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A world map with a light green tint, showing the outlines of continents and countries. It serves as a background for the journal's title.

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**WHEN THE EARTH CONQUERS THE HEAVEN:  
A STUDY OF NARRATOLOGY ON *KANA INAI ABANG NGUAK*  
IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF A. J. GREIMAS**

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**Abstract**

*Kana Inai Abang Nguak* is a *folk lyric* by the society of Dayak Desa which is spoken in formal ritual language by chanting. The characters in *kana* are usually related with the life in nirvana and represents the thoughts and world view of Dayak society. This paper is meant to discuss one *kana* entitled *Inai Abang Nguak* using narratology perspective of A. J. Greimas. Greimas's narratology studies gradually reveal surface structure and deep structure of a story. Surface structure reveals the context and story sequences. Deep structure reveals the syntax structure (actantial and functional scheme) and also semantic structure, which are three semantic axis including desire pursued axis, power axis, and communication axis. The text *Inai Abang Nguak* consists of seven-sequence(act)-story actantial scheme which centers on Inai Abang as the subject of the story. The success of earth in conquering the heaven (nirvana) is caused by three factors: 1) although the heaven is blessed with eternal life, the heaven is actually blood-related with this earth; 2) the heaven's act in capturing earth's ritual leaders is a heavy violation that has to be fought against by the earth; 3) the power of the earth as one unit (human beings, animals, spirits, and magical powers) to attack the heaven and bring back harmony to the earth. It can be concluded that Greimas narratology can be used to understand surface structure, deep structure, and even discursive structure of a folk story.

**Keywords:** narratology, physical structure, mental structure, semantic axis, and world view

**Introduction**

Tradition of telling stories in front of the public is the most important form of cultural performance in various parts of the Nusantara, including the Dayak society in Borneo. Dayak Desa tribe, for example, perform *kanuak* and *kana* as a cultural performance whose objective is not merely to entertain but also to give expression of the society's various dimensions of perspective. *Kanuak* and *kana* is a form of literature that is sung by the performer in front of an audience. *Kanuak* is a form of story that uses daily language and tells about daily life. The characters

in *kanuak* are both human beings and animals. The performer of *kanuak* does not need any special skill in telling stories.

Meanwhile, *Kana* is also a form of literature that is spoken in front of people. The difference from *kanuak* is that *kanuak* uses a language form that is easier to understand, while *kana* uses the poetic Dayak Desa language, a form of distilled language that sounds unique and special. *Kanuak* is a ritual text. In other words, *kanak* language is a formal-ritual language with archaic features (Appell, 2010). The characters in *kana* are the characters of nirvana. The delivery of this story uses a different style of story-telling compared to other Dayak Desa oral literature. *Kana* is performed by chanting.

*Kana* performance usually takes a very long time; sometimes it takes days, weeks, and even months to finish. According to a source, there has never been a story teller that could finish one title of a story. Usually a story teller only finishes half of it.

Each story in *kana* is unique and special. Each teller can tell a story with various titles. Each story appears with many variations. Each character can also undergo a very different story line under different titles. Every title of the story is inherited from the ancestors. Thus, the title and the story are ready to use, while the story teller can tell the story without having to prepare a new story. As explained before, *kana* is narrated by chanting. Every line of one part has to end in the same syllable. A story teller can change the sound by ending the previous sound. For example, the teller does it by changing u assonance to i and so on. At least there are five similar ending sounds in *kana*, which are ai, i, an, a, ang. Teller can choose the ending sound and replace one sound with another sound. The melody used in *kana* tends to be recitative and repetitive. Usually in starting and ending a song, the teller gives a long duration for one speech stream. One sound is prolonged with a unique twisted sound.

As what is stated by Teeuw (2003, p. 33) and Appell (2010), the use of language in an oral literature is usually either more complicated and preserved or it deviates from the language used in a daily basis; the story teller can create an artificial condition and convention. According to Entulan, a *kana* teller, the language used in *kana* is very soft. Besides a soft language, the sound at the end of each sentence has to be the same. In other words, poetic structure is strongly emphasized.

This study of *kana* performance tradition is conducted based on two main arguments. First, to date, *kana* story telling has never been academically documented or researched. Even, it is safe to say that there is no research of *kana* from any perspective. Meanwhile, *kana* performance is getting less and less done. If this situation is not handled, in a few years ahead this oral cultural tradition would be extinct. Second, *kana* performance tradition has Dayak Desa's various local wisdoms and world views which are important and interesting to be revealed academically.

Oral literature, in any way, is the most honest projection of human desire (Carvalho-Neto, 2010). Most of Dayak literature is in the form of oral literature. Many of those oral literature repertoires are not yet documented, so that we fail to understand the ancient heritage of our own culture. As far as our data collection stretch, there is very little research about Dayak Desa society's oral literature.

The objection of the study is to do a narratological study of folk lyric text Inai Abang Nguak. Narratology is a discipline that studies the technique of storytelling since Aristoteles to the digital era (Kwiat, 2008). The choice of Greimas' narratology as the approach of this study is meant so that the character (actan) in the story can be identified and revealed in a definite manner. The purpose is not only to understand the syntax of the story, but also the semantic meaning of the text within the context of Dayak society world view, especially Dayak Desa society.

### **Theory**

Narratology is a branch of structuralism that studies narrative structure and how that structure influences reader's perception. Narratology is an effort to study the nature of a 'story' as a concept and as a cultural practice. The etymology of narratology can be retrieved to the word *narratio* and *logos* (Latin). *Narratio* means story, speech, tale, saga; *logos* means science. Narratology means narrative (text) discourse theory. Narratology or narrative (text) discourse theory can be understood as a set of concepts about story and storytelling. Narratology develops after linguistic analogy, such as syntax model, just like the relation between subject, predicate, and direct object.

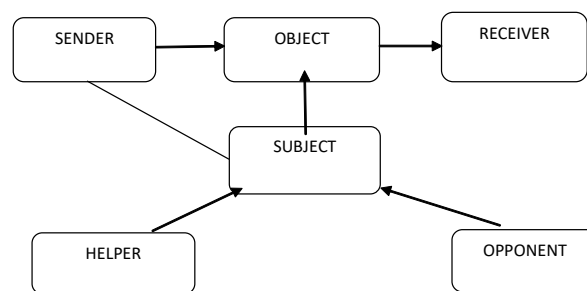
Algirdas Julius Greimas (1917 - 1992) was a linguist and semiotic expert from Lithuania and was known for doing research on Lithuanian mythology. Greimas was a professor at *École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales* (EHESS) in Paris, France. Since 1965, he has led a research on linguistics-semiotics in Paris, that then became the base for the development of Paris school of semiotics. Greimas was known as the pioneer of semiotic square in significance theory and the founder of actantial narrative scheme (Onodera, 2010).

Narrative analysis, according to Greimas, covered two structure levels, which are (1) Physical Structure, which is how the story is told (the narrative, especially the story synopsis to focus on the story sequences), and (2) Mental Structure, which is the immanent level which includes (a) narrative level of the narrative syntactic analysis (actantial scheme and functional scheme), and (b) discourse level, which is the study of semantic power's three axis (Taum, 2011).

Greimas' theory about actan was meant to be the base of a universal narrative analysis (Teeuw, 1988, p. 293). Greimas did not only stop in one type of a single actan function, but also to the formulation of a universal narrative grammar by applying semantic analysis on the sentence structure. Greimas proposed three pairs of binary opposition models that include six actans or roles, which is the subject versus object, sender versus receiver, and helper versus opponent. Among these three pairs of binary opposition, the opposition pair of subject-object is the most important one. Usually, subject is the character as a human, while the object is the various desires that have to be achieved such as freedom, justice, wealth, and many more. A struggle is usually wanted by the power (sender), but if it succeeds, then the character (receiver) takes it as a gift. Power could have concrete qualities such as a king and other kinds of rulers. Power also can have the nature of being abstract, like the society, fate, and time. The three binary opposition pairs take role as the basic pattern that would always be repeated in every story that shapes narrative grammar. If it is arranged in a

scheme of actan role pattern, the three actan function opposition pair that consist of six actan would be shown in a flow chart as follows (Look at Figure 1)

Actan is the smallest narrative unit, in the form of syntax that has a certain function. Actan is not identical with actor. Actan could be in the form of abstract roles played by a person or a number of people, while actor is a concrete manifestation of an actan. Like what is seen in the six actantial patterns above, actan could be in the form of a character, could also be something abstract like love, freedom, and murder. One character could have several actan functions. On the other hand, several characters could share one actan. Each actan in a scheme could have a double function. Sender can function as a subject or as a receiver. A character could have different actan functions. If there is no actan filled by a function or a character, then the use  $\emptyset$  refers to as a zero function in actan.



**Figure 1: Greimas' Actantial Pattern**

A study in the discourse level is doing semantic narrative analysis and explains in detail the opposition hierarchy inside the text based on the subject's searching movement towards the object. The thing to consider is which basic value transformation that is put to risk in the story. Finally, the last step is to formulate a semantic meaning that can be seen from the story by focusing the consideration on the three semantic axis: desire pursued, communication, and power axis.

## **Theory Application**

### ***Kana in Dayak Ethnic Group Macrocosmos***

*Kana* is one kind of oral folklores of Dayak society. *Kana* is categorized in the group of folk poetic story and is always performed with chanting. *Kana* can also be categorized in the folk lyric category, which is defined as a lyrical chanting that tells narrative folksongs. *Kana* shares many features with prose. The difference between *kana* and prose is just that *kana* uses a poetic language.

Different places use different names to refer to *kana* within the Dayak ethnic group. The society of Dayak U'ud Danum refers to it as *kelimo*. Daya Suait refers to it as *bambay*. Dayak Kubin calls it *engkana*, and many more. In the oral tradition of Dayak Desa tribe, *kana* is a narrative poetry, a long verse spoken by certain people who have the skill to do it. *Kana* is performed in the same manner as performing a song, with recitative and repetitive melody, with Dayak Desa's unique way of twisting melody in chanting.



There are three kinds of *kana* in the tradition of Dayak Desa society; *kana*, *kana padi*, and *kana tangi*. The most popular *kana* is *kana*. *Kana* tells the story of the characters in nirvana. *Kana padi* functions to pray the spirit of paddy plant and express gratitude for the harvest. Meanwhile *kana tangi* is the kind of *kana* in the form of poetry with accolades to fellow human. *Kana tangi* is not in the form of prose. The contents and characters in this folk poetic story are different according to the place. *Kana* in Dayak Ketungau society tells the story of the genesis of human being. Meanwhile *kana* in the tradition of Dayak Desa society, especially in the Dedai District, Kelam Permai District, and Kayan Hilir District, *kana* tells the story of heavenly characters and *kana* to pray for the spirit of the rice plant. In Dayak Desa tradition of the society in Sepauk Districk, *kana* tells the origin of paddy plant, from clearing of the land to the process of cooking rice.

According to Dayak Desa society, once upon a time human beings lived together with the gods and the godly beings in nirvana. *Juata* -the name with which the society of Dayak Desa refer to as God -and other living beings, live in the same macrocosm universe. The cosmic dimension was divided into three; human and other living beings on earth, the nirvana society, and *Juata* ‘God’. The human beings were divided even further into ethnic groups and sub-ethnic groups. The human beings lived on earth, the nirvana beings went back to nirvana, and *Juata* went to live in heaven.

Dayak Desa society believes that these *kana* characters once lived in the past. The characters in *kana* are similar to humans, but have different ability and power. It can be said that *kana* characters are divine beings. According to Dayak Desa society, the life in the past is immaculate. Just like what is stated above, everyone in the society can live side by side without any problems. There are no rule violations such as adultery, quarrel, selfishness, violation of others’ rights, etc.

When human beings violated the rules and the norms of the society, the nirvana beings were separated from human beings and they could not live side by side like before. Because of human nature that is full of negativity such as jealousy, envy, rights violation, and many more, human beings could not live with the nirvana beings anymore. According to Dayak Desa, this is why human could not live with nirvana beings anymore. In the perspective of Dayak Desa people, the characters in *kana* are sacred beings.

Until today, *kana* is still alive and enjoyed by the society. Those who enjoy *kana* are usually old people. Usually the society sing *kana* in *gawai* - a thanksgiving ritual that is held to express gratitude for an abundant harvest or a new house, or to entertain while doing hard work of farming or weaving. *Kana* has a lot of version. *Kana* exists with various stories. A *kana* teller can have many different stories. Because *kana* has many different stories, there are so many versions of *kana*. It is predicted that the *kana* told by Dayak Desa alone could comprise to three hundred titles.

Every *kana* title opens the possibility for every character to develop into different stories with different titles. For example, Bedai, the main character in *Bedai Mantuah Asam*, married Kumang who is not his real *jodoh*, in Indonesian concept is two people who are meant to be together in a marriage. *Jodoh* is not necessarily a pair of soulmate, but often a pair of people who do not really love each other but end up marrying due to various circumstances (often, familial,

social or, in this case, divine interventions). In a *kana* entitled *Kumang Mali Belaki*, it is told that Bedai and Lanai propose for Kumang's hand, but both are rejected because Kumang could not marry.

*Kana Inai Abang Nguak* has a generic structure that is followed tightly and systematically. One of the most important features in this *kana* story telling is the significantly dominant use of epithets. Epithet is a style of metaphor that is formed based on comparison or analogy (Keraf, 2000, p.136). Epithets highlight distinct qualities or features from someone or something. As an illustration, take a look at Table 1 which is the summary of character epithet in *kana Inai Abang Nguak*.

**Table 1: Summary of Character Epithets in *Kana Inai Abang Nguak***

No	Names of the Characters	Number of Epithets	Notes
1.	Keliang	70	Commander from Batu Nantai
2.	Dabuang	27	Keliang's sister who, along with her parents, is abducted by nirvana beings. Later she becomes Lanai's wife
3.	Bedai	66	One of the three characters who were trusted by the ancestors
4.	Laja	57	The commander in the aggression to nirvana
5.	Inai Abang	23	Vocalisator and story catalyst, a tribal council chief
6.	Jengkuan	32	Commander from Balau
7.	Kumang	24	Jengkuan's sister, Keliang's wife. Kumang gives a magical ring and porcupine quill to Keliang. Her parents are also abducted to nirvana
8.	Lanai	85	Commander from Bulai, one of the three characters trusted by the ancestors
9.	Anak	21	Additional character
10.	Manuak Bebari	31	An important character who helps in the battle field
Number of Epithets		436	

(Source, Astuti, et al, 2017)

There are 436 epithets shown in Table 1. In the research report (Astuti, et al, 2017), there are 25 characters who have their own epithets so that the total number of character epithets is much as 494. On the other hand, place setting epithets count to 227 epithets. The use of epithets, besides functioning to explain the characters' qualities, nature, and gestures, also functions as the expression of praise and appreciation to the characters and places elaborated by the story teller. It can be said that epithet is one of the most distinct features in the use of ritual language in *kana*.

### ***The Synopsis Of Kana “Inai Abang Nguak”***

The text studied as the object of the study is the oral text spoken by Mr. Began (62 years old) from Dayak Desa tribe. This text is significantly long, consisting of 1077 verses (songs) that were typed in a single space format is 137 pages. Both the transcript and the translation is in Bahasa Indonesia. When approached using narratology point of view, *Kana “Inai Abang Nguak”* has seven sequences of stories that could be considered as scenes. The seven scenes are elaborated as follows.

#### **Scene 1: The News that Keliang’s Parents being Attacked by Nirvana**

1. Inai Abang wants to spread the news that Keliang’s parents have been attacked by people from the nirvana. Keliang’s parents are abducted by the nirvana people to be sacrificed in a festive ritual (*gawai*) in the nirvana.
2. To spread the news, Inai Abang makes her child cry so that she can walk around the village to comfort her child. To comfort her crying child, she sings *bejaniah* (delivering poetry by chanting).
3. The song tells a long story. It starts from the story of Lanai’s house, to the story that Inai Abang and Lanai are once about to marry but their communion faces obstacles: approaching the time of their marriage, there is an old person of the village who has passed away. When it is the time to *nemui* (visiting the bride’s or the groom’s house that would not be their future home), they are obstructed by a serpent. According to the tradition, those events are the signs that the marriage is forbidden.
4. Inai Abang then marries Apai Abang that is not from Dayak ethnic group. Hearing the news, Lanai is extremely upset. Lanai challenges Apai Abang in a duel of magical ability. Apai Abang wins the duel, due to the fact that Lanai is indeed not Inai Abang’s *jodoh*. In the same recital, Inai Abang also tells the story of all the places she has lived in before settling down in Batu Nantai.
5. She walks for a whole day long. Inai Abang walks carrying her child along the village from upstream to downstream.
6. Inai Abang tells a story that there are three people who are trusted by the ancestors to convey their holy messages. Those people are Inai Abang, Lanai, and Bedai. The three of them are trusted to guard the *jodoh* of *kana* characters. Because they were born in the same day, they met the requirements to become the holy messenger. Lanai’s *jodoh* is Dabuang (Keliang’s sister), Bedai’s *jodoh* is Kumang Tengai, Keliang’s *jodoh* is Kumang. Inai Abang’s *jodoh* is Apai Abang. If a person marries with a person who is not their *jodoh*, they will not be able to produce children, or there would be a big fight that leads to divorce.

7. Inai Abang has walked for a long time. All of the stories have been told to comfort her child. She has met all of the important people of the village. However her child does not stop crying because Inai Abang would make the child cry again if the child stops crying.

### **Scene 2: The Magic of Rainbow Scarf in *Gawai***

1. Batu Nantai Village is about to do *gawai* (sacrifice and thanksgiving ritual after the harvest). Guests invited from other villages have come, so that the village is flooded with guests of all ages and of all places.
2. Inai Abang's child is still crying. Thus, Inai Abang wants to try her magical power. First, she asks Tenai, Manuak Bebari to open its hands, so that Inai Abang can put her Rainbow Scarf there. But Manuak Bebari's hand cannot lift even just the tip of the scarf. Then Bedai tells them to just fold the scarf. But before touching it, Tunan's hand has been burned. The scarf is smoldering like embers. No one can lift that scarf, not even the tip of the scarf. Then they lift it together, Lanai on the right side and Jengkuan on the left side.
3. Inai Abang's child cannot stop crying, which makes Lanai angry. They take the child to bath and to be secretly murdered. They plan is to take the child to the river and drown the child. The child who has just learned to speak begs to be kept alive. "You do not know what my mother's real intention is. If you are truly brave men, please go to Nirvana. Fecth Dabuang. Their houses were raided by the Nirvana people, then Keliang and Dabuang's parents were abducted to be killed in Nirvana. Keliang was saved by my mother, and she kept Keliang safe in a crock which is tied close to a thread. Keliang's clothes were ripped because of Nirvana people's bullet."
4. Then they go back home with Inai Abang's child to meet Inai Abang. They ask why she keeps this secret.

### **Scene 3: Laja Army is Getting Ready to Attack Nirvana**

1. Then they cut the thread and open the crock where Inai Abang hides Keliang. They fall pity to see Keliang. Keliang's face is black, coal-stained, and the clothes are ripped apart because of bullet and sharp weapon.
2. Then they agree to go to Nirvana to save Dabuang and the parents. They make Laja, a *Tuak* 'warlord', to prepare for the war. They tell every person the village to stop their activity and ask for paddy rice and sticky rice for Laja's offering. Every child and woman is asked to go into the house and stop from their daily activity, because Laja is about to call all the ghosts, spirits, and ancestors to help them in the war with Nirvana. Every one is invited and they eat to their satisfaction.

3. The people in the place only sense the presence of the ghosts, but they cannot see them, and it makes them scared. All of the ghosts are ready to help Laja to go to the war. They go to Khayangan. They walk faster than a lightning bolt. They come to a fig tree where they use the hanging roots as their rides to Nirvana. They are not lost because they are helped by the ghosts. The roots climbing to nirvana is guarded by a cobra. The roots can shrink and expand. It can shrink to the size as thin as a thread, and it can expand to the size of a hill. They do not rush in their way to Nirvana. They build a hut as a shelter overnight within the roots.

#### **Scene 4: Laja's Army is Assisted by the Mighty Keliang**

1. Keliang who stays in Batu Nantai is given a magical power by Kumang. Kumang is a very beautiful woman. Because of her magical power, Kumang can create things. Kumang cleans Keliang using the Rainbow Scarf that changes Keliang into a very dashing and handsome man. Then, Kumang and Keliang are wed. They exchange rings. Kumang gives him a magical ring that can make Keliang bulletproof and cannot be beaten by any other weapon. Kumang also gives Keliang a porcupine quill that can be any kind of weapon used for war.
2. With a swish of the Rainbow Scarf, Kumang makes the sword case a flying vehicle on which Keliang rides to catch up with Laja's army on the leafy fig tree. Keliang's arrival sounds like a thunderstorm. The army thought it is the coming of the enemy and it scares them. All of them take good grips on their weapon, ready for war. Then, Keliang sits among them.
3. After Keliang becomes a part of them, they go up to the Nirvana climbing the roots, and being guarded by the king of the bird. Keliang opens the Nirvana gate lock using the porcupine quill given by Kumang. To open the gate to Nirvana, Keliang stands on Lanai's shoulder, his left side is supported by Bedai, his right side by Jengkuan, and his back by Tenai. The gate to Nirvana is very big and heavy, and is guarded by the Nirvana society using weapons. The gate opens, and all of them come inside Nirvana. After all of them are inside, Keliang fixes the door lock, and even makes it firmer than before.

#### **Scene 5: *Gawai* in Nirvana**

1. Kumang Tanan Remayan is the most beautiful and powerful young woman in Nirvana. That day, she gets a bad feeling. She hears voices but she does not see any one. She only sees a group of *semadak* 'forest giant ants' walking in her front yard. Forest chickens and birds play together. This is a sign that something bad is going to happen. Then, Nirvana people check the gate of the Nirvana. They find the gate locked, even tighter than usual. They do not have the slightest feeling that the gate has been opened.

