found that: (1) In the translation of the Immigration Law, there are 12 translation techniques used, namely 64 (39%) literal, 36 (22%) calque, 24 (14%) established equivalent, 10 (6.2%) generalization, 9 (5.5%) borrowing, 4 (2,4%) linguistic amplification, 2 (1.2%) particularization, 5 (3.1%) transposition, 1 (0.6%) compensation, 3 (1.8%) modulation, 2 (1.2%) reduction and 1 (0.6%) adaptation. (2) The total score for the translation quality is 2,77% which is the quality of translation almost perfect. (3) The most dominant translation technique used in translating this legal text is literal technique (39%) which is the dominant technique that gives impact to translation quality.

Keywords: Legal Text, Translation technique, translation quality, Immigration Law.

#### Introduction

Translation is one branch of applied linguistics as part of activities in communication between humans in different languages. According to Bassnett (2002:74) in 1800, translation activities on various texts have been carried out for purposes related to property and ownership. At that time the source language was significantly considered more valuable than the translation product. Compared to other branches of science, as a scientific discipline at the academic level, translation is a branch of science that is still relatively new which is gradually recognized and then developed quite rapidly lately both as a profession, for business purposes, and the development of science.

Translation means having to do with transferring content or ideas from the source language to the target language, this means the message or idea becomes a

central aspect of the translation. To produce a good translation, the translator must refer to meaning as the main idea in the source language (SL) for transfer into the target language (TL). To understand the meaning, the translator deals with text in the source language (SL) as raw material that must be understood and analyzed to obtain meaning in the source language (SL) which is then transferred into the target language. Thus, translating is an attempt to find the equivalence of meaning between source language texts and target language texts.

Translation is very useful especially for people who cannot speak foreign languages. Without having to learn languages, they will be able to understand the content in a text written in foreign languages. Catford's words (1965:20) translation is simply defined as "the replacement of textual material in one language by equivalent textual material in another language". The translation is an interpretation of meaning from the text in one language that's called sources language (SL) to another language as known as the target language (TL).

The translation is an act of interpreting the meaning of a text, and the subsequent production of an equivalent text, also called translation, communicates the same message in other languages. According to Muchtar (2016:1) states that Translation is a challenging thing to do in every process of transferring the meaning from a source language (SL) to the target language (TL). Besides, Basil & Jeremy (2004:3) Translation is a phenomenon that has a huge effect on everyday life.

Jakobson (1959) states that there are three domains translation i.e intralingual translation, interlingual translation, intersemiotic translation. Intralingual translation is translation within the same language, which can involve rewording or paraphrase; Interlingual translation is a translation from one language to another language and an intersemiotic translation is a translation of the verbal sign by a nonverbal sign, for example, music or image. Based on the explanation given by Jacobson which is related to this research, The Law of Immigration can be considered as intralingual translation and interlingual translation.

According to Toury (1995), there are two tentative generals "laws" of translation are purposed; The law of growing standardization; TT generally display less linguistic variation than ST, and The law of interference common ST lexical and syntactic patterns tend to be copied, creating unusual patterns in the TT. In both instances, the contention is that translated language in general displays specific characteristics, known as universal of translation.

Translation technique is the way used to transfer messages from the SL into the TL, applied at the level of words, phrases, clauses or sentences. Translation technique is defined as the realization of the translation process i.e. method and strategy of translation. According to Molina and Albir (2002), translation technique has eighteen types, as follows: Adaptation, Amplification (Addition), Borrowing, Calque, Compensation, Description, Discursive Creation, Established Equivalence, Generalization, Linguistics Amplification, Linguistics Compression, Literal Translation, Modulation, Particularization, Reduction, Substitution, Transposition, Variation. In light of the above, there are 18 translation techniques proposed by Molina & Albir:

# Adaptation

This technique is used to replace a source text (SL) cultural or social element with one from target text (TL) which more familiar for target readers, E.g

SL: Dear my teacher Anna.

TL: Kepada yang terhormat guruku Anna.

This technique is known as cultural adaptation techniques. Dear is *Kepada* but, in our culture at Indonesia *kepada yang terhormat* refers to the honorable ones for formal something. This technique is done by replacing cultural elements that have source languages with similar cultural elements and in the target language.

# **Amplification**

This technique is employed to introduce details that are not formulated in SL by adding some words (addition) or information, paraphrasing, making it explicit, or creating footnote to make the translation clear and help target readers understand the text. In detail, Molina states, "This includes SCFA's explication (Vinay & Darbelnet), Delisle's addition, Margot's legitimate and illegitimate paraphrase, Newmark's explicative paraphrase and Delisle's periphrasis and paraphrase..." E.g

SL: There are many Singaporeans live in Indonesia

TL: Terdapat banyak warga negara Singapura yang tinggal di Indonesia

The word Singaporeans is translated into warga negara Singapura make the message obvious without changing its meaning. Besides, footnotes are a type of amplification as well.

#### **Borrowing**

This technique is used to take a word or expression straight from another language. There are two types of borrowing i.e. pure and natural borrowing. Pure borrowing refers to the word of SL which purely loaned by TL without any change e.g. keyboard (English) to keyboard (Indonesian). E.g

SL: Mixer, Hard disk

TL: Mixer, Hard disk

A translator uses pure borrowing frequently because no equivalence found in TL for the word. Meanwhile, the natural borrowing means the word in SL is naturalized by the spelling rules in TL. It aims to make the translated word more acceptable and common in TL.

## Calque

It is a literal translation of foreign word or phrase and it can be lexical or structural. E.g

SL: Vise President of Indonesia is Yusuf Kala

TL: Wakil Presiden Indonesia adalah Yusuf Kala

Vise president is translated into Wakil Presiden. according to Vinay and Dalbernet (1995), calque and borrowing often become fully integrated into the TL.

#### Compensation

This technique is to introduce an SL stylistic effect element of information in another place in the TL because it cannot be reflected in the same place as in the SL. E.g

SL: Good Morning George!

TL: Selamat Pagi Paman!

If a nephew wants to greet his uncle, he may call his uncle by using his name George! but in Indonesia its not acceptable to call uncle by just name because it is considered impolite. Therefore, instead of the utterance translated into *Selamat Pagi George*, the acceptable one is *Selamat Pagi Paman*!

#### **Description**

This technique uses description to disc acceptable to be word or expression from SL which is not understood in TL. E.g

SL: I like Tempe.

TL: Saya suka Tempe, makanan khas Indonesia yang dibuat dari kacang kedelai. This technique by replacing a term or phrase with a description of its shape and function.

#### Discursive Creation

This technique is employed to establish a temporary equivalence which is different, unpredictable, and out of context. It commonly used for translating book title, film or any sort of literary texts. E.g

SL: Husband for a year.

TL: Suami sementara.

In this example, Husband for a year translated into Suami sementara because the meaning is out of context and unpredictable.

## Established Equivalent

This technique applies recognized term or expression in the dictionary or language use as equivalence in TL. The meaning and style of SL are the same as TL. E.g.

SL: Junior High School

TL: Sekolah Menengah Pertama

The example of Junior High School translated into *Sekolah Menengah Pertama*. According to Newmark (1988:89) coins the term as recognized translation and he adds that "we should normally use the official or generally accepted translation of any institutional term".

#### Generalization

This technique is employed to use neutral or more general term e.g. to translate Indonesian terms becak, bajaj, bemo, delman into a vehicle in English.

SL: Mansion.

TL: Tempat tinggal.

The example is mansion as tempat tinggal. This technique coincides with Newmark's neutralization i.e functional and descriptive equivalent. Generalization is the opposition to particularization.

# Linguistic Amplification

This technique is used for adding linguistic elements. It is frequently employed in consecutive interpreting and dubbing.

SL: Take a seat!

TL: Silahkan duduk!

Based on the example above, Take a seat translated into Silahkan duduk (Sit down please) instead of *Ambil Kursi* (take chair) it's opposition to linguistic compression.

## Linguistic Compression

It is opposed to linguistic amplification, hence its use is for suppressing linguistic element to make it brief due to the consideration of time and space. It is commonly employed in subtitling and simultaneous interpreting. E.g

SL: Are you ready?

#### TL: Siap?

To translate Are you ready? with *Siap*? (Ready?) in Bahasa Indonesia instead of using a phrase with the same number of words, *apakah anda siap*? (Are you ready?) it is an opposition to linguistic amplification.

#### Literal Translation

This technique is used to translate words, terms, or expressions word for word. This technique will be properly applied when the form coincides with the word and meaning. E.g

SL: Kill two birds with one stone.

TL: Membunuh dua burung dengan satu batu.

This translation Kill two birds with one stone translated into *Membunuh dua burung dengan satu batu*. This technique corresponds with Nida's (1964) formal equivalent when it coincides with function and meaning.

#### Modulation

This technique is employed to change the point of view, focus, or cognitive category in relation to the TL.

Example:

SL: I cut my finger.

TL: Jariku teriris.

In this example, I cut my finger translated into *Jariku teriris* in Indonesia instead of *saya memotong jari saya*. According to Hatim and Munday (2004) write this technique is used when the literal or transposed translation is considered to be unsuitable, unidiomatic and awkward, even though the translation result is grammatically correct.

## **Particularization**

It is the opposite of generalization, therefore this technique creates TL more specific, concrete, and precise than SL e.g. to translate vehicle in English to becak, bajai, bemo, delman in Indonesian. It is the opposite of generalization, therefore this technique creates TL more specific, concrete, and precise than SL e.g. to translate vehicle in English to *becak, bajai, bemo, delman* in Indonesian, depending on the context of TL

#### Reduction

This technique is opposed to amplification which signifies that it suppresses information items of ST into TT. This is including omission and implication.

Example:

SL: A car accident.

TL: Kecelakaan.

The example is A car accident translated into *Kecelakaan* the information from the SL is suppressed in the TL

#### Substitution

This technique is used to substitute a paralinguistic element (signs, gestures, etc) into a linguistic element or vice versa.

SL: Both Japanese bow to each other.

TL: Ketika orang Jepang saling memberi salam.

This example Both Japanese bow to each other translated into *Ketika orang Jepang saling memberi salam*. This technique is usually used in interpreting the SL.

## **Transposition**

This technique is employed to change grammatical categories. It is including a shift of class, unit, structure, and level/rank. The following example is changing the word class from noun peace (eng) into verb berdamai (Ind).

SL: I have no control over this matter is.

TL: Aku tidak dapat mengandalikan hal ini.

No control is a noun phrase but when it is translated into Indonesian, it turns into a verb mengandalikan.

#### Variation

It refers to the change of linguistic or paralinguistic elements (intonations, gestures) which affects the linguistic variation, such as style, changes of textual tone, social and geographical dialect, etc. For example change of dialectal indicators for characters when translating for the theater.

SL: I hate you!

TL: Gue benci sama loe!

This example is I hate you! is translated into *Gue benci sama loe!* Instead of saya membenci anda!. *Gue and Loe* here have the same meaning with saya and anda, respectively but it is used typically for informal conversation in Jakarta.

The growth of international organizations and the globalization of law have increased interest in English, especially for legal documentation. The importance of legal English lies explicitly as a medium for international trade. English can be either the source language or the target language, even the medium language or relay between the source language and the target language. Legitimate English is conquering the world while other major languages are unable to replace the position of English as a "lingua franca lawyer".

Legal translation is often more difficult than other types of technical translation because of the system-bound nature of legal terminology. Unlike scientific or other technical terminology, each country has its legal terminology (based on the particular legal system of that country), which will often be quite different even from the legal terminology of another country with the same language (Dumitrescu, 2014). It means that in translating legal texts it is not easy because in the legal text there are many terms of the law that are bound by the system to make translators difficult to translate.

Translation of laws and regulations from Indonesian to English is technically carried out in three stages. The first stage in translating the laws and regulations of the Ministry / initiating institution can carry out the translation activities of legislation as needed, by involving the initiator and expert translator (certified translator) who at that stage technically translated legislation. The second stage in the translation of legislation is the stage of carrying out clarification on the design of the translation that has been submitted to the Ministry of Law and Human Rights by the ministry/institution.

The legal text is an official text or professional text in the form of statements, regulations, laws, agreements, contracts, and the like issued by a legal entity or institution. For the benefit of various parties, international institutions usually

publish contract texts in two languages; English and local languages in the country where the legal text is used. According to (Bhatia, 1987:227) legal language refers to the text used to communicate the activities of a particular professional association. Some of them are in the form of written texts in the form of advocate and client consultation, testing of counsel-witness examination and legislation, contract texts, agreements, etc used in various professional settings.

# Features of Indonesian Legal Texts

According to Sneddon (2003: 162) The Indonesian legal system is based on that of the Netherlands and many legal terms are Dutch, such as *advokat* (lawyer), *kasasi* (overturning of judgment), *kasus* (case), *pledoi* (defense), *vonis* (sentence), and *yuris* (law graduate).

# Features of English Legal Texts

Stanojevic (2011) concludes that The complexity of general features of written legal English gave rise to the demands for change. Accounts given by the chosen authors can be summarized in a bid to demonstrate whether the progress made in reforming legal English is significant or sporadic.

Immigration Law is Immigration shall mean the traffic subjects of people that enter or exit the Indonesian Territory and the control to safeguard the enforcement if state sovereignty. Today's global development has encouraged increased mobility of the world's population which has various impacts, both beneficial as well as those that harm the interests and lives of the nation and state of the Republic of Indonesia. So it needs to be regulated in the Immigration Act and its Implementation Regulations to ensure legal certainty that is in line with respect, protection, and promotion of human rights.

Translation Quality Assessment (TQA) is an important element of translation research intended to find out the quality of a translation, to identify whether a translator can produce a translation, which is accurate, acceptable, and easy to be read and not sound like a translation product. To achieve the goal of quality assessment covers among other three points, they are accuracy, acceptability, and readability. There are several parameters in assessing translation. The purpose of TQA is to measure the quality of Target Text (TT), whether it has been achieving or not. Also, House in Kammer (2018) states that equivalence is the core concept in translation quality assessment. Nababan (2012) states that three essential aspects of translation need to be assessed which are accurateness, acceptability, and readability.

#### Method

This study focuses on the results of legal text translation products using a qualitative descriptive approach method. According to Creswell, Jhon W (2009:173) states that qualitative procedures demonstrate a different approach to scholarly inquiry and methods of data analysis and interpretation. This study examined the legal text in the form of phrases, clauses, and sentences translated into English by translators from the Ministry of Law and Human Rights.

The source data of the study is the legal text of Indonesian immigration in The Law of Republic of Indonesia Number 6 of 2011 Concerning Immigration. The data focus phrases, clauses, and sentences contained in legal text in the Law of the Republic of Indonesia number 6 of 2011 Concerning Immigration. The

purpose is to analyze translation techniques, the quality of translations and describe the effects of translation techniques on the quality of the translation.

# **Findings and Discussion**

## Translation Techniques

Based on an analysis of translation techniques, the writer concluded that there were 12 translation techniques used, namely literal 64 (39%), calque 36 (22%), established equivalent 24 (14%), generalization 10 (6.2%), borrowing 9 (5.5%), linguistic amplification 4 (2.4%), particularization 2 (1.2%), transposition 5 (3.1%), compensation 1 (0.6%), modulation 3 (1.8%), reduction 2 (1.2%) adaptation 1 (0.6%).

The most dominant techniques are used in translating the law of immigration is Literal and Calque. For example in data 4 this data using literal as a technique:

SL: Pasal

TL: Article

And for data 9 this data using calque as technique for example:

SL: Direktur Jendral adalah Direktur Jendral Imigrasi.

TL: Director-General shall mean the Director General of Immigration

The data shows that literal and calque are most often used to translate of the immigration law so as to produce good quality and can be understood by the reader in terms of accuracy, acceptability and readability. For the lowest translation technique used is compensation and adaptation. The example of the data, firstly compensation technique:

SL: Izin Tinggal adalah izin yang *diberikan kepada* Orang Asing oleh Pejabat Imigrasi atau pejabat dinas luar negeri untuk berada di Wilayah Indonesia.

TL: Stay Permit shall mean *any permit provided* to the Foreigner by the Immigration Officer or Foreign Service officer for staying in the Indonesian Territory.

Secondly, the data example of adaptation technique

SL: Berdasarkan Undang Undang ini.

TL: Under this law.

The data shows that those techniques (compensation and adaptation) are rarely used because these techniques are more suitable for translating movie subtitles, song lyrics.

#### Translation Quality

Data relating to the translation quality, of legal text on immigration law was obtained from three raters by using a translation quality measurement instrument based on the parameters of accuracy, readability, and acceptability. The Translation Quality of The Translation of Legal Text on Immigration Law is almost accurate. Based on the results of the calculation of the data are found 2.77% where based on the TQA category the translation quality of the immigration law is almost accurate.

#### Accuracy

The results of data analysis regarding the quality of the translation of the legal translation on immigration law In a translation of the legal text on immigration law, there are 141 data and each of these data is analyzed to obtain the quality of the translation. Based on the results of data analysis relating to accuracy

translation (Table 1) 342 (81.5%) sentences in the source language are accurately translated into the target language.

Table 1. Translation Quality based on Accuracy

Parameter	Total	Percentage %	
Accurate	342	81%	
Quick Accurate	64	15%	
Inaccurate	16	4%	
Total	422	100%	

Furthermore, 64 (15%) sentences in the source language are translated less accurately into the target language. It means that the messages in the source language are delivered incorrectly in the target language because there are many distortions meaning and addition, removal or change of information.

#### Acceptability

Acceptability of translations in the legal text on immigration law there are 342 (81%) sentences in the source language are interpreted in an acceptable manner in the target language (Table 2). The sentences in the target language are translations that are natural, and not rigid. In addition, the sentence in the target language is not as impressed as the result of the translation because it uses rules which match the target language.

Table 2. Translation Quality based on Acceptability

Parameter	Total	Percentage %	
Acceptable	342	81%	_
Quick Acceptable	64	15%	
Unacceptable	16	4%	
Total	422	100%	

There are 64 (15%) sentences in the source language translated less acceptable in the target language. The sentences in the target language feel a bit stiff because of the unusual style and grammar found in the rules of the target language. Meanwhile, only 16 (4%) sentences in the source language are translations that are not unacceptable in the target language. The sentences at source language that feels stiff and unnatural, and feels as a result of translation. This matter caused by many unusual styles and grammar in the rules of the target language.

## Readability

Readability the results of the translation of the legal text on immigration law, 372 sentences in the target language are easy to read (Table 3).

Table 3. Translation Quality based on Readability

Parameter	Total	Percentage %	
High Level	372	89%	
Medium Level	40	9%	
Low Level	10	2%	
Total	422	100%	

In other words, 89% of sentences in the target language can be easily understood and understood by the reader. Meanwhile, only 10 (2%) sentences in the target language which is difficult to read, the sentences in the target language are difficult to understand because there are some terms that are not understood by the reader.