2. People from Nirvana do not see any signs that there are intruders in their land. This is because the Laja Army hide so that the Nirvana people cannot see them. Keliang makes each of their footsteps look like deer traces and each small hole on the ground made by their spares look like a termite nest. The Nirvana people go back to their homes. They conclude that the bad inkling that they feel is because the ghosts are hungry. They immediately make *gawai* a ‘feast’ as an offering to the ghosts. When the night falls, the men are drunk of palm wine. They dance and have fun. When they are tired, they sleep on the terrace.

### **Scene 6: Keliang Set His Parents Free**

1. When everyone is asleep, Keliang go upstairs to the house of Nirvana people. He opens every door, and meets Kumang Tanan Remayan’s father and Lanai Serak Tengkelai. Lanai Serak Tengkelai’s father is always awake because if his one eye is shut, his other eye takes turn to open. Lanai Serak Tengkelai’s father tells Keliang, “Well then let’s go to war tomorrow. Actually tomorrow we are planning to kill your parents and Jengkuan’s parents as offerings.” Keliang says to Lanai Serak Tengkelai’s father that his head would look nice if it is hung on his back like someone who is *ngabang* (going from other village’s party).
2. After that Keliang goes to see Kumang’s father, who is his father in law. Keliang opens every door, and ends up in Kumang Tanan Remayan’s room. Kumang Tanan Remayan screams, “Who dares to intrude to our house, the people of the Nirvana?” After she opens her eyes, she sees the handsome Keliang. Keliang flirts with Kumang Tanan Remayan, and finally Kumang Tanan Remayan tells Keliang where Kumang and Jengkuan’s parents are kept as hostages. Kumang Tanan Remayan says “All of us would die.” Keliang says “No, I won’t let anyone kill you. Keliang will guard you.”
3. Then Keliang goes to look for Kumang’s parents. He found them leashed in a string of an iron chain. He takes Kumang’s parents out and he does a *sengkelan* ritual, a procession to shoo away bad fortunes using chicken blood. He wants to cancel the Nirvana’s people plan to kill them as offerings. Jengkuan cries to see her parents being taken away by Keliang.

### **Scene 7: Nirvana is Burnt**

1. The next day, Laja’s army attack the Nirvana. Lanai attacks in the middle, Bedai comes from upstream and Jengkuan comes from downstream. The other soldiers are not allowed to attack because they want to prove that the magical power from the three of them is enough to win the war.
2. Before they start to attack, Lanai takes his time to look for Dabuang and Dabuang and Keliang’s parents. After he finds them, Lanai takes them out.

He tucks Dabuang in his pocket, while he put the parents in his hands, and the food for the Nirvana's people on the other. All of the food makes the soldiers eat to their satisfaction.

3. Then Lanai starts to attack the Nirvana people. All of them are scared, women and children run amok in their surprise. The men take their weapon to defense, but they lose. Nirvana people's houses are burnt with fire.

### **The Study of Mental Structure**

According to Greimas' theory, the study of deep structure comprises the actantial scheme (in syntactic level) analysis, functional structure analysis, and semantic axis analysis.

#### ***Actantial Scheme***

According to the study of narrative sequence units as stated above, it can be concluded that the actantial scheme of Kana "Inai Abang Nguak" is as follows (See Figure 2).

From the actan scheme, the function or the position of each actan is as follows (compare Zaimar, 1992, p.19; Suwondo, 2003, pp.52-54; Taum, 2011). The Sender is the important message from the ancestors that is trusted in the hands of the three characters, so that they can be the guardians of kana, the culture ruler, and jodoh of Dayak society. The three messengers are: Inai Abang, Dabaung, and Keliang. The ancestors' message becomes the sender or the catalyst of the story. The sender gives desire to the subject, which is Inai Abang, to do anything to achieve or reach the object.

The Object sought in this narration is to free Keliang, Jangkuang, and Dabuang's parents. The objects are attacked, abducted, and killed by the people of Nirvana. Inai Abang has to save these people's lives because they are the closest kin of the Dayak tribal council chief. This rescue mission is in accordance to the ancestors' wants as the sender.

The Subject in this story is Inai Abang, the hero actan that is sent to look for and rescue the Object. She completes the mission using many ways, including "torturing" her children so that the child keeps crying. Inai Abang tries to make all of the villagers in Batu Nantai also work together to rescue the object.

There are so many helpers as an actan (something or someone) which or who helps or ease subject or hero's effort in achieving the object. Inai Abang's effort is supported by all of Batu Nantai people. The helpers are: Inai Abang's child, Rainbow Scarf, Laja the Tuak Ghost Warlord, the ancestor spirits, Kumang, the magic ring, porcupine quill, sword case, a cobra, and bird king.

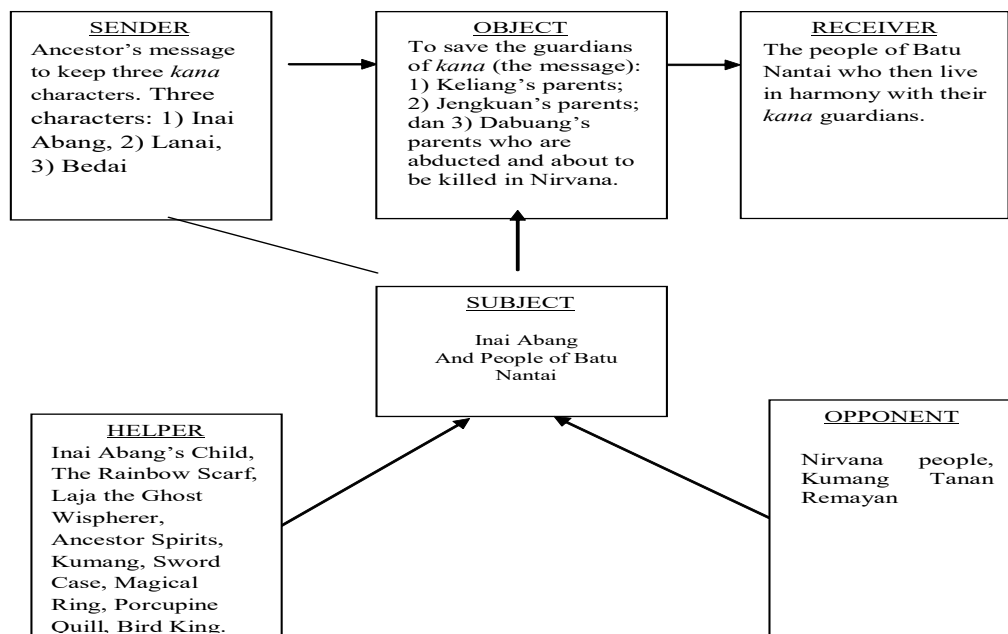


Figure 2: Actantial Scheme of *Kana "Inai Abang Nguak"*

An opponent is an actan who or which prevents the subject or the hero's effort in achieving the object. The opponents in this story are the people in Nirvana, especially a female character named Kumang Tanan Remayan.

Receiver is an actan who or which receives object worked on or looked for by the subject. In this story, The people of Batu Nantai who regain their peaceful life, along with their tribal council chiefs, the guardians of *kana* after the leaders are freed from their hostage situation in Nirvana.

### **Functional Scheme**

Besides showing the actantial structure, Greimas also proposes a solid model of narration as a plot. That model manifests in many actions referred to as functions, hence the name functional structure. Functional model also functions to elaborate the subjects' role in doing the task from the sender in the actan function. Functional model is built from many events that are shown in nouns such as departure, marriage, death, murder, etc.

The functional model is divided into three parts, which are early stage (1), transformation (2), and final stage (3) (see Zaimar: 1991; Suwondo, 2003, pp.54-55). Functional model in the story of *Kana Inai Abang Nguak* is described in the following chart (see Table 2).

The early stage of the story pictures that situation of Batu Nantai Village that is harmonious and peaceful with its order and tribe council chiefs before an event disturbs the harmony. In the early obstacle state, the Nirvana invades the earth, abducted some important people, including Keliang, Dabuang, and Jengkuan's parents. Finding this situation, Inai Abang makes many efforts to search and rescue the hostages of Nirvana. In the effort to rescue the object, there are several obstacles. Inai Abang starts to test her power with the Rainbow Scarf. Inai Abang's child also helps by revealing the mother's real intention; which is to gain power in freeing the hostages of Nirvana.



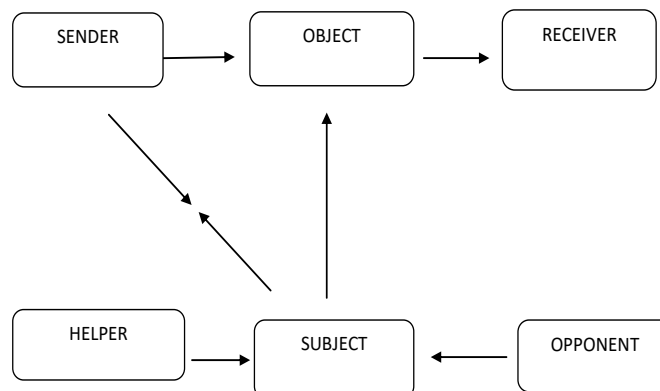
**Table 2: Functional Structure of *Kana “Inai Abang Nguak”***

I	II		III	
Early Stage	Transformation		Final Stage	
	Skill Testing Stage	Main Stage	The Winning Stage	
Batu Nantai Village lives in harmony because of the tribal council chiefs.	Abduction of the tribal council chiefs’ parents	All powers unify to attack Nirvana	Inai Abang and the villagers of Desa Batunantai’s success in freeing the hostages	Batu Nantai Village lives in harmony because of the tribal council chiefs.

The supporting powers to attack Nirvana is gathered: one of which is led by Laja, helped by Keliang, completed with magical objects like the Rainbow Scarf, Porcupine Quill, a cobra, the Bird King, and the sword case. These powers show the subject’s effort in achieving object. In this stage, also occurs the opponent, the Nirvana society, especially Kumang Tanan Remayan. The main stage of obstacle consists of the description of the subject’s effort in achieving object. In this main stage, the intruders from the Earth succeeds in freeing the hostages and burning the Nirvana, and doing the journey back to the Earth. The final situation in this narration is the renascence of balance, the situation in Batu Nantai Village has came back to its earlier stage. All of the conflicts have ended. This is how the story ends, when the subject achieves the object.

***Semantic Axis: How the Earth Conquer the Heaven***

How can the earth conquer the heaven? Doesn’t the heaven occupy supremacy over the earth? How can this be explained? According to Greimas, narratology analysis has to cover the discourse level, which is the study to reveal three semantic axis. With that semantic axis, we can understand better the society’s world view (Barthes, 1966). This narratology study does not end only in the narration technology, but also more than that, it has to be able to reveal thoughts, feelings, and the unconscious of the speaker community (Flurerink, 2009). In the context of this elaboration, communication axis chart is used as what Greimas described in the following scheme (see Figure 3)



**Figure 3: Actantial Scheme of *Kana “Inai Abang Nguak”***

### ***Desire Pursued Axis***

Greimas semantic axis focuses on desire pursued which reveals interaction of sender actan in inspiring subject to search for the object (Onodera, 2010). Actans that has roles in the desire pursued axis represents the world view of Dayak society. According to Kaharingan religion, original religion of Dayak, cosmos is shaped in two layers on the world, which is: 1) The layer of the world that is occupied by human beings, the descendants of King Bunu, and 2) The nirvana layer that is occupied by human beings who are the descendants of King Sangen and King Sangiang. King Bunu, King Sangen, and King Sangian are siblings, sons of Manyamei Tunggul Garing Janjahunan Laut and Kameloh Putak Bulau Janjulen Karang Limut Batu Kamasan Tambun, that Hindu Kaharingan adherents believe as the first human beings created by Ranying Hatala Langit. The way of living in the two cosmic layers is different. The descendants of King Bunu are not eternal and they will die after having produced the ninth descendants. Their daily meal is rice and its side dishes. The descendants of King Sangen can live forever and like Ranying Hatala Langit they can be full only by menginang (Usop, 2016).

In kana Inai Abang Nguak, the ancestor of human beings bequeath order and harmony in the tribe customs. In the customs the ancestors present and make sure that their descendant's order is kept and done. That is the earth law. Although in that text the heaven law is not mentioned, the elaboration above helps to explain that the heaven has its own law and life order. Interaction between the heaven and the earth, as is viewed by Dayak society, is something regular. In their culture, even it is stated that the ancestors of the earthlings and the heaven beings are siblings from the same mother and father. Thus, the relation, conflict, and peace between the two siblings are something common, although the heaven beings are eternal and earthlings are mortal.

### ***Power Axis***

There are two purposes why the subject is fighting to achieve the object; fulfilling the responsibility and order of the ancestor as a tribal council chief who is responsible for enforcing the custom. The responsibility is not subject to bargaining because they work to make sure of the continuation of the life of its descendants on earth. Thus, any interference to the custom and the tribal council chief is a serious violation that has to be faced with all of the possessed forces.

In the text of Kana Inai Abang Nguak, the power of the subject is doubled due to the involvement of Laja, a Tuak or warlord who prepares the attack to the heaven. All of the earth occupants are asked for support, paddy rice, and sticky rice. Laja also shouldered all of the ghosts and ancestor spirits to help in the war. The magical power involved in the offense is the rainbow scarf, magical ring, porcupine quill, and sword case. Laja is helped by Kumang, cobra, and bird king. The full force from the earth is not balanced by the heaven force who are oblivious to the attack from intangible creatures.

### ***Communication Axis***

Communication between the ancestors (sender) and the descendants (receiver) through the tribal council chiefs (object) is the ideal desire pursued in the text Kana Inai Abang Nguak. That ideal desire is then achieved by freeing the object from the hostage situation in the heaven. In a concept believed by Dayak

people, the earth and the heaven (nirvana) is connected by a giant tree (see Damayanti, 2017: 8). This text refers to it as 'fig tree'. The humans climbed to the heaven through the fig tree roots that are guarded by a cobra. In the view of Dayak society, and the world society in general, a tree is a symbol not only to the origin of the universe and human beings, but also the philosophy of the society to balance the view between the world above (heaven, spiritual world) and the world below (the earth, material world) (Santosa, 2015).

The journey to the heaven runs smoothly. The attack from the earth people to the heaven settlers also happen quickly and secretly, because people who come from earth is in the form of spirit and cannot be seen. Moreover, the heaven people are partying for gawai because they thought the ghosts are asking for a sacrifice ritual. The unified force of the earth (people, animals, spirits, and magical power) attack the heaven and succeed in conquering it. They free all the hostages, burn the heaven settlement, and finally restore the harmony on earth.

### Conclusion

*Kana Inai Abang Nguak* reveals the world view of Dayak Desa people. This *kana* is a form of oral tradition from Dayak Desa people, spoken in the formal ritual language by chanting. It can be said that *kana* represents and projects the deepest desire of the Dayak Desa society. A narratology study using the perspective of A.J Greimas is used to reveal the physical structure and the mental structure of *Kana Inai Abang Nguak*. In the discourse level, this study reveals the reason why the heaven can be conquered by earth. First, the heaven is not an entity that is very different for the earth. Although there is a difference in features between the heaven and the earth, Dayak society believes that the earth and the heaven are created and settled by ancestors who are siblings. Conflict and peace between kins are common things, not an extraordinary thing. Second, the heaven and the earth has their own order and rule that opens the probability for the people to live safely and comfortably. The heaven's act to capture the earth's tribal council chief is a serious violation that needs to be avenged by the earth. That is a strong argument for the humans to assemble an attack to the heaven. Third, to face provocation from the heaven that attacks the core and source of the humanity life, all of the forces are unified (human, animals, spirits, and magic powers) to attack the heaven, and thus successfully restore harmony on earth.

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## **NEGOTIATING THE PATH OF FAME: TRADITION AND MODERNITY IN THE PUBLIC PERSONA OF ROEKIAH (1917–1945)**

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### **Abstract**

The first great dame of the Indonesian cinema, Roekiah, rose to fame just as the medium of film came into its own. Born in 1917, she, as with many of her contemporaries, had a background in stage and was renowned for her vocal abilities. Her first filmic role, in Albert Balink's *Terang Boelan* (1937), catapulted her to stardom. Over the next five years she appeared in a further eight films, first opposite Rd. Mochtar then Ismail Djoemala, becoming one of the colony's best-loved stars. In her personal life, Roekiah was married to Kartolo, and would often defer to him when speaking to reporters. The couple had five children. This paper examines how the damsel-in-distress roles played by Roekiah and her public persona as a demure and obedient wife positioned her between two ideals: the traditional woman and the modern woman. It argues that, by negotiating between these two ideals and emphasizing her traditional attributes, Roekiah was able to capitalize on the patriarchal society's views of women, thus enabling her to reach a level of success unattained by such contemporary actresses as Fifi Young, Hadidjah, and Ratna Asmara.

Keywords: tradition, modernity, Roekiah, public persona

### **Introduction**

One's identity is not monolithic, but best described as a grouping of identities, multiple understandings of the self which are manifested in different contexts. These can include, but are not limited to, sexual identities, gender identities, societal identities, and personal identities, all of which are given a varying degree of emphasis depending on contextual necessities. One individual, for instance, may be identified as a teacher while at school, a husband and father at home, a customer at a shop, a client at an office, a motorcyclist on the road, and a student at a tai-chi center. These identities bring with them their own rights and obligations, which are enjoyed and practiced as required by the social context.

In performance media such as the cinema, performers have an additional layer of identities through the characters they portray. In more extreme cases, these "assumed" identities are imprinted by the audiences onto performers; actors and actresses are identified with and defined by their characters' traits. As such, persons known for playing villains may be greeted with hostility when in public,

and those who portray pitiful or sorrowful characters may receive offers of assistance. Less severely, actors and actresses may be identified with certain character types – as having a certain set of traits – from repeatedly taking similar roles, even if the actors themselves do not have such personalities. Even where this does not affect performers' personal lives, such typecasting drastically limits their opportunities for professional development, and as such is avoided when possible.

Based on the above discussion, it is necessary for individuals – particularly public figures – to manage their identities and thus present a certain public persona, one which may differ from their private persona. For those in the public sphere, a poorly managed public persona can be disastrous, and failure to hide identities considered improper by general society can potentially lead to ostracism and the end of one's career. However, if their public identities are properly managed, such individuals can gain enough popular support to rise to unrivalled levels of success. Such an experience was had by Roekiah, the first grand dame of Indonesian cinema.

This paper explores the public persona created by Roekiah in its relation to the "modern" and "traditional" ideals held by her audiences, who were mostly lower-class native Indonesian filmgoers. It argues that, by negotiating between modern and traditional ideals in her public persona, both through the characters she portrayed and her press appearances, Roekiah was able to find wide acceptance in the society of the Dutch East Indies, reaching levels of popularity which had never been seen before and thus cementing her cinematic legacy.

To support this argument, this article uses library research and a historical method to descriptively trace both Roekiah's life as well as her public portrayal. It is divided into five sections. Following this introduction, this article provides background on the cinema of the Dutch East Indies (modern-day Indonesia), with particular emphasis on the position of modernity and tradition. It then provides a biography of Roekiah, drawing on both contemporary sources as well as materials published after her death, before segueing into discussion of how Roekiah was depicted in film and in the popular press. This article closes by drawing some conclusions about Roekiah's negotiation of tradition and modernity and its contribution to her celebrity.

## **Theory**

At the turn of the twentieth century, as the cinema was entering the Dutch East Indies, the colony was in a state of flux. The strict traditional systems of the indigenous and migrant ethnic groups in the colony, who were forced into a fixed hierarchy (and its corresponding cultural symbols) by colonial law, began to lose power after the Dutch enacted the Ethical Policy in the 1900s. As the colonies' laws began to liberalize and the colony's society increasingly urbanized, the nobility – holders of great power traditional power – began to receive a greater degree of Europeanized education. Through this education, these men and women learned not only factual information, but internalized (to varying degrees) European values which were not always in-line with traditional ones. Though for the common individual – particularly those in the lower class, who had little access to education – the relative positions of modernity and tradition were of little import, for the intelligentsia it was one of the colony's foremost issues.

When these educated nobles began to play a role in national discourse, European culture was identified as modern culture, whereas the culture held by the different indigenous ethnic groups in the Indies was identified as Eastern. Owing in part to its highly political nature, discussion of the proper balance between the two drew heated polemics from both sides. In general, proponents of European culture argued that it offered greater fluidity and the possibility for development than traditional culture, which they considered to be too stagnant to serve as the basis for a new, independent country. Meanwhile, proponents of Eastern culture disapproved of the individualistic and secular "modernity", preferring instead traditional communalism and spirituality. Such cultural debates continued among the intellectual elite through the 1930s and until the Japanese occupation of the colony in 1942.

The fledgling colonial film industry was not immune to this discourse. It exhibited an extraordinary degree of dualism, of negotiation between tradition and modernity, in its stories, production practices, and treatment of performers. Traditional stories, particularly those already popular on the stage, were a staple of the early Indies cinema. The first domestic film was based on a frequently staged legend, *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* (1926). Popular stories from *lenong*, a semi-traditional form of theatre in Batavia, were likewise adapted to film, including the bandit films *Si Ronda* (1930) and *Si Pitoeng* (1931). Even the novels adapted to film were those which had previously been brought to the stage (Author, 2014). During the first decade of Indies cinema, films based on original stories – such as *Resia Boroboedoer* (1928) – were the exception, rather than the norm.

Production aspects likewise contributed to this duality between tradition and Westernized modernity in the cinema. In the earliest productions, films' directors and producers were the same individuals, and retained total control over a production. The director/producer likely provided oral guidance to actors and actresses – most of whom were illiterate – during rehearsals (Author, 2014); no shooting scripts were not used until *Njai Dasima* in 1932. Interior scenes in these films were shot on fixed set-pieces and from angles similar to what one would see on stage, while beautiful landscapes were a favourite for exterior scenes. The latter took advantage of the camera's portability, lending the medium unprecedented potential to present a variety of breathtaking locations.

As with the traditional stage, the early Indies cinema gave individual performers less emphasis than the performance itself. Advertisements for early productions, such as *Loetoeng Kasaroeng* and *Eulis Atjih* (1927), emphasized the technical achievement of producing a film locally. The former boasted itself as the "First Showing of the First Netherlands Indies Film," original *Eerste vertooningen van de Eerste Ned. Indie Speel Film* (Biran, 2009), while the later claimed to be a "FILM OF THE TIME OF PROGRESS," original *FILM DJAMAN KEMADJOEAN* (Biran, 2009). With the advent of the talkie in the Indies in the early 1930s, the technical aspects of films became their key selling point. With *Indonesia Malaise* (1931), for instance, Halimoen Film offered audiences a clear listening experience or their money back, while Tan's Film plugged their second adaptation of *Njai Dasima* (1932) as a "Speaking – Singing – Dancing and Musical Talkie"; all aspects which prioritized the technical abilities available with the advent of sound (*De Indische Courant* 1932).

Reviews were similar in their lack of discussion of named individuals. For instance, in Kwee Tek Hoay's discussion of such films as *Njai Dasima* (1929) and *Melati van Agam* (1930/31), he refers to actors as "the one holding the role of Dasima" or "the one who is Edward," original "jang pegang rol Dasima" and "jang djadi Edward" (Kwee, 1929), or avoids discussing them altogether, mentioning only their characters (Kwee, 1930). In his reviews, it is the roles that actors fill, and the quality of their performances, which must be identified and discussed. The actors themselves, as individuals, are of little concern, and Kwee firmly rejects the idea that a single performer can save a poor production, writing "bad meat, lacking in spices, cannot be made delicious just by adding Worcester sauce, [and] an actress cannot make a film's plot interesting if it's been misdirected, shot poorly, and everything else is chaos" (Kwee, 1929). Technical aspects of the productions, though not positioned as centrally as in advertising, were never left out of reviews.

For the first decade Indies cinema, there was a simultaneous emphasis of technical marvels and progress – the modernity of the cinema – and marginalization of the (predominantly lower-class) performers. This duality only began to change in the mid-1930s, when *Terang Boelan* (1937) was released to massive commercial success and revitalized the flailing Indies cinema industry. Directed by Albert Balink and starring Rd. Mochtar and Roekiah, the film drew new audiences and received an international release, earning 200,000 Straits dollars in British Malaya and the Straits Settlement. With their widespread recognition for the film, the cast toured the archipelago as the Terang Boelan Troupe before joining Tan's Film and producing another commercial blockbuster, *Fatima* (1938). Roekiah, the film's leading lady, thus became the Indies first bankable female star, helping to ensure that individual film actors would gain wide recognition while (inadvertently) requiring that performers would require carefully maintained public personas in order to further develop their popularity.

## **Theory Application**

### ***Roekiah, the First Grand Dame of Indonesian Cinema***

Born in 1917, Roekiah was the daughter of Mohammad Ali and Ningsih, actors with the Opera Poesi Indra Bangsawan. Though their marriage crossed ethnic lines – Mohammad Ali was of Belitung, while Ningsih was Sundanese – they were united in their love of the stage. Roekiah was immersed in the world of acting from a young age, travelling around Java with her parents as they went from troupe to troupe and venue to venue. This lifestyle of constant touring and her lower-class background meant that Roekiah had no time for the formal schooling which could have otherwise been available.

Rather, Roekiah studied acting, observing her parents and their fellow performers, intent on entering the field despite her parents' protests. To satisfy her daughter's desire, in 1924, while the family was with the Opera Rochani, Ningsih agreed to let Roekiah attempt a single performance, after which the seven-year-old would not be allowed on stage again. With this condition, Roekiah went on-stage and began to sing – having inherited the vocal talents of her mother – to the great appreciation of the crowd. However, Mohammad Ali was unaware of his daughter's agreement with her mother, and rushed onto the stage and pulled Roekiah aside. The aspiring actress spent the next several days refusing to eat



until her parents relented and gave their blessings for Roekiah to begin a stage career.

Over the next several years, Roekiah performed regularly with a number of troupes, gaining a reputation as a beautiful and talented songstress. In 1932 she joined the Palestina Opera of Batavia, where she met the man who was to become her husband, Kartolo, a Javanese *priyayi* several years her elder who wrote and played music for the troupe. Roekiah, aged fifteen at the time of her marriage, later stated that she had not fallen in love with Kartolo on first sight, but rather grew closer to him as she found that his playing complemented her singing well, and that he was skilled in writing songs which worked well with her voice. Their partnership continued on the stage and screen until Roekiah's death.

After several years with the Farokah Troupe, with whom they reached Singapore, Roekiah and Kartolo returned to the Indies in 1936 and decided to stop their acting careers and focus on their two children, a number which would increase to five over the following years. However, with no income, they were not long afterwards in dire financial straits. By this time, the Algemeen Nederlandsch Indisch Filmsyndicaat (ANIF) was casting for the film *Terang Boelan*, to be directed by Albert Balink and shot by Joshua and Othniel Wong. Roekiah was brought on as the leading lady, portraying Rohaya, while Kartolo received a supporting role as Dullah. The film was an unprecedented success, and set a box office record which would not be broken by a domestic production until *Krisis* in 1953 (Anwar, 2004).

After filming wrapped and ANIF shut down its fiction film division, Roekiah fell into a depression. Kartolo then took her on a tour of the Indies and Singapore together with the cast of *Terang Boelan*, billing themselves the Terang Boelan Troupe. This cured Roekiah's depression, and upon returning to Batavia the cast – including Roekiah, Kartolo, Rd Mochtar, and the Wong brothers – was hired by Tan's Film for *Fatima* (1938), the company's first production since *Njai*



**Fig. 1: Roekiah in**

*Dasima* in 1932. This new film's plot closely followed that of *Terang Boelan*; both featured Roekiah and Mochtar as lovers who come from an island and succeed in capturing a wanted criminal. *Fatima's* success mirrored its predecessor's, though on a smaller scale.

For the rest of her feature film career, Roekiah stayed with Tan's, and the studio paid her 150 gulden a month, with another 50 for Kartolo (Imanjaya, 2006); this figure, exorbitant at the time, reflected Roekiah's rising popularity. Over the next two years Roekiah appeared as Mochtar's romantic interest in two further films: *Gagak Item* (1939) and *Siti Akbari* (1940). Their partnership was recognized throughout the colony, and they were compared to the on-screen Hollywood couple of Janet Gaynor and Charles Farrell. When Mochtar left the company following a payment dispute, Kartolo asked his friend Ismail Djoemala – a tailor by trade – to become his wife's on-screen partner; Djoemala and Roekiah were paired for four films (*Sorga Ka Toedjoe* [1940], *Roekihati* [1940], *Poesaka Terpendam* [1941], and *Koeda Sembrani* [1941]) and continued to draw viewers

in droves, though none of these productions reached the same level of success as Roekiah's first two films.

Her career was cut short by war. In March 1942, the Dutch colonial government capitulated to the Japanese Empire, and during the ensuing three year occupation, domestic cinema ground to a halt; only six shorts are recorded, all propaganda, and only one of those, *Ke Seberang* (1944), involved Roekiah. Most of Roekiah's time was spent travelling through Java and performing on stage for the Japanese troops. The tight schedule which she was forced to keep gave her little time to rest, and her health began to suffer. She fell ill in February 1945, but the occupation government forced her to travel from Jakarta to Surabaya for a performance. Her health never recovered, and after several months of treatment she died on September 2, 1945 ("Roekiah Meninggal Doenia").

### ***The Path to Fame: Negotiations between Modernity and Tradition***

Roekiah's public persona consisted of two elements, namely the characters she portrayed – which led viewers to attribute the characteristics shown in these roles to the actress – and the public face presented, by herself or others, in other media, including photographs, reviews, and media interviews. Though for the purposes of this discussion these traits have been categorized based on whether they were presented on screen or in other media, it is important to remember that all of these traits were presented contemporaneously, through the different media, and in their interactions offered balances and counterbalances between modernity and tradition which were central to the development of Roekiah's public persona.

In her eight feature-length films, Roekiah frequently portrayed young women who fall in love with young men who are not rich (Rd Mochtar's character in *Fatima*, Idris, was a fisherman), are kindly and loving, willing to protect them. Her characters spurned advances from rich but immoral men, even when their families preferred the pairing; in *Terang Boelan*, for instance, Roekiah's character Rohaya rejects her father's demands that she marry Musa, who is (unbeknownst to his fellow villagers) an opium smuggler. In all cases the despicable and immoral acts of her characters' parents' selection are revealed, and Roekiah's characters receive their family's support to marry for love. Even in cases where her characters are not faced with their families' rejection, Roekiah's characters consistently gives consideration to their families' feelings, to the point that *Sorga Ka Toedjoe's* Rasminah refused to marry Hoesin (Djoemala) unless her aunt Hadidjah is reunited with her husband first.

Only in two of Roekiah's films, *Siti Akbari* and *Roekihati* (both 1940), does the courtship process not take central stage. However, the relationship between the characters portrayed by Roekiah and the male lead remained key to the story. In both instances, the central conflict of these films is not the romantic attraction of two young people, but a young wife's suffering as her husband goes astray. In both films, Roekiah portrays a woman who remains faithful, patiently waiting for her husband to realize that the woman he has left her for (and, in the case of *Roekihati*, wanted to take as a second wife) is lacking. Never do Roekiah's characters commit adultery, or find replacements for their husbands. Their virtue is, in both instances, rewarded by the character's husband returning, and their relationship continuing more strongly than before.

When these films were released in the late 1930s and early 1940s, marriage for love – considered a European, or "modern", ideal – had begun to gain popular

approval, while the tradition of parents arranging marriages for their own financial or social benefits (often over their own children's protests), was still practiced, but had received considerable condemnation. However, the idea of a child marrying a person for love over their parents' protests, something perceived as often happening in European culture, was firmly rejected; even though children were allowed to choose their own spouses, parents' blessings were still required. After marriage, women were expected to remain faithful to their husbands no matter what challenges they faced; a woman who was spurned by her husband and began entertaining other men, or abandoned what were considered her household duties, faced social ostracism. Though polygamy was allowed for men (a situation which had, however, begun to be condemned by the general populace), women were expected to remain patiently monogamous. These negotiations of modernity and tradition were reflected in Roekiah's characters, who embraced aspects of European "modernity" with widespread support, but avoided "modern" ideals which were still controversial. As will be seen, this "modern yet not too modern" form of negotiations dominated the construction of Roekiah's public persona, both on screen and in the media.

Beginning with *Terang Boelan*, Roekiah consistently portrayed women from villages (representative of tradition) rather than cities (representative of modernity), and their personalities are reflective of this origin. The women portrayed by Roekiah are respectful and timid, soft-spoken and deferential to men and their elders. Although they can assert themselves, this is only done rarely, and never in a physical manner; in the face of danger, they are the stereotypical "damsels in distress", needing to be rescued by male characters. This is particularly evident in *Sorga Ka Toedjoe*. Roekiah's character, Rasminah, is consistently polite, even to people she dislikes intensely, addressing the manipulating and greedy son of a landlord, Parta, as "Tuan" (Sir). Later, she asserts herself by insisting that she can only marry Hoesin after her aunt is reunited with her former husband. However, when she is pursued by Parta and his stooge Doel, she can only flee; Hoesin must fight Parta to ensure her safety.

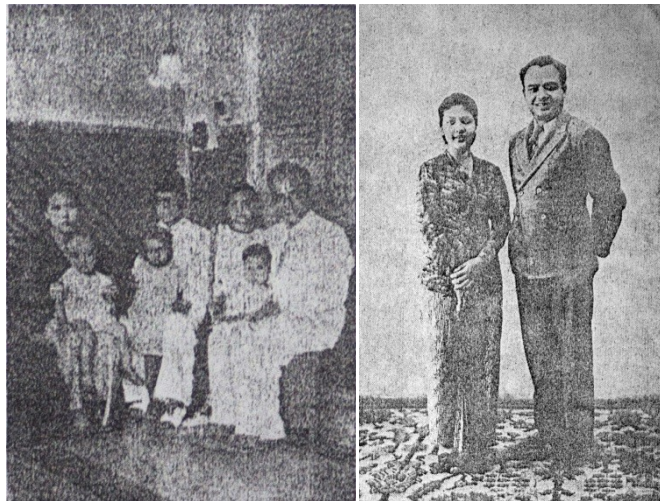
Such timidity and meekness in Roekiah's characters upheld the patriarchal ideal that a woman should not be brash or outspoken, that women should be deferential to men – even those whom they disliked – owing to their different social stations. The characters' lack of physical assertiveness, and the need for them to be rescued by men, likewise reinforced traditional gender roles; men were obligated to protect women from danger, as they were considered intrinsically weaker and thus less able to defend themselves. The characters reinforced patriarchal constructs, portraying women as the traditional patriarchy in Java expected women to act; this ensured that they were considered positive examples by conservative lower--class viewers, and thus received greater empathy and acceptance. The studios also benefited, as greater success with audiences offered greater commercial performance.

Patriarchal expectations are also present in the employment taken by Roekiah's characters. Her first two characters, Rohaya in *Terang Boelan* and Fatima in *Fatima*, are unemployed, staying at home while their husbands or lovers work. Later characters, such as Roekihati in *Roekihati* and Rasminah in *Sorga Ka Toedjoe*, take up employment, but in fields considered socially acceptable for women. Rasminah, who goes to Batavia to support her blind aunt, becomes a

weaver, while Roekihati, who works to support her ailing mother and father, becomes a maid before working as a singer at a restaurant. In the subsequent film *Koeda Sembrani*, Roekiah's character is again unemployed, though in this case her financial situation is sound as she is a Middle-Eastern princess.

Although the women of the Indies in the 1940s could work, the traditional patriarchal construct limited the fields open to them. Only rarely did women become doctors, engineers, or lawyers. Generally, they were limited to manual labor: sewing, factory work, or farming; women could also become singers – many of the colony's most popular vocal artists were women – but there was still the stigma of promiscuity and unladylike behaviour attached to such employment. Significantly, in both of these cases where Roekiah's characters find employment, they do not do so to cover their own living costs, but rather to support sick or disabled family members; they do not look for work when other individuals can support them, but only when nobody could help them or their families. This combination of factors – of "gender-appropriate" jobs and of working only out of necessity – meant that Roekiah's characters were in line with the patriarchal expectations of women in the workforce; again, by not challenging expectations, she and the studio were able to ensure that the lower-class audiences they targeted would not reject the story or actress, thus giving them a greater chance at popular and financial success.

Off the screen, Roekiah's identity as a film actress and *keroncong* singer was central to the construction of her public persona. As a *keroncong* singer and film actress, Roekiah was in a profession which embraced modernity in technical aspects. The contents of songs, the melodies used, the dialogue spoken, the recording technology used to spread singers' and actresses' talents throughout the colony – all these modern aspects received wide praise, and similarity to older media such as the stage was condemned by critics. However, in participating in such a medium, Roekiah also invited the possibility of social stigma. Since the beginning of the stage, actresses in the Indies were often seen as salacious and promiscuous; *keroncong* singers were viewed with similar disdain. Though film had become increasingly popular, by continuously appearing in romantic roles with men who were not her husband (first Rd Mochtar, and later Djoemala), Roekiah would have been open to similar accusations; however, none were made in the media.



**Fig. 2: Emphasis of family roles in media depictions of Roekiah**

The reason for this can be found in media coverage, which did not show her relations with her co-stars, but rather focused on her relationship with Kartolo and

her role as a mother. For readers of the print media, Roekiah's family life was never far from the forefront. Photographs of the artist (Fig. 2), when not showing her on her own or in a role, showed her smiling happily with her husband (right, which accompanied an article titled "Film dan Radio") or with her five children (left, from "Riwayat Roekiah–Kartolo"). In interviews, meanwhile, she presented herself as an attentive mother who was submissive to her husband; both were expected of contemporary women. In *Pertjatoeran Doenia dan Film*, Kamadjaja described interviewing Roekiah:

[After being escorted by Kartolo,] I was introduced to Roekiah. As a timid person does, she shook my hand while nodding sweetly. It was true; Roekiah's smile could light up a man's heart. But while smiling, looking at me, she glanced at her husband, Mas Kartolo, a sign she was a wife who truly loved her husband. ... [After the interview], Mas Kartolo stayed behind to play billiards, while Roekiah went home to prepare her household needs and care for her children (Kamadjaja, 1941: 18).

This sidelong glance, described as a sign that the actress truly loved Kartolo, would have allowed Roekiah to judge whether or not her husband approved of her answering the other man's questions. Kartolo, though supportive of his wife's career, for his part asserted a degree of control in public; it was he who escorted Kamadjaja to the interview (and, thus, could judge whether or not the journalist was trustworthy). He also chose Djoemala to replace Rd Mochtar as Roekiah's love interest on screen, presumably after



**Fig. 4: Roekiah (left) in a promotional still from *Sorga Ka Toedjoe*, showing her characteristic**



**Fig. 3: Sketch of Roekiah, described by Kamadjaja as showing her timid nature**

deciding that the tailor could be trusted in romantic scenes. This assertion of control likely relieved any tensions created by the disparity of Kartolo and Roekiah's wages; though Roekiah earned more money, publicly Kartolo remained the dominant decision maker, and thus upheld traditional gender roles.

Roekiah's publicly submissive and timid nature was frequently subject to commentary. As such, journalists participated in the construction of her public persona. Kamadjaja, in his interview, emphasized her meekness: he described her as soft-spoken, used the term "maloe-maloe" (timid) several times, and found her upon their first

meeting to be "almost as if she were hiding". An accompanying sketch, by the artist Sofianzo (Fig. 3), was labelled "Her face shows her timidity, sometimes [it's] almost as if she is frightened." In another instance, a reviewer for the *Bataviaasch Nieuwsblad* emphasized her "demure" demeanour in a review of the film *Gagak Item* ("Filmaankondiging Cinema Palace").

This public exhibition of timidity and meekness, as well as the continued press coverage of this personality, allowed Roekiah to be presented as a shrinking violet, upholding the patriarchal ideal that a woman should not be brash or outspoken. Through her publicly meek demeanour and regular depictions with her family, Roekiah set herself apart from fellow actresses such as Ratna Asmara, whose public personas significantly deviated from those traditionally expected of women. By publicly embracing the traditional, patriarchal construct of how a woman should act, even though she was an actress in the most modern medium available and a singer of a modern music genre, Roekiah ensured that she would not alienate the conservative lower- and middle-class viewers. This guaranteed her acceptance by audiences, as she remained true to traditional values despite the intrinsic modernity of movie stardom.

Roekiah's physical appearance complemented her personality, and thus assisted her in developing a successful public persona. Her clothing, both on stage and in public, was inspired by traditional attire; she avoided the luxurious gowns borne by Hollywood celebrities. Generally, she wore simple V-neck blouses (often with a floral pattern), sometimes with a shawl around her shoulder, and a batik sarong (Fig. 4). Her hair was usually tied in a knot, or otherwise worn short. Unlike Fifi Young, who wore a frilly and revealing dress when promoting her film *Zoebaida*, Roekiah rarely bared her shoulder or legs, thus showing a degree of modesty which resonated with conservative audiences. This did not detract from her frequently remarked upon beauty, but rather added to it. Roekiah, in her appearance as with her actions, embodied traditional patriarchal expectations of a woman: that she be beautiful, yet modest; fashionable, but not wasteful.

It must be emphasized that the above elements were mutually influential; the public face presented by Roekiah had an impact on the characters written for her, while the roles she took influenced how she presented herself and was presented to the public. For instance, her demure characters helped make demureness a desirable public trait, while her public appearance as a submissive and humble wife correlated with humble and submissive female characters being written for her. Had Roekiah's public persona been one of a self-reliant and daring woman, a modern woman of the city, the viewing public would not have accepted her portrayal of simple village women such as Roekihati or Rasminah.

In the negotiation between modernity and tradition, Roekiah's public persona put greater emphasis on traditional expectations of women. On screen, Roekiah's characters married for love and rejected individuals deemed unsuitable, at times over their parents' protests, but in all cases her characters remained faithful to their chosen men and eventually received their parents' blessings. Though her characters may have found work outside of the household, these were never in male-dominant fields, but in fields considered by the patriarchy to be suitable for women. Roekiah's public presentation, meanwhile, focused on her talent and beauty. Though she was a *keroncong* singer and actress – professions popularly perceived as being full of salacious women – Roekiah's morality was

never questioned, for her public persona emphasized her relationship with her husband and their children.

This emphasis on tradition ensured both Roekiah's performances and public persona had greater resonance with the majority of filmgoers, who were of the lower and lower-middle classes and upheld traditional gender roles. She did not explicitly challenge patriarchal constructs, instead conforming to them in a way that allowed audiences to consider her a good representative of "modern yet not too modern" women. Those modern aspects which she embraced, including her chosen medium and genre, had already been internalized within Indies popular culture and thus had wide acceptance. As such, Roekiah's public persona was a relatively conservative one, particularly in comparison to fellow artists such as Fifi Young (who, in her first two roles, depicted women who married men without their parents' approval), Hadidjah (whose screen debut was as a self-reliant jungle princess in *Alang-Alang*), and Ratna Asmara (whose first film role was as a nurse who explicitly rejected tradition in *Kartinah*, and was haughty in public). Her conservative public persona enabled Roekiah to gain greater popularity than her contemporaries, and thus helped cement her reputation as the first grand dame of Indonesian cinema.