## Translation affects on translation quality

The average value is 2.77, which means that the quality of the translation of the legal text of immigration law is close to perfection. It means that the message is conveyed less accurately in the source language, although there are very few meaning deviations/ distortion caused by a slight addition or disappearance, no information changes information. This study is using Translation Quality Assessment by Nababan (2012) as the measure the translation quality. The translation quality includes accuracy, acceptability, and readability.

They are assessed by three raters, the scale 1 up to 3 is using as the measurement of the quality. The findings of this study show that from the aspect of accuracy, the quality of 8.31% accurate text of immigration law translation. Furthermore, from the aspect of acceptability, the quality of this text translation 5.54% is acceptable. Whereas from the aspect of acceptance, the quality of the translation of this text is 2.81% and can be easily understood. The quality of the translated text is a unity of the three parameters, which if one of the parameters is low, the quality of the translated text as a whole is also low.

# Conclusion

In this study, data were identified which were translated with single techniques, couplets, and triplets. The total data studied were 141 data. There are 121 data with a single technique, 17 couplet data techniques, triplet techniques as much as 2 data and 1 data do not have translation so the technique is not found. So, based on the research finding the writers concluded first, The most dominant translation techniques used in The Translation of Legal Text on Immigration Law are literal techniques (39%), calque (22%) and the lowest translation techniques are compensation and adaptation (0.6%). Second, the translation quality of the immigration law is almost accurate and Third, the quality of the translated text is a unity of the three parameters, which if one of the parameters is low, the quality of the translated text as a whole is also low.

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# LANGUAGE ATTITUDES AND LANGUAGE CHOICE AMONG STUDENTS IN YOGYAKARTA: A CASE STUDY AT UNIVERSITAS SANATA DHARMA

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#### **Abstract**

Yogyakarta is a multicultural city in which people from different regions and ethnicity live and well known as one of the best foreign tourist destinations in Indonesia. This situation gives an excellent opportunity for the community to communicate with others whose different cultural backgrounds, ethnicity, and language. Commonly, they talk in Javanese, the local language spoken in Yogyakarta. Meanwhile, due to the engagement with those who speak in different languages, Indonesian and English are gaining more frequent usage. Concerning this situation, this paper is to investigate the language choice among students in Yogyakarta. This study also scrutinises their language attitude toward English, colloquial Indonesian, and local languages. In achieving the objectives, a sociolinguistic questionnaire is given to 100 sample respondents who are the students of Universitas Sanata Dharma. The results show that the students have appreciative attitudes towards the colloquial Indonesian, English, and local languages. The investigation on the language choice indicates that the students choose to communicate using Indonesian. The dominance of Indonesian shifts the use of local languages.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, attitude, choice

# Introduction

Linguists agree that language and society are related to each other. Wardhaugh (2006) says that language and society may have four different relations. The first one is linguistic structure and behaviour may be determined by social structure. The second is the opposite in which the linguistic structure defines the social structure of society. The third is that society and language influence each other. While the fourth is, there is no relation between the two. Each type of these possible relation results in different situations towards the existence of language, as Holmes (2013) said that economic, social, and political factors possibly lead a community to shift from using one language to using another.

The relation between social structure and linguistic structure is reflected in the daily life of society in Yogyakarta. Living in Yogyakarta, a multicultural city in Indonesia, enables people to meet and communicate with those whose different

language and cultural backgrounds. Moreover, the existence of Yogyakarta as an international tourist destination provides more opportunity for society to mingle with others from different countries. This situation influences the choice of the language spoken by the community. Choosing the most appropriate language to use is necessary for them. In general, people use Javanese language (one of the local languages in Indonesia) to communicate with those who are Javanese and Indonesian to communicate with those from different regions in Indonesia and English when they interact with foreigners.

Nowadays, there is a tendency that the colloquial Indonesian and English are gaining more intense usage, while the use of Javanese or other local languages is fading. This situation is supported by the language policy of the government, the education system, and the globalisation. Based on the linguistic phenomenon mentioned above, we would like to test the ethnolinguistic vitality of the colloquial Indonesian, English, and local languages.

As Holmes stated, the ethnolinguistic vitality of a language might be influenced by the status of the language that is indicated by the attitude of the people toward the language, the size of the group who uses the language and their distribution, and the institutional support (Holmes, 2013, p. 66).

This paper is intended to explore the possible language shift that occurs in Yogyakarta by investigating the language attitude and language choice among students in Yogyakarta, especially at Universitas Sanata Dharma. Universitas Sanata Dharma is one of the universities in Yogyakarta whose students come from different provinces and ethnicity. They also possess various cultural and linguistic backgrounds. At this university, both Indonesian and English are compulsory subjects for all students. English is the principal medium used in classes in the English Education Department and English Letters Department.

Sociolinguistics underpins the basic theory of this research. As stated by Kridalaksana, sociolinguistics is a branch of linguistics that studies the relation between society and language (Kridalaksana, 2008). Moreover, the definition of sociolinguistics in this research refers to the following: "It has strong connections with anthropology through the study of language and culture, and with sociology through the investigation of the role language plays in the organization of social groups and institutions. It is also tied to social psychology, particularly with regard to how attitudes and perceptions are expressed and how in-group and outgroup behaviours are identified. We use all these connections when we try to analyse language from a social perspective" (Yule, 2006).

In sociolinguistics, examining the way how language is used in different social context is considered a useful way to determine not only the way language works, but also the social relationships in a particular society, as well as the way how people set up and express their social identity through the use of language (Holmes, 2013).

One topic frequently discussed in sociolinguistics is the relation between language attitude and language choice in multilingual societies. The connection between language attitude and language choice is arguable. Some sociolinguists argue that language attitude shapes and is shaped by language choice. On the other hand, others assert that language choice is the result of the language attitude of the speakers towards language. Regardless of these two opinions, language

attitude is closely associated with language choice. Holmes considers that there is no identical language attitude towards a particular language.

"People generally do not hold opinions about languages in a vacuum. They develop attitudes towards languages which indicate their views about those who speak the languages, and the contexts and functions with which they are associated. When people listen to accents or languages they have never heard before, and their assessments are totally random. There is no pattern to them. In other words, there is no universal consensus about which languages sound most beautiful and which most ugly, despite people's beliefs that some languages are just inherently more beautiful than others" (Holmes, 2013).

Furthermore, he elaborates that social and political factors have a significant influence on people's language attitudes."Attitudes to language are strongly influenced by social and political factors. Language varieties have indexing properties that all members of the community are aware of. Language planners must take account of attitudes when they select a suitable language for development as an official or national language" (Holmes, 2013).

Language attitude may also be determined based on how the community identifies and labels the language. When they have positive attitudes towards the language, they will select the language in most interactions. Meanwhile, they may be resistant to using the language when they have negative attitudes. "As a result, people develop either a positive or negative attitude to other languages based on how the community identifies and labels them. A language becomes appealing to the speakers who have a positive attitude towards it and prefer it in most interactions. On the contrary, if speakers have negative attitudes towards a language, they develop resistance in using it." (Dweik & Qawar, 2015).

In terms of language choice, Sumarsono argues that the language choice of a speaker is dependent on some factors such as participants, settings, and topics (Sumarsono, 2013, p. 199-200). Another researcher, Meyerhoff, highlights the relation between language choice and ethnolinguistic vitality. He said, in multilingual communities, different languages may have different vitality in various domains, and that the selection of the language may affect the interactional force and may imply something about the situations or the speakers.

"That is, we will see that in multilingual communities, different languages have more or less vitality in different (institutional, social or personal) domains. In multilingual settings, the choice between languages carries interactional force or implies something about the situation or the interlocutors. One language may be used for some social functions or in a specific social context, while another language is reserved for other functions and contexts. This can be called diglossia, and we will look at some communities that have been described as diglossic, including speech communities with elaborated registers that are used in different situations and with different addressees." (Meyerhoff, 2006, p. 103).

A good diglossic situation will put each of the languages in different domains. On the other side, when a language leaks into the areas which are previously reserved for the other variety, this leak may put the other array in an unfortunate situation. To be worse, this can result in a language shift. Language shift occurs when gradually one of the types spoken in a society displaces the minority language mother tongue (Holmes, 2013). When parents choose not to use their mother tongues to communicate with their children, the children will not be able to acquire their parents' mother tongues. If this situation happens continuously, it may lead to the extinction of the language, and it proves that language attitude and language choice influence the vitality of language. As said by Mohamed & Hashim (2012) "ethnolinguistic group with no or low vitality will likely lose the uniqueness of its group identity and the mother tongue".

Sasse, as quoted by Janse (2003), stated that more than half of the world's languages have died, and almost half of the remaining languages are dying. Based on the statistics published by Badan Pengembangan Bahasa dan Perbukuan, Kemendikbud RI, there are 750 languages spoken by Indonesian people. Among those languages, only 18 languages are secure (-, 2019).

This fact is an alarm for the society to be alert to language endangerment. According to Sallabank (2010), there are four factors that may trigger language endangerment. They are (1) natural catastrophes, disaster, famine, (2) war and genocide, (3) overt repressions, and (4) cultural, political, and economic dominance. The cause of language endangerment in a particular region may be different from other areas.

In general, the challenge we face today is that dominant languages (the languages with the most speakers) endanger minority languages. As revealed by Wamalwa & Oluoch (2013) they said that for about 90 per cent of the languages can be replaced by dominant languages. The threat posed by the "big five" (English, Russian, Mandarin, Hindu, and Spanish) is real and great, especially to the third world countries whose vast majority of languages are a minority. A Majority of the third world languages have not been described linguistically. The threat posed by English is underlined by its importance on the world stage in the 21st century.

Based on the criteria of who the user is, languages can be categorized as safe or endangered languages. For instance, safe languages have members of three generations. They are the children, the parents, and the grandparents who speak the language, whereas, critically endangered languages are infrequently spoken by the grandparents, or by the youngest speakers of the language (Johnson, 2011b in Carjuzaa, 2017).

Language endangerment may lead to language displacement. May (2001) stated that language displacement might occur during four processes: (1) initial language contact that leads minority status of the historically associated language, (2) bilingualism, (3) recessive use of the old style which is mainly limited to the intra-ethnic communication, and (4) unstable bilingualism that leads to the monolingualism.

Research on language attitudes and language choices has been carried out by many researchers. Kumiasari and Mbato explored the relationship between the language attitudes of students studying English as a foreign language against English and Indonesian and studied the relationship between language attitudes and educational backgrounds and study programs. In this study, it was found that respondents had positive language attitudes towards both Indonesian and English (Kumiasari & Mbato, 2018). Furthermore, the results of their study showed that respondents' language attitudes were influenced by their educational and occupational backgrounds.

Meanwhile, Dewi and Setiadi (2018), in a study entitled Language Attitude and Language Choice in Bilingual Academic Learning Environment, enhance language attitudes and language choices of English Language Study Program students at Bina Nusantara University. Their results show that students have a positive language attitude towards English because students consider that English is an international language and mastery of English will open up wider employment opportunities.

Through a language study in education conducted by Ting (2013) in Malaysia, he cites the results of the 2002 CLS survey of the perceived importance of English proficiency in social mobility among Chinese university students. The most popular languages that they considered as English with 78 per cent and 14 per cent for Chinese. The second most important language that they should learn is Chinese for 63 per cent and Malay for 18 per cent. Moreover, The third most important language is 73 per cent for Malay and 17 per cent for Chinese.

However, there is also a negative view of English users in Malaysia. Kim (2001), as quoted by Fei, W. F., Siong, L. K., Kim, L. S., & Yaacob, A. (2012) found resentment towards the use of English in Malaysia. Using English was perceived as an attempt to "show off", being "boastful", a relic of colonialism, as being elitist, and a betrayal of the Malay cultural identity and the Malay language. This resentment was also prevalent among the non-Malay students.

Different from Ting's research, Ying (2015) found that Malaysian and English do not have high vitality. Yet, vernacular languages are rated as having high vitality. It is suggested that ethnic languages dominantly shape ethnic identity.

This study is similar to the previous studies above in terms of the focus of research namely language attitudes and language choices. Nevertheless, this study differs from earlier studies because it observes the relationship between language attitudes and language choices of students at Universitas Sanata Dharma. Besides, this research does not only focus on English or Indonesian but also on the use of local languages.

#### Method

This research was a descriptive quantitative research, and was designed to answer the following research questions: (1) how the students value the local language, colloquial Indonesian, and English; and (2) what language do they use in a particular domain.

A questionnaire was designed to help the researchers obtain the data. This questionnaire includes closed questions related to the respondents' cultural background, language attitude, and language choice in particular domains. The respondents' direct self-reports based on their metalinguistic ability were applied. The design of this questionnaire is in line with what Milroy and Gordon said. "They are fundamentally metalinguistic tasks in that they rely on the respondents' ability to consider their linguistic behaviour" (Milroy & Gordon, 2003, p. 54). Therefore, the questions used in the questionnaire were categorised as closed

questions. The items were completed with some options indicating the language attitude and language choice that the respondents could choose.

The questionnaire was divided into two parts. The first part covered 17 questions which aimed to identify the respondents' language attitude towards the colloquial Indonesian, English, and local languages. The second part contained 12 items to find out the data related to the language chosen by the respondents to communicate in family, housing complex, social interaction, social media, and religious worship domains. The language options provided were the colloquial Indonesian, English, and local languages.

Linkert scales are used in questions related to the respondents' language attitudes. Every answer was given a score with a range from one to four, with a range from strongly disagree, disagree, agree, and strongly agree. Four was the highest score, and it indicated positive attitudes, whereas the lowest score, which indicated negative attitudes, was 1.

The respondents of this research are 100 randomly selected students of Universitas Sanata Dharma. This university is one of the universities in Yogyakarta whose students come from almost all provinces in Indonesia. Those students study in various departments and have different languages, ethnicity, and cultural backgrounds. The information on respondents' demographic factors such as gender, ethnicity, hometown, and mother tongue was also gathered.

## **Findings and Discussion**

The first part of the questionnaire deals with the identification of the demographic factors that may influence the language attitude and language choice of the students. The following figures describe the distribution of the respondents based on the gender and place of origin.

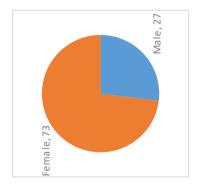


Figure 1. The distribution of the respondents based on the gender

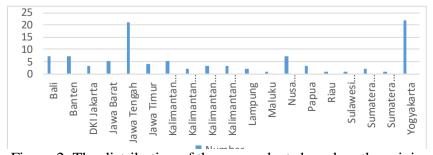


Figure 2. The distribution of the respondents based on the origin

Table 1. The demographic distribution of the respondents

Tuote 1. The dem	Least Larguage	20
	Local Language	30
Mother tongue	Indonesian	70
	English	0
Local language mastery	Yes	97
	No	3
Ethnicites hashanasınd	Mono-ethnic	73
Ethnicity background	Multi-ethnic	27
Language background of the parents	Monolingual (the Local Language mother and the	52
	father have the Indonesian mother tongue)	27
	Multilingual (the parents have different mother tongue)	21
Where to live in Yogyakarta	Boarding house with friends from different regions	67
	Boarding house with friends from the same region	3
	Living with parents	22
	Living with relatives	7

Table 1. shows that the respondents acquire different mother tongues. The dominant one is colloquial Indonesian (70%). Compared to the mother tongues of their parents, this finding is intriguing. The number of students whose parents' mother tongue is Indonesian is only 27%. It implies that more families chose to introduce Indonesian as the first language to their children, although the parents speak in local languages (52%) and come from the same ethnic groups (72%).

This condition is also reflected in the data related to the respondents' language choice, as described in the following figures.

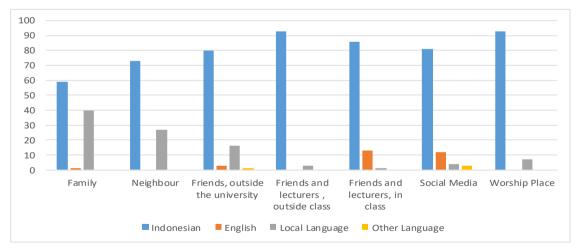


Figure 3. Language choice in particular domains

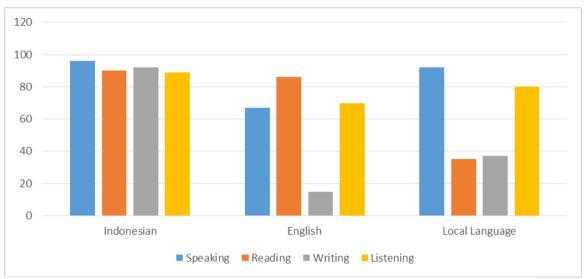


Figure 4. Language use based on the functions

Figures 2 and 3 show that Indonesian is dominant in all fields and functions. English is mostly used in class and social media, whereas local languages are used to communicate with their family, neighbours, and friends.

The second part of the questionnaire shows that the students have positive language attitudes towards Indonesian, English, and local languages though there are some points we need to highlight. The following table describes the summary of the data calculation on the language attitude.

Table 2. Language attitude

No	Statement Statement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1	Indonesian is very important for my life because it supports my study	0	1	21	88
2	Indonesian is very important for my life because it is necessary for my daily communication	0	2	25	73
3	Indonesian is very important for my life because I need it to reach my dream	0	8	30	62
4	Indonesian is very important because it is needed for international communication	6	28	40	26
5	Indonesian is very important because it can increase my prestige	17	41	32	10
6	English is very important for my life because it supports my study	0	4	37	59
7	English is very important for my life because it is necessary for my daily communication	3	22	44	21
8	English is very important for my life because I need it to reach my dream	1	5	31	63
9	English is very important because it is needed for international	0	3	17	80

10	communication English is very important because it can increase my prestige	16	31	35	18
11	The local language is very important for my life because it supports my	8	47	32	13
11	study	O	47	32	13
12	The local language is very important for my life because it is necessary for my daily communication	3	21	47	29
13	The local language is very important for my life because I need it to reach my dream	7	53	30	10
14	The local language is very important because it can increase my prestige	15	50	27	8
15	Indonesian, as the national language, should be prioritized	0	4	28	68
16	English, as an international language, should be learned	0	5	23	73
17	Local languages should be preserved by using it in daily conversations	0	4	14	82

The first point has related the importance of colloquial Indonesian, English, and local languages toward their daily life, education, and future life. The students consider Indonesian and local languages necessary for their regular communication, but Indonesian gains more appreciative language attitude. The local languages are not regarded as essential to support the respondents' study and future life, and the mastery of the local languages will not influence their prestige.

The language that the students think can increase their prestige is English. Milroy (Milroy J. 2007, 137) stated, "Speakers tend to confer prestige on usages that are considered to be those of higher social classes." In Indonesia, those who can speak in English are regarded as more educated than those who cannot. On the other side, the establishment of ASEAN Economic Community and globalisation provide more opportunity for Indonesian people to mingle with others from different countries and at the same time, force them to compete with more competitors due to the open labour market. This situation encourages Indonesian people to master English since it is needed for international communication.

The respondents agree that Indonesian, as the official language of the Republic of Indonesia, should be prioritised. This point is in line with Milroy's statement that "all standard languages have to be given some form of legitimacy, and have to be maintained and protected through authority and doctrine of correctness" (Milroy J. 2007, 138).

In terms of preserving the local languages, 96% of the students think it is necessary to protect local languages by using the language in daily communication. This attitude is also reflected in the fact that 97% of the students also use the local languages in the spoken communication.

Based on the results described above, it can be seen that colloquial Indonesian is dominant and gets positive attitude. Colloquial Indonesian is chosen more because of the dominance of the social, political, economic, and education factors.

The social element that can be identified in this research is the community does not maintain the ethnic language but they prefer to choose the national language.

The choice not to introduce local languages as the mother tongue is not by virtue a coincidence. The analysis of the respondents' hometown, parents' ethnicity and the mother tongue of the parents implies that this choice is taken for some reasons. Most respondents who acquire the colloquial Indonesian as their mother tongue live in big cities, and some of the parents seem to have moved to another town where they are required to use Indonesian. As an example, some respondents whose parents who speak Javanese (a local language spoken in Yogyakarta and Jawa Tengah) do not acquire Javanese language because their parents had moved to live in DKI Jakarta, Jawa Barat, or Sumatera Selatan. Because the parents choose not to maintain their first language, they do not introduce their ethnic language as the mother tongue of their children. As a result, the children acquire colloquial Indonesian as their mother tongue.

The dominant use of colloquial Indonesian is also the result of the government language policy that puts Indonesian as the official national language as established in the Law no 24/2009 on the National Flag, Language, Emblem, and Anthem. This political factor provides more room for Indonesian to be promoted and protected since this law enforces the use of Indonesian as the official national language used in state official documents, education institutions, international and domestic forums, working environments, company reports, names, and mass media. Moreover, Indonesian is also taught in school. It is a compulsory subject from elementary schools to high education levels. Benedict Anderson, as cited by Gal (Gal 2007, 152), explains that centralised education, general conscription, press capitalism, and national labour markets influenced the creation of standard languages that may lead to homogeneity across the national territory. This opinion is valid regarding the fact that 70% of the respondents use Indonesian as their mother tongue.

Acquiring the colloquial Indonesian gives the respondents more opportunities for their future education and jobs. It may make their life more comfortable since Indonesia is the most common language spoken by society. They will be able to communicate with others who are from different regions easily. The data shows that 67% of the respondents live in a boarding house together with friends from different areas. When they communicate with their friends, they prefer to use colloquial Indonesian than English or their local languages.

Comparing English and local languages, it can be seen that the use of local languages is more dominant than it is of English in the family, neighbourhood, and friend domains. The respondents use local languages in these domains because they considered it more intimate when they use local languages to communicate with their family, neighbours, and friends. Local languages are mostly used in speaking and listening functions. It means that they are only used in spoken discourse, and the exposure to the use of local languages is minimal. Local languages are only taught in elementary schools, junior high schools, and senior high schools.

Meanwhile, the use of English is more dominant than the use of local languages in the classroom and social media domains. This situation is triggered by the fact that in some departments at Universitas Sanata Dharma, English is used as the language of instruction in the classroom. Moreover, in this millennial

era, the use of social media enables people to interact with other people from different parts of this world.

The linguistic phenomenon occurring at Universitas Sanata Dharma shows that the colloquial Indonesian gradually displaces local languages. This situation may endanger the local languages, and if the community does not see the importance of maintaining local languages and do nothing to preserve them, we may lose them. And when we lose them, we may lose the world as Steiner said, "When a language dies. A possible world dies with it." (Steiner, 1998).

#### Conclusion

It can be concluded that the students value colloquial Indonesian, English, and local languages positively for different reasons. Indonesian and English are given positive value because they are essential for their study, daily life, international communication, and future life. Meanwhile, local languages are appreciated because they are necessary for their regular life communication.

In terms of language choice, colloquial Indonesian gains the most dominant usage since it is the national language and lingua franca in Indonesia. This dominance is influenced by social, political, educational, and economic factors. Though this situation is useful to increase the vitality of Indonesian, it may endanger the existence of local languages because the number of speakers is decreasing. The result of the analysis implies that being multicultural does not guarantee that the person will also be multilingual.

This study needs further elaboration since it only applied the direct approach and observed only the students in one university. Further research might be conducted by using the match-guise technique and observing more respondents.

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# ON SPEECH ACT PRAGMATIC: POLITICAL LANGUAGES IN 2018 ELECTIONS IN ACEH

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#### **Abstract**

This study aims to describe the speech act pragmatic analysis of political languages in outdoor advertising text of the 2018 simultaneously election in Aceh. This research used descriptive qualitative method, sources of data in the form of candidate's utterances in outdoor advertising campaign in Aceh. Language research in the pragmatic is basically divided into three stages, namely (1) the stage of providing data, (2) the stage of data analysis, and (3) the stage of presenting the results of data analysis. Based on the results of the analysis and discussion of speech act, the findings of this study showed in Pidie Jaya area are dominated by assertive/collaborative illocutionary utterances. In the South Aceh area 9 assertive illocutionary utterances, and direct illocutionary speech acts were used for 5 utterances. Whereas in the Subulussalam area there are 5 utterances in assertive/collaborative illocutionary and directive utterances. The presentation of this study, hopefully it will enrich in understanding for us in capturing the meaning of speech messages or speech acts of candidates for elections. In the end we are not trapped like the statement delivered by Charles de Gaulle, President of the French Republic "Politicians never believe in their own words, they are actually surprised when people believe it".

Keywords: Language, Political Communication, Pragmatics, Speech Act

#### Introduction

In discussions about the nature and function of language, people are often confused and mistaken in explaining these two things, because it is like two sides of an inseparable coin. Not yet finished answering the differences in the nature and functions of language, we are often challenged with the question of when the language first existed. Although this question can be answered from the views and understanding of theological groups, which says, language first existed when the first human ancestor "Adam" was created by God. On the other hand, this group's views are at odds with theories such as organic phase theory, evolution theory, dingdong theory (nativistic theory), conventionalist theory (yo-he-ho theory), bow-wow theory (onomatopoetic/echoic theory), and gesture theory (Sobur, 2013), but these theories and theological groups have common ground and

similarities in terms of explaining the meaning of the nature and function of language.

Back to the first question above, (Edwards, 2009) provides an explanation that the position of language is undoubtedly an important and commonly used real instrument, become the strongest symbol of the group, emotionally charged symbols, the main pillar of individual, social, and crucial points that are important for ethnonational movements. Even farther (Cristal, 2006) mentions that language is (1) A system, the use of sounds, signs, or symbols written in human life to communicate and express themselves, (2) A system specifically designed to program and interact with computers, (3) The means by which animals use communicating, and (4) The symbolic aspects of language (not including phonetics and phonology).

In addition to previous explanations, some experts also interpret language as a vehicle for the expression or exchange of thoughts, concepts, knowledge, and information as well as the regulation and transmission of experiences and knowledge, this understanding sees and are based on language only as a cognitive process, subject to social factors and subject to change, and historical development. The language in this definition refers only to specific forms of expression that are limited to humans, and differ from all languages as animals may use in communication, as well as artificial languages through creativity, the ability to make conceptual abstractions, and the possibility of metalinguistic reflection (linguistic theory, origin language ideas, language philosophy) (Bussmann, 2006). In addition, every meaning that is contained in the use of language, in linguistics is part of pragmatic study. According to Rowe and Diane provides pragmatics is the study of the effect of context on meaning, and it is about the practical use of language. He noted it includes the study of how people use language to establish their identities through social meaning, to express their emotions through affective meaning, to perform speech acts with performative sentences, and to carry on conversations with others (Rowe and Diane 2016).

Furthermore, (Finch, 1998) in his book found that language viewed from its function, in general can be divided into 2 functions, (1) micro functions: for the realist nerve/physical energy (pycologycal function), for socialization purposes (phatic function), to provide notes (recording function), to identify and classify things (identification function), as an instrument of thought (function of reasoning), as a means of communication of ideas and feelings (communication function), giving joy (function of pleasure), and (2) macro functions: ideational functions, interpersonal functions, poetic function, textual function.

The explanation of the language above shows the importance of understanding the nature and function of language in broader community life. The importance of this is captured by the majority of the community of political actors in carrying out propaganda, rhetoric and interpretation in the process of introducing themselves to society. The use of language functions in the political arena lately is very interesting knowledge to understand. The use of good language plays a big role in building a person's image. In the political community circle, language is very important to learn and understand so that it can build good political communication with voters and sympathizers. In delivering campaign promises, political actors must be smart and observant in compiling diction that is used so that they are easily trusted by the public. Even though in politics there is

an adage that states 'politicians may not keep their promises at the time when elected', therein the power of language that can propagate and hypnotize voters to believe something that is absurd/impossible to achieve from the promises made. Language in politics is very important to be master, especially the situation in the post-reform euphoria atmosphere, one of which gave birth to direct elections: presidential elections, regional heads, DPD/ DPR/ DPRD.

This democratic system provides a space for anyone to participate in the national political arena. This has an impact on how individuals or pairs of candidates are able to branding themselves in order to get positive sentiment in the midst of society. Immediate political figures mushroomed from imaging methods, such as building a populist attitude, working hard, anti-corruption, modest, charismatic, and other opinions from such angles that are popular in society these days. In building self-image, a politician can not be separated from the influence and development of ICT (Information and Communication Technology), such as television, radio, internet, social media, online media, print media and other advertising media. To use these media must be supported by the mastery and use of appropriate and qualified language (written language, oral language, and body language). Language plays an important role in sending propaganda messages so that the listener receives well, which in turn can become a candidate sympathizer. Imaging operations with the help of media and language have a significant influence in building the atomic electability of candidates in attracting voter support.

One of the political communication media that is currently effective in taking the attention of the public in sending messages and the intended purpose is outdoor advertising media (billboards), because outdoor advertising is always seen in people's daily activities throughout the day. This fact cannot be avoided from the way of life of today's consumer society. The use of outdoor advertising media was initially widely used by companies to introduce the products they made. They realized that advertising media such as billboards, banners, and posters were one of the most effective outdoor advertising media to introduce (branding) products, because this media directly touches the customer. In addition, companies understand that billboards are a form of communication and promotional propaganda that offers great promises to consumers through informative and persuasive messages that offer products that are said to be exceptional to consumers, with relatively low promotional costs from the other media.

The reasons about language plays in sending propaganda messages with the help of media, like as outdoor advertising media (billboards) become a phenomenon that is captured and used by political consultants and political actors in 2018 elections in Aceh, from 16 candidates' pair in Aceh (Pidie Jaya, South Aceh, and Subulussalam) used language in the realm of pragmatic studies. To conduct political communication, politicians generally use advertising media, especially outdoor promotional media to propagate Aceh voters/people. Speech text in outdoor advertising media tends to use the meaning of speech act implications to promote them and convey their views, vision and mission to participate in the political arena. The way of self-recognition through advertising media is expected to be able to hypnotize the audience and readers to capture the message and the intended intention can be achieved. Correspondingly, Aceh

politicians believe in the language used in promotional media must be selective and contain hidden, implied, or folded meanings, but the people who read it are able to recognize the goals and objectives spoken by the candidate in the outdoor advertising media. Examples of the selection of speech act used on the 2018 Aceh election billboards are found to have implicative meanings behind them, as shown in figures (1) and (2) below.





In line with the explanation above, this study addressed research questions are (1) analysis of implied speech acts, (2) what functions of speech acts used, and (3) the trend of selected of implied speech acts concept used on political languages in outdoor advertising text of the 2018 simultaneously election in Aceh (Pidie Jaya, Subulussalam and South Aceh)?. The benefits of this research are expected to contribute to the analysis of the development of pragmatic studies. It is also intended to provide knowledge and perception, most important for people who making smart political choices from the discourse of politicians that we consider relevant to the situation.

# Language and Language Function in Politics

Politics in the simplest meaning can be interpreted as an art in managing public and economic resources, then utilized in achieving a position of power or the position of public policy makers both in the legislative and executive domains. In line with the political understanding above, the functions and processes of communication in the political arena are important to be controlled by politicians in their daily activities to maintain electability in the eyes of the public or their constituents. In the political world of shrewdness to play the situation or condition, demanding a politician must be able to compose winged words or sentences according to the context where and when he is, so that the message delivered can be received by the public even though sometimes behind that message there are other goals and intentions.

So it is true the expression of previous world figures about political/ politician relations with language skills, such as the words of Oscar Ameringer, writer and socialist activist of German heritage in the US "politics is the fine art of getting votes from the poor and campaign funds from the rich, by promising to protect one of the others ", besides Ernest Benn, the British political writer said" politics is the art of seeing problems, finding them whether they exist or not, diagnosing them incorrectly, and applying the wrong recipes "," the heaviest thing in political campaigns anything is how to win without proving that you are not worthy of winning "stated Adlai Stevenson, US Vice President.

Specifically (Joseph, 2006) in his book explains that language and politics are very closely related. He states there are three functions of language in politics: (1) rhetoric, (2) propaganda, and (3) interpretation. Rhetoric is a system and investigation of stylitis tools of various official languages. This function is commonly used by the government or politicians in speeches whose aim is to convince and eliminate people's anxiety in a mild form. Propaganda itself is an activity carried out by government or politicians in the form of agitation, invitation, campaign, persuasion, promotion, publicity, proclaiming, humming, shouting, heralding, promoting, bruit a bout, advertising, roaring an issue. While interpretation is a theoretical view of something, giving an impression, opinion, or view based on a theory of something, interpretation, interpreting.

Additional view, the function of language in politics according to (Blumler, 2019; Gould, 1998) Campaigning is holistic, it is a complete activity involving every element of the political experience, to successful campaigns must get not just a single element right, they have to get everything right. Gould also said, campaigning is about message, people think that message means just a few words, often repeated, but message is much more: it is the rationale that underlies your campaign (Gould, 1998). Also in the Indonesian Thesaurus dictionary interpretation is the definition, explanation, exposition, clarification, paraphrase, understanding, reading, arrest, explanation, version, translation, interpreting, associating, paraphrasing, clarifying, clarifying, defining, and formulating (Pusat Bahasa Departemen Pendidikan Nasional, 2008).

Furthermore, (Arifin, 2003) adds that, there are several forms of political communication carried out by political communicators to achieve their political goals, such as: (a) political agitation, (b) public relations (PR), (c) political campaigns, (d) political lobbying. The language functions conveyed by Arifin and Josep are in line with words of wisdom once conveyed by such as, George Eliot, English novelist "Elections are coming again, universal peace is echoed, and the fox (coyote) shows a sincere interest in extending the life of birds that are became his meal, "even Saul Bellow, US men of letters, Nobel laureate, revealed" look at our politicians: they are a group of yo-yo, seizing the current presidential position like a cross between popularity contests and high school children's debates, with encyclopedias containing cliches ", not much different Nikita Khrushchev, the Prime Minister of the Soviet, even more scattered sentences responding to politicians "politicians are the same everywhere, they promised to build bridges even in places where there are no rivers".

With the explanation above and the description of such conditions, language and politics are very closely related to perpetuating power. Incorrect language use will be fatal for the seat of power and electability of a politician in the eyes of the people who will ultimately be left behind by the voters in the next contestations of political struggle.

# The Purpose of Political Communication

The ultimate goal of the form of political communication above will be conical to the function of the achievement of communication by political communicators to political communicants, in the hope of having a significant effect and getting positive specimens. However, scientists specifically set explicit limits on the objectives of political communication as: (a) political imagery, (b) general opinion, (c) political participation, (d) political socialization, (e) political

education, (f) political recruitment, (Arifin, 2003). Political talk is an informal mode of political engagement that ultimately promotes participatory democracy. Political talk may not only induce subsequent campaign participation but also may involve a level of psychological engagement such as political self-efficacy, which in turn results in a greater activity in campaign (Kim & Baek, 2018).

To achieve all forms of political communication or political goals mentioned earlier, candidates or politicians must see, understand and consider things that are developing at the grassroots, such as, (1) understanding what voters are looking for, (2) building and marketing relationships emotional with the community, (3) producing images of candidates, (4) using one main vision to connect with candidates 'problems and personalities, (5) talking about voters' problems, not your own, (6) voters constantly want change, (7) ) getting support from party elites, (8) marketing yourself to the media (Kaid, 2004).

## Political Communication Media

Current developments such as the Information Era are encouraging the use of television, radio, internet, social media, online media, print media and advertisement media in conducting political communication. One of the political communication media that is currently effective and with relatively inexpensive promotion costs from other media in taking the public's attention to send messages and political objectives is to use outdoor advertising media (billboards). Indeed, advertising billboards are highly conspicuous due to their size, colouration, and location usually near major roads. The outdoor advertising industry promotes billboards as attention-grabbing, for example: out-of-home advertising provides visual impact that commands complete attention, and offers total cut-through, it might therefore be expected that they would distract attention from the driving task (Edquist, Horberry, Hosking, & Johnston, 2011; Eyecorp, 2004).

Billboards are outdoor signs or posters that are usually seen on highways, busy streets. Billboards lately are widely used in sending advertising messages related to political campaigns, product marketing, and for non-profit purposes. In use there are four types of billboards, namely traditional billboards, mechanical billboards and newer types including digital and mobile billboards (Filiquarian, 2008). How to self-introduction through this advertising medium is relatively able to hypnotize the audience and readers to capture the message and the intent to be conveyed properly. Other advantages in using billboards according to textbook authors and academic researchers have identified (e.g., Charles, George and Hae-Kyong, 2013; Kelley and Jugenheimer 2004; Sissors and Baron, 2002; Taylor, 1997; Vanden Bergh and Katz, 1999; Woodside, 1990). The advantages of using billboards include, among other things: (1) potential placement of the advertisement close to the point of sale, (2) high frequency of exposure to regular commuters, (3) high reach, (4) 24-hour presence, (5) geographic flexibility for local advertisers, (6) economic efficiency in terms of low production costs and low cost per thousand exposures, (7) visual impact from advertisement size and message creativity, and (8) brand awareness.