### **Conclusion**

The cinema of the Dutch East Indies developed as a dualistic entity, promoting the modern technological marvel of film while simultaneously concretizing traditional biases in the arts and society. Though some of the more traditional aspects, such as the emphasis on roles over actors, faded over time, the colonial film industry never abandoned these cultural roots. It continued embody a clear duality within a society which was itself negotiating a path between tradition and modernity.

In this context, Roekiah emerged as the first bankable leading lady of the Indies. Trained as a stage actress, she and her husband Kartolo embraced film upon their entry and massive success in the industry in 1937. Over the next five years, before the Japanese occupation drained her of her health, Roekiah started in seven further films, acting as the romantic interest to two different men – neither of whom was her husband – and drawing thousands of fans. She earned a significant income, greater than her husband's, and her every action was the subject of the movie-going public's curiosity.

To mediate the non-traditional position in which she found herself, through her characters Roekiah reflected a blend of tradition and modernity, a fusion which could be accepted by the patriarchal society of the Indies. She wore semi-traditional, feminine clothing, and portrayed women who were polite and demure in facing men and their families. Her characters became housewives and weavers, taking positions which would not challenge male authority. Even when she was not acting on film, Roekiah presented a public persona – a separate role, as it were – serving as a demure wife who provided her husband with many children and remained faithful and submissive. Roekiah's public persona embodied both a modern ideal of entertainment, as she sang *keroncong* and acted in films, but also appeared unthreatening to the traditional social hierarchy. This public persona helped her become the first grand dame of Indonesian cinema, popular with audiences of all creeds, ages, and backgrounds, and surpass her contemporaries.

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## **THE SEA, THE VOLCANO AND THE TIGER: SOME ANIMISTIC SYMBOLS IN ORAL TRADITION AND MODERN INDONESIAN LITERATURE**

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### **Abstract**

The article deals with the idea of rediscovering three basic images of Indonesian culture: the sea, the volcano and the tiger, with the help of folklore and splendid literary works of modern Indonesian writers as well. Novels by Mochtar Lubis (*Harimau! Harimau! 1975*), Eka Kurniawan (*Lelaki Harimau, 2004*), and Budi Sardjono (*Sang Nyai, 2011*) are taken as a source. The enriched traditional meanings of some animistic symbols appear in different light in each novel, rediscovering the layers of main plot and characters connotations in different ways of Neo-Traditionalism, Deconstruction and Remythologization.

**Keywords:** animistic symbols, Malay and Javanese basic archetypes and tradition, modern Indonesian literature.

### **Introduction**

The significant role of the mighty animistic patterns in Malay and Indonesian culture is written enough. A number of great scholars and explorers of Nusantara made ethnographical and anthropological studies about shamanism and widespread belief in spirits and ghosts. Studying the rituals and the everyday life oddities for the Western eye, R. Wessing, R.E. Jordan, N. Mulder, J.J. Ras, W.W. Skeat, K.M. Endicott and many others viewed closely upon rudimental images of ancient animism of Malay Archipelago. However, quite a small amount of scientists paid enough attention to the folklore and literature precisely focusing on its sources. Exceptions were made by specialists in Malay and Indonesian literature. W. Rassers, T.G.T. Pigeaud, B. Parnickel and V. Braginsky achieved important results in reconstructing the system of regional animistic images, which root into the undiscovered past of the Indonesian islands. For example, due to their works we can also comprehend the role of the ship image in Malay tradition and the powerful clown-figures (*punokawan*) of the Javanese shadow plays in theatre, oral tradition and its transformations in the modern Indonesian literature. With the developing of literature studies in Nusantara, we can continue to fill in the information gap about other images and signs, which mark the whole Indonesian culture and represent the mindset of the native people.

The article deals with the idea of rediscover three images of Indonesian culture: the sea, the volcano and the tiger, with the help of folklore and splendid literary works of modern Indonesian writers as well. Novels by Mochtar Lubis (*Harimau! Harimau!*), Eka Kurniawan (*Lelaki Harimau*), and Budi Sardjono (*Sang Nyai*) are taken as a source. The objects of the present paper are the symbolical models of ancient beliefs of Indonesians, which are “pulled up” from the original literature. The subject deals with cultural particularities of animistic symbols, their enrichment through the influence of the other cultures.

## Theory

### *The Archaic and the Tradition*

Pre-writing tradition of Nusantara includes oral folktales (*cerita rakyat*), magic spells (*mantra, guna-guna*), shadow plays (*wayang purwo*). The original “literature of the tradition” covers the divine revelation of the shaman, recitation by heart of the scholar, puppet master’s (*dalang*) improvisation of some slightly fixed texts like shadow theatre scenario (*pakem*). These conglomerate of mixed texts represent the gradual enrichment of the original content by the external influences, remarkably brought by Indian (VII-XIV centuries) and Middle Eastern (XIV-XIX centuries) Civilizations. From the linguistic perspective, two main court and high-literary languages have been used, Malay and Javanese (each in its old form). Information about animism is taken from the Malay texts because of the historical *lingua franca* role of Malay language as a mediator; some of the examples are taken from Malay translations of original Javanese texts (*cerita Panji*), with its core in theatrical performances (*wayang kulit*).

Ancient myths, mirrored in shadow plays, folktales and first written literature, collect the images of the Universe. The main features of this picture are the following.

- 1) *Axis mundi*, the World axis, represented as **World Mountain** or a World Tree – we can witness this in special figure of *wayang*, *gunungan* of *kayon*, called so after “mountain” (*gunung*) and the “tree” (*kayu*). The “fire-mountain”, of the **Volcano**, is the place of **Sakti** concentration, the magic power.
- 2) The journey to the land of the dead can be managed by the means of the special transport – the boat or the **Ship**, which plays the important role in everyday life of the Archipelago.
- 3) Crossing over the jungle **Forest** always means the struggle and the defeat of the wild **Beast**.
- 4) The helpful servants are always in the picture – several figures of the jests and clowns, who accompany the prince. Those figures, as proofed, also known as **Punokawan**, are the mighty spirits of the volcanoes and the hosts of the Java Island in disguise, the ancient fertility deities.
- 5) The **Semangat** substance and the ability of some chosen ones (*dukun*) to turn into the animals and nature objects, and the old and wide-spread belief into the **Were-tigers**, based on the *semangat* concept and the **mutual Isomorphism** of “inanimate” objects, animals and men.

- 6) The cult of the Great Goddess, in her most ultimate aspects of **Batari Durga**, the female Ruler of Destruction and Death, and the famous **Nyai Roro Kidul**, the Queen of the Southern Sea.

These patterns formed inseparable with Hinduism and Buddhism, which did not eliminate the strong animistic basic and the beliefs in ghosts and evil spirits, and the divinization of the natural objects. But the **Islamization** brought new perspective for these powerful images. Preserving the old meanings of them, such as defeating the beast meant the initiation of the hero, Sufi tradition from the Middle East added the other significant meaning. The defeated beast begins to mean the defeated wreath in the ones heart, *nafsu ammarah*.

### ***The Modernity***

In our opinion, the segment of the recognized modern Indonesian literature before the Independence (the *Balai Pustaka* and the *Pujangga Baru* generations) cannot provide the sufficient base of archaic symbols due to its turn to the Western narrative strategies and its explore of the Western styles of the literature. The rich experiments of early Indonesian writers and poets, however, can ensure the great themes of other cultural studies. We cannot deny also the fact, that young Indonesian literature moved on very fast, and absorbed different modern features of the world's literature after 1945. The "Great come back" to the search of the national roots occurred in late 1960es – 1970es and the fascinating process of *Neo-Traditionalism* lasts till now (Braginsky, 2001). The ancient myths, traditional images and well-known plots re-actualize in "big literature", in high-leveled novels created by the most recognized national Indonesian writers. Their works open good opportunities of interpretation of the traditional symbols in the contemporary literature.

### **Theory Application**

#### ***The traditional were-tiger and the modern deconstruction of the Sufi Path***

The novel *Tiger! Tiger! (Harimau! Harimau! 1975)* By **Mochtar Lubis** (1922-2004) is built on the plot-forming symbol of the tiger. The novel was published in the mid-seventies, and we will not reflect about its content in here much, because of numerous studies about this masterpiece of new Indonesian literature. Just one remark – the young hero Buyung managed to defeat the beast and to kill "the tiger in his heart", as a couple of times reminded to the reader. Here lies the idea of the traditional literature – the defeat of the *nafsu ammarah*, the Sufi concept of the animal nature of the human beings, the dark side of their souls, and the destructive chaos. The multifaceted character of the tiger also represents the Allah's wreath and the divine vengeance for the sinners, due to the main solid Islamic discourse of the novel.

The contemporary writer **Eka Kurniawan** (born in 1975) gives different perspective on the tiger image. His second novel *Man Tiger (Lelaki Harimau 2004)* is a postmodern 'penny dreadful' mockery, picked up from *cerita horror* and *cerita hantu* of mass-market, inspired by productive horror-novelist of the Soeharto Era, Abdulla Harahap. Eka Kurniawan manages to combine and remix the Indonesian 'pulp fiction' full of murder, erotic and mystic, cheap comics and their much more serious origin – the Nusantara folktales about were-tigers. The family background of the main character, young anti-hero Margio, recalls the

social realism style, in the spirit of hopeless reality of the poor as displayed in plays and novels by prominent Soviet writer, Maxim Gorky. The gloomy backlight and the dense narrative reveal the unpleasant scenes of provincial life as the grotesque. Expressive Franz Kafka-motives are about to break in. The shamanic gift, inherited from the grandfather, gives Margio the power of supernatural power possession. Not alike the young Buyung character from Mochtar Lubis novel, Margio surrenders to the chaotic power and commits a crime, scene of which show up in the first chapter: “Its not me. It’s the tiger in me” (Kurniawan, 2004, p. 39), and the were-tiger materialized in Margio – in the last: “At the same moment the tiger came out of him. White as a swan” (Kurniawan, 2004, p.192).

The proof of the plot element about the magical shamanic bound of the grandson and the grandfather is caused by the less formal communication between them and is found in the works of anthropologists (Frazer, 1960, p.172). Grandfather talked a lot about genies of both sexes, but the most incredible story was about the tiger. “Many villagers have become friends with the tigers... they received a special gift, which has been passed from generation to generation... Far ancestors have forgotten who in the kin was the first to enter into relations with the tiger” (Kurniawan, 2004, p.47). Margio received the gift in the erotic dream, which means that the ‘Kurniawan’s tiger’ shows up as ancestors’ gift and refers to the mythological plot about the zoomorphic sex partner. Totemism gets humans closer to animals. Putative ignorance about the role of the father in the conception brings to the substitution of the human ancestor with spirits, which are more close to the natural power” (Levi-Strauss, 2008, p. 25). Female spirits, or *celestial wives*, usually interfere in the shaman’s trance experience, accompanied with strong sexual emotions” (Eliade, 2014, pp.64-66).

Then the plot gets to the *breaking of the level* (according to Eliade). After the obtaining the shamanic gift Margio becomes bloodthirsty, turns to the wild beast, crossing over the worlds of the humans and of the spirits. Till now some societies believe that the mental decease can be caused by the possession of the evil spirits: in the realistic way the story of Margio can be understood as *historia morbi* of a village psychopath.

At the same time the description of the tiger-spirit is not threatening: it is big, white and transparent. The only person who sees it its Margio’s sister, who is convinced the tiger came to save them from the harm. This image of Margio’s tiger lies closer to the folklore *rimau kramat*, or the white tiger spirit-guard, which roamed the sacred places like tombs of the Sufi saints (Skeat, 1990, p.163).

The main core of the novel is made by the means of *deconstruction*, the complex method of collection and dismantling. Unlike the heroes of oral traditional *cerita rakyat* and its written “brothers” – fixed Malay texts in Arabic script called *hikayat*, unlike the Mochtar Lubis’ Buyung, the *Neo-Traditional* hero, Eka Kurniawan’s Margio did not pass the test of defeating his own wrath and passions. His “tiger” is stronger than his mind. The fall of the young hero resembles the modern and post-modern philosophical ideas of the chaotic rule of dark matters. To underline this, Eka Kurniawan uses dark red paint in the descriptions. According to tradition, like *wayang*, the red face of giants (*raksasa*) is a spot of wrath and reckless minds.

In Sufi tradition, *nafsu* – or the animal soul of humans – can be displayed as images of strange beasts and visions like the mouse escaping from the throat (Schimmel, 2012, p. 121). The modification of *nafsu* – *nafsu ammarah* is ones angry soul, the image of it can be seen apart from the body.

Before the murder Margio experiences strange state of body and soul similar to shamanic trance, called *lupa* in Malay and Indonesian (*lupa* literary means “to forget”). The Sufi adepts were familiar with the conditions called *fana'* – the transition to revelation and annihilation in the Allah’s realm.

The Path to this is commonly called *tarikah*. We can say that Margio is turned to be an anti-hero, anti-adept, who goes down the anti-path (*anti-tarikah*). The post-human Margio is back to the animal nature of its far ancestors.

The chaos in our souls is the tiger. This warning of Eka Kurniawan is a masterpiece of new Indonesian literature, undoubtedly.

### ***The Sea and the Volcano – remythologization of the Javanese spiritual duality***

The opposite process of the deconstruction is the conservation the tradition by keeping it up-dated and up-graded in order to fit the nowadays needs and aspirations. The modern Indonesian writer **Budi Sardjono** (born in 1953) managed to publish successfully a number of novels, main characters of which are the specific Javanese deities of the Sea and the Volcano in his bestseller “The Queen of the Southern Sea” (*Sang Nyai*, 2011).

European Romantics of the first part of the XIX century (like Ernst Theodor Amadeus Hoffmann) used the method of *duel conception of reality*. It seems that Budi Sardjono adopted some Romanism features, like romantic irony and humor, and put his protagonist, journalist Sam, in between the reality and the fantastic realm of Javanese spirits and mighty deities, like Kyai Sapu Jagad and Nyai Roro Kidul. The strong Javanese mysticism (*kejawen*) aura is preserved in Budi Sardjono’s works, which are popular and quite simply written. Addressing the wide audience Budi Sardjono introduces the bizarre world of Javanese beliefs to his readers, and the main pathos of his novels it aimed to save the tradition to the next generations.

The duality of Javanese mysticism roots in general Austronesian myths about the Great Opposites, the sky and the earth, the peak of the mountain and the sea bottom, and also about the sun and the moon, their sacred marriage and close kinship.

The Warden of the Volcano Merapi is represented in multiplied images of all-mighty deity and in some human-like figures, like Kang Petruk. “Laughing man” with “bun of hair tangled on the top of his head” is “tall”, has “long nose” and “big belly” (Sardjono, 2011, p. 31). The *wayang*-like character helps the protagonist save the inhabitants of the Merapi mountain slopes to escape from the eruption.

A lot of studies are devoted to Semar, Petruk, Gareng, Bagong as main *punokawan* characters in Javanese *wayang*. The change of their names in some sources (in *cerita Panji* texts they are called Persanta, Jerude, Punta, Cemuris etc.) does not change the main idea, that the *punokawan* figures are the all mighty deities of ancient truly agrarian times of Java. Semar is no one but Batara Ismaya, the big brother of Batara Guru (the Divine Teacher, or Shiva – M.F.). Semar and his clown company descended to the earth to guide the royal princes and to save

them from the harm, but sometimes they act silly and make everyone laugh at their comic behavior. Being close to common people, Semar is responsible for the whole Java land, he is its spirit and its emblem (Kresna, 2012, pp.55, 60-61).

Hosts of *sakti* power, Semar and other *punokawan* are related to the places of its concentration – the mountains and the volcanoes. Volcano can display the whole Universe – the Upper world at its peak and the Underworld in its craters. *Tantu Panggelaran*, the mythological Javanese chronic, mention the God Brahma striking the iron in the crater of volcano, named after him – Bromo (Parnickel, 1973, p.270). Folk culture enabled the Indian God to be the magician and the blacksmith. Sometimes this deity is called after the second popular *punokawan* – Petruk.

His honorific name “Kyai Sapu Jagad”, used in the novel of Budi Sardjono, etymologically comes from the words “Great Master”, “Broom” and “Universe”. Sweeping the world, the Master keeps it clean and in balance. Also he is addressed as *Sunan Gunung Lawu*, or “Lord of the Lawu Mountain”, another sacred peak in Central Java.

The plurality of the same object is the common case in animism. Nature is not the opposite for the humans – on the contrary, they are isomorphic and can be mutually transformed and manifest in each other. The human character of Sam in Budi Sardjono’s novel gets close to the divine and to the strange metamorphosis of two main Javanese deities, Nyai Roro Kidul and Petruk. The last one is represented in the novel like the adviser and the guardian of the Merapi crater.

The journey to Kang Petruk’s place of habitat – the cave – lies through the forest. Actually, Sam arrives in the old-times Yogyakarta city. Crossing over space and time repeats the traditional hero’s path to the other kingdom (read: other world). The Cave of Petruk is the boiling crater of Merapi, and its master feeds his oven with human bodies to keep the fire in balance. The phantasmagoric scene is also the reminder, that the blacksmiths (and first of all, the smiths of *keris*, Javanese sacred daggers) were considered in many cultures like the devil’s servants. However, in Java the power over the fire and the metal means nothing bad – on the contrary, the blacksmiths are closer to the divine; they can obtain the *sakti* power and other magic skills. The underworld blacksmith Kyai Petruk is keeping the harmony and the balance of the Universe, as his close friend and alliance Nyai Roro Kidul does. This honorific name is not the only one. Ricklefs mentioned a dozen of them: Retna Dewati, Prabu Roro Rat Jawi, Sang Retno, Sang Dewi, Kajeng Nyai Roro Kidul, Gusti Ratu Kidul etc. (Ricklefs pp.64-74).

The name used in the novel is Nyai Roro Kidul. *Nyai* matches *Kyai* and makes the opposite of Male and Female. The Female (*Roro*) Master, the Ruler of the South (*Kidul*) has a cult which is still thriving in nowadays Java. Myths of her origin often reveal the story of a skin disease, which made the royal girl throw herself from the cliff into the sea. She was crowned the queen of the South Sea (in Java it means the Indian Ocean – M.F.) by its inhabitants, the spirits and magic underwater creatures. The skin disease is the mark of her snake-like nature and the rudiment of the former hypothetically existed snake cult (she can be also referred as *Nagini* from Indian origin). Her manifestation as Nyi Blorong is a local image of a “mermaid” with big snake tail. Snake nature helps her to keep a sharp eye on all the gold and treasures hidden in the earth (Jordan, 1997).

Chthonic image of the goddess links with the female, cold archetype of the ocean, the symbol of the cosmic chaos. The water has a double nature as a source of life and death at the same time. It is no coincidence that the Javanese think of the danger not because of the volcano, but the ocean. They believe that the drowned and the victims of a shipwreck are taken as servants of Nyai to the sea bottom. In order to prevent the anger of the goddess, ceremonies and rituals like *labuh* and *larung* are taken place, the fleet of offerings for Nyai's good will (Wessing, 1997, p.106).

Not alike Dewi Durga, Nyai Roro Kidul does not have her *wayang* figure or mask, but is commonly represented as a wise and beautiful lady of ripe age, wearing gorgeous Javanese dress of the turquoise color. Budi Sardjono creates her image according to these beliefs. He also did not forget about the sacred marriage: not a secret that since Islam came to Java, the sea goddess is told to become a lover of all the sultans of Mataram kingdom (XVII-XIX centuries). The belief is circulating till now: the rulers of Yogyakarta and of Solo (Surakarta) are said to have a relation with her (Pigeud, 1964, p.211).

Despite the conversion to Islam, the Island of Java keeps the belief in the sea and volcano deities. The reflection of the old dual image 'Mountain-Sea' tracks back to the XIX century, to the 'records' of Goddess of the Sea and Master of the Mountain royal meetings. There is also told that then the Master is out of Java, the role of the warden overcomes to the sea goddess. This superstition is in harmony with the main principles of the Javanese dualism (Geertzp, 1960, p.23).

The main figure of the Budi Sardjono's novel, Nyai Roro Kidul herself (split in her many manifestations – the novel characters), is proofed to be a nice living myth and another emblem of the Javanese culture. The modern novel demonstrates the actuality of the basic archetypes for the Javanese, and, of course, for the other ethnics of Indonesia. The motivation for the creating such characters, as the ancient deities, lies in the concept of the retained balance of the archaic culture as much as in the conscious chose of stylization. The archaic patterns, the myths and the original images are also known as archetypes of the human psyche. The "eternal presence" of such archetypes as Fire, Water, Male, Female etc. made the contemporary book worthy and interesting. Appeal to the constant opposites and balance in our lives helps to revive and to rehabilitate the well-known symbols of Java and to strengthen the all-Indonesian cultural identity. Budi Sardjono tells about the new search of the roots and the new attempt to adopt the past.

## Conclusion

Chosen novels are representing three basic concepts of Indonesian culture, coded in symbols. There are three big worlds: the *sakti*-ful Heaven or Mountain peak, the Earth, full of heroes, antagonists, wild beasts and mediators – shamans, the Underworld, like the underground craters and caves and the sea bottom, full of chthonic creatures. The enrichment of main mythological symbols happened in the 'medieval' (according to European periodization – M.F.) times, when the strong wave of Islam overcame the old religions of Hinduism and Buddhism and its fusion with the local animistic beliefs. New paradigm brought the Sufi

connotations to the old images, turning them into the symbols with additional meanings.