#### **Pragmatics**

Pragmatics is a branch of linguistics studies, according to (Thomas, 1995:2) suggested that some pragmaticians take "a broadly cognitive approach" studying constraints on the interpretation of relevant meaning by the receiver of the message, while others take "a broadly social view of the discipline" focusing on

social constraints on speaker meaning. Her own definition highlights the dynamic nature of the process of meaning-making in context: she defines pragmatics as the study of "meaning in interaction" (1995: 22). In any even, point out pragmatics explains how individuals use linguistic resources to produce and interpret meaning in interaction, and sometimes to change relationships (Holmes, 2018). Indeed, pragmatics is a branch of semiotics that studies the origin, usage, impact of symbols and signs. According to Leech and Thomas (in Kasper, 2001) pragmatics classified into two elements, they are: (1) pragmalinguistics refers to the resources or pragmatic strategies such as "directness and indirectness, routines, and other range of linguistic forms which can soften or intensify communicative acts" for conveying communicative acts and relational on interpersonal meanings. (2) Sociopragmatics described by (Leech, 1991: 10) as the sociological interface of pragmatics, referring to the social perceptions underlying participant's interpretation and performance of communicative action.

The previous explanation is in line with Yule, he gives a view in many ways, one of which is pragmatics is the study of the meaning of "invisible", or how we recognize what intentions and goals are in communication interactions even when they are not explicitly said or written by speakers (Yule, 1996). Yule's explanation is actually something that is commonly experienced in daily life, because in communication itself many things that actually do not need to be said or written clearly, but can provide a sign that provides the same interpretation and understanding by the listener with the context of communication delivered speaker in social interaction, and the goals in the act of communication is mutual understanding of the meaning discussed.

#### Speech Acts

Actions taken or actions delivered through speech, speech action comes from interpreting an utterance in speech act activities. According to (Huang, 2007: 93), the principle of speech act theory is when a sentence is spoken then it is part of the action within the framework of agreement in society, or it can be said that saying is (part of) doing, or words are (part of) deeds. In 1962 Austin introduced the modern study of speech acts with the thesis *How to Do Things with Words*, published at Harvard in 1955 by William James Lectures version. In the study of theory (Austin, 1962: 101; 1975: 94) speech act consists of (1) locutionary (locution), (2) illocution/force (3) perlocutionary. Locutionary (locution): the meaning contained in the utterance according to syntax. Illocution/force: speech act that contains the intent by the speaker to whom, where, and when the speech acts were carried out, and perlocutionary: means speech acts whose speech is intended to influence the speech partners. He illustrates the distinction between these kinds of acts with the (now politically incorrect) example of saying "Shoot her!," which he trisects as follows:

Speech Act (1) or Locution

He said to me "Shoot her!" meaning by *shoot* "shoot" and referring by *her* to "her."

Speech Act (2) or Illocution

He urged (or advised, ordered, etc.) me to shoot her.

Speech Act (3) or Perlocutionary

He persuaded me to shoot her.

To enrich our understanding the different types of classifications of speech acts by expert opinions from time to time, such as Austin (1962) mention classifications of speech acts are (expositives, commissives, exercitives, verdictives, behabitives), Vendler (1972) (expositives, commissives, interrogatives, exercitives, operatives, verdictives, behabitives), Searle (1975) (representatives, commissives, directives, declarations, expressives), Bach & Harnish (1979) (constatives, commissives, directives, effectives, verdictives, acknowledgements), Allan (1994) classify the speech act into (statements, invitationals, authoritatives, expressives) (Allan, 1998: 11). Whereas (May, 2001: 117) explain speech acts classification.

- a) Directives are attempts by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. They express what the speaker wants; typical representatives are commands, orders, requests, suggestions, etc., such as I warn you to stay away from my house!; Mum, can I have a cookie, two please?
- b) Representatives commit the speaker to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition, typically statements, assertions, conclusions, descriptions, etc., such as The earth is flat; It's cold here; Chomsky didn't like butterflies.
- c) Expressives are used to express the psychological state of the speaker. They state what the speaker feels and can be statements of joy, pain, sorrow etc., but also expressions of thanking, apologizing, welcoming, congratulating, etc., such as I congratulate you on winning the race; I'm really sorry; YESSS!
- d) Declarations effect immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs, i.e., they change the world via the utterance. The speaker has to have a special institutional role, in a specific context, in order to be able to perform a declaration appropriately; typical examples include excommunicating, declaring war, marrying, firing from employment, nominating, etc.
- e) Commissives commit the speaker to some future course of action. They express what the speaker intends: typically, promises, threats, refusals, offerings, etc., such as I promise that I'll be home at six; I'll be back; I will not marry you.

#### Method

This research uses descriptive qualitative method. The approach taken to the subject is a pragmatic approach. In the pragmatic approach, what is examined is the form of speech acts in the context of speaker's utterances in self-introduction (branding) in the 2018 simultaneous local election campaign in Aceh. Language research in the pragmatic implicature is basically divided into three stages, namely: (1) the stage of providing data, (2) the stage of data analysis, and (3) the stage of presenting the results of data analysis. The study was conducted in the Aceh Pidie area, South Aceh and the City of Subulussalam. Research time is not limited, but the time of data collection is done for 30 days because of the limitations of manpower and available material. The data source is utterances of the election participants in outdoor aids (billboards).

## **Findings and Discussion**

Regarding the total data of 32 billboards, political ads are taken respectively 2 from 16 candidate pairs of regional head candidates who competed in the 2018 simultaneous local elections in Aceh.

# Language Approach in Political Branding in the 2018 elections in Aceh

# A. Language Implications Candidates in Pidie Jaya

- 1. Yusri Yusuf-Saifullah
- Adil, Sejahtera, Bermartabat Mewujudkan Kejayaan Pidie Jaya

In the above discourse the speaker wants to convey a message about himself, such as having a person who will be fair from various things. This candidate also tells that to achieve regional welfare must be fair and in dignified ways. In the implicature speech act study, the text above is called assertive/collaborative illocutionary speech acts, where the speaker expresses a message, for example; states, informs, suggests, boasts, complains, demands, reports.

## - Bersatu Berjuang Insyaallah Menang

The above discourse is a form of utterance that implies asking the community to be with the speaker and notifying the public to participate in supporting and assisting speakers in winning the elections. The conversational implicature above is an assertive/collaborative illocution.

#### 2. Aiyub Abbas-Said Mulyadi (Asli)

# - Pilih No 2, Asli Lanjutkan

The words in the text above are directive illocutionary acts, the hidden meaning behind the text is ordering, asking, suggesting, encouraging, advising the person reading to have some effect through the actual actions of the person reading, thus dropping political choices on the speaker. The text above also has a saved meaning, that is, the speaker is the regional leader at this time and there is a desire of this candidate to continue his leadership for the next period. This action is called assertive illocutionary expression of desire to state, inform, suggest, boast, complain, demand, report.

## - Bersama Kita Bisa Membangun Pidie Jaya

The above discourse is a form of utterance that contains the intention of informing the public to work together with speakers to build Pidie Jaya, and to demand the community to participate in supporting and assisting speakers in the election. The conversational implicature above is an assertive/collaborative illocution.

# 3. Muhibbudin M Husen - M Yusuf Ibrahim

#### - Pilih No 3

Utterance in the text above is a directive illocution, the folded meaning behind the text is ordering, ordering, asking, asking, suggesting, encouraging, advising the person reading to have an effect through the real actions of the person reading, thus dropping political choices on the speaker.

#### - Coblos No 3

The speech in this text is a directive illocution.

#### 4. Muhammad Yusuf-Anwar Ishak

#### - YUSAR Selera Rakyat

The hidden meaning in the discourse above contains the message that the speaker is building himself up in a society that does not know this couple. The speaker conveys that he is the person expected and in accordance with the expectations of the Pidie Jaya community at this time. This expression is an assertive illocution which involves the speaker in the truth of the proposition expressed, for example stating, telling, suggesting, boasting, complaining, demanding, reporting.

## - Menuju Pidie Jaya yang Islami Adil, Bersih dan Merata

From this text, the speech act used by the speaker to the speech partner is assertive illocution. Its function is to convey information and expect the speech partner to take concrete actions to make choices to the speaker. The message sent by the speaker is that the speaker supports Pidie Jaya which is more Islamic, personal and government that will be clean or free of corruption, and that all people will get equitable development and services.

Judging from the form of speech acts in outdoor advertising in the Pidie Jaya area is dominated by assertive/collaborative illocutionary utterances. Found assertion illocution utterances as many as 5 utterances, then acts of directive illocutionary acts is 3 actions, and there is 1 outdoor advertisement whose contents are a mixture of assertive illocution and directive illocution.

#### B. Language Implications of Candidates in South Aceh

1. Tgk Husen Yusuf SPd I – DR Mustafril Msi

#### - Humus Harapan Kita Semua

The speech acts in this text are called assertive illocutionary speech acts, where a message informs and states that the candidate is an option for the people of South Aceh for the next five years.

#### - Humus Numor 1

This text is an assertive illocutionary utterance, with a message stating, informing, and reporting that the couple got number 1 in the South Aceh elections.

## 2. H, Azwir S.sos – Tgk Amran

#### - AZAM Aceh Selatan Hebat!

This text gives a message in the form of a statement, if South Aceh wants better and leads to a greater direction, it must join and make a choice on the candidate in the South Aceh elections. This action is called assertive illocutionary action.

# - Mohon doa dan Dukungan Pilkada Aceh Selatan 2018

The words in the text above are directive illocutionary, the hidden meaning behind the text is ordering, pleading, asking, suggesting, encouraging, and advising the community who read the aid to impose political choices on the speaker.

## 3. Drs. Zulkarnaini M.Si - M Jasa

#### - Coblos No 3

The statement in the text above is a directive illocution.

#### - Pilih No 3

The speech act above is a directive illocution.

#### 4. Darman SP MM – Baital Makmur SE

#### - Aceh Selatan Mandiri

This text gives a message in the form of a speaker's statement to bring South Aceh into a stronger situation and have regional independence that has not yet been reached. Speakers demand to join and make choices on this candidate. This action is called assertive illocutionary action.

#### - Sahabat Samba No 4

This statement is called assertive illocution, seen from the act of notifying.

## 5. HT Sama Indra SH – Drs H Harmaini Msi

## - Mohon Doa Dan Dukungan Coplos No 5

The text above is a directive illocution, behind the text is ordering, asking, asking, suggesting, encouraging, advising people who read.

#### - Pasangan Putih (Pilihan Utama Teuku Sama Indra – Harmaini)

This statement is called assertive illocution.

#### 6. H Mirwan MS SE – Zirhan SP

# - Salam Perubahan Aceh Selatan Periode 2018-2023

This text is an assertive illocution.

# - Menuju Aceh Selatan Sejahtera

The speech act in outdoor advertising is assertive illocution.

#### 7. H Karman BA SE – Afdhal Yasin

## - Maju Bersama Rakyat

This text is an assertive or collaborative illocutionary speech act "stating, informing, suggesting, boasting, complaining, demanding, reporting", the folded message of this speech is that the speaker reminds the speech partner as a family, so it is obliged to unite, help each other, care for each other in this political celebration to achieve the goal of winning the election together with speakers.

## - Coblos Pilihan Rakyat 7

The words in the text above are directive illocution, ordering, asking, suggesting, encouraging, and advising people who read to make political choices on the speaker.

The pattern of speech acts in outdoor advertising political campaigns in the South Aceh region is almost the same as in the Pidie Jaya area. The assertive illocutionary/collaborative form of speech dominates, it is found that the assertion of illocutionary speech is 9 utterances, and the directive illocutionary acts is 5 utterances.

# C. Language Implications of Candidates in Subulussalam City

- 1. drh. Jalaluddin Wagiman (JAWARA)
- Pilih No 1

The statement in the text above is a directive illocution.

#### - Coblos No 1

The statement in the text above is a directive illocution.

#### 2. Hj. Sartina NA, SE MSi - Dedi Anwar Bancin SE (MeSADA)

# - Kita MeSADA Membangun Kota Subulussalam

This speech act is assertive illocutionary utterance.

# - Munuju Subulussalam Hebat!!

From this text, the speaker's message to the speech partner is Subulussalam will be great if led by the speaker, this speech act is called a collaborative or assertive illocution, the purpose of this illocution for propositions submitted, such as: stating, informing, suggesting, complaining, demanding, reporting, and reporting.

# 3. H. Asmauddin SE - Hj. Asmidar S Pd (Hamas)

# - HAMAS Salam Perjuangan

This statement contains assertive illocution.

#### - Pilih No 3

The statement in the text above is a directive illocution.

# 4. H. Anasri ST MT - Ustaz Sabaruddin S Pd I

#### - Coblos No 4

The statement in the text above is a directive illocution.

#### - Adil & Amanah

The text of speech acts above uses collaborative or assertive illocutionary acts, evidenced by speech characteristics such as, stating, informing, suggesting, boasting, complaining, demanding, and reporting. So the message sent by the speaker is to state that the speaker is an individual who is fair in life, and is a trustworthy person. The characteristics conveyed are the candidates for leaders needed.

5. H. Affan Alfian Bintang SE - Drs Salmaza MAP

9

5

Pilih No 5

The statement in the text above is a directive illocution.

Bisa Bintang Salmaza

This speech act is assertive illocutionary utterance.

Political campaign speech acts found in outdoor advertising in the Subulussalam area, there are an equal number of assertive/collaborative illocutionary utterances and directive utterances. Present 5 assertion illocution utterances, and exist directive illocutionary acts used as many as 5 utterances.

The message of speech act in the billboards text used has an implicit meaning behind it. In summary we can see the existence of the illocution act in the table below.

Illocutionary Acts Assertive Directive Mix Assertive and Directive Pidie Jaya 5 3

5

5

Table 1. Types of Speech Acts in outdoor advertising in Aceh

Judging from the form of speech acts in outdoor advertising in the Pidie Jaya area is dominated by assertive/collaborative illocutionary utterances. Found 5 assertive illocution utterances, then acts of directive illocutionary is 3 actions, and there is 1 outdoor advertisement whose contents are a mixture of assertive and directive illocution. In the South Aceh area, it is almost the same as in the Pidie Jaya area, the assertive illocutionary/collaborative form of utterances dominates, it is found 9 utterances, and 5 utterances in the form of directive illocution. Furthermore, in the Subulussalam area there are an equal number of assertive/collaborative illocutionary utterances and directive utterances, each of which uses 5 speech acts.

#### Conclusion

Area

South Aceh Subulussalam

Political languages of the 2018 simultaneously election in Aceh clearly uses pragmatic study. The speech act in the billboards text used has an implicit meaning, advertising text on political branding puts the power of language as a tool of rhetoric, propaganda, and interpretation to build a self-image that aims to attract voters/public. Public understanding of the implicative speech act meaning in political campaign advertising is very supportive in making smart political choices from the discourse of politicians that we consider relevant to the situation. Of course, with other information and the support of the candidate's track record so far is a shared responsibility in making choices. The people are expected not to be trapped as insinuation by Charles de Gaulle, President of the Republic of France "Politicians never believe in their own words, they are actually surprised if people believe it". ". And the chosen one "Truly the best of men for thee to employ is the (man) who is strong and trustworthy." (QS. Al-Qashas: 26).

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# TETUN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN EAST TIMOR FORMER REFUGEE COMMUNITY

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#### **Abstract**

This study was conducted with the aims of: (1) describing the use of Tetun Language in East Timor former refugees community Manusak village and (2) describing the factors of Tetun Language's maintenance in Manuasak village. This research uses the sociolinguistic approach, the method used is descriptive qualitative method. The results of the study show that: (1) Tetun is still survives so far as it has migrated for 20 years from its native land. Of the 132 informants interviewed, 86.36% of informants used Tetun Language as a lingua franca with different age categories. For partner selection, 71.21% of informants use Tetun Language when communicating with family members and neighbors. Then 58% of informants use Tetun Language when communicating with family members, neighbors, and coworkers, while 21.21% of informants use the language when communicatin with family members, closest neighbors and game friends. The topics chosen were: (1) 59.09% of informants chose topic about daily life activities, 9.1% chose topics about daily life and some topics that are related to work, 14.4% of informants chose topics about daily life, economic topics, political topics, religious topics, and work topics, 6.81% of informants chose topics about daily life, topics about education, economic topics, political topics, topics about religion, and topics about work, and 10, 60% of informants chose topics about daily life, topics about education, religious topics and work topics. For the domains of using Tetun Language, then Tetun Language is used in the family domain, neighborhood and at the workplace. Next are the factors caused the maintenance of Tetun Language: loyalty to mother tongue, pride in using Tetun Language, family supporting environment and regional conservation.

Keywords: Language Maintenance, Speech Community, East Timor, Former Refugee

# Introduction

East Nusa Tenggara community (ENT) is known as a language community that has an epic and unique linguistic features. Spread across the eastern part of Indonesia, homogeneous ENT communities have hundreds of local languages. Those languages are used as the communication tools among the speakers, both in

the language geographical area or outside it. The habit of using the local languages show the dynamics of language communities in ENT province. As in one of the districts in ENT, namely Kupang district, there is a youngest ethnic group that comes from Timor Loro Sae, or it is common known as the Democratic Republic of East Timor (RDTL). On 30 August 1999, the people of Timor Leste (then known as East Timor) chose to separate from the Republic of Indonesia, through a referendum that was supported by the United Nations (UN). Because of the referendum, the Indonesian National Army (TNI) worked together with the anti-East Timorese Independence organization to evacuate more than 300,000 of East Timorese people to depart from East Timor. Therefore, there were about 3.000 moved to Kupang district, thus the majority of ex-refugee from East Timor inhabit in several areas and villages in Kupang district. Those villages are Noelbaki, Tuapukan, Oebelo and Manusak village. In daily life the ex-East Timorese people use Tetun (abbreviated into TL) and Kupang Malay (abbreviated into KML) as a means of communication among the fellow citizens.

The high contact interaction among ex-East Timorese and the indigenous people of Kupang district who come from various ethnic, cultural and linguistic backgrounds could cause a language competition. Then a language competition itself could form a language maintenance or a language shift. A language is said to experience a shift when a community begins to leave its traditional language (local language or mother tongue). Sumarsono, (2011) stated that a language shifting are two sides of a coin, because these phenomenan are two phenomenan that occur simultaneously. Still according to Sumarsono (2011) the language shift occurs when a language changes its position as the first language in its' communication area. Meanwhile, a language maintenance is the strength of a language to stand in its position as a lingua franca, so that it cannot be interchangeable or displaced from surrounding languages.

In general, language maintenance is defined as the decision of a language community to use a language collectively from a generation to generation (Fasold: 1984). Jendra (2012: 26) stated that although there are some conditions that affect a language community to use another language, but if the community is not easily in using that other language, then a language maintenance has been occurred. Conversely, if a language community does not have the awareness to preserve its language, it will accelerate the extinction of their local language.

Judging from the history of former East Timor refugee communities (from 1999 - 2018) in several villages in Kupang District, the language and cultural adaptation must have occurred both in terms of language, culture and tradition. However, there is an interesting linguistic phenomenon that occurs in Manusak village, the use of TL is quite high. Almost all the children who were born in Manusak village by the former refugee's parents acquired TL as their first language, then they acquire KML as their second language.

TL maintenance phenomenon in the midst of the competition of varied local languages in Manusak village is very interesting to study. Especially, a contact between TL and KML will automatically become an obstacle to the language pattern and the language attitudes in that community. If a speech interaction of ex-East Timorese community groups involves the members of the same ethnic group, then the verbal communication patterns is tend to use TL. Conversely, if the interactions between ex-East Timorese communities involve the members of

different ethnic groups, then the communication pattern will be marked by using KML. Furthermore, the effectiveness of TL speakers might show their partiality towards TL maintained, therefore this research must be carried out to unmask the phenomenon of TL survival in Manusak village. Practically, this research is expected to build a positive language awareness so it can play its role as a marker of ethnic identity, both in social role and communication tool.

By carrying out this research the researcher hopes that TL can be accepted by all residents of Kupang district as one of the local languages in the Kupang district. With the acceptance of TL, it is hoped that the former refugees from East who live in Manusak Village can also be accepted as part of other Kupang district communities, so that local conflicts between the indigenous people and the former refuges can be minimized. Furthermore, this research is also expected to be used as reference material or consideration in the framework of developing languages in ENT Province. Moreover, according to UNESCO, every year there are ten regional languages that are experiencing extinction (Antara News Report 2009: 01). The extinction of regional languages in Indonesia is caused by a variety of factors, therefore understanding of the importance of the diversity of regional languages in Indonesia in general and in Kupang Regency in particular must be improved. One effort that must be done to prevent language extinction is by maintaining the language. The preservation of local languages, including TL, as the nation's cultural wealth which is passed down from generation to generation, through a long historical journey, really needs to be improved in order to prevent the extinction of these languages. Hopefully this research can change the skeptical perspective on the importance of teaching local languages to the younger generation.

# Method

This study uses a sociolinguistic approach, which is an approach that examines language in relation to the community, or the behavior of certain groups or language communities, not individuals (Wardhaugh and Fuller, 2015: 2). In accordance with the character of the problem examined, the method used is a qualitative descriptive method to obtain actual and natural exposure to TL maintenance. The research had been conducted in Manusak Village (± 71 km from Kupang City), East Kupang District, Kupang Regency, East Nusa Tenggara Province. The time of research is in April – July 2019.

The subjects in this study were 153 of ex-East Timorese who inhabitants in the housing complex built by the Indonesian government in RT 15 / RW 06 Manusak Village since 2011.

The data collection was carried out in several ways, namely: 1) Interview by referring to the list of questions prepared in accordance with the objectives of the study. The composition of the questionnaire contains the reasons for choosing the language of the informant by formulating the question of who is speaking to whom, what is the topic of the conversation, in what situations and in what areas is the language used. An unstructured interview was conducted to obtain information relating to the problem; 2) Researchers conducted participant observation and non-participant observation; 3) Mini survey to support qualitative data on language selection, topics of conversation and speech partners. Then in the data analysis techniques, the researcher involved five components, namely

transcribing recorded data, identifying data, classifying and tabulating data, analyzing data, and drawing conclusions.

## **Findings and Discussion**

#### The Use of TL

To find out the choice of languages used, the researchers asked about the choice of languages (Tetun abbreviated into TL, Indonesian abbreviated into I, Kupang Malay abbreviated into KML and Other Local Languages abbreviated into OLL), the speech partner (family members, neighbors, classmates, coworkers and strangers) and the topics (daily, economic, social, political, education, health, etc.). There are 132 informants, the following are the presentations of the tabulated data the discussion.

# Language Choices

Tabel 1. Language Choices

Total	<u>%</u>									
<b>Informants</b>		- TL		<u> </u>	<del>%</del>	KML	<b>%</b>	OLL	<b>%</b>	<b>Total</b>
22	16.6	19	86,4	0	0	3	13,6	0	0	100
21	15.9	19	90,5	0	0	2	9,52	0	0	100
13	9.8	10	76,9	0	0	3	23.1	0	0	100
44	33.3	37	84,1	0	0	7	15,9	0	0	100
32	24.4	29	90,6	0	0	0	0	3	9,38	100
132	100									
	22 21 13 44 32	22     16.6       21     15.9       13     9.8       44     33.3       32     24.4	Informants       22     16.6     19       21     15.9     19       13     9.8     10       44     33.3     37       32     24.4     29	Informants       22     16.6     19     86,4       21     15.9     19     90,5       13     9.8     10     76,9       44     33.3     37     84,1       32     24.4     29     90,6	Informants       22     16.6     19     86,4     0       21     15.9     19     90,5     0       13     9.8     10     76,9     0       44     33.3     37     84,1     0       32     24.4     29     90,6     0	Informants           22         16.6         19         86,4         0         0           21         15.9         19         90,5         0         0           13         9.8         10         76,9         0         0           44         33.3         37         84,1         0         0           32         24.4         29         90,6         0         0	Informants       22     16.6     19     86,4     0     0     3       21     15.9     19     90,5     0     0     2       13     9.8     10     76,9     0     0     3       44     33.3     37     84,1     0     0     7       32     24.4     29     90,6     0     0     0	Informants           22         16.6         19         86,4         0         0         3         13,6           21         15.9         19         90,5         0         0         2         9,52           13         9.8         10         76,9         0         0         3         23.1           44         33.3         37         84,1         0         0         7         15,9           32         24.4         29         90,6         0         0         0         0	Informants           22         16.6         19         86,4         0         0         3         13,6         0           21         15.9         19         90,5         0         0         2         9,52         0           13         9.8         10         76,9         0         0         3         23.1         0           44         33.3         37         84,1         0         0         7         15,9         0           32         24.4         29         90,6         0         0         0         0         3	Informants       22     16.6     19     86,4     0     0     3     13,6     0     0       21     15.9     19     90,5     0     0     2     9,52     0     0       13     9.8     10     76,9     0     0     3     23.1     0     0       44     33.3     37     84,1     0     0     7     15,9     0     0       32     24.4     29     90,6     0     0     0     0     3     9,38

NB: TL (Tetun Language), I (Indonesia), KML (Kupang Malay Language), OLL (Other Local Languages)

By looking at table (1) above, we got the results of the language choices based on the age categories as follows:

- 1. From 22 informants whose age is under 18 years there are 19 informants or around 86.4% of the informants answered that TL is the only language choice that they use everyday. From the 19 informants, there were 13 informants who were still in elementary school level, 4 informants in junior high school level and 2 informants in senior high school. Even though they have attended school and have friends who use KML as a medium for exchanging information in communication, the frequency of using TL is more frequent. However, there are 3 or about 13.6% of informants in this age category chose KML. The reason for choosing KML is because those informants have already worked as the child caregivers in several families who are living in Oelamasi (the capital of Kupang district), hence they are tend to use KML more often than TL.
- 2. From 21 informants there were 19 informants or around 90.5% informants chose TL. The majority of the 19 informants have been married and have had the jobs as the farmers, therefore the domain in using TL is only around their

family and in the fields where they planted their agricultural products. While there are 2 informants or around 9.52% of informants chose KML as a means of daily communication. Both of them work as the security officers at the Kupang District Office so the intensity of using TL is more intense than any other languages;

- 3. From 10 informants or 76.9% of informants chose to use TL. They argued that their life activities are more in agricultural fields and in residents, so TL is their choosing languages to be spoken. They added that they only use KML if they meet and talk with other residents in Manusak village who are come from other ethnics, but the duration of their conversation is not too long and not too frequent. Whereas there are 3 informants or around 23.1% of informants chose to use KML because of work demands, there are 2 informants who trade the vegetables in the Oesao market and 1 informant who works as the corn seller. Thus work place becomes the reason of choosing KML than TL for three of them.
- 4. From the 44 informants, there are 37 informants or around 84.1% of the informants chose TL. The 37 formants said that TL is their daily language, while there are 7 informants chose KML compared to TL. This is also for work reasons, their professions are the vegetable traders in the Oesao market (4 people), some work as household assistants (1 person) in one of the families who live about 2 kilometers from the housing location, and there are two people who work as a fueling officer at a gas station in Kupang District. Because of the demands of the job they chose to use KML, because KML is a lingua franca in Kupang district.
- 5. There are 32 informants aged over 46 years, from that numbers there are 29 informants or around 90.6% of informants chose TL over other languages. In Manusak village, the 32 informants are elders. Some of them are the former Indonesian National Armies. Furthermore, in addition to that, there are 29 informants chose TL, there are 3 informants or about 9.38% of informants who only speak in Mambae language (local language in East Timor), those three informants are hardly understand TL or any other languages.

## Selection of Speech Partners

Table 2. Selection of Speech Partners

Total	<b>%</b>	The family members		Co-workers	playmates
Informants	_		neighbors	_	
94	71,2	V	V	_	
	<u> </u>		-		
10	7,58	V	٧	V	
28	21,21	V	V	_	V
132	100	_			

Next table (2) shows that there are 94 informants or around 71.21% who use TL when communicating with family members and neighbors. Furthermore, there are 10 informants or around 7.58% who use TL when communicating with family members, neighbors, and coworkers who also have the same migration history as them, while there are 28 informants or 21, 21% have quite a wide variety of speech partners: they use TL when the speech events happens among the family members, closest neighbors and playmates.

### Selection of Discussion Topics.

Tabel 3. Topic Selection

Total	% Topic								
Informants		Daily life Topics	Education	Economics	Politics	Religions	Jobs		
78	59,09	V							
12	9,1	V					V		
19	14,4	V			V	V	V		
9	6,81	V	V	V	V	V	V		
14	10,60	V	V			V	V		
132	100								

For the selection of discussion topics, the informants have chosen some variety topics when communicating using TL. Table 3 shows that the most commonly topic is the topic about daily life. From 132 informants there were 78 informants or around 59.09% who chose to talk about the daily life. The 12 informants or around 9.1% chose the topics that are related to daily life and job. When the researchers asked the reasons why the topic of job was chosen, they answered that they often exchange information about workloads and their responsibilities in carrying out their work with the other fellow colleagues who also speak in TL. Furthermore, 19 informants, or around 14.4%, chose a topic that was quite varied, namely topics on daily life, economic topics, political topics, religious topics, and work topics. Next there were 9 informants or around 6.81% who chose topics that varied widely, the topics are about the daily life topic, education topic, economic topic, political topic, religion topic, and topics about work. The last is there are 14 informants or around 10.60% who communicate in TL to discuss some topics about the daily life, education, religious topics and work topic.

# Factors Supporting TL Maintenance in Manusak Loyalty to Mother Tounge

Loyalty to TL as a mother tounge has a very high frequency. All informants are more likely to choose TL as a mother tongue than any other languages. They acquired TL directly when they were toddlers, then in the stages of development, they used the language when communicating with parents and other family members who lived in the house. Therefore it is not surprising that they are very

loyal in using TL as their native language. This loyalty factor is the most important factor for the survival of a language, even though the language has experienced migration from its origin place for decades, even hundreds of years.

#### Pride in using TL

From the interviews, information was obtained that the ex-East Timorese people still felt proud of their motherland, even they still frequently visited it in order to meet with their relatives in the State of Timor Leste. The moments of Christmas, Easter, weddings, deaths and ceremonies for making traditional houses, are moments when the ex-East Timorese people visit Timor Leste.

A feeling of pride of their native land is also one of the main factors for the fertility of TL in Manusak. In addition to visiting families who live there, there are also some young people who choose to make a living by migrating to Dili, the capital of Timor Leste. Currently the city of Dili and several regions in the country of Timor Leste are in the infrastructure development, so the country needs a lot of construction workers. These young men work as monthly contract laborers paid in dollars. When their work contracts are completed they will return to Manusak, so TL continues to flourish in the village, because TL is the lingua franca for job seekers in Timor Leste.

# Family Environmental Factors

The family environment is a supporting factor for maintaining TL in Manusak village. TL maintenance can be seen from the frequency of using it among children under 12 years of age. This can be seen from the use of language that has a high enough frequency in the realm of the home and neighboring domain, while the frequency for using MKL and I is very low. MKL is a second language for East Timorese children, most children get the language in the realm of association with other children in the surrounding environment. Whereas Indonesian is obtained and used in the education domain. However, even though they learn Indonesian but they still cannot use Indonesian properly and correctly.

#### Migration Factors and Regional Concentration

Migration and regional concentration are actually a factor in language shifts, but this case is not in line with Fasold's (1980) opinion, that if the speakers of a language migrate to another place, and the number of speakers over time increases, then it will produce and create an environment that is significant enough to encourage language shifts. But the facts show that the higher the population of former East Timorene in Kupang district, the stronger TL has roots in that village. This is likely due to the establishment of housing estates for former refugees in Kupang Timur sub-district, so that the concentration TL speakers are more found in several villages in that sub-district.

#### Conclusion

Empirically, based on data from the results of structured interviews, observations, mini questionnaires and document searching, the researchers formulated several conclusions that answer the problem. First, it can be concluded that BT is still very much survived even though the language has migrated for 20

years from its original land, East Timor and settled in Manusak Village, East Kupang sub-district, Kupang Regency. Table 1 shows that from a total of 132 informants, as many as 94 informants or 83.2% of informants used BT as the language most frequently used daily. From 132 informants, there are 94 informants who use BT when communicating in their daily lives. The 94 informants have a variety of different speech partners when they speak using BT. Table 2 shows that 100% of informants used BT as a means of communication between fellow family members. Table 3 shows the informants had various topics when communicating using BT in their daily lives. The most common topics are the problems of daily life. BT is also the most widely used in the realm of the home, the realm of neighborhood and the realm of traditional activities. So it is very clear that for the case of BT retention in Manusak village that the more a regional language is introduced to children at a very early age and the higher the intensity of the use of language in the realm of the home and neighborhood, the higher the language survival. Second, the factors that cause BT survival in Manusak village, there are four factors. Second, it appears that BT retention is caused by several factors, namely: (1) loyalty factor towards mother tongue; (2) pride factor for BT; (3) family environmental factors; (4) migration and regional concentration. Third, the language attitude influences the level of BT retention of members of the spoken word. The entire conversation shows that their language attitude is very positive towards BT.

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# DOMINATED INDIVIDUALS' TACTICS TO DISRUPT BEING OTHERED IN NEO-COLONIAL NOVELS OF BAUTISTA AND WA THIONG'O

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#### **Abstract**

Dominated subjects or those Othered in many societies are among the most misrepresented class of people. Such misrepresentation has popularised their being imagined in literature and other fields of study as almost always despondent and meek individuals. In this context, this paper interrogates Western archetypal images on Others as passive recipients of domination. Applying De Certeau's concept of "tactics", this paper investigated how tactics of dominated subjects become immediate yet temporary solution among Others to disturb the everyday practices of Othering. Lualhati Bautista's Gapo and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's Matigari were scrutinised through discourse analysis and both revealed that "everyday" tactics are used by Othered characters to grapple with, respond to and, later on, overcome society's exclusionary practices. Set in the after colonial environs, the novels portray Othered characters as capable of resistance and agency despite their political, economic and/or cultural marginalisation. Such use of tactics as means of resistance are however temporary and, ultimately, cannot solve their being dominated. Nonetheless, the counter-discourse this frame of thought offers as well as how tactics provides space and how space simultaneously allows the production of tactics can provide us a more nuanced understanding of resistance and the lived experiences of Others.

Keywords: tactics, resistance, neo-colonialism, postcolonialism, novel

#### Introduction

Within the concept of neo-colonialism, how we devise dominated individuals in the image of the Western cultural centre speaks of the enduring influence of Western colonialism to its former colonies. In this landscape, neo-colonialist discourses have supremacy over the country's political, economic and/or cultural climate. With such immense influence, Westerners (residents or expats) who are staying in the postcolonial country have the tendency to take advantage, or exploit, of their position at the expense of natives. Since the country remains predominantly Western-centric, other natives, despite their country's independence, are still resorting to assimilation and to, what Homi K. Bhaba theorised, "mimicry" to improve their ways of living at the same time avoiding possible conflict with the

Western discourse (Bhaba, 1994, p. 85). In return, they become collaborators thus complicit to the enduring Western attitudes and their own inferiority. On the contrary, dominated individuals are relegated to culturally useless, nobody, and or despised identities (Bullis & Bach, 1996, in Bach, 2005; Liu & Self, 2019; Udah & Singh, 2019). Because they have a significantly reduced access to knowledge and power, they are almost always represented and imagined in literature and other fields of study as meek and despondent individuals who are incapable of agency, choice and, ultimately, resistance.

But are they really without agency and incapacitated to schemes that could overcome their daily inequalities? Can they not create spaces to express their opinions and disagreements despite being dominated? These are questions that I look into as I analyse everyday tactics among dominated individuals to see how practices of Othering "shape experiences of everyday life and how social actors [dominated individuals] are not passively subjected to the essentializing Othering processes" (Bendixsen, 2013, p. 120). As Udah and Singh (2019) advocate, questioning, challenging and rejecting negative representations and stereotypes of the Other is at the forefront in scrutinising the effects of Othering practices in the society.

In this backdrop is where I attempt to argue that dominated individuals have agency, are capable of creating safe spaces, and are active resisters when confronted by perpetuators of Othering. Using Michel De Certeau's (1984) concept of tactics in The Practice of Everyday Life (1984) and postcolonial ideas on Othering, Lualhati Bautista's Gapo and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's Matigari are analysed to reveal the everyday tactics employed by "dominated" characters. The setting of these novels depicts a neo-colonial milieu and their characters incorporate a strong stance toward resisting neo-colonial practices. Firstly, I will identify the characters and the context of their domination. A discussion on the character's tactics will be provided displaying how dominated individuals employ such schemes and can disrupt Othering practices. By examining these tactics, this paper attempts to respond to the ongoing demand of resistance literature from the perspective of the periphery.

# Othering and tactics

Othering occurs when a dominant group chooses who is "in" or "out" in the society based on certain characteristics that correspond to the dominant group's identity. As a process, it accommodates individuals or groups who belong to an ingroup that produce and sustain "rhetorical and physical distance between themselves and an out-group" (McAllum & Zahra, 2017, p. 2). It simply means that the dominant group is defining itself (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, cited in Traustadóttir, 2001). On the act of defining the Self, Othering marks and determines those perceived to be different from the Self called the Other (Weis, 1995, in Udah & Singh, 2019). Thus, Canales (2000) elucidates that Othering is a power that includes and excludes (in Udah & Singh, 2019). According to Powel and Menendian (2016), Othering discloses a set of shared conditions and processes that proliferate group-based marginality and disparity (in Baak, 2018). It intersects with other terms in social sciences, such as "stereotyping, prejudice, and discrimination" (Celik, Bilali & Iqbal, 2016, p. 2) that, in basic practice, set one apart from the other.