The Europeanization gave new perspectives for the literary proses, but only in last few decades the Indonesian authors started to search for the foundation of their literature not abroad, but in the very country. 'Back-to-basics' concept, *Neo-Traditionalism*, recalled ancient patterns and plots of traditional *cerita*. Some of the new Indonesian writers reviewed the main images and showed their ambiguities to the reading audience by deconstructing the core principles of the traditional symbols. Animism is a powerful source of symbol creating, and the very process is well known for Indonesian oral tradition and the modern literature. The few chosen symbols of animistic genesis drive the literature forward and review the myth in different ways. Like Sea, Volcano, Tiger, Gods and spirits, Myth is the greatest symbol of his own.

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## MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION AS SEEN IN FORREST CARTER'S THE EDUCATION OF LITTLE TREE

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### **Abstract**

This paper's primary purpose is to examine the concept and the impact of multicultural education that is seen in *The Education of Little Tree*. This paper employs American Studies perspective and Historicism theory in order to obtain the purpose of the study. Using American Studies perspective, this research views Native Americans as indigenous people of America. Using Historicism theory, this research is able to uncover the concept and the impact of multicultural education in the novel by viewing the socio-historical context that is referred by the novel and the socio-historical context when the novel was written and then published. Based on the analysis, it can be concluded that the concept of multicultural education that is seen in the *The Education of Little Tree* is similar to the concept that is promoted by the experts of multicultural education. The education that is given by the grandparents promotes cultural pride, knowledge of historical information of a culture, and respect towards other cultures. Furthermore, there are several positive impacts of multicultural education that is seen in *The Education of Little Tree*, they are: first, children possess cultural pride; second, children possess the historical knowledge of their own culture; third, children possess the cultural knowledge of other cultures in their society; and fourth, children respect other cultures in their society.

Keywords: concept, multiculturalism, impact, Native American, education

### **Introduction**

Education is an interesting topic to be explored since education is very important for everyone. Education can serve as a means to elevate a person's knowledge and status in a society. On the other hand, education can serve as a means to control and rule minority groups in a society. One of the examples was education that was given to Native Americans. Native Americans were forced to assimilate into America, since Native Americans were considered as uncivilized people. One of the ways to assimilate Native Americans was to educate Native Americans children using education that is based on whites' educational system.

Fortunately, the civil rights movement in the 1960s changed the perspective of many Americans. Americans began to insert multiculturalism into their educational system. Thus, the concept of multicultural education started to emerge

in America. Based on those backgrounds, this paper investigates about the concept of multicultural education through the education that is given to Native Americans. In order to achieve that goal, this paper primary purpose is to examine the concept and the impact of multicultural education that is seen in *The Education of Little Tree*.

### **Theory**

This research applies American studies perspective as the foundation for explaining the concept of multicultural education and its impact as seen in *The Education of Little Tree*. In his work *Paradigm Drama*, Tremain McDowell (1948) (as cited in Merideth, 1968) explains that, American Studies is a “synthesis of knowledge” which applies interdisciplinary approach as a holistic study of American culture. It is challenging to conduct a study on the concept and the impact of multicultural education as seen in *The Education of Little Tree* since Lucy Maddox (1999) stated that American Studies as an academic enterprise devoted to the interdisciplinary study of American history and culture. The Civil Rights movement in America in the 1960s and 1970s changed American Studies’ theory and method. American Studies scholars explored wider boundaries such as black studies, gender studies, ethnic studies, etc. Based on those statements, this paper conducts a research about education which was given to Native Americans children.

To analyze the concept of multicultural education and the impact of multicultural education as seen in *The Education of Little Tree* this paper employs Historicism theory in its analysis. Raman Selden (2005) argued that Historicism was the offspring of Hegelian idealism and several major ‘historicist’ studied literature in the context of social, political and cultural history. According to Palmer (1987), Historicism is usually reserved for that approach to literature which sets it in the context of ideas, conventions and attitudes of the period in which it was written. By using Historicism theory this paper is able to uncover the concept and the impact of multicultural education in the novel by viewing the socio-historical context that is referred by the novel and the socio-historical context when the novel was written and then published.

The descriptive qualitative method is applied in this paper. Creswell (2003) stated that qualitative method was described as an approach used to gather data systematically, but the data were purely descriptive, and therefore not numerical. The paper also applies library research in order to obtain better understanding of the problem and in order to obtain data for the research. The complete study of this paper contains of data collection and data analysis. In data collection, the researcher applies library research in order to obtain better understanding of the problem and to obtain data for the paper. The data is divided into two categories: primary data and secondary data. Primary data used in this paper is a novel entitled *The Education of Little Tree* by Forrest Carter. The secondary data are any data gathered from books, journals, research papers, e-books and e-journals which support the analysis of the research.

### ***Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education***

The idea of a multicultural society has become an official policy in many Western cultures and represents a liberal democratic attempt to promote ethnic or

racial equality. Baker (2004) stated that as a policy approach it has been influential in the education and cultural spheres where it has underpinned attempts to introduce people to a range of different beliefs, values, customs and cultural practices. For example, the teaching of multi-faith religious education and the performance of rituals became facets of educational policy. Furthermore, according to Feinberg (1996), there are three main goals of multiculturalism in education, namely: 1) cultural pride should be encouraged, 2) cultural respect should be fostered, and (3) cultural information should inform children about the range of historical experiences that have affected those who are or have been considered culturally different.

From the previous concept of multiculturalism, educational practitioners inserted multiculturalism into educational system. Multicultural education has been used by countries all over the world in referring to educational efforts that have attempted to inculcate more positive values about human pluralism and improve the learning potential for all students. According to Ellen Swartz (1992), multicultural education is an education that uses methodologies and instructional materials which promote equity of information and high standards of academic scholarship in an environment that respects the potential of each student. Furthermore, according to James A. Banks (1997), multicultural education as an idea holds that all students—regardless of their gender, social class, ethnic, racial, or cultural characteristics—should have an equal opportunity to learn.

#### ***The Socio-Historical Context of the Novel***

In the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, education for Native Americans was mainly proposed by missionaries and ex-generals of American army. Some Native Americans children were put under white educational system in order to assimilate them. Native Americans children as young as five years old were sent to the boarding schools. According to Engan-Barker (2004), the shock, fear, and loneliness which these children faced upon being uprooted from everything familiar and known can only be imagined.

As the new century began, the continued inability of boarding schools and English-only education to transform Native Americans into white people led to disillusionment and lowered expectations for Native Americans education. Engan-Barker (2004) stated that increasingly, Native Americans were viewed in the same light as blacks at that time: as a permanent underclass for whom an inferior, non-academic, vocational education was appropriate and adequate.

The life of Native Americans changed during the 1970's, under Presidents Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Jimmy Carter. In May, 1977, the congressional *American Indian Policy Review Commission*, which included five Native Americans members for the first time, made more than two hundred recommendations, most of which aimed at confirming all tribes' power to enact laws within the confines of their own reservations. The condition also changed in the educational system for Native Americans. The *Indian Education Act* in 1972 provided for special programs benefiting Native Americans children in reservation schools as well as those attending urban public schools. It was amended in 1975 to require that Native Americans parents be involved in the planning of these programs.

In 1960s the USA experienced *Civil Rights Movement*. *Civil Rights Movement* changed cultural point of view in America. Oppressed ethnic groups in America started to fight for their civil rights. The need of education was the trigger of *Civil Rights Movement*. *Civil Rights Movement* also brought impact to Native Americans. A significant but controversial piece of legislation designed to guarantee the rights of individual Native Americans came about in special Native Americans titles of the *Civil Rights Act* signed into law on April 11, 1968. According to Barret (2003), federal recognition or regulation of tribes does not make them part of the United States government or guarantee constitutional protection for tribal members. The existence of tribal governments and tribal courts had raised the issue of protection of the individual rights of Native Americans living in a tribal context.

### **Theory Application**

#### ***The Concept of Multicultural Education in the Novel***

In order that Little Tree may be able to live successfully and harmoniously in a culturally diverse society, he needs to comprehend firstly about the culture of his own tribe, the Cherokee. It is a custom for Native Americans that many hours are spent with their elders, especially grandparents. They do that in order to learn tribal history and myths. Children are the key to the future, and elders seek to instil in them the tribe's ancient traditions. Little Tree needs to understand the reasons behind his grandparents' choice of a way of life. He also needs to understand the way of life of his people, the Cherokee. The knowledge of Cherokee's way of life is very important for Little Tree so that he is aware where he is and where he belongs in the society. That way, Little Tree may not be carried away by the dominant culture of his society.

The first thing to be introduced to Little Tree about Cherokee's culture is about the traditional religion of Cherokee. Cherokee believes in the existence of spirits. The strongest spirit for Cherokee is the earth mother. The second thing to be introduced to Little Tree about Cherokee's culture is about Cherokee's way in fulfilling their daily needs. Since Cherokee depends heavily on the nature to fulfil their daily needs, it is very important to take care of the nature. Cherokee will only take what they need from the nature. The grandmother added the knowledge about Cherokees' way in fulfilling their daily needs by giving information about plants. The grandfather added the knowledge about Cherokees' way in fulfilling their daily needs by giving information about Cherokees' system of planting. The Cherokees' system of planting is different from the white's system of planting. The third thing to be introduced to Little Tree about Cherokee's culture is about Cherokee's way to handle things, such as facing a situation or solving a problem. Little Tree learns that in order to solve any problem in his life, he must keep his cool and use senses all the time. That way, he may be able to find the best solution for his problems. The grandmother adds the knowledge of Cherokee's way to handle things by giving the knowledge of body living mind and spirit mind. By using spirit mind, Little Tree may be able to understand more about the nature and other people that he encounters in life. Furthermore, by using spirit mind, Little Tree may be able to see the true nature of people who he meets. He can also read

the signs from the nature because sometimes nature gives out signs in order to give hints that something is going to happen.

In the early twentieth century, American government showed little interest in retaining Native Americans' culture. However, in 1928 there was an investigation conducted by Lewis Meriam, a student of Native Americans culture. She criticized American policy that showed no intention in preserving Native Americans' culture. The report of investigation advocated spending more money for economic assistance and suggested that the aid go directly to local tribal councils. The councils, rather than *Bureau of Indian Affairs* officials, should decide how to spend the funds. According to Tischauser (2003), Meriam called for a policy of cultural pluralism: Native Americans should be allowed to live by their old customs and values if they chose. It would lead to milestone legislation in 1934, the *Indian Reorganization Act*.

The second knowledge that Little Tree needs to comprehend is the knowledge of the history of Cherokee. It is very essential that Little Tree comprehends the history of his own tribe. The Cherokees lost their land although they had established the Cherokee Nation. According to Pritzker (1998), the Cherokee Nations was founded in 1827 with "western" democratic institution and a written constitution (which specifically disenfranchised African Americans and women). After the finding of gold in Cherokee's land, most of Cherokee were forced to move to the west of Mississippi River. The government passed *the 1830 Indian Removal Act*. They were forced to live in reservation. Some Cherokee who could escape from the forced removal to the west stayed to live in the mountains of North Carolina.

The history of Cherokee that is told by the grandparents to Little Tree is *the Trail of Tears*. It reveals to Little Tree that despite the Cherokees were in a sorrowful condition, they held their pride as Cherokee very high. It is the reason behind the preservation of Cherokee's culture and way of life. They do not want to lose their identity as Cherokee, so they maintain their way of life and culture despite being oppressed and dominated by white's culture. The government tries to civilize Native Americans in order to assimilate them into white's society without considering the existing Native Americans' culture and way of life. American government wants to educate Native Americans children using white's educational system so that Native Americans can merge into white's society.

The third knowledge that Little Tree needs to comprehend is the knowledge of other cultures in the society. This knowledge is related to the word kin. For Cherokee, understanding is more important than love. Little Tree must understand the reasons behind an act by a person before he falls into negative prejudice of that person. The same also applies for other culture. Little Tree has to understand other culture so that he knows the reason behind the existence of cultural differences.

The first knowledge of other cultures in Little Tree's society is the knowledge of other religion. Little Tree becomes aware that each religion possesses its own ritual. Cherokee embrace *Mon-o-lah* by enjoying the beauty of nature and at the same time preserving the nature. Christians accepted God by being baptized using water. However, different denominations have different ways in baptizing using water. And sometimes they fight about it. Little Tree is

amazed at the fact that those Christians worry about water that much. He thinks that water is abundant in the nature and everyone can use it as they want. It means that nature is a gift from earth mother and no one can claim it as their possession. It is different from the whites who think that possession of natural resources is very important.

The second knowledge of other cultures in Little Tree's society is the existence of white's culture. In the early twentieth century, the dominant culture was the white's culture. The grandmother shares this knowledge to Little Tree through books. Grandfather explains to Little Tree that the whites have different method in agriculture. Since, the whites are ignorant to the nature. The whites will utilize the nature as they please and they will take from the nature as many as they can. It is a comparison between modern agriculture and traditional agriculture. In the early twentieth century, modernization in agriculture meant that farmers were able to produce more. Farm began to grow larger. Landowner possesses hectares of land. New investors in modern agriculture approach the politicians in order to grab more land from Native Americans. Little Tree becomes aware that the possession of land is very important for the whites.

The third knowledge of other cultures in Little Tree's society is the existence of sharecroppers. Sharecroppers are the opposite of wealthy landowners. Sharecroppers are poor farmers that possess no land. In order to earn a living, they have to work for a landowner. Similar to Native Americans, sharecroppers also received prejudice from the society. They are considered as lazy and irresponsible. Little Tree comprehends that prejudice can happens to anyone in the society. Even white Americans may receive prejudice from the society.

The grandparents share the knowledge of the culture of Cherokee, the history of Cherokee, and the knowledge of other culture in their society because this knowledge is something good that need to be shared. Cherokee believes that if a person possesses something good, it is better to share it with anyone. Multicultural education as a concept is something good that must be shared to everyone. So that respect and embrace of cultural difference will be accepted by a lot of people.

### ***The Impact of Multicultural Education in the Novel***

The first impact that can be seen from the novel is that Little Tree possesses the cultural pride of Cherokee's culture. Following the teaching from his grandfather, Little Tree will follow "The Way" of the Cherokee. Little Tree takes only what he needs from the nature. If natural resources are not protected, the younger generations will be able to utilize them. Furthermore, Little Tree experiences the educational system of the whites when he is forced to live in a Christian orphanage by the law. The grandmother already introduces Little Tree to whites' culture through books that she reads every Sunday night. However, it does not alter Little Tree's identity of being a Cherokee. It can be seen when Little Tree is in the Christian's orphanage. When Little Tree is asked by Wilburn about what will he do when he grows up, Little Tree answered that he wants to be a Native American. Since he has cultural pride of being a Cherokee, he wants to merge with the society without losing his identity as a Cherokee.

The second impact that can be seen from the novel is that Little Tree possesses the historical knowledge of his tribe, Cherokee. Little Tree aware that

the possession of land is an important matter for the whites. Little Tree knows that Cherokee used to live in a very vast fertile land. Unfortunately, the government took the land from Native Americans by force. Little Tree comprehends that Cherokee was forced to move from their land because the whites found gold on the land. Little Tree comprehends that in Cherokee's point of view a person or a tribe cannot survive without land. However, Cherokee does not have the concept of land possession. Land is a gift from earth mother that needs to be preserved for the survival of Cherokee. Little Tree also becomes aware the historical background behind his grandfather's trade of whiskey making.

The third impact that can be seen from the novel is that Little Tree possesses the knowledge of other culture in his society. Little Tree becomes aware that the dominant culture in his society is the whites' culture. The domination of whites' culture to the culture of Native Americans can be seen through the infiltration of Christianity in the American government policies towards Native Americans. However, the policies are altered in 1978. According to Cannon (2003), on the heels of this symbol of intended reform, the U.S. Congress passed the 1978 *American Indian Religious Freedom Act*, which guaranteed freedom for tribes to practice their own traditional religions. This act ended the mixed legacy of several centuries of insistence that missionary conversion and education following Christian principles were vital aspects of Native Americans-white relations in the United States.

Little Tree becomes aware that the cultural difference between Native Americans and whites can bring misunderstanding and prejudice. The knowledge of other culture makes Little Tree grow up as a boy who is not naïve or who doesn't think that all people are nice. His grandparents already teach him the existence of bad person in other culture. Little Tree is encouraged to use his senses in order to know whether a person is nice or bad. He also learns to be more careful in dealing with another person.

Little Tree becomes aware that the society where he lives in is in trouble. White's culture is all about earning a lot of money. Unfortunately, when the system is damaged, the whites cannot handle the condition well. Pine Billy says that the world was coming to an end. He said there are rumours of wars, and famine had set on the land. Banks are mostly closed and those that are not closed are being robbed all the time. Pine Billy says there is no money to be had hardly at all. He says that folks are still jumping out of windows in the big cities whenever the notion took them. Little Tree understands that the event is *the Great Depression*. Unlike the whites who get influenced heavily by *the Great Depression*, Native Americans do not feel the impact of *the Great Depression*. Especially for those who still depends on the nature in providing their daily needs.

The fourth impact that can be seen from the novel is that Little Tree is respecting other culture in his society. Little Tree possesses understanding of other people in his society through the grandparents' teaching and his own experience. He comprehends that he needs to possess good understanding so that he will not fall into prejudice for other people in the society. It is appropriate with the lesson from the grandfather. Understanding is important for Cherokee. Thus, Little Tree needs to understand other people in the society. Little Tree is committed in trying to understand other people in the society. He respects the

sharecropper family who has to move from one land to another. He respects Mr. Jenkins who is fair in doing whiskey trading with the grandfather. Furthermore, Little Tree respects the whites' orientation for money. One of them is the small family's acquaintances, Mr. Wine. He is a Jew who lives in the settlement but earns his living by fixing clocks. Little Tree respects the fact that that Mr. Wine is a thrifty person. Since, Little Tree has respect towards Mr. Wine; Mr. Wine gives back the respect by teaching Little Tree about figures and reading the time.

Little Tree possesses the experience of having education using the whites' system. Little Tree is forced to go into a Christian's orphanage by the government. Little Tree does not like to live in the dormitory because it does not appreciate cultural differences. It only promotes how to be a good citizen and assimilate into white's society. The Reverend who leads the orphanage does not acknowledge Little Tree's parents' marriage. That is why, Little Tree is considered as a bastard who cannot be saved according Christian's point of view. Little Tree wants to live in a society where the people are respecting each other without having any prejudice. Furthermore, by possessing the knowledge of other culture's religion, Little Tree develops a certain point of view towards those religions. When facing white's religion, he is in the position of onlooker. That is why when Little Tree is forced to go into Christian's orphanage, he does not complain when he is prohibited from attending the mass.

If there is understanding in the society, everyone may be able to work together without any prejudice. Little Tree gets this lessons from his grandfather. The grandfather has an experience of witnessing this kind of unity when he was a child. Two whites were working together with a black man in order to plough the land. It shows that unity between quarrelling parties can be achieved. Little Tree is amazed by the story. He realizes that unity in the society may be achieved through understanding which resulted respect for other culture in the society.

The American government showed respect towards Native Americans when they enacted *the Indian Self Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975*. The act marked a radical change in federal policy—the assimilationist philosophy of the federal government was replaced by policies favoring tribalism and Native Americans sovereignty. According to Barret (2003), the act clearly endorsed Native Americans decision making, and the preamble declared that the United States recognized its obligation “to respond to the strong expression of the Indian people for self-determination by assuring maximum participation in the direction of educational as well as other federal services to Indian communities so as to render such services more responsive to the needs and desires of those communities.”

## **Conclusion**

The concept of multicultural education in *The Education of Little Tree* can be seen from the education that is given by the grandparents to Little Tree. The concept of multicultural education that is seen in the grandparent's education is similar to the concept that is promoted by the experts of multicultural education. The education from the grandparents promotes the encouragement of cultural pride in children. The education from the grandparents also promotes the introduction of historical events that have affected those who are or have been



considered as culturally different. In that manner, children may be able to understand better those who are or have been considered as culturally different. Furthermore, the education by the grandparents also promoted that children's respect towards other cultures should be fostered.

The concept of multicultural education that is seen in *The Education of Little Tree* also rejects the assimilation purpose of white's educational system. Children shall be able to merge into the society without losing their cultural identity. Thus, the concept of multicultural education encourages the maintenance of native rituals and cultures in education. Teachers should encourage children to perform their rituals and cultures, such as traditional dances and songs. Furthermore, education in a democratic society shall require teachers to respect the rights of students to be culturally different.

There are several positive impacts of multicultural education that can be seen from *The Education of Little Tree*. The first impact is that children possess cultural pride. The second and third impacts of multicultural education are that children possess the historical knowledge of their own culture and knowledge of other cultures in the society. The fourth impact of multicultural education is that children are respecting other cultures.

It is fascinating that *The Education of Little Tree* captures the spirit of multiculturalism in its story. *The Education of Little Tree* considers that multicultural education as a concept is something good that must be shared to everyone. With that, respect and acceptance of cultural differences are practiced by all the people.

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***POTEHI* IN NEW ORDER'S RESTRAINT:  
THE LOST OF INHERITOR GENERATION  
OF CHINESE *WAYANG* CULTURE**

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**Abstract**

This article aimed to describe the history of *wayang potehi* development in Indonesia especially during the New Order period that became a dark time for its development. This study used historical research methods including heuristic step or source searching, source critics, data interpretation, and historiography or historical writing. The results showed that *wayang potehi* began to develop in Indonesia as the coming of Chinese immigrants around the 17th century and experienced acculturation with local culture. *Wayang potehi* experienced dark times when emerged the discriminatory rule of the New Order government against all things related to Chinese culture. The restraint to freedom of expression and preservation of *wayang potehi* cut off the chain of inheritor generation.