In the experience of Othered persons, they are perceived as unacceptable failing to meet recognised socio-cultural and normative ideals (Bendixsen, 2013). As Udah (2017) speaks of Africans in South East Queensland, their Otherness is constantly

secured by physical appearance, skin colour, ways of speaking, and ways of dressing or of doing (in Baak, 2018). Because they are demoted as "cultural inferiors" (Khrebtan-Hörhager & Avant-Mier, 2017, p. 3), being in such circumstance partakes experiences of "marginalisation, decreased opportunities, and exclusion" (Murtagh, 2017, p. 4). Following these concepts, it is not hard to see how scholars have considered Othering as an essentialising practice that submits Othered individuals to images of degradation, mystification, romanticism, and exoticism (Inokuchi & Nozaki, 2005). While Othering is now widely criticised in cultural studies, it continues to persist, say Celik et al. (2016), that is created and reinforced by "institutions, norms, and practices" (p. 22).

Scholars however have made progress in understanding the lived experiences of dominated individuals and have developed different lenses to interpret their means of resistance. For one is De Certeau's conceptualisation of "tactics" from *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984) that will be my basis on identifying various means of resistance, or tactics, among dominated individuals. A tactic, he says, "is a calculated action determined by the absence of the proper locus" performed by the weak, or dominated individuals (p. 37). The absence of locus means that tactics work on a territory controlled by foreign power or, as Friday (2011) puts it, outside forces. Without an organised territory, tactics rely on time by taking advantage of surprises, tricks and opportunities (De Certeau, 1984). These tactics include "dwelling, moving about, speaking, reading, shopping, and cooking" that can be ingenious ruses to subvert the opponent (De Certeau, 1984, p. 40). Bendixsen (2013) views these as dominated individuals' expression of "autonomy by using tactics that contest oppressive forces, such as Othering processes" (p. 125).

In Frisina's (2010) study on young Muslims in Italy, she provides two types of daily tactics: visibility and individual promotion. As the word visibility denotes, Young Italian Muslims use visibility tactics "to generate a regime of visibility" to be recognised (p. 560). In the public eye, they display themselves as respectable Muslims as a way to give a positive image to their religion. On the other hand, Muslims who have discursive abilities use individual promotion tactics. Being experts at speaking, these Muslims are publicly identified in Italy as teachers of Islam and the Muslim community. These young Italian Muslims call themselves "progressive Muslims" which, according to Safi (2003), means "continuing beyond the course charted by liberal Islam...concentrating questions of social justice...and of pluralism outside and inside the Umma (the Islamic community)" (in Frisina, 2010, p. 568). However, tactics have limitations, "what it wins it cannot keep" (De Certeau, 1984, p. 37). Hence, tactics of visibility and individual promotion are not redemptive and do not question the dominant system (Frisina, 2010).

Similar to Frisina's study is Bendixsen's (2013) analysis on young Muslims' tactics in Germany. Bendixsen considers how the youth employ everyday tactics or manners of resistance in everyday situations. She enumerates tactics used by young Muslims like joking, rehearsal, normalisation and corrective practises. Firstly, joking tactic is performed using wit, jokes, satire, and irony against Othering practices faced in the streets. Second is rehearsal tactic that is made by teaching young women to learn ways to deal with Othering. In religiously oriented meetings, leaders would have a simulation or role-plays for young women to practise reacting towards Othering situations. Thirdly, normalisation tactic makes methods that offer similar attitudes between Muslim Germans and other Germans. Watching similar

TV shows, retaining German name (for converts) instead of changing to Muslim name, and/or dressing fashionably are a few samples of normalisation tactic that young German Muslims do to share belongingness with the dominant German culture.

In Utas' (2005) study on tactics, he discusses tactics of young women in the Liberian War Zone. While Utas (2005) do not portray women as essentially victims in the warfare, he states that women are at a disadvantage. In such environ, women perform tactics called social navigation such as victimcy, girl friending, and soldiering to survive the war. In doing victimcy for rape, women present themselves as victims despite consensual sex to successfully establish themselves as legitimate recipients of humanitarian aid and to free from social blame. Girl friending, on the other hand, is done by having relationships with multiple high-ranking soldiers to give themselves and their family protection from violence and economic stability. Because provisions are scarce, women dress up as soldiers where they take up arms and fight to take advantage of the war loots. This tactic is called soldiering. Ratcliffe (2000) considers eavesdropping a tactic. She calls it rhetorical eavesdropping which is used to pay attention to the "discourses of others, for hearing over the edges of our own knowing, for thinking what is commonly unthinkable within our own logics" (p. 90-91).

There are only a few tactics that dominated individuals make and do to survive in their daily struggles of Othering. As can be observed, tactics employed can vary from different people depending on the political, economic and/or cultural realities that dominated individuals are in. Also, tactics are only immediate benefits to everyday situations thus they are not solutions to systemic issues. And, by doing tactics, dominated individuals merely rely on luck that is not a guarantee to subvert the enemy. It is in this framework that I attempt to analyse the tactics of dominated individuals in the context of neo-colonialism. How these individuals grapple with, respond to and, later on, overcome society's exclusionary practices in everyday life.

## Method

Applying De Certeau's (1984) concept of tactic along with other proponents mentioned above, I investigated Lualhati Bautista's *Gapo* and Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's *Matigari* to reveal the everyday tactics among dominated characters in these novels. Firstly, I will provide the dominated characters who perform tactics using discourse analysis and the postcolonial concept of Othering to identity Othered characters. Simultaneously, I will discuss how they become society's dominated individuals through Othering practices based on race, class, and profession. A discussion on character's tactics will follow, displaying how dominated individuals employ these tactics and how these tactics can disrupt Othering practices. By examining these tactics, this paper attempts to respond to the ongoing demand of resistance literature from the perspective of the weak.

## Findings and Discussion Lualhati Bautista's Gapo

In the novel Gapo, Bautista chose Olongapo City as the perfect archetypal setting of neo-colonialism in the Philippines for the city used to cater in its shore the U.S. naval base. Since this society heralds (white) American ideals, Filipinos have become Othered thus dominated individuals, the more to those who shun

American standards of living. In this community, some Filipino characters have to deal with cultural assimilation and subjugation so their living conditions can perk up. Such is how prostitutes and waiters in the bar give more priority to American than Filipino customers since Americans pay more handsomely and known for giving dollar tips. Consequently, services are given to Americans with urgency and eagerness. In this outlook, prostitutes and waiters have helped progress the practise of Othering. Conversely, dominated individuals are finding ways to counter their being Othered and its perpetuators. *Gapo's* tactics made by the novel's characters are (1) pestering, (2) mockery, (3) ridicule, (4) informing, and (5) language.

First is Modesto who works in the American Naval Base. In the beginning, Bautista conceals Modesto's real identity. As a Filipino husband, Modesto embodies a traditional machismo conception of a father. He is the source of the family's livelihood and a heavy drinker. In front of his son, Modesto likes to display himself as a well-respected employee at work. Eventually, Bautista reveals his real identity when his son, Jun, witnessed a white man Johnson call Modesto "yardbird" – an insult for Filipinos that means extremely hungry. While eating at the kitchen table, Modesto feels naked as Jun recounts this happening to him. This disclosure sheds light on Modesto's nightly excessive drinking at the red-light district.

Discussing Modesto's tactics, Modesto practises "pestering" and "mockery" to Americans in places where he can resist without possible retaliation. A place can be a space among dominated individuals when processes of Othering can be combated either partially or completely depending on the "distribution of different kinds of resources or capital" (quoted from Bourdieu, in Dube, 2017, p. 396). Bourdieu enumerates economic capital (wealth), cultural capital (education), and symbolic capital (prestige) as forms of resources (in Dube, 2017). In this paper, however, I expand his typology by considering place as resource. For instance, at a bar largely occupied by Filipinos and black Americans, a white American is enjoying the company of Rosalie (hostess/waitress) on his table while Modesto and Mike are drinking beer on another. To pester the white American, Modesto calls Rosalie to get something for their table. Seeing the American's annoyance, Modesto feels better so he repeatedly summons Rosalie to their table.

In the same situation, Modesto notices Rosalie throwing meaningful glances to Mike. Modesto capitalises this opportunity to "pester" yet again the white man. Modesto engages Rosalie in a talk and invites her in their table. Not for long, the white man grows impatient that he calls out Rosalie loudly. Soon, a black man yells "SHUT UP!" (Bautista, 1988, p. 59) that got the white man's friend terrified. Recognising they are outnumbered, the white men choose to leave the bar. Soon after, Filipinos and black Americans have a laugh (mockery). Modesto then says "Sabi na sa 'yo, hindi kakasa 'yon! Kampi-kampi 'ata tayo rito" (Told you, he won't fight back. We've got allies here) (Bautista, 1988, p. 61). The mockery implies that pestering Americans makes Modesto (and Black Americans) feel good about himself. The scene also further demonstrates how dominated individuals (Filipinos and Black Americans), despite race, support one another when confronted with the same enemy. As the US largely adheres to Eurocentric ideals, the novel casually enlightens us about black and white Americans' great divide. Even in Olongapo, blacks and whites live separately and differently. There, the blacks share similar sentiments with Filipinos. In this scene, pestering and mockery

are tactics that help dominated individuals make themselves feel good about their identity.

Mike is the second character who is a constant critic to white Americans and their culture. Normally, in a neo-colonial landscape, being white is a privilege as a lingering impact of Western aesthetics. While women laud him for being attractive, Mike however finds his whiteness a demerit. Left behind by his white father, Mike is desperately searching for a paternal love that turns into hate against (white) Americans who deceivingly promise Filipino women with fortune and marriage. As a result, Mike finds comfort, shares sentiments, and seeks belongingness among Filipinos. However, when Filipinos question his claim to Filipinohood, he gets conflicted with his identity and cannot come into terms with what Homi K. Bhaba (1994) calls hybridity. For instance, when someone calls him American or white, Michael feels "radically alien" (Bron in Baak, 2018). It is reminiscent of Liu and Self's (2019) analysis on the perception of American expatriates feeling an outsider being called *laowai* (foreigner) while staying in China. Thus, in essentialising Filipinoness, Mike becomes an outsider characterised as "problematic units of the nation" (Yilmazok, 2018, p. 2). Despite rejection, Mike still asserts his Filipinoness. Kabir (2016) makes of this as the fluid process of identity taking place that "may depend on the family one is born into, the culture and religion one belongs to, one's community and one's life experiences" (p. 528). Even so, at times, he is left to deal with being nationless having abandoned his affinity to America. In this position, Mike utilises the tactics ridicule, informing, and language.

Mike's criticisms are mostly directed to American sympathisers such as Magda, a prostitute, who is a fervent American worshipper. Magda wants Mike out in their shared apartment so she can bring her American customers easily. To convince Mike to leave, one day Magda brings Sam, a white man, in the apartment. She intends to be seen naked with a white man in the living room. As observed, Magda plays to be a perpetuator of Othering bringing a white man whom Mike hates. As soon Mike arrives, he pounds on the floor as he walks towards his bedroom and bangs the door after. As a result, Sam grows furious thinking that Magda is using him to make her boyfriend jealous. "Lemme go, dammit! I don't wanna have nothin' to do with you no moh!" (Bautista, 1988, p. 21). In a moment, Magda helplessly pleads for him to stay but Sam still leaves the house. In this scene, what Mike performs is the tactic of "ridicule" to agitate Sam and Magda. Sam's anger and Magda's desperation are validation of the effectiveness of the tactic. In the words of Bendixsen (2013), tactics are capable of interrupting, disturbing and preventing a dominated individual from being subjected to Othering discourses.

Another scene where Mike dislocates a symbol of American culture occurs in his conversation with Magda about cuisine. Magda pridefully convinces Mike to take her imported corn beef (American symbol) however Mike declines with a grin. Embarrassed, Magda heightens her Othering through sarcasm. "Sabagay, meron ka pang de boteng bagoong diyan. Mumurahin at gawang Pinoy!" (Well, you still got your fermented fish in a jar. Cheap and Filipino-made!) (Bautista, 1988, p. 45). At that strike, Mike begins relaying the news about US being criticised for exporting defective food. Subsequently, Magda feels her stomach rumble and throws up what she had eaten. Mike further expresses his distrust to American food and, instead, promotes the Filipino bagoong. Apparently, Bautista creatively employs cuisine to serve as markers of identity for food can be indicative to cultures and communities.

And, so, Bautista chose the Filipino *bagoong* to contrast with the American corn beef as symbols of countries in rivalry. Houston (2007) explains this as the attempts among postcolonial authors to express local identities as a substitute to colonial ideals.

How Mike dislocates this Othering is through the tactic of "informing" drawing facts from the news as counter-discourse. Not only did he convince Magda that US export foods are unsafe, similarly Mike advertises Filipino cuisine. As seen, Mike attempts to dissuade Magda's delusional American worshipping. Every time Magda attempts to Other Mike, he immediately responds negatively. Moreover, the situation shows how the tactic of informing dislocates Magda's Othering. But regardless of the positive result, the situation has drawback because it is dependent on luck. The vomiting could not have happened without the writer's intervention. Thus, it would have decreased the impact of the tactic and Magda would not have believed Mike's information.

Progressing to Mike's resistance, Mike absentmindedly reaches to Black Men's Row, a place for black Americans in Olongapo, and tactics of "informing" and "language" save him from the possibility of death. These tactics transpire when Mike helps an old black man who becomes alarmed after seeing Mike's complexion. Another black man is approaching asking why Mike is helping. According to Uptin, Wright, and Harwood (in Baak, 2018, p. 4), "skin colour or visible difference" can be basis of Othering thus leaves Mike an immediate target to blacks' hatred. Yet, through informing and language tactics, Mike pacifies the possible hostility. "It's all right, friends... I am not an American. Pilipino ako!" (I am Filipino) (Bautista, 1988, p. 119). In consequence, the black man leaves Mike alive. As evidenced, the amalgamation of tactics spares Mike's life. It acknowledges how languages shape human identities and validates the importance of native languages as identity markers. As Owen (2011) expresses in his study of Canada's aborigines and the role of their language, "heritage language is highly symbolic of the Aboriginal identities" (p. 5). Hence, shifting to Tagalog legitimises Mike's claim to Filipinohood. This scene further affirms that the performance of tactics mitigates a dangerous place. Through his skin colour, Black Men's Row is clearly antagonistic for Mike, although he transforms the place into his space. As De Certeau (1984) puts it, "tactics do not obey the law of the place, for they are not defined or identified by it" (p. 29).

## Ngugi Wa Thiong'o's Matigari

In *Matigari*, Wa Thiong'o depicts a corrupt and authoritarian society and, although independent, western residents have relative influence over the country. The government's preference towards Western capitalists and indifference to factory workers expose the economic and political realities between the powerful and the powerless. And so, like in *Gapo*, assimilation and subjugation are everyday experiences of the people. Nevertheless, Othered characters find ways to cope with their situation and emerge to confront these inequalities. The tactics performed in this novel are (1) menacing, (2) defaming, (3) scolding, (4) informing, and (5) arson.

Muriuki lives an orphan life along with other boys in the vehicle cemetery (home), a dumpsite for junk cars. In order to survive, they scavenge for provisions from the garbage yard but, to do so, they have to pay fine before the police allows them to. At times, adults accuse orphans of thievery just so they can take their rummages as their own. To simply put, these orphans are the most Othered in the

society. How orphans respond to society's othering is what I call "menacing" tactic. By pelting stones or beating adults up, the orphans realise that they can threaten adults. An instance is when Matigari unknowingly enters their village and the orphans, as a preventive measure, throw stones at him believing that Matigari would also take their gains. This tactic of "menacing" harmonises De Certeau's effect of tactic that is to "create surprises within the spaces" (cited in Round, Williams & Rodgers, 2008, p. 174). The scene displays the orphans defending their gains from outsiders. With similar experiences as orphan, they work together for the group's protection and, in doing so, overcome society's Othering. As observed, menacing converts the place into a space for security and belongingness. Apart from the village, the orphans can also go to other places and feel safe provided that they go out in groups. As proof to the tactic's feat, Muriuki says that scavenge-grabbing adults are "Not so much now" since they have learned to deal with them (Wa Thiong'o, 1989, p. 13). It further subscribes to Kerkvliet's (1990/2013) third dimension of everyday resistance, or tactic, that is to produce "immediate benefit, including material gains, to the resisters" (quoted by Santiago, 2015, p. 143).

The second character is Guthera, a prostitute woman from a poor family. Like many societies, the novel portrays prostitutes as society's untouchable. Apart from that, women in this fictional society are constructed as cornerstones of the home. Thus, Guthera is an easy target for bullying, discrimination and violence like how the police officers abuse her. She nevertheless deems necessary to find means to grapple with her circumstance. One time, Guthera enters a restaurant to hide from the police officers wanting her service. Seeing the police approach the restaurant, Guthera goes out but not before she exposes the officer's depravity.

"It's just that one of the cops is after me. He keeps on following me like I am a bitch on heat. He ought to be ashamed of himself, whistling at me like that in order to make me stop. Who is going to stop to let cops chat her up, and in broad daylight? Definitely not Guthera!" (Wa Thiong'o, 1989, p. 28)

What Guthera makes is a tactic of "defaming" the enemy. Guthera reveals how the officer takes advantage of his authority for his self-interest. However, Guthera finds the chance to defame the officers and makes herself feel good. Without personally resisting, Guthera succeeds on reacting to the police officer's potential Othering.

Another dominated individual whose tactics disrupt Othering processes is Matigari ma Njiruungi. He had worked as a slave for Settler Williams, a white colonialist before he turned a patriot who took arms against white colonial government in their country. After the war, Matigari plants to reclaim his house where Settler Williams used to occupy. Shortly, he finds out that Johnny Boy now owns the house – son of Settler Williams' cook who was then his accomplice. He realises that little has changed in his country. In a neo-colonial developing country, a poor black man like Matigari, homeless with worn-out clothes, is Othered in the society. Within this narrative, the society considers Matigari a "cipher, or nonperson" (Bullis & Bach in Bach, 2005, p. 259). As the lead character, Wa Thiong'o humanises Matigari's character with more tactics than others. These tactics include "scolding", "informing", and "arson".

The first situation involves Guthera, the prostitute woman, and two police officers. Because Guthera has declined a sexual favour to one of the officers, he terrorises Guthera with his growling patrol dog. As the crowd seems thrilled at

Guthera's predicament, Matigari arrives in the area. Dumbfounded, Matigari berates the crowd at their inhumanity. "Are you going to let our children be made to eat while you stand around nodding in approval?" (Wa Thiong'o, 1989, p. 31) says Matigari. Then, Matigari tells the policeman to leave her alone, pointing his finger at them. "Why don't you admit that it's because she won't open her legs for you that you are harassing her?" (Wa Thiong'o, 1989, p. 31). Matigari defames him publicly. What Matigari does here is the tactic of "scolding". Surprised that someone actually has confidence to protest, the officers and the crowd leave wondering about Matigari's identity. As tactics rely on "surprise, trickery, and chance encounters" (Friday, 2011, p. 173), Matigari subverts them when officers are caught off guard. Coupled with confidence and ridicule, scolding becomes an effective tactic to stop the police officer from harassing Guthera further. With the harassment of police officers and the crowd, the place is primarily antagonistic and might not be a good place to get involved into an argument. Despite that, Matigari turns the place into his favour. Eventually, Guthera is saved from further violence.

Like Mike in *Gapo*, Matigari uses "informing" tactic. Matigari arrives gleeful at the gate of his house. As he enters, a young black man named Johnny Boy suddenly stops him. From there, Matigari narrates the history of the house how Settler Williams took everything from him. As his story continues, Johnny Boy gets annoyed when Matigari elaborates how a cook kept him from shooting Settler Williams. Unaware that he is talking to the cook's son, Matigari calls the man "fat as a pig; no, like a hippo" (Wa Thiong'o, 1989, p. 47). At that, Johnny Boy whips Matigari twice for insulting his father. Despite that, he stands up and continues his narration. Seeing that, Johnny Boy turns speechless and immobile. Interpreting the situation, what tactic Matigari performs here is "informing" with the use of history. As observed in Johnny Boy's annoyance, the tactic of informing has achieved on challenging his Othering. Furthermore, the performance of the tactic has afforded space to Matigari. In fact, had the police officers not arrived who arrest him, Matigari could have entered the house with a stunned Johnny Boy.

The next time Matigari confronts Othering happens near the novel's ending. Surrounded by massive security, Matigari is inside his house while spectators from the country are cheering for him. An officer urges Matigari to surrender but Matigari bursts out the windows with fire, burning the house. The crowd starts looting from the house while singing merrily with lyrics "It's burning/Yes, Bad Boy's house is burning" (Wa Thiong'o, 1989, p. 166). Helping Matigari, the orphans encourage the crowd to burn other properties. With that, the crowd start setting the coffee, tea, and cars on fire, causing panic to the soldiers and policemen. What Matigari produces here is the tactic of "arson". According to Scott and Kerkvliet, arson is a manner of resistance of the weak, or dominated individuals (cited in Santiago, 2015). In this scene, Matigari becomes the crowd's motivation to join in his resistance. The once fearful start to sing songs of resistance and burn the property of oppressors and traitors. Matigari employs the tactic to create a diversion. He succeeds on pulling this trick having been able to escape the house. As De Certeau (1984) explains, tactic is an "art of pulling tricks" that seizes opportunities (p. 37). However, the ending reveals that Matigari, along with Guthera, gets shot by soldiers chasing them. Their death simply confirms the transitory element of tactics as everyday resistance has "no formal organization, no formal leaders, no manifestoes, no dues, no name, and no banner" and so they are "rarely accorded any social significance" (Scott, 1985, p. 35).

## Conclusion

Examining dominated individuals' everyday tactics immerses us with a knowledge of how Othering processes impact their everyday experiences, their coping mechanisms, and their triumphs on overcoming such inequalities. Tactics of the weak can provide us with a lens to interpret their experiences of domination away from the common, mostly insufficient and western-centric viewpoint of dominated individuals. Based on the analysis, the paper reveals that popular representation among dominated individuals as being meek and despondent are insufficient in capturing their experiences of domination. The paper further shows that they have means of resistance that are employed in daily confrontations of Othering practices. Likewise, tactics are an avenue with which they can express their opinion and disagreement. However, tactics, as illustrated, must not be thought to solve systemic issues of domination as they are only transitory solutions and offer immediate benefits to everyday practices of Othering.

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## GOFFMANN' DRAMATURGY OF MOVEMENT CONCEPT IN SETAN JAWA FILM BY GARIN NUGROHO

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#### **Abstract**

Dramaturgy Goffmann closely related to the model of the interaction between the persona by assuming that a mode of social relations as a stage show. There are self-raised, there are purposely hidden for management to create a certain impression. *Setan Jawa* Film by Garin Nugroho, as an art film, the issue of movement as the media said the film that marks the cultural code of Java to interact. This study aims to identify the perception of motion applicable to the 'movement' in *Setan Jawa* Film using test questionnaire responses on the perception of respondents from diverse ethnic, which was later confirmed by the method of Focused Group Discussion with Goffmann' Dramaturgy analysis as the basis of interpretation.

Keywords: setan jawa film, cultural code, movement' code, goffmann dramaturgy

#### Introduction

Camera Obscura discovery in 1250 laid the years 1250-1895 as the prehistory films, one of which caused these years is a period where there are new discoveries that emerge from the obsessions of the people of Europe, one of which create an instrument that could recording of motion (which until now used to make a film). In 1895, precisely on December 28, 1895, for the first time in the history of cinema, a film stories were presented in public. The film was made by the Lumiere brothers, Louis Lumiere (1864-1948) and Auguste (1862-1954), the famous French inventor and pioneer of the film industry. Where the film was at the Grand Cafe on Boulevard des Capucines, Paris.

Although at the beginning of 1885 has produced the first moving picture, Thomas A. Edison held a cinema in New York on April 23, 1896, Max and Emil Skladanowsky appear first in Berlin on 1 November 1895; but the brothers Lumiere's film titled "Workers Leaving the Lumiere Factory" is considered as the first cinema films that marked the birth of the film industry. Movies and cinemas are then held, in England (February 1896), Soviet Union (May 1896), Japan (1896-1897), Korea (1903) and in Italy (1905).

Changes in technology and the film industry, along with the strong dominance of the Hollywood industry system, change the status and role of the film as a product of visual culture. Initially the film was born as a public spectacle (the early 1900s) because of sheer become big business alternative entertainment services in the future city and stamped humans 'entertainment lowly' the city; then the film is considered capable of regeneration to penetrate all layers of society, as well as middle and upper layers, including intellectual and cultural layers. Appearing resistance films that want to escape from the face of Hollywood uniforms, which gave birth Auteur films, namely personal film director who often referred to as art films. (Brodwell, 1997, pp.169)

Art film builds a narrative film that develops dilemma (an element of the dramatic problems in the structure of the story in the film) was built and investigated by means pensive, begins and ends without a clear resolution at the end of the film, even very likely to have a secondary role to the development of the characters and the exploration of ideas through a series of lengthy dialogue-is usually a sequence of episodes of vague or ambiguous, there is a gap that cannot be explained in the film in the form of a sequence that is deliberately unclear or sequences that are not related to the previous scenes-which forces the audience to subjectively make their own interpretation of the message film. (Brodwell, 1997, pp. 180) even very likely to have a secondary role to the development of the characters and the exploration of ideas through a series of lengthy dialogue-is usually a sequence of episodes of vague or ambiguous, there is a gap that cannot be explained in the film in the form of a sequence that is deliberately unclear or sequences that are not associated with the scene earlier-that forces the audience to subjectively make their own interpretations of the message of the film. (Brodwell, 1997, pp. 188)

Even very likely to have a secondary role to the development of the characters and the exploration of ideas through a series of lengthy dialogue-is usually a sequence of episodes of vague or ambiguous, there is a gap that cannot be explained in the film in the form of a sequence that is deliberately unclear or sequences that are not associated with the scene earlier-that forces the audience to subjectively make their own interpretations of the message of the film. (Brodwell, 1997, pp.202) Art films often 'has a characteristic visual style' of the writer and / or director (Brodwell, 1997, pp.205). An art film often refuses to provide 'conclusions prepared to answer', but on the contrary, give the task to the audience thinking about "How the story was delivered?"; Or "Why tell it this way?" Therefore, all that's typical, Bordwell (1979) was, then, to claim that the cinema (film) art itself is a different genre convention. (Brodwell, 1997, pp.207)

In 1918, the phenomenon of art films is supported also by the emergence of film editing as a dramatic narrative that reinforces a film-forming structure. Editing the film in the film approaches the art, one of them for example, appear in on one chase scene using the approach characteristic of comic films at Melies silent film masterpiece, "Le Voyage dans La Lune" (1902), the first science fiction film and one of the most influential cinema films are inspired by a wide variety of sources, including Jules Verne's novel "From the Earth to the Moon" and "Around The World in 80 Days". It is undeniable that the main contribution of this Melies in cinema is to recognize the possibility of a medium to be used to convey narration and performances, combining / collaborate with elements of traditional theatrical motion pictures, trying to present a show that is not possible in theatre performances. Melies created the basic vocabulary of special effects, manipulate and distort time and space to create techniques that are not prevalent in his time

when it was like the first double exposure, the first split screen, the first overlapping dissolve, fade in fade out, stop motion photograph. (Retrieve from https://theculturetrip.com/europe/france/articles/early-cinema-the-magical-world-of-georges-melies/ on 12/15/2019)

DW Griffith was, then, in the film "Broken Blossom" (1919) production Gaumount develop a chase scene while using a picture phone and letter after another. Through the editing techniques of montage, Griffith's films began to describe a shift space (Brodwell, 1997, pp.205). This means that, in its growth, the pattern of development of art films cannot be separated from development film technology continues to evolve. The movie that refers to the Hollywood entertainment or art films sometimes grow side by side, each other but also stubborn. Each has its own character diversification of markets, festivals and its own development pattern; one of which is a silent film.

Silent film, The Silent Era (1890s - 1929), is a film that film music performed by each theatre, both with the phonograph or the like are carried out directly by the musician. Pianist improvises a movie or a small group of musicians perform classical works, in the background, during the film, as is done in the screening of the silent film star Mary Pickford. Until the 1936's silent film was produced. After the discovery of the sound production technology that has the ability to synchronize music and sound to celluloid in 1929, the music quickly became an integral aspect of the storytelling process, and commissioned by Hollywood composer started to write new compositions especially for the film. Silent films began to be abandoned the art form for practical purposes.

In the Indonesian film industry, the emergence of film mute has been underway since December 5, 1900 in Batavia, with a non-story film screenings (documentary) and the silent film imported products, among others from France and America. At that time, the Dutch tend to make documentaries that portray the daily life of indigenous people, including customs and other traditions, also depicting the beauty of nature as a tourist attraction. Meanwhile, the first feature film in black and white format, preceded by L. Heuveldorp and G. Krugers with the making of the film titled "Loe-toeng Kasaroeng" (1926). (Eddy D. Iskandar, 2006, pp. 2-5)

In order to support the messages in the silent film, this time among filmmakers has emerged the idea to equip Indonesian films with subtitles, so that the story can still understand the audience in the area. (Eddy D. Iskandar, 2006, pp.7) Failure in the field of sound reproduction that occurs in later years is one of the drivers for the Indonesian film to use the system after leaving the practice of recording and live recordings, including utilizing the background of the actual reality, and began to apply the superficiality of the film needed to provide experienced qualities in the film, and can be seen in the form of framing, CGI (Computer Generated Imagery), montage, directing technique, dialogue, acting, etc; arranged with a certain narrative and takes in perceiving image that is displayed in film, as a form of camera-consciousness (Deleuze, 1986, pp.8). This means that a technique chosen, it may have a distinct meaning in the film and / or be characteristic of a director. (David Brodwell, 1997, pp.207)

In 1990, in the presence of cinema advertising are already contained in the papers, film shows Indonesia growing and developing spawned a variety of films in various genres. In addition to film a commercial that targets the industry, in

these years, there are also films non-commercial more emphasis on high-culture, game symbols, which has won awards everywhere, one of which is made by Garin Nugroho of them titled "Bulan Tertusuk Ilalang" (FIPRESCI Film of the Year, 1996), and then proceed with the next project 'Opera Jawa' (Citra FFI for Best Adapted Screenplay, 2006), 'Guru Nation: Tjokroaminoto' (Cup Maya to Directing Selected, 2015 and Indonesian Movie Actors Award for Best Ensemble, 2016).

Garin Nugroho, as mentioned above, is an Indonesian film director who started his career as a director through the production of documentary films, contributes to the development and revival of Indonesian cinema. Garin has aspects of quality and capability of a number of achievements with the medium, technique and style he revealed himself to express his ideas in the film, and is often considered as a director who has a visual aesthetic in contrast to most Indonesian film director, including cinematic techniques in films homemade (Budiman, Abdullah and Simatupang, 2015, pp.33-38).

One of the film made, 'Setan Jawa', is the first black and white silent film masterpiece and directed by Garin Nugroho, who was accompanied by a live orchestra gamelan music made by Rahayu Supanggah and premiered in September 2016 at the Jakarta Theater Building. The release of film 'Setan Jawa' in Jakarta is the first appearance before the world premiere screened at the Opening Night of the Asia Pacific Triennial of Performing Arts in Melbourne in February 2017. 'Devils Java' whose documentation is shown in Figure I.1 raised the grand narrative is the beginning of the century 20th as the background story (Garin Nugroho, 2019), in line with the growth of a black and white film once widespread fashion, literature and art forms of entertainment at the peak of Dutch colonialism.



Figure 1. Documentation Film Performances Sine-Orchestra Satan Java (Source: www.facebook.com/setanjawamovie Accessed May 29, 2019)

The early colonial era of the 20th century is the era of industrial development with infrastructure development are also growing nationalist movement and Java human identity are represented in everyday life, art, language and mystical. In this era, growing as the growth of Javanese mystical theosophy, a harmony-based religiosity movement diverse perspectives of trust. This film is not a historical drama, but a history in this film is a frame of reference for 'Setan Jawa'.

Until 2020, the film was scheduled to tour around the world and obtain positive appreciation in the State as a medium of cultural discourse at once works are black and white silent movie with cinematic-orchestra approach, allowing inter-cultural collaboration space (Iain Grandage, 2017). Cinematic-orchestra itself is a term used by music ensemble founded and directed by Jason Swinscoe in the late 1990s who reworked the musical accompaniment for silent films of the legendary documentary of 1929 works of Dziga Vertov, "Man with a Movie Camera."

Referring to David Bordwell (1979), a movie based on high culture tends to be an art film than the entertainment industry (Brodwell, 1997, pp.207); and just like film 'Opera Jawa' as well as several films Garin more a lot of play in the area of signs of semiotics (Belasunda et al., 2014, pp. 108-129), 'Setan Jawa' Garin Nugroho also show the expression of filmmakers and more concerned with the mission of (the idea) as a tool to educate the 'culture' audience; though often considered communicative, does not follow the standard conventional film theory and elusive.

In the foregoing, the human understanding in a movie or the awareness that the reality of a film in the film and the overall viewing experience as a whole form of events (understanding), can occur because the images are arranged sequentially. The sequence according to Deleuze (1987) referred to as a 'collection of images'. The set of images will be understood if it presupposes the existence of the movement. Movement presupposes the existence of time. Similarly, it can be said the same movement with time (Deleuze, 1988, pp.36). Within this framework, the film creates its own reality regardless of what is envisaged regarding the basic reality that we live, which means that the film is not entirely a replication or mimesis of the daily reality we face, but instead creates its own reality.

The image, in this case, is an intermediary to reach idea, a 'language' in a film that can take humans back to the creative power of man to reconstruct the idea in real terms in the imagination. In film, an image becomes an important part that cannot be separated. Without imagination, the film is not an art that plays images on a screen. The image at this point is very important in a film, may not be so. (Sugiharto, 2013, pp, 308-309). 'Movement' is exactly what the audience was aware of a tradition, where it covers a specific time and space and all forms of understanding had before, including presupposes an image of moving autonomously to build all its reality. Reality presupposes in which there is a movement as a motile and can give a qualitative change. If something does not move to look as though the move, it is a form of illusion, which is then referred to as camera-unconsciousness (Deleuze, 1986, pp.11).

Hall (1976) states that if we observe how people move: whether they move together, they are synchronous or not, the kind of rhythm of their movements, including their motion in silence, will provide a certain cultural meaning (ET Hall, 1976, pp. 129). Publication Birdwhistell's Introduction to Kinesics in 1952, marking the beginning of a technical study of body movements; since then, many people have been stimulated and influenced by the work Birdwhistel. One of the few branches of this study show a very significant data on the issue of synchrony (move together). Synchronize 'movement' may mean the interactions move together (in whole or in part) or they do not and fail to perform movement

synchronization and even disturbing others around them. Basically, every person in social interaction similar moves on the type of dance movement, but the 'movement' is often not realized as synchronous movements performed without music or orchestration conscious. Become synchronized in the 'movement' as the message body (inside or outside of consciousness), well-read technical or not, is a form of communication.

A number of scientists have been working on the subject kinesis and synchrony and significance. The field is growing ever more extensive and complex every day, in the early sixties, William Condon who work in Pennsylvania's Western State Psychiatric Institute, start the analysis on 16mm film depicting the characters talk to each other. Every movement, however small, is recorded on a large sheet of paper along the lines of the film passage of time (duration), making it possible to identify all the movements that occur at a particular moment in time. Results of the study revealed that when two people talk to each other, there is a 'movement' synchronized, sometimes occurs in a manner that is barely visible, occur simultaneously and in harmony with certain parts of the code verbal (words, tone and pressure) when it decomposes. Seeing the film in motion very slowly, looking synchrony, as disclosed by Lawrence Halprin, will make people realize that what is known as the dance is a derivative version of 'movement' are synchronized, which is actually a hidden message in a variety of social relations in society as part of the representation of cultural identity. (ET Hall, 1976, pp.153).

In film 'Setan Jawa', 'movement' offer different representations of the Javanese culture, relation to the representation of motion universe karma as an inevitability. Referring to Marcel Danesi (2004) which defines representation as the recording process of ideas, knowledge, or messages physically, more precisely be defined as the use of signs to show you the things that are absorbed, in the senses, fantasize, or felt in the form of physical, 'Setan Jawa' was using the signs 'movement' built from a variety of art forms, so that whole visual aspect in the film, then became an important practice that produces culture.

In harmony with this, Stuart Hall (1992) revealed that the representation is a very important concept in the culture; deals with the understanding that someone said to come from the same culture if the men who were there the same share experiences, share code the same culture, speak the same language and share the same concepts. Hall also argued that the representation must be understood from the active and creative role to interpret the world, Hall showed that an image will have a different meaning and there is no guarantee that the images would function or work as they decreased or created (Stuart Hall, 1992, pp.277-280).