Keywords: *wayang potehi*, Chinese, new order, cultural inheritors

**Introduction**

Before the coming of Hindu culture, the natives of archipelago had known *wayang* as a medium to worship the ancestors. *Wayang* was considered the embodiment of ancestral spirits that later adapted into Javanese culture. There were some varieties of *wayang* from *wayang kulit*, *wayang beber*, *wayang suket*, *wayang golek*, *wayang wong*, and many others. Ironically from the long list of *wayang*'s inventory in Indonesia, *wayang potehi* is often excluded.

*Wayang potehi* is brought by the Chinese migrants to Indonesia. This culture was in the performing art form that showed characters in puppet form. In the show, *wayang potehi* played wise tales from China. Like *wayang* in general, *potehi* was also full of life values. Furthermore as a meeting with the local culture, *wayang potehi* in Indonesia also experienced acculturation process. Nevertheless, this *wayang* still doesn't lose its trademark and became one of the Chinese cultural identities.

The political changes in Indonesia that occurred after the 1965 incident which actually gave significant impact on *wayang potehi*'s existence. On behalf of the latent danger of Chinese communism influence, the new government issued discriminatory rules that further strengthened anti-Chinese sentiments. The New Order attempted to fuse Chinese into tribes that dominated the area where they

lived. The assimilation effort first began by eliminating all their cultural identities or could be cited as cultural genocide.

Through Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967, all forms of Chinese culture and traditions such as Chinese New Year, *wayang potehi* show, *barongsai*, and so on could be celebrated only among families in the house or temple. The shackles over three decades had become a serious threat that led to Chinese culture genocide. No wonder if *wayang potehi* was not included into the *babon wayang*'s book because the data source and generation that supports it was also limited.

Based on the thought above, this research attempts to review the history of *wayang potehi* development in Indonesia until it finally began to lose the inheritors generation due to discriminatory policies of the New Order government. Therefore, this study focuses on (1) the history of *wayang potehi* development in Indonesia, (2) the fate of *wayang potehi* in the New Order era, and (3) the lost of inheritor generation of *wayang potehi* as one of the cultural identity.

## Theory

In Javanese, *wayang* means shadow. According to Mulyono (1975, p.11) the root of word *wayang* was "yang" with variations of the word "yung", and "yong". It means unstable, uncertain, unsettled, flying and moving around (note the words: *goyang*, *huyung*, *doyong*). So *wayang* contained the meaning of shadows that moving around, not fixed, and seem faintly. Slowly the word *wayang* not only became name of the shadow show but also had widespread meaning to be puppets and dramas played by human (*wayang wong*).

The art of puppetry is a traditional classical cultural art that is noble, full life's value and noble life, ended by winning goodness and defeating the evil. The art of puppetry generally includes complex performing arts. It contains at least seven elements of art there are drama art, art or painting, sculpture or craft, literary arts, sound art, music art, style or dance art (Haryanto, 1988, p. 2-5). The mixing of these various art's elements allows *wayang* to be so many kinds from *wayang kulit*, *wayang beber*, *wayang golek*, to *wayang wong*.

The *wayang* show is part of the ancestor culture that was believed to have existed before the coming of outside influence. It means *wayang* appeared since prehistoric times when ancestors just knew animism and dynamism (Mulyono, 1975, p.56). While some other experts argue that *wayang* got influence from outside cultures such as India and Chinese (Haryanto, 1988, p. 35). The influence of India or Hinduism appeared in *wayang purwa* story that took *Bharatayudha* and *Ramayana* stories. Although the influence of Chinese wasn't significant, it couldn't be separated from the origin of *wayang* that also exists in China.

Chinese influence could also be studied from Chinese immigrants especially Hokkien. They were famous for bringing a puppet culture called *wayang potehi*. *Wayang potehi* is included in the puppet show. Kuardhani (2012, pp.5-7) explains that China recognized three types of three-dimensional puppet, namely: rod puppet, strings puppet, and glove puppets. So *wayang potehi* is included in the glove puppet show because it is played by entering the hand into the doll's body.

As a form of culture, *wayang* certainly has a cultural support community as well as the cultural inheritor. Cultural inheritance can work well if freedom of expression and efforts to develop the culture are given in wide space. The development of art and culture is needed to be able to accommodate and foster creativity of the artists, to increase the society's art appreciation, to expand the opportunity to enjoy culture art, to preserve the culture, and to raise the spirit and passion of nation building (Guritno, 1988, p. 9).

### **Method**

This research was a literature research with historical method to describe the history of *wayang potehi* development, the fate of *wayang potehi* in the New Order era, and the lost of the inheritor generation of *wayang potehi*. According to Gottschalk (1985: 32), the historical method includes (1) heuristics: the collection of sources, (2) criticism or analysis: assessing the source, (3) interpretation or synthesis: interpreting the source, and (4) historiography: writing.

Data were collected using literature review techniques. The sources used were in the form of books. External criticism was conducted to determine the originality and credibility of the source, while internal criticism was conducted to look at the content and compare source with each other or source triangulation. Historical analysis technique prioritized the interpretation acumen by interpreting source's content to obtain a profound and holistic review. An analytical tool was used theoretical review to examine the cultural social context and the use of multidimensional approach (Kartodirdjo, 1992, p. 2). The last step was done comprehensive history writing by assembling the facts obtained.

### **Findings and Discussion**

The existence of many kinds of *wayang*, including *wayang potehi* as an ancestral cultural heritage showed that the root of *wayang* culture is not only penetrated into the archipelago. Kwee Kek Beng in the *Koloniale Studien* magazine (unknown year published) outlined the word similarity between Chinese *wa-yaah* (Hokkien), *wo-yong* (Cantonese), and *wo-ying* (Mandarin) that means shadow performances (Haryanto, 1988, p. 36). It was same as *wayang* in Javanese. Mulyono (1975, p. 11) explain the root of word *wayang* was "*yang*".

Kong (1999) records that the history of *wayang* shows in ancient China could be traced back to the early period of the Qin Dynasty. Mo Jing's book told about a dark box designed to see images from a light's beam through small hole. In the Emperor Wendi period, the Han Dynasty, supposedly the emperor's concubine often entertained the crown prince by playing a puppet made from leaves in front of the window.

A Dutch scholar, G. Schlegel in his writings *Chineesche Brauche und Spiele in Europe* told the story of Emperor Wudi from Han Dynasty who used shadow as the concubine's image to let go of his longing. At that time the emperor was very sad because his very beloved concubine named Madame Li was dead. The royal physician named Li Shaoweng made a puppet from leather that resembled Madame Li. Madame Li's image was projected with candlelight at the night. From a far the emperor enjoyed it as a longing remedy (Mulyono, 1975, p. 14-15; Kong, 1999, p. 321-322).

According to Kong (1999, p. 322), *wayang* art grew rapidly in China during the Song Dynasty (920-1279). At the time *wayang* were made from goat leather carved into a puppets and colored. Honest figure was given a good face, while the bad were given bad face. *Wayang* show spread to Hunan, Hubei, Fujian, Guangdong, Jiangsu, and Zhejiang provinces. Despite the weak evidence that *wayang kulit* in Java was influenced by Chinese, it was not impossible that Chinese migrants helped to develop *wayang* art that had existed in Java for centuries before.

Another case with *wayang potehi* that originally came from China. This traditional puppet show art originated in Fujian, the main origin of Indonesia's Chinese immigrants. *Potehi* is derived from word *poo* (cloth), *tay* (pocket), and *hie* (puppets). Kong (1999, p.319) explains *potehi* is a rather small wooden puppet. The head is connected to cloth pocket, and the outer clothing worn *wayang* characters' clothes. *Dalang*'s hand put in the pocket to control the doll's motion, especially on the head and both hands.

It was said that *wayang potehi* originated from the story of five death penalty prisoners during the Tang Dynasty (617-918). According to Wardani and Widiyastuti (2013, pp.70-71), while waiting for execution, they passed the time by playing a piece of rectangular cloth that one end was tied to resemble head shape. This puppet's movement was accompanied by music from existing cutlery. The emperor knew it and freed them to develop that new art. Sometimes people said that *wayang potehi* adopted Peking opera art in small form. The dolls were made up uniquely with various symbolic meanings according to their character.

As time goes by, the entertainment function of *wayang potehi* also developed into ritual function. *Wayang potehi* shows was often regarded as an appropriate means of conveying gratitude, praise, and prayer to the gods and ancestors. It was believed to bring blessings and abundant sustenance. Associated to the ritual function, *wayang potehi* was usually played in front of the temple by first praying. Now *wayang potehi* show can be performed anywhere in its function as a entertainment means.

*Wayang potehi* includes into three dimensional puppets. Variants of three-dimensional puppet in Indonesia is quite a lot. Mastuti (2014, p.40) said it was among others *wayang golek* from West Java, *wayang unyil* from Betawi, *wayang dangkluk* from Bali, *wayang si gale-gale* from Tapanuli, *wayang kaet/gaet* from Riau, *wayang cicak* in Tanjung Pinang, *wayang baco-puraga* In Makassar, and *wayang gantung/marionette* in West Kalimantan. Some of them also have Chinese influence, so on some sides they are similar to *wayang potehi*.

*Wayang cicak*, for example, was introduced by Chinese community in Tanjung Pinang. *Wayang baco-puraga* was also played like *wayang potehi* with the life story and daily relation of Makassar Tionghoa community. *Wayang gantung* alias *chiao theu* that was developed in Singkawang, West Kalimantan even used *Hakka* language as an instruction language. Furthermore, *wayang potehi* was generally more developed in Java. Specifically in Yogyakarta also found *wayang kulit Cina-Jawa* (wacinwa) or Chinese-Javanese *wayang kulit* by Gan Thwan Sing (Kuardhani, 2012, pp.13-20).

Mastuti (2014, p.48) quoting Brandon (1967) in Clara van Groenendael (1993), stated that *wayang potehi* came to Java around the beginning of the 20th

century. Allegedly *wayang potehi* was brought by the Hokkien tribe through Semarang and Surabaya in the 1880s. Wardani and Widiyastuti (2013, p.71) mentioned earlier around 1735 along with the wave of Chinese immigrants to Java. Kuardhani (2012, p.30) has a similar assumption that in the 17th century, *wayang potehi* show was already popular in Batavia.

At first, *wayang potehi* was often held in temple with Chinese Hokkien dialect as the instruction language. This traditional spectacle used Indonesian and also Javanese language. However, in the *suluk*'s part Chinese language (especially Hokkien) was still used to give cue guiding code to the music's rhythm that accompanied *wayang potehi*. There were 3 types of *suluk* namely (1) *Laay...*, to give the code that the music rhythm should be slow, (2) *Ban Po Tjiauw Gi...*, the music rhythm should be rather fast, and (3) *Ji Ma Tjiauw Gi...*, the music rhythm must be fast (Wardani and Widiyastuti, 2013, p.72).

In principle, *wayang potehi* show indeed has a certain gamut sequence. Mastuti (2014, pp.81-82) explains the show begins with the opening music, all instruments was played (*lauw tay*). Furthermore, *sehu* alias *dalang* opens the show with four gods of *wayang potehi* (*Hok Lok Sioe Tjwan*), namely *Bie Tjo* (god of longevity), *Gong Kiem Liong* (the richest god), *Tjho Kok Kioe* (god of rank), and *Tjhai Tjoe* (smart kids). By offerings and *hio*, *sehu* recites a prayer for the one who implements votive. The opening character then appears with a monologue followed by dialogue (*jejer* or story telling), war scenes, and ending.

Before the New Order period, *wayang potehi* show was very close to the society especially in Java. Kuardhani (2012, pp.91-92) noted interesting information that once in the night market of *Sekaten* Yogyakarta, a small theater was established exclusively for *wayang potehi* show. In 1963, Semarang, it was also easy to find the stage of *wayang potehi* placed on a cow cart. This stage's design was unique because it didn't need to unload pairs if they want to move the stage.

In addition, *wayang potehi* shows were found in the celebrations of Chinese day or vow ceremonies and celebrations held by the Chinese community. Wardani and Widiyastuti (2013, p.75) describes the function of *wayang potehi* wasn't limited to religious issues, but also marriage, *ruwatan*, *supitan*, and others. Time staging is adjusted to the celebration time, it could be a few days or a few hours only.

After the 1965 Incident's outbreak, Chinese community was affected. Allegations that were still affiliated to the communism of People's Republic of policy was applied to merge Chinese with local community. Especially about the Chinese culture, the government issued Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967 concerning the prohibition of Chinese worship, customs and culture in public but should only be done internally in families or individuals.

Certainly this prohibition had a significant impact on *wayang potehi* development. Wardani and Widiyastuti (2013, p.72) interviewed a *sehu* named Thio Tiong Gie. According to this senior *dalang* since the issuance of Presidential Instruction during the New Order period, he had performed only one *wayang potehi* show in public. At that time he was pressed because there was a boy who insisted didn't want to be circumcised if there was no *wayang potehi* show. Since

the prohibition emerged, *wayang potehi* was only performed at the temple at certain celebrations only.

Reduction of the show in public made *wayang potehi* show changed the show's format. *Wayang potehi* performed serially, usually lasted for two hours in the afternoon (at 15:00 to 17:00) and two hours at night (19:00 to 21:00) with different plays on each session (Kuardhani, 2012, pp.35-36). One story on each series completed in about one to three months. The determinant of the show's duration depended on the amount of funds collected from the donors who had a vow. In contrast to *wayang kulit* for example, people who invited them had to pay the entire show for one story at once for six to seven hours (all night).

This difficult situation also influenced on *wayang potehi's pakem*. *Suluk* that must be pronounced in Hokkien became rote, especially for *dalang* who was no longer mastering Hokkien language. Moreover many *sehu* weren't from among the Chinese then. In the meantime, the Chinese tended to be apathetic and reluctant to preserve *wayang potehi*. Besides, economically the *sehu* profession was less promising, New Order political pressure also became a frightening threat. Not infrequently the *suluk* experienced a shift from the original words and no longer accordance with the standard.

The existence of *wayang potehi* that had been for centuries in Java naturally brought it into acculturation nuances. The encounter of cultural products and human supporters that differ from each others produced harmonious collaboration. Nevertheless, *wayang potehi* wasn't allowed to develop during the New Order period. The rulers gave the stigma 'the other' or '*liyan*' to *wayang potehi*. Even though many supporters (*dalang*, musicians, audiences) are Javanese, but *wayang potehi* was still considered a "property" of the Chinese and not part of Indonesian culture.

As time goes by, *wayang potehi* shows was no longer referred to Peking opera arts. The *dalang* gained much new insight from Javanese *wayang* like *wayang kulit* or *wayang golek*. Because *wayang potehi* was mostly found in East Java and Central Java, the acculturation with Javanese culture was so thick. The use of language, dialect, musical instruments, and the interlude songs adopted the local culture. Of course it didn't rule out the collaboration possibility with local culture other than Java. Moreover there were several forms of arts similar to *wayang potehi* scattered in various areas, such as *wayang cicak*, *wayang gantung*, *wayang baco puraga*, and so on (Mastuti, 2014, p.40).

The use of local languages and dialects, for example Javanese, was often used in joke part. However, unlike the *wayang kulit* performances, during the *goro-goro* scene the *dalang* was dare to slip a satire joke about political issues of government. At that time *sehu* didn't dare to touch on political issues. Let alone satirize the government, getting a permission to play *wayang potehi* show in the temple wasn't an easy matter (Wardani and Widiyastuti, 2013, p.78).

Besides language and dialect, acculturation occurred on the use of musical instruments. Kuardhani (2012, pp.36-39) mentions there were Chinese musical instruments in *wayang potehi* show namely *rebab (erhu)*, lute, trumpet, flute (*bien siauw*), *tambur*, *gembeng besar (toa loo)*, and perforated wood box (*piak ko*). Furthermore, Javanese musical instruments that were part of gamelan were also



often used, such as *bonang*, *saron*, *kendang*, and *gong*. Interlude songs were often used Javanese songs, but with Chinese music rhythm.

Cultural dialogue in *wayang potehi* show could also be created through the taken plays. Generally the theme of story told about heroism, history, empire, until the lives of the gods. Some of themes that were often staged still refer to Chinese stories such as the legend of *Samkok* (three kingdoms), *Poei Sie Giok*, *Sie Djien Kui Ceng Tang*, *Sie Djien Kui Ceng See*, *Soen Go Kong* (Monkey King) alias *See Yu* (Journey to the West), and some others. Compared to *wayang kulit*, *wayang potehi* was still minimal creations story (*lakon carangan* or composition).

Mastuti (2014, pp.50-51) mentions there were two main factors that hampered the *wayang potehi* development. There were 1965 Incident and Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967. This situation resulted in the need of permission from the local security to perform every *wayang potehi* show, especially in big cities. The only different one was found in Gudo, a village in East Java, the political sentiment was relatively small and didn't affect *wayang potehi* development. Even now Gudo become the main base of *wayang potehi* and the *sehu*. In general, however, the New Order became a dark time for the development and preservation of *wayang potehi*.

For more than three decades, Chinese culture had faced genocide efforts. As a result, at least one generation of Chinese suffered an uncertainty of cultural identity. The reforms had brought Chinese culture to appear unabashedly in public. In 2000, President Abdurrahman Wahid alias Gus Dur revoked Presidential Instruction No. 14 of 1967 regarding the prohibition against Chinese culture through Presidential Decree No. 6 of 2000. Since this phenomenon, the Chinese culture including *wayang potehi* began to develop.

The euphoria of Chinese cultural freedom didn't significantly increase the number of *wayang potehi* enthusiasts. More than three decades of the restraint had made *wayang potehi* poor of inheritors, let alone successor cadres as *dalangs* and musicians. Mastuti (2014, pp.140-141) recorded the cultural preserver of *wayang potehi* in Indonesia was only about 54 people consisting of 14 *dalang* and the remaining was *dalang's* assistants and musicians. Interestingly many of them were Javanese who previously had no ties to Chinese traditions and *wayang potehi*.

According to Mastuti (2014, p.104), these Javanese-born *sehu* mostly came from cities in East Java, such as Surabaya, Sidoarjo, and Tulungagung. Initially they followed the Chinese *dalang* by becoming a *wayang potehi* musician. Eventually they were believed to be the *dalang's* assistant. Furthermore they began to learn puppetry from senior *dalang*, especially Chinese *sehu*. Their skills were increasing by self-taught and learning from experience when replacing the *dalang* who was unable to attend.

The lack of interest of young Chinese to *wayang potehi* was strongly influenced by economic and political factors. *Wayang potehi's dalang* profession didn't give a fixed income. The fact was exacerbated by political factors during the New Order that had succeeded in *wayang potehi's* torpor. Whereas the existence of an art was very dependent on the supporter community. Preservation of *wayang potehi* mainly depended heavily on the inheritors, communities

including *dalang*, musicians, *potehi* doll craftsmen, spectators, to the observer and *maecenas*.

Certainly in addition to supporter societies, cultural inheritance will only occur when there was a freedom of expression. Natural reforms have blown the wind of freedom for Chinese culture. Then emerged the resinicization effort that means a revival on interest of Chinese cultural roots (Chang, 2012). However, the breakup of one-generation chain has resulted in the reification of Chinese culture become not-easy thing. Self-awareness as a Chinese may still exist, but young generation's interest to revive their culture is not sticky.

These reification efforts will increasingly have trouble when Chinese culture was still seen as a product that should be introduced and accepted for granted. This fact can't be denied by the strong view of self-essentialism. Kleden (1986) considers that culture needs to be seen as a process rather than a product. So it isn't only judged from essentialism perspective because it will only create the culture's preservers and connoisseurs. However, wayang *potehi* now almost run out of community of supporters.

By understanding culture as an ongoing process, the younger generation must be brought to know the cultural heritage according to the current context. *Wayang potehi* as a local culture must maintain an open, fluid, and dynamic identities in its struggle amid national and global culture. Moreover, due to the rules' political pressures in the past and as the times progressed, the support society also had undergone an inevitable change of identity.

As one of the cultural heritages, *wayang potehi* is expected to be preserved in accordance with the context of time. The dynamism and flexibility to survive in current currents are a manifestation of its cultural superiority. Some things to consider in the effort to reconnect the cultural chain of *wayang potehi* heritage include (1) *wayang potehi* isn't final and rigid cultural product, but it is dynamic and fluid (2) *wayang potehi* must be acceptable to many people including younger generation, (3) *wayang potehi* is a means of developing creative power.

Another important thing which must be recognized is that *wayang potehi* is also part of the national culture. *Wayang potehi* should be placed similar to other wayang arts. In the Puppet Museum's guide book published by the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1984, *wayang potehi* wasn't mentioned. The only thing that might be close to this was the Canton Chinese puppet show (Depdikbud, 1984, p.78). It confirmed how *wayang potehi* was systematically alienated from the national cultural treasures during the New Order period.

The thing that is no less important is the Chinese culture development through education. During this time, *potehi's dalang* candidates learned wayang by self-taught or *nyantrik* with senior *dalang*. As a result there is no institutionalized effort to preserve *wayang potehi*. Formally the skills of *potehi* puppetry may also be studied in art institutes, for example in the puppetry department. Hopely it can promote wayang *potehi* to the next generation of culture inheritors who are really involved and *melu handarbeni* (feel belonging). Thus *wayang potehi* doesn't stop as a cultural product but cultural process that is lived from generation to generation.

## Conclusion

A *Wayang performance* was known in China with the terms *wa-yaah* (Hokkien), *wo-yong* (Cantonese), and *wo-ying* (Mandarin). One of the Chinese *wayang* performances that developed in Indonesia is *wayang potehi*. *Wayang potehi* is a *wayang golek* adopting Peking opera arts. *Wayang potehi* developed in Indonesia around the 17th century along with the coming of China's immigrants and then experienced acculturation with the local culture. It means that *wayang potehi* has become one of the ancestral cultural heritages of *Nusantara*.