In connection with the otherness of the function, it can be said that the 'Setan Jawa' Film there are two processes that occur representation. First, mental representation, namely the concept of 'something' that exists in the mind (conceptual map) and still something abstract; Second, the representation of 'language' which plays an important role in the process of construction of meaning. Abstract concept in mind as translated in the 'language' that is prevalent, in order to connect concepts and ideas about anything with a sign of certain symbols. In that position, film 'Setan Jawa' can be seen as fulfilling the function of symbolic interactionism in culture. Symbolic interactionism function means that society and themselves seen as a process, creative and innovative in an

atmosphere that cannot be foreseen; humans act on the meanings on 'something' for them. Meaning derived from / to appear on 'the interaction of a person with others' (in the film; and improved through a process of interpretation during the 'process of interaction takes place'. (Rohendi, 2011, pp. 155-157).

In this regard, 'Setan Jawa' Film could be a symbolic form of social interaction, which has a film-forming elements (code), which includes elements of the film, theatrical elements, element-gamelan orchestra. These elements are then formed by the visual, sound / voice (audio), effects and settings. Visual elements in film 'Setan Jawa' surrounding the character / characterizations, motion / gesture and background. The phenomenon of 'fusion' elements of movement leaders, camera movements and elements of the sound / voice (audio) to position 'movement' in film 'Setan Jawa' is important; mainly because the story is presented through the collaboration of a wide range of motion images in the performing arts such as; visual art, theatre / opera, classical Javanese dance and contemporary art contemporary Javanese music, Western music art.

The combination is becoming a visual aspect that gives strength to the said medium and style revealed in film 'Setan Jawa' and distinguish it from national films today. On the other hand, visual separation and 'movement' with sound as a film-forming element, making the process of understanding the film's story is not as easy to understand films in general. Rules (code) 'movement' leaders, 'movement' camera combined with a sound structure on 'Setan Jawa' Film represents a phenomenon / symptom fusion or collaboration of the three elements, which are outside the convention film in general. The pattern of the three elements blend allegedly gave rise to the phenomenon of cultural identity in 'Setan Jawa' Film.

This assumption is also the position that the process of representation occurs in 'Sean Jawa' Film is very likely to produce the meaning of the modification area, through the transposition of the creative image of 'movement' in the film is also a means of adaptation that puts the source language into a new context for a specific purpose, subversion of verbal language, which refers to the process intersemiosis metalingual operating one way in which the linguistic signs creatively reshaped or transformed into non-linguistic elements and code (Gorlée 2008 in E.Chou Wu, 2014).

The code is a system of symbols with a previous agreement between the source and destination, used to represent and convey information. Code with regard to systems with significant unit combining rules and transformation; system of rules provided by the culture (Miller, 1951 and Eco, 1968 in Noth, 2006). Collaboration between technology, art and design of traditional Javanese and contemporary with the art of Western aesthetics allow 'Setan Jawa' film to uncover and identify the noble values of a culture, including special and distinctive characteristics of the cultural identity of the people of Indonesia, both non- items, and manifested in the form of concrete material, though later involved in a variety of forms of interaction in global relations space. The foregoing which in turn will make the individual can still have and maintain its cultural identity, making it then possible to create a code collaboratively with other cultures. This study expected can peel 'movement' in film Satan Java as a code for cultural identity and its relation with the collaboration of a variety of motion not only related to technical factors, but also allegedly gave rise to the growth of the

circulation of meanings, objects and cultural identity that is built in space and time diffusive as a result of the development of digital technology, and in the end, the collaboration of cultural identity.

## Method

This study will use testing aesthetic response and approach Focus Group Discussion. Testing study of the aesthetic response as a form of response to a work of art and design has been done by many researchers, one of which is Hoege (1984), which examines the influence of emotion on the aesthetics of painting. Through 16 indicators semantic differential, Hoege found that aesthetic assessment includes four factors: empathy, emotions, activity, and clarity. Construction aesthetic response, later adapted in this study to test the response of the audience aesthetic 'Setan Jawa' Film as a form of testing the concept of 'movement' or dynamics which are elements that evoke or stimulate feelings (emotions). Indicators of testing will be integrated with the research findings Roger Long (1979) deals with the classification of motion in Javanese wayang, as well as the concept of dramaturgy Goffman (1959), which revealed the interaction in the form of the order of social relations. Hoege emotional aesthetic development indicators (1984), Roger Long (1979) and Goffman (1959) constructed a response indicator aesthetics 11 sensation of motion in the 'movement' in film 'Setan Jawa' (A.K. Dewi, 2019).

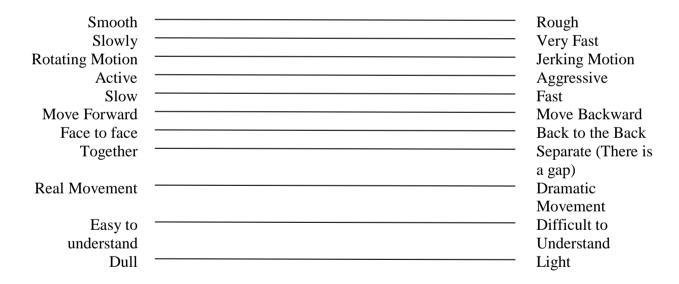


Figure 2. Questionnaire of Movement Perception (AK, Dewi (2019), developed from Hoege (1984), Roger Long (1979), Goffman (1959))

Questionnaire perceptual response given to 15 respondents were determined using purposive sampling technique, with the consideration that the selected respondents are respondents who have watched film 'Setan Jawa'. Respondents were then also become participants in the Focus Group Discussion

## **Findings and Discussion**

Garin Nugroho (2017) revealed that 'Setan Jawa' foretold in the frame of the history of the early period of the 20th century as a concept is an exciting time to be explored, allowing diachronic events shaping the expression of the film moves between tradition and contemporary and in a variety of cross-disciplinary and culture. This film brings together contemporary perspective with traditional dance, music, to fashion the free space interpretation. The dialectic of visual language, motion and sound in 'Devils Java' became a constant in the fabric of the signs of culture, even across cultures. The relationship between the visual, motion and sound presented reflect that in the field of representation, labelling and communication, there is a relation of meaning that is placed between the symbols and the world of concrete, signs and their meanings.

'Setan Jawa' Film represents a variety of collaborative movie code between the code and the code movie tradition of modern films. Collaboration is indicated by the visual code 'movement' tradition of characters / characterization with integrated camera motion code with the code of the sound of gamelan-orchestra. In the visual code, 'movement' is raised through videography / cinematography, characterization, setting and properties; while the sound code, 'movement' is raised through graphic signs on partiturnya. Collaboration these codes is interesting to study the mechanism of incorporation in making them into codes that reveal the identity of cultural otherness.

'movement' is a change in position on the body from the point of initial balance. Positioning technologies 'movement'; 'acceleration'; 'Acceleration motion' become important keywords that need to be presented in any communication channel (WJ Thomas, 1994). In a further study on the research Karl Duncker associated with motion, Oppenheimer identify two conditions that visual stimulation can be regulated and / or translated into a 'movement' through two construction components 'movement', namely Directions Motion and Motion Speed. Two indicators of this is the aspect of the findings is generated for a study on moving media, i.e. movies. In the media over, another aspect that is assumed to also affect the 'movement' is the time; duration; intensity. In the media moves, 'movement' is the actual change of position; real moving objects from one point to another. 'movement' in this case, has the potential to construct a semiotic sign into code.

The code is a system of signs with prior agreements between the source and destination, which is used to represent and convey information. Code with regard to a system with significant unit which incorporates the rules and pentransformasian; system of rules provided by the culture (Miller, 1951 and Eco, 1968 in Noth, 2006). Code movie, is mapped into the category of intersemiotika involving elements of nonverbal, while the target text is super semiotic - meaning, the meaning conveyed more than two channels (Gottlieb, 2007, as updated in the publication by the same author in 2012). Thus, the 'movement' as a cultural code is a rule that pairs the elements of the expression systems 'movement' with the contents of system elements 'movement' in the position of representing the information culture; in which the coding in 'action' lies in the dynamic dimension (or kinaesthetic) films, including visual gestural behavior and movement in music, transposition of the third sign (Deleuze, 1986; Eco, 1968 in Noth, 2006).

Correspond to the various interactions that take place between persona, Goffman (1959) through the concept of its dramaturgy highlights from other interaction (of the body) in relation to the social meanings that consists of several different ways in which a person tries to portray himself in society, namely the front stage and back, 'impression management' to highlight the desire of the 'self' to manipulate people's impression about himself on stage 'front', the physical status of 'self' and describing themselves through facial expressions, body language, and gestures of personal space (Goffman, 1959).

The test results sensation of motion response in film 'Setan Jawa' indicates that there is a dramaturgical concept applies equally Javanese culture in the perception of other cultures (Sundanese, Malay-Javanese, Sundanese-Javanese, Sundanese-Batak). 'movement' smooth, slowly and in the interaction of the body represents the values of Javanese culture associated with self-control over the emotion to the 'front stage' (surface), which is assumed to be associated with the noble values of Javanese culture on ethical behavior in life daily. These results were later also confirmed in the FGD, which identifies the perception of other cultures alignment with the perception held by Javanese culture with a sensation of 'movement' is lifted through the 'movement' in this film.

In The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life (1959), Goffman outlines a conceptual framework in which every opportunity to-face interaction can be interpreted as a theatre performance. He expanded the ideas of Kenneth Burke, who pioneered the approach 'tis tic drama', which in turn paved the way for the concept of dramaturgy Goffman to create their own. Goffman believes the idea that life is like a game that never ends where everyone is an actor, and when we are born, we were driven to a stage called everyday life, and that socialization of ours consists of learning how to play the role assigned from others, He uses the metaphor of the theatre on the stage, the actors and the audience to observe and analyze the subtleties of social interaction.

In dramaturgical concept of "self" consists of various parts that people play, and the main purpose is to bring together social actors themselves are different in different ways that create and maintain a special impression to their different audiences. Erving Goffman is probably one of the most important sociologists in relation to the "self." His book about *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (1959) highlighting all of the above and is commonly known as a "model of dramaturgy". Dramaturgical models consist of five models. or six different ways in which an individual is trying to portray himself in the community.

First, Goffman distinguish between the front and rear stage. The next stage is defined in the model of dramaturgy as a place where we, as an actor, playing the role himself. Individuals may want to control the response of the audience for the action because the purpose of the individual. For the same reason, it is the interests of the individual to mobilize his activity in the presence of others (Goffman, 1959). The stages are behind the times when a more private where a person is not judged. For example, when in the classroom environment, as an actor, someone was sitting there watching, listening with open ears and ask questions on the material. This is known as the next stage of a person's behavior. However, when a person is no longer in a classroom environment, then he can go home, relax, turn on the television, and no longer think about the content of topics

that have been studied, and became his true self; This is known as the behavior backstage.

The reason someone act very differently when in the front stage and back stage is due to the 'self', he tried to display a particular image while in front of the stage, while on the contrary, a person can be a real self in the rear stage. The key is how the 'self' views and the credibility and reputation of the 'self' depends on this. In the dramaturgy Goffman, the front stage and backstage is a concept used to describe the relationship between the role played by the actor at a given time and the various audiences involved this role. When someone does a role in relation to the audience or community, a role that usually is in the front stage and the performance or behavior of the 'self' is open to judgment by those who witnessed it. Backstage area is a place where the 'self' as an actor able to discuss and fix itself without having to reveal themselves to the viewer. In the back of the stage, one can allow to express aspects of themselves that may not be acceptable to a particular audience.

Second, Goffman "create" phrase "impression management" to highlight the desire of the 'self' to manipulate other people's impression of himself in front of the stage. According to Goffman, at this stage apply mechanisms mark, to present ourselves to others; when an individual projects a definition of the situation and thus create an implicitly or explicitly claim to be of a certain type, it automatically exerts moral requirement of the other, obliging them to respect and treat it in a way in which people have entitled to expect (Goffman, 1959). The system most commonly used marks that are used to implement; appearance, ways to interact, as well as the social setting is selected. Third, another feature that will be captured audience fairly quickly is the physical status of 'self'. The general assumption about the character and personality of a person judged by his physical. The other major thing to be taken immediately by the audience is ethnic or racial someone. In anthropology there are three main races, white, black and Asian, with each race comes with their own cultural background that people will soon be in touch in terms of assessing a person.

Fourth, in addition to the appearance and physical, viewers may be able to assess how the depiction of themselves through facial expressions, body language, and gestures of personal space. For example, shaking hands is a common occurrence when meeting someone for the first time and it showed a desire to greet him but sometimes these gestures can be rejected by others involved and because it would insult the man who started the movement. The last feature that will affect how we 'react' in front of the stage is a social setting. Social setting is a physical place where the interaction occurs. The social setting is closely related to 'space; in the social environment.

As well as the above, role conflict can also occur when people are faced with the hope roles are not appropriate in different social status they occupy. This role conflict can take several different forms. When a role is associated with two different status, the result is known as strain status. When a conflicting role both related to the same status, the result is known as strain roles. Conflicts can also occur when people disagree about what the expectations for a particular role or when a person has difficulty meeting the expectations because the task is not clear, too difficult or unpleasant. For example, parents may feel an obligation as

opposed to the employer who demands complete devotion to the job and the kids who need to be treated when they are sick.

All aspects of the presentation of different acting and theatre can be very close and easy compared to everything in our lives. Those terms are very clear, but very useful and have taught people that the way we act in life is never constant; no matter what, how 'self' socializing always influenced by where a room where someone is, with whom together, and when to be there. Goffman, adapting Burke, stated that in social interaction, all of 'self' is an actor and the world is a stage.

In 1976, Hall developed the culture of the iceberg analogy. If culture is the Iceberg, according to Hall, there are some aspects that looks, on the water, but there is a bigger part hidden below the surface. This means that the external portion, or a conscious awareness of the culture is what we can see and the tip of the iceberg, including behavior and some confidence. Internal parts, or subconscious, beneath the surface of the culture of a community and includes some of the beliefs and values and mindsets that underlie behavior. There is a big difference between conscious and unconscious culture.

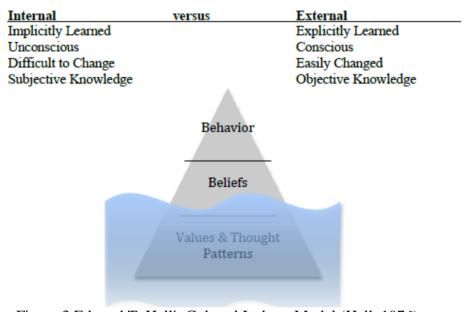


Figure 3 Edward T. Hall's Cultural Iceberg Model (Hall, 1976)

Hall suggested that the only way to study the internal culture of others is to actively participate in their culture. When someone first enters a new culture, only the behavior of the most obvious visible. More time to be in a culture, the underlying beliefs, values and mindset that determines the behavior will be revealed.

'Slow', 'back to back' which is a form of explicit form of cultural values are closely related to the model of dramaturgy that is how the views of 'self' and the credibility and reputation of the 'self' depends on it. In terms of dramaturgy Goffman on Social Interaction, the front stage and backstage is a concept used to describe the relationship between the role played by the actor at a certain time and the various audiences involved in this role, or between one actor to another actor. When someone does a role in relation to the audience or community, a role that

usually is in the front stage and the performance or behavior of 'self' while the backstage area is a place where the 'self' as an actor able to discuss and fix themselves without having to reveal themselves to the viewer (Mother, when he discovered the fact that his daughter (Asih) is in pesugihan owned by her husband, Setio (Heru Purwanto)), but cannot do anything as it is limited by ethics. Backstage, one can allow to express aspects of themselves that may not be accepted by a certain audience, in this case the film while the backstage area is a place where the 'self' as an actor able to discuss and fix themselves without having to reveal themselves to the viewer (Mother, when he discovered the fact that his daughter (Asih) is in pesugihan owned by her husband, Setio (Heru Purwanto)), but cannot do anything as it is limited by ethics.

Backstage, one can allow to express aspects of themselves that may not be accepted by a certain audience, in this case the film but cannot do anything as it is limited by ethics. Backstage, one can allow to express aspects of themselves that may not be accepted by a certain audience, in this case the film but cannot do anything as it is limited by ethics. Backstage, one can allow to express aspects of themselves that may not be accepted by a certain audience.



Figure 4. Perceptual Response Test Results of Movement Sensation (AK Dewi, 2019)

Other findings from the test results that confirmed the aesthetic response through the FGD is their perception of contrast between other cultures with Javanese culture regarding the meaning of 'movement' in film 'Setan Jawa'. If other cultures identify the 'movement' in the film is almost all dramatic gesture that is easily understood as a metaphor for the dramatic situation specific, Javanese culture is different, identify the 'movement' in the film has a denotative too explicit, but it is difficult to understand in order symbolism Java. It is assumed to be related to the 'impression management' to highlight the desire of the 'self' to manipulate other people's impression about himself on the 'front stage'. 'movement' aesthetics as in accordance with the opinion of Thomas Aquinas argued that, beauty includes three conditions, namely unity, balance, and clarity.

And all the movement dramaturgy in 'Setan Jawa' still have the tenacity on three indicators of beauty (Rianta, IM, Santosa, H., & Sariada, IK, 2019). According to Goffman, at this stage to apply the mark mechanism, to present ourselves to others; when an individual projects a definition of the situation and thus make a claim implicitly or explicitly of a certain type, automatically give the other moral requirements, obliging them to respect and treat it in a way in which people are entitled to expect. The system marks the most commonly used are used to implement specific cultural codes of which is the appearance and the way it interacts (Goffman, 1959).

## Conclusion

The cultural identity often refers to the definition of ethnic groups, a group formed by kinship as the main core of social relationships terintitusionalisasi; values and cultures, and are aware of the sense of community in the form of culture, communications networks and the interaction itself, and characterize their group that received by other groups and can be distinguished from other population groups. In this study, 'movement' as a cultural code that represents the cultural identity refers to the difference identities are fluid and can change; marked with specific symbols as a sign of cultural identity that appears on the surface. From the test results of aesthetic sensation 'movement' in film 'Setan Jawa' as a product of visual culture, it can be concluded there is a code of Javanese culture deemed constructed through the 'movement' as a sign that is encoded visually. However, there are some indicators that need to be reconfirmed both in advanced research and / or review of literature searches related to Javanese mythology and symbolism. An understanding of the creation of the concept of ethnic identity construction are represented by 'movement' - which is translated in the film as a product of visual culture with a local knowledge base of the archipelago - is expected to provide an understanding of the existence of 'self' as part of the social system and culture in Indonesia. The foregoing which in turn will make the individual can still have and maintain their cultural identity,

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