If previously the *wayang potehi* was very close to society, entering the New Order period the situation changed. *Wayang potehi* experienced dark times with the discriminatory rule that prohibited freedom of expression for Chinese culture. There was a systematic attempt to isolate *wayang potehi* from the national cultural heritage and its supporting community. Entering the Reformation period, Chinese culture gained a freedom of expression. So, the development and preservation of *wayang potehi* is expected to be a cultural process that is continuously lived by the inheritors' generation.

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## **MAKING PEACE AMONG CONFLICTING IDENTITIES: AN AUTOETHNOGRAPHY**

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### **Abstract**

Autoethnography has gained more popularity in qualitative research. Putting the researcher's personal narratives at the centre, autoethnography can present one way to vocalize her voice without diminishing the significance of theories. By connecting lived experiences with the framework, autoethnography can serve as a powerful tool in meaning makings. Drawn upon my experiences when I was pursuing my master's in Australia, this autoethnography portrays my struggle on identity negotiation as a Javanese woman and a student in Australia. As I was trying to uncover my experiences and look at them mainly using Hall's (1993, 1997) theories as the framework, I came into a better understanding on my multiple and multilayered identities. Negotiating those identities is the key to make peace among them.

Keywords: identity negotiation, autoethnography, experiences, reflexivity

### **Introduction**

Autoethnography is defined as "a reflexive means by which the researcher-practitioner consciously embeds himself or herself in theory and practice" (McIlveen, 2008, p. 13). Furthermore, it aims to describe and analyse personal experience so as to understand cultural experience (Ellis, Adams, & Bochner, 2011, p. 273). Autoethnography thus can be seen as an approach and a product. It is also referred to as personal narrative and reflexivity. Autoethnography is therefore personal, intimate, and transformative in nature.

Rooted in my experiences when I was a student in Australia, this autoethnography serves as my critical interpretation of the experiences I encountered as a Javanese cultural member and "an outsider" in Australia. I will begin by reviewing how language, identity, and cultural difference are closely connected according to Hall (1993, 1997). Secondly, using Hall's ideas of representation, I will give some accounts on how a Solonese woman has been represented through *Putri Solo*, a well-known Javanese song. As a Javanese, particularly Solonese woman, I consider it important to discuss such representation as I have experienced how the song produces meanings in society

which become the basis of identifying a Solonese woman. Thirdly, I will scrutinize how I negotiate my multiple identities as a Javanese Indonesian and as an International student in Australia. Lastly, I will provide a brief elaboration on how writing this autoethnography has helped me see language, identity, and cultural difference using a new perspective.

### **Theory**

Hall (1997) accounts for how language, culture, and identity are closely interrelated. He defines language in a much broader and distinct sense from the general view of language. He states that language is not simply a matter of linguistic codes. Rather, it is any sign or symbol (sound, image, word, etc) which carries meanings. Meanings are neither inherited in things or objects nor neutral. To elaborate this, Hall (1997, p. 26) provides “the language of traffic lights” as an example. ‘Red’, if taken out from any contexts, does not mean anything in itself. However, when ‘red’ is situated in traffic lights, it works as a language which signifies ‘stop’. Thus, meanings are constructed by members of a particular culture through the system of representation which works in language. In other words, representation is the key enabling language to work and concepts to be represented through signs. The relationship between signs and concepts is, therefore, arbitrary.

Hence, culture and meaning are closely related in a sense that cultural members generate and exchange meanings through their social practices and, therefore, they are able to see the world in more or less the same ways. This is what Hall (1997) points out as “shared meanings” (p. 1). Meanings are also central to culture as they set the rules of social practices. How we consume meanings and give meanings to ourselves will also contribute to our identities. Culture, thus, plays an important role for a cultural member to give meanings to himself/herself, which consequently represents his/her identity. On the whole, both language and culture become the media through which meanings are produced and circulated. Besides, Hall (1997) argues that since language makes it able for meanings to be constructed and transmitted, language serves as “the key repository of cultural values and meanings” (p. 1) as these values and meanings can only be shared through a “common access to language” (p. 1).

Therefore, meanings are not fixed but keep changing depending on the context, “relational” (p. 27) and “always only partially understood” (p. 4). Representation through which meanings are made seems to be two-way communication or “dialogic” (p. 10), which denotes the presence of negotiation. However, it is through power that some parties endeavour to fix meanings. Closely attached to meanings, identity is therefore also fluid as well as keeps being negotiated and struggled.

In *Cultural Identity and Diaspora*, Hall (1993) challenges the view seeing cultural identity as ‘oneness’ and unchanging. As a poststructuralist, he emphasises that cultural identity is attached to histories and undergoes constant transformation, which strengthens his view of the fluidity of identity. In addition, as difference can signify meanings (Hall, 1997), identity is also “forged through the marking of difference” (Woodward, 1997, p. 29). Members of cultural group can identify themselves as belonging to certain culture or group since they can, in

the first place, see the difference between them and other culture's members. In addition, cultural identity is also related to feelings, attachments, and sense of belonging.

To put it briefly, language works as a system of representation, through which meanings are constructed and circulated in culture resulting in identity formation. Therefore, identity is fluid, not fixed, and multiple. Thus, it is essential for cultural members to have an understanding on how the three notions are interrelated as they are inseparable parts of society which become the basis of how society runs their life.

### **Theory Application**

Indonesia as the world's largest archipelago country consists of approximately 17,000 islands, hundreds of ethnic groups and local languages, which confirm its multilingual and multicultural nature. Java Island, as the third largest island in Indonesia, is inhabited by 60% of the total population of the country. As a Javanese cultural member who was raised in Solo, a small city in Central Java province, I have seen a number of practices through which representation takes place within the culture. One of the aspects closely attached to Solo is the representation of *Putri Solo*. When I introduced myself as a Javanese, particularly Solonese, a stereotype usually arose. They would guess and generalise that as a Solonese woman, I must be polite and gentle as represented by a quite famous Javanese *kroncong* song titled '*Putri Solo*'. One of the lyrics can be translated into 'a Solonese lady walks as gently as a hungry tiger does'. Another line in the lyrics representing the virtues of *Putri Solo* is '*dasare kepara nyata, pancen pinter alelawa*', which means that it is true that she is fashionable and has good manners.

According to Hall (1997), cultural meanings "organize and regulate social practices, influence our conduct and consequently have real, practical effects" (p. 3). The song exerts a system of representation through which cultural meanings are generated and circulated within Javanese society. Based on the circuit of culture (du Gay, Hall, et al., 1997 in Hall, 1997), the representation circulates meanings which are then consumed and contribute to identity formation. For years, the meanings represented through the lyrics have brought Javanese people in general to set regulations of what Solonese women should do. Politeness, gentleness, and good manners are three aspects expected from Javanese women. Accordingly, the representation serves as a powerful justification to categorize me and Solonese women in general as having the same characteristics, resulting in a stereotype about Solonese women. Besides, not just confined to Solonese women, *Putri Solo* has also been used to label women, not necessarily from Solo, who seem to have the virtues depicted in the lyrics. In short, this representation sets out what is normal and what is not. Admittedly, women who do not seem to have the above characteristics will be considered as breaching the norms or as not belonging to the culture.

The identity being projected in the song was probably true in the era when the song was created. The image of *Putri Solo* in the song seems to portray a typical Solonese lady in the reign of Mataram Kingdom which may become the basis for the song writer to compose such lyrics. The history of Solo itself is

inseparable from Mataram Kingdom, by which Solo was governed before Indonesia proclaimed its independence in 1945. However, since “identity is being formed in particular historical circumstances” (Woodward, 1997, p. 3), the representation of *Putri Solo* is now being contested. In the contemporary world in which the effect of assimilation of national culture as well as globalisation is noteworthy across the country, Solonese women’s characteristics seem to be very diverse, and therefore may not fit the description in the lyrics. This phenomenon actually depicts identity as fluid and keeps being transformed (Hall, 1997). Yet, Javanese people paradoxically often come to a conclusion that there has been a “crisis of identity” (Woodward, 1997, p. 16) among Javanese, particularly Solonese, without recognising the changes taking place in society. As a matter of fact, this assumption of identity crisis tends to cling to the view which sees identity as fixed and unchanging.

To sum up, the representation of *Putri Solo* has enunciated how the signifying practice contributes to the meanings generated and shared in Javanese culture. The production, consumption, and regulation of meanings have therefore contributed to the identity formation of Solonese women as being polite, gentle, and well-mannered without taking into account some major changes within the culture.

*X* : Are you Chinese?  
*Me* : No, I’m Indonesian.  
*X* : Are you Chinese Indonesian?  
*Me* : No, I’m a Javanese Indonesian.

The above conversation was a real dialogue that I had with an acquaintance when I was fairly new in Melbourne. In a multicultural country like Australia, it is somehow a very common practice to ask people, let alone ‘new comers’, where they are from. It will be even more surprising if the person is not really satisfied with the answer they are given as depicted in the dialogue. I understand that “the physical body is one site which might both set the boundaries of who we are and provide the basis of identity” (Woodward, 1997, p. 13). Yet, it struck me still that the one I spoke to often judged me by my appearance. I admit that among Indonesians, particularly Javanese Indonesians, I might look a little bit different, most likely in terms of my complexion which is paler than the majority of Javanese people. However, what they could not see is how much I feel attached to Javanese culture and the process I have been through as a Javanese Indonesian.

“Although there is no one-to-one relationship between anyone’s language and his or her cultural identity, language is *the* most sensitive indicator of the relationship between an individual and a given social group.” (Kramsch, 1998, p. 77). As a Javanese Indonesian, I somehow maintain my identity as a Javanese through the use of Javanese language along with the increasing use of Indonesian language (*Bahasa Indonesia*) within the society. This preservation originated from the values I learned from both my extended family, who are in many senses ‘very Javanese’, and my parents in particular. The act of preserving Javanese-ness is done by the use of *krama* in my family, especially in child-parent conversation. In my generation, not many among my friends still speak *krama* to their parents.

My friends who visited me sometimes expressed their surprise that I was speaking *krama* to my parents, while they preferred speaking in *Bahasa Indonesia* if not *ngoko* to their parents. As my second language and the official language of Indonesia, *Bahasa Indonesia* offers more flexibility since it is not hierarchical and only uses one speech level (Moedjanto, 1986). However, although I am competent in it, I personally do not feel myself attached to it as much as I feel to Javanese. This feeling of attachment, I believe, contributes to how I identify myself.

However, preserving identity is not without conflicts. For example, I was not comfortable using '*bapak*' and '*ibu*' when I was still in primary school because most of my friends used '*papa*' (father) '*mama*' (mother) in referring to their parents. What was in my mind when I used '*bapak*' and '*ibu*' was the feeling of inferiority as I maintained my Javanese-ness. Hall (1997) states that various media help produce meanings. In light of this, '*papa*' (father) and '*mama*' (mother) have become widely used as they appear very frequently in mass media and advertisements. The words '*mama*' and '*papa*' themselves are not the so-called 'standard' *Bahasa Indonesia* as the Indonesian words are '*ayah*' for 'father' and '*bunda*' for 'mother'. Coming from outside the country, '*papa*' and '*mama*' have been globalised and adopted by many Indonesians, especially those from higher social class. The consumed meanings and sense of more modernity that '*papa*' and '*mama*' retain had resulted in my being less confident in using '*bapak*' and '*ibu*' because the words probably signified inferiority in my friends' eyes.

According to Woodward (1997), the globalisation may cause either detachment of local/national identities or resistance. In my case, it can be seen that my parents chose to resist the globalised '*papa*' and '*mama*' by teaching us to call them using our local language, '*bapak*' and '*ibu*'. Kramsch (1998) argues that "to identify themselves as members of community, people have to define themselves jointly as insiders against others, whom they thereby define as outsiders" (p. 8). Despite the discomfort I felt as a child in using the words, I still asserted my Javanese identity although somehow I felt that I was an outsider and the 'Other' (Hall, 1997, p. 56). I was actually exercising power through my use of language, which, as Fairclough (1989) states, resulted in my involvement "in struggle with others" to defend my position (p. 35). However, my being not confident, then, has completely vanished alongside my adolescence, which indicates a stronger sense of belonging to Javanese culture. I am now even very proud that I still maintain using '*bapak*' and '*ibu*'.

Ferzacca (2006) points out that "one of the important markers of being a person the Javanese way is to be *sopan santun*" (p. 343) which means 'polite'. Besides, as a Javanese I was also taught to respect people, particularly with the use of *krama* to them, particularly if they are older than me. Politeness and respect can be seen as the manifestation of Javanese etiquette, *andap asor* (Setiawan, 1998). A Javanese may consider whether it is the age, social status, or intimacy which is important for him/her most in certain discourses or social practices. These three aspects are actually intertwined that it is sometimes difficult to decide the right register. For example, when I was still living with my parents, our neighbours generally spoke *krama* to me although in terms of age, they were much older than me. In this case, they were positioning themselves as having lower social status and thought that it was the most important aspect to be



considered in our discourse. I, myself, spoke *krama* to them since I was taking their ages into consideration. From the examples, it can be seen that both my neighbours and I practised *andap asor* which has bound our conducts and social practices as Javanese.

This value of respecting older people was challenged in the first few weeks upon my arrival in Australia. Although in my cross-cultural understanding class prior to my departure to Australia, the teacher already stated that Australians had a very casual way of addressing people, it was still an awkward moment for me to call my lecturers by their first names, without any Miss or Mister or even Doctor before their names. When I sent my first email to my lecturer, I was very confused to decide how to address him. Then, I decided to put Mr. followed by his full name as I thought I would have ‘sinned’ to my identity as a Javanese if I had not done it. Surprisingly, in his reply, he asked me to call him by his first name; something that I had never done to any of my teachers.

Yet, as I had been used to the new culture, I realised that some parts of my subjectivity had shifted. I was then comfortable to call my lecturers and my classmates who are from different parts of the world by their names. However, it was not because I did not call people by their title that I had lost my Javanese-ness. As identity is not fixed, multiple, and is a matter of positioning (Hall, 1997), what I was undergoing was the negotiation of my identities as a Javanese and as an ‘outsider’ in Australian context. To some extent, I have learned how calling someone by his/her first name without any title actually works as a representation of how equality is upheld in Australian culture. Besides, although title is not frequently used, it does not mean that the sign of respect is not enunciated through English language in Australia. I had seen a lot of practices there in which ‘thank you’ and ‘please’ were often spoken to signify respect for others. In spite of my being used to calling people by their first names, I still continued to call my Indonesian friends who lived there with ‘*Mbak*’ (sister), ‘*Mas*’ (brother), ‘*Bu*’ (Ms./Mrs.), ‘*Pak*’ (Mr.), as a sign of respect. In that case, I was negotiating the meanings which results to different positioning.

## **Conclusion**

The complexity of identity should be seen as having no clear cut definition, and stereotyping, although somehow inevitable, definitely does not apply in defining one’s identity. Although people’s complexion may speak as a language and their accent can signify certain meanings, it should not be a justification to stereotype them. It is neither our appearance nor the language we speak which tells who we are, but the feelings of attachment and belongingness. Besides, the identity is not a single entity as it is multiple, fluid, and constantly changing.

In my case, it is not when I say ‘Indonesian’ that people can recognise me as an Javanese Indonesian who has been through a long and never-ending process in shaping my identity. While preserving my Javanese-ness, I at the same time negotiated my identities as an Indonesian studying in Australia, a former English teacher, a learner of English, a woman, and many others. It is then essential for me to know how to position myself depending on the context as well as keep adjusting to new situations. Similar processes, or even much more complex ones,

happen to every single person in this world which makes it impractical to see identity as one, fixed, and unchanging.

On the whole, this autoethnography has attempted to see how language, culture, and identity are intertwined through my past experiences. Hall's (1997) notion of representation has shed light on how *Putri Solo* circulates meanings which contribute to identity formation, as well as my shifted subjectivity as a Javanese Indonesian and an international student. I myself have also come to a different perspective in seeing language, culture, and identity which, I am sure, will be an invaluable asset for me as a cultural member and an English language teacher in particular.

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## CURRENT TREND IN NAMING BABIES IN JAVANESE COMMUNITY

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### **Abstract**

The process of naming newborn babies is inseparable from the culture where they belong. Among Javanese people, there is a change of trends in naming babies. As western, noble, and religion associated names, such as *Amelia*, *Gupita*, *Arsyad*, gain popularity, modest and old-fashioned names, such as *Tugino* and *Pariyem* disappear. This paper discusses the trend in the naming of babies in Javanese community at the present time. Three theories are employed in the analysis. I will apply **Saussurean Semiology** and **Bathesian Semiology** and try to relate them to **Stuart Hall's Theory of Identity**. As a name is just an element of cultural identities, changing trends in naming in Javanese culture does not entirely change their identity as Javanese people.

Keywords: Naming tradition, Javanese community, identity

### **Introduction**

Naming a baby is a unique cultural phenomenon in the history of humankind. Zwebner, Sellier, Rosenfeld, Goldenberg & Mayo (2017, p 550) say that “we are subject to social structuring from the minute we are born, not only by our gender, ethnicity, and socioeconomic status, but also by the simple choice that others make in giving us our name.” It suggests that naming processes cannot be separated from one’s culture. This is in line with what Pina-Cabral (2008, p. 5) say that naming processes carry with them implications concerning what is a person and how he or she is placed in the world. Further, he believes that the way a person is socially constructed to some extent depends on the way the person is named.

Usually, the name of a baby can be derived from many inspirations. “Instead of personal criteria, specific rules for naming a child are more prevalent in, for example, Asian societies” (Watzlawik, Pizarroso, Guimarães, Doria, Han, Ma & Jung, 2012, p. 1164). Such rules may be based on events that happened before or after the baby is born, the totems and families trees, or the date and time of birth of the baby. Alternatively, if a name of a baby arouses spontaneously in mind, still, it needs a thoughtful consideration to give meaning to that name. Proper names or first name can refer to many things, such as public figures, heroes or heroines, religious figures, name of a place, name of a time (calendar),

clan, characteristics of the nature (weather, climate), characteristics of animals (showing strength, bravery), and so on.

In this paper, I will discuss the naming of babies in Javanese community at the present time. Three theories are employed in the analysis. I will apply **Saussurean Semiology** and **Bathesian Semiology** and try to relate them to **Stuart Hall's Theory of Identity**. I refer Javanese community to those who were born in the specific areas of Java, namely Yogyakarta province. The people in this area are heterogeneous; they come from various places, various ethnic, and they hold various religions and faith. They live in cities, suburban, and rural areas.

## **Discussion**

Nowadays, there is a change of trend in naming babies. If we pay a visit to newly born babies in hospitals around the Yogyakarta, we will rarely find babies under the names of *Tukinem*, *Miyatun*, *Partini*, *Sutiyem*, *Paijo*, *Martorejo*, *Tugino*, *Pardimin*, and the likes. Instead, on the list of the babies' names, we will read *Yenny*, *Merry*, *Tamara*, *Diska*, *Amelia*, *Reysha*, *Beny*, *Dino*, *Sony* and other similar names; or other kinds of name such as *Muhammad*, *Arsyad*, *Ikhsanuddin*, *Afifah*, *Choiriyah*, *Abdullah*, *Al Ma'ruf*, *Salsabilla*, *Siska*, *Josef*, *Johana*, *Maria*, *Nikolas* and the likes. In the rural area of Panggang, District of Gunung Kidul, there is a young couple named *Supriyatno Mujimin* and *Wartinem*. Last year, they had a baby and named her *Amelia Ayu Lestari*. Another couple in the rural area in Ngaglik, Sleman District, named their baby *Dicky Raharja*, whose father's name is *Sukiyono*. Another family in the same area, whose father's name is *Tugino Wardo Sentono* and whose mother's name *Sukinem binti Sumodirejo*, have three sons named *Denny Cahyono*, *Deddy Wijaya*, and *Benny Priyadi*. It is not wrong, of course, to name their baby in such way. However, the question is why they should give names like *Amelia*, *Dicky*, *Deny*, *Deddy* and *Benny*. Why do they leave the old-fashioned names?

### ***Names: First Names, Surnames, Middle Names and Nicknames***

There are some terms related to names, i.e. first names, surnames, middle names, and nicknames. In western cultures, a person's name usually consists of two parts or two words. The first word of the name is called the first name, or given name, or forename; and the second element is the surname, or family name. Surnames refer to the father's name in patriarchal culture. Surnames often carry "impressions of ethnicity, personality, intelligence, and physical attractiveness" (Kasof, 1993: 151). Sociolinguistically, the use of first name sociolinguistically signals informal and intimate relationship, showing high solidarity. In contrast, the use of last name indicates formal relation and low solidarity. In some cases, a married woman can still use her father's name before the husband's name. In such cases, the father's name becomes the middle name, and her husband's name becomes her surname. Sometimes, a person is called by his or her nickname to show affection, ridicule, or familiarity. A nickname is a substitute for or an addition to the proper name of a familiar person, place, or thing, for affection.

### ***Naming in Javanese Tradition***

The naming system above – the use of first name and surname – does not apply in Javanese culture. Even though in majority, Javanese people's names consist of two words, they do not follow the western system. In Javanese, the

second element of a person's name does not necessarily refer to the name of the father - or the husband for a married woman. Thus, names such as *Sri Rahayu*, or *Joko Rahmanto* are just given names. However, the use of nicknames among the Javanese are quite common, and still they are only used to show high solidarity. Boulin and Weeks (2005, p. 17) argue that "different names can be used to emphasize different aspects of personality, degrees of warmth, and technical competence." Thus, calling someone by his nickname *Gepeng*, which means very skinny, for example, is only acceptable when we know the person very well, and the context is informal and intimate.

So far, there has not been any standard for naming babies in Javanese tradition. Nevertheless, it has commonly been advised that in naming a baby, we should consider some aspects concerning the situation and the condition of the baby and of the life of the parents. One of the Parents's considerations in choosing first names for their newborns is the popularity. Parents tend to avoid using popular names due to overexposure (Hargreaves, Colman and Sluckin, 1983). In general, the basic considerations in giving a name to the baby are, among others:

- a. the sex of the baby (gender, biological aspect);
- b. what, how, where, and when the baby was born;
- c. the physical aspect of the baby's body
- d. the hope for the baby's future; and
- e. the family background

These five aspects are not the standard ones but they are commonly used by Javanese people in naming babies.

Sex or biological aspect is of course the primary consideration in naming a baby because there is a division of names based on the sexual properties. The name *Bagus*, for instance, is given to a baby boy who has handsome face (physical aspect); or he is expected to behave manly. If the baby is a baby girl, we can use the name *Ayu*, which means beautiful. It is hardly possible to give a first name like *Suharto* to a baby girl since the last vowel in the last syllable '-to' refers to males. Instead, we can give the baby girl a name like *Suharti* because the last syllable '-ti' is for females. There many other signs in naming babies based on these sexual properties. The examples below are the last sounds or syllables of names which usually indicate the sex.

**Table 1: Name Ending in Javanese Culture**

Male	Female
-a, -o, -in, -an, -min, -man -wo, -wa, -wan	-i, -ah, -inah, -nah, -yah, -em, -inem, -yah, -wati

The list above is only meant to show the example of the division of names. There are other techniques to differentiate between baby girls and boys such as *Bambang-Endang*, *Dimas- Ajeng*, *Bagus-Ayu*. Of course, there many neutral names in Javanese tradition such as Chandra, Puspa, Kusuma, Sri, Praba, and so on. However, these neutral names need to be combined with a gender specific name endings to clarify whether the baby is a girl or a boy. Hence, we can find the

names *Prabawati* (female) - *Prabawa* (male), *Kusumaningrum* (female) – *Kusumanto* (male), *Sriyati* (female) - *Sriyono* (male) etc. Gender property is a very important aspect in naming a baby. There are other considerations for naming a baby which are all used in accordance with the importance. For example, if the parents want to show that the baby girl was born in the fasting month of Ramadhan, they can use, for example, *Ramadhani*. If they want to use the family name, they can put it after the first name.

### ***Categorization of Names***

Actually, we can categorize Javanese baby names into four groups. The first group belongs to what the so-called old-fashioned villagers (Javanese: *ndeso*) which refer to babies who were born in the rural areas. This can be found in the beginning of this paper (*see* paragraph 2), which includes *Tukiyem*, *Miyatun*, etc. The second group is the ones from the noble family (educated or aristocratic) such as *Danutirto*, *Margayasa*, *Gupita*, *Harjuna*, *Nirmala*, *Kusumo*, *Kesawa*, *Brata*, *Narayana*, and many others. The third group belongs to the 'new-fashioned' or modern ones such as *Amelia*, *Denny*, etc. The fourth group is the names originated from the religious figures; whether they are Moslems or Christians (also in paragraph 2 page 1), which includes *Muhammad*, *Arsyad*, *Afifah*, *Siska*, *Josef*, etc.

This categorization is not the standard one but it can show that there are different types of baby names in Javanese community. It is important to make this categorization since we will discuss which (not all) names are not used by the parents nowadays. However, if we observe the real condition and situation of the present Javanese community, we rarely find parents who call their children who might be below ten years of age by names such as *Ponimin*, *Miyatun*, *Ponijan*, etc. We hardly hear parents shouting, "*Min*, Come here!" or, "*Tun*, help your mother." The same condition will be found if we are in an elementary school. Those kinds of names are hardly found in the class attendance list. It is very likely, when we are living in a densely-populated residence that we hear somebody calling, "*Denny*, come into the house!" or, "*Alsa*, finish your work!" These kinds of name are now easily found in Javanese community. New generation parents now do not give their babies names which are considered 'old-fashioned'. They prefer to use other kinds of name.

### ***Is That Modern or... ?***

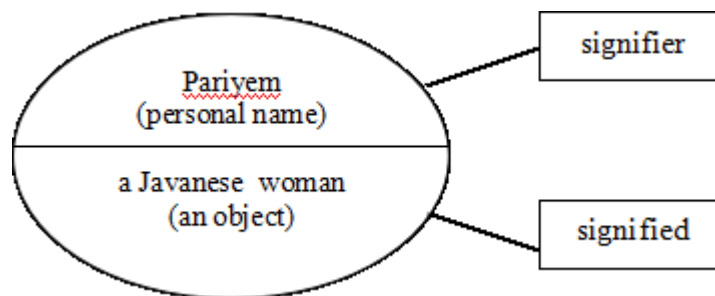
In many places where different cultures come into contact, the naming tradition may change. An obvious example can be found in Hong Kong, where the Eastern hierarchical culture meets the Western egalitarian culture. Many Chinese Hongkongers use English names along with their Chinese names (Watzlawik et al., 2012). In Macau, "it is common for Portuguese people to have a Chinese name and for Chinese people to have a Portuguese or English first name" (Pina-Cabral & Lourenço, 1994, p. 126).

Compared to the other ethnic group in Indonesia, for example Balinese or Batak, Javanese parents are not proud anymore to use typical Javanese names such as *Tugino*, *Painah*, *Wakijan*, *Tuminem*, etc. Unlike the Javanese, people of Bali or Batak still use their typical names. In Bali, we still hear the names *Kadek*, *Wayan*, *Made*, etc. or in Batak, we can still hear many people call *Tobing*, *Butet*, *Poltak*, etc. The reason why the Javanese parents leave those names is simply that

they are old-fashioned, not modern as they live in the modern world. They feel embarrassed to give such names to their children whilst at the same time there are still many other new-fashioned names.

***What is in a name!***

A name is not simply a name. It has a meaning. A name is not just a word of a language. A name, in Saussure's semiology, is a sign. *Paijo* signifies something or it refers exactly to a person; and so do the other names, *Sumiyatun*, *Tukijan*, *Sarjimin*, *Painah*, etc., refer to certain people who belong to certain group of a culture, namely Javanese community. If we mention *Pariyem*, in our mind we have made an object of a Javanese woman. It might include the description of how she looks like, what kind of dress she wears, how tall she is, how she speak, and so forth. Using the signification model proposed by Saussure (Easthope & McGowan, 1992, p. 9), we can describe it into the diagram below.



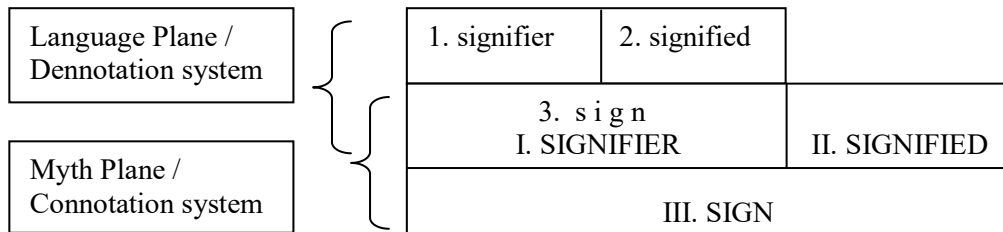
**Figure 1: Personal Name in Saussure's Semiology**

The relation between a personal name, *Pariyem*, and a Javanese woman (it can be a pictorial object) creates the sign of a name. In other words, we can also use many diagrams to show that certain words such as *Paijo*, *Sukinem*, *Tugimin*, *Wakijan*, etc refer to Javanese persons, in many diagram because every name is a signification of different objects. However, we can categorize them into a value that is Javanese name. Although the diagram concerns with the language, Saussure said, it can also show the other social fact (or the culture) of certain community, which is different form one community to another. (Easthope & McGowan, 1992, p. 68; see also Lehtonen, 2000, p. 36). The signification of *Pariyem*, *Paijo*, *Sukinem*, etc. is not the representation of the facts; they construct the facts, as the language does. Thus, name contains a social fact that is about person with his or her attributes. A name becomes an identity.

***Name as a Myth***

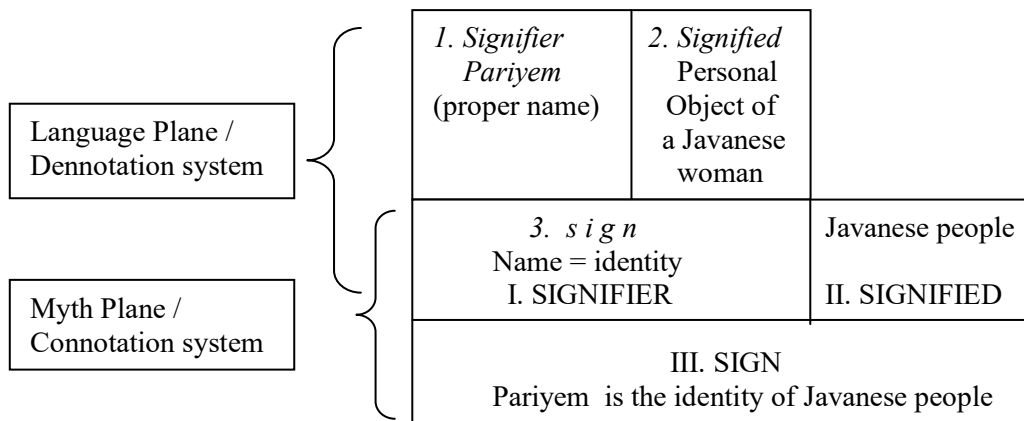
Saussure, by creating a diagram of signification or semiological system, has shown how a word of language could produce the social fact. Yet, he just discussed it in terms of the language plane. This level is called the linguistic semiology. Barthes develops this concept of signification and extends it to the plane of myth in the semiological system. In Barthes' semiology, there are two levels of signification: the first is the language and the second is the myth itself. Myth, according to Roland Barthes (1975), is a type of speech. It exists in every culture in the forms oral speech. It consists of modes writing of or representation. (Easthope & McGowan, 1992, p. 15). Therefore, Barthesian semiology is called cultural semiology.

The development of the signification is shown in the diagram below. The result of the signification (the correlation between the signifier and the signified) in the first level is considered as the signifier of the second level that is the level of myth. This signifier, then, is used to signify something (the signified of the second level). The result of signification in the second level is called the second sign. The following diagram explains Barthes' Semiology, which is based on Saussure's Semiology.



**Figure 2: Barthes' Semiology and Saussure's Semiology**

In *Elements of Semiology* (1967, p. 89), Barthes, borrowing Hjemselv's terminology, called the first level of semiological system (language plane) the denotation system and the second level (the myth level) the connotation system. This clarification, therefore, can help us understand and use Barthes's semiological system. As in the case of *Pariyem* in Saussure's model of signification, it signifies a name or an identity of a Javanese woman. This signification – the identity – becomes the signifier in the second level of the connotation system. It signifies the Javanese people. Applying it into the diagram of Barthes's semiological system, we find the correlation between the identity and the Javanese community, which means the identity of the Javanese.



**Figure 3: *Pariyem* in Barthes's Semiological System**

From the result of signification in the myth planes, we can differentiate this identity from the identity of other community, such as those of Balinese and Batak. We can also make the differentiation between that identities – being an old-fashioned name – with those of the new-fashioned or modern name. The signification process using the connotation system has created the myth, that *Pariyem*, *Wakijan*, *Tukiran*, *Sutinah*, etc. are the identities of Javanese people, especially those who lived in the past generation in the rural areas. This myth has



existed in the area of Yogyakarta since a long time ago. The parents in this area gave their babies such names. They thought that these were common names, which differentiated their community from others.

### ***Losing the Cultural Identity***

Parents, including Javanese parents, still believe that a name given to a child is a prayer. It carries expectation from the parents and a wish about the child's future. As also stated by Windt-Val, (2012, p. 273) that "the parents' choice of name for their child will have an influence on the development of the personality of the child." Let's return to the question, "Why do they leave the old-fashioned names?" The new generation of parents is likely to say that those names, such as *Paijo*, *Waginem*, and so on, are out of date. If they gave such names to their babies, they would feel embarrassed. They think that their neighbours would stigmatize their children as traditional or old-fashioned boys or girls (Javanese: *ndeso*). They believe that using religious and modern names would prevent them from this stigmatization. Moreover, they are not worried about losing their identity. We have discussed that a name produces an identity of person. Furthermore, in the myth system, we have also signified that the name represents the cultural identity, in this case, the Javanese people. Talking about identity, we cannot separate it from the discussion of a discourse. Stuart Hall (1996) says that identities are constructed through, not outside, difference; it is only through the relation to the other. Identities are not natural possessions; they are constructed in a social discourse in order to emphasize the differences among the members.

In Javanese community, as we have discussed in the early sections, there are groups of names. Each of them shows their own characteristics: the old-fashioned, the noble, the religious, and the modern ones. All of them construct different identities among the Javanese people. However, the old-fashioned ones raise the problem among the Javanese people. Many of them, now, do not want to use them. They think that those names construct traditional values, not modern and not noble or not religious. Using the names, such as *Merry*, *Tamara*, *Diska*, *Amelia*, *Reysha*, *Beny*, *Dino*, *Sony* and the likes, will construct modern values. These names are not of the Javanese identities; they are assumed as the names of metropolitan citizens. Giving the babies names like *Muhammad*, *Arsyad*, *Ikhsanuddin*, *Afifah*, *Choiriyah*, *Abdullah*, *Al Ma'ruf*, *Salsabilla*, *Siska*, *Josef*, *Johana*, *Maria*, *Nikolas*, etc., will construct religious values. If they give such kinds of name to their babies, people will think that they and their children hold the faith to God, being religious persons. Giving the names such as *Danutirto*, *Margayasa*, *Gupita*, *Harjuna*, *Nirmala*, *Kusumo*, *Kesawa*, to the babies will construct the noble values. People will think that children with this kind of names come from the respectable families.

Proper name is a discourse, and so is cultural identity. Name is just one part of the cultural identities. There are many other things that show cultural identities such as fashions, housings, rites, traditions, and so on. However, they are all constructed in a discourse. Leaving the old-fashioned names out of the new generation does not mean that they lose their cultural identities. It just constructs new discourse of identity.

## Conclusion

Language is not the representation of social facts but it produces social fact. This can be shown by using Saussurean Semiology, which is the basis for all significations of social and cultural phenomena. However, it refers mainly to the linguistic aspect; it denotes things or persons. The correlation between the signifier and the signified is positive and explicit. Hence, the result of signification is just one meaning. Using Saussure's semiological system, Barthes has expanded this kind of signification. He added another order of signification so that we can find two levels of signification: first in the level of language and the other in the level of myth. The first one is the denotation system and the other is the connotation system. Barthes's semiological system has more tools to analyze cultural and social phenomena that are the myth, the result of signification process. In this myth, the correlation between the signifier and the signified can be both negative and positive, and usually it is implicit. Since a name is just an element of cultural identities, the change of trend in naming children in Javanese community, therefore, does not entirely change the Javanese people identities.

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## **IDIOMS CONTAINING THE WORD *HATI* AND TRANSITIVE VERBS IN INDONESIAN LANGUAGE**

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### **Abstract**

This article presents a research result on idioms containing the word *hati* and transitive verbs in Bahasa Indonesia. This article is a part of a research on idioms containing *hati* in Bahasa Indonesia. Through this research, it is found that transitive verbs which can be combined with *hati* are transitive verbs that are formed in *me(N)-+word base+(i/kan)* so the idioms containing *hati* and transitive verb having the *me(N)-+word base+(i/kan)* structure. Other than that, this research also found 77 idioms containing *hati* and transitive verbs. From its meaning, those 77 idioms consist of (i) 16 idioms whose meaning is ‘to persuade or to look for attention’ (ii) 11 idioms whose meaning is ‘to make happy’ (iii) 8 idioms whose meaning is ‘lifting up the mood’ (iv) 5 idioms whose meaning is ‘to tolerate’ (v) 8 idioms whose meaning is ‘to make feeling better’, (vi) 8 idioms whose meaning is ‘to make angry’, (vii) 5 idioms whose meaning is ‘to terrify’, and (viii) 16 idioms whose meaning is ‘to make feeling sad or to feel bad’.

Keywords: idiom, the word *hati*, transitive verb, Bahasa Indonesia.

### **Introduction**

The word *hati* is one of the most productive idiom-forming elements in Bahasa Indonesia. In *Kamus Ungkapan Bahasa Indonesia* by Badudu (1981), there are at least 78 idioms that have ‘*hati*’ as an element. In *Kamus Idiom Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian Idiom dictionary) by Chaer (1984), there are at least 296 idioms that have *hati* as its element. Nowadays, idiom’s formation involving *hati* is more productive. We often hear idiomatic expressions, for example, “*berbicara dari hati ke hati*” (talking heart to heart), “*memimpin dengan hati*” (leading with the heart), *bekerja dengan hati* (working with the heart – working sincerely), *melayani dengan hati* (serving with the heart – working wholeheartedly) etc.

Based on its form, an idioms containing *hati* could be in a form of word, phrase, clause, and sentence. Idioms which come in the form of a word are prefixes (for example, *memperthatikan* (pay attention), *diperhatikan* (being concerned), *perhatian* (attention)), repetition (for example, *hati-hati* (caution), *berhati-hati* (be careful)), and compound (for example, *setengah hati* or doing something half-heartedly (Chaer 1984:174)). Idiom which comes in a form of a

phrase is *dari hati ke hati* or ‘talking heart to heart’ (Chaer 1984: 53). Idiom which comes in a form of a clause, for example, is *mengambil hati* (taking the heart – winning the heart) (Chaer, 1984, p.17).

By its classification, *hati* can join any other word category to form an idiom. *Hati* can be combined with verb (for example, *mengambil hati* ‘make someone so happy that they will love us in return’ (Chaer, 1984, p.17)), adverb (for example, *rendah hati* or ‘humble’ (Chaer, 1984, p.148)), and noun (for example, *jantung hati* or ‘sweetheart/the loved one’ (Chaer, 1984, p.78)).

Idioms containing *hati* and transitive verb in Bahasa Indonesia will be discussed in this article. There are two things that become the concerns of this article. The first was the form of transitive verb that can be joined with the word *hati* to form an idiom. For example, a verb that is formed in *me(N)-+word base* just like *membakar* (burn) can join *hati* so that it formed idiom *membakar hati* (to make somebody jealous, envy) (Chaer, 1984, p.25). Therefore, the first problem that will be discussed is “what kind of transitive verb can the word *hati* combine to form an idiom?”

The second thing that will be discussed is the meaning of idioms containing *hati* and transitive verb in Bahasa Indonesia. There is a group of idiom that belongs to the same semantic field. For example, *membesarkan hati* (to enlarge the heart) or ‘to encourage’ (Chaer, 1984, p.34), *membuka hati* (to open the heart) or ‘to make somebody realize’ (Chaer, 1984, p.38), *membulatkan hati* (to round the heart) or ‘having a strong willingness to do something’ (Chaer, 1984, p.40). So, the second problem that is discussed in this article is “what is the semantic field of idiom which involves *hati* and a transitive verb in Bahasa Indonesia?” These two problems are described in an integrated manner.

## Theory

Some literatures have discussed idioms in Bahasa Indonesia. Based on its discussion scope, literature which had discussed idioms in Bahasa Indonesia can be differentiated into three groups, those are (i) literature that had discussed idioms generally, (ii) literature that had discussed idiom specifically, and (iii) literature that reviewing idioms containing *hati* as its part.

Literatures that discussed idiom in Bahasa Indonesia in general are by Hartati and Wijana (2003), Sari (2010), Abdul Khak (2011), and Suyatno (2012). Hartati and Wijana (2003) examine idioms in Indonesian from the aspects of form, category, and type of idiom. Sari (2010) was reviewing idioms in the novel *Sang Pemimpi* from the point of grammatical units, categories, and types of idioms. Abdul Khak (2011, pp.141-153) talked about idiom in Bahasa Indonesia in terms of structure and meaning. Suyatno (2012) was researching idioms in the Indonesian language extensively, namely the constituent elements, reference sources, scope of use, patterns of meaning, culture, use motives, and the phenomenon of its development.

Literatures which discussed idioms in Bahasa Indonesia from specific aspects are Kridalaksana (1998), Kurniawati (2005), Anjarwati (2005), Kristina (2006), Baryadi (2013), and Haiyan (2016). Kridalaksana (1998, pp.131-132) discussed idiomatic phrases that have a verb as its element, like *angkat tangan* “to raise hands” (give up), *membawa diri* (present ourselves), and *membanting tulang*

“to crush the bones” (drudge). Kurniawati (2005) had discussed idiomatic plurals which are found in *Fantasy* magazine of 2003 in terms of category and types of idiom. Anjarwati (2005) researched about idioms that have human body part as its element from the constituent elements. Kristina (2006) studied about animal-based idioms in the Indonesian name of the type of animal name that can form an idiom, a category of words that can join the animal name, and its pattern. Baryadi (2013, pp.46-62) researched the idioms containing verbs in bahasa Indonesia from the aspect of verb form and any other word category that fit with verbs to form an idiom. Haiyan (2016) compared animal idioms in Mandarin and Bahasa Indonesia from its definition, origin, linguistic aspect, and cultural anthropology.

Literature which discussed idioms containing *hati* in Bahasa Indonesia is Baryadi (2016, pp.18-26). Baryadi (2016, pp.18-26) discussed about idioms containing *hati* and adjective in Bahasa Indonesia from aspect of referents. From that research, 83 idioms containing *hati* and adverbs in Bahasa Indonesia were found. Based on the referent, the idioms of the word *hati* and the adjective consisting of 25 idioms that express good characters, 16 idioms that express bad characters, 14 idioms which state good conscience, and 28 idioms that state bad conscience.

From those literatures reviewed, it is revealed that there has been no research on idioms containing *hati* and a transitive verb in bahasa Indonesia yet. This is the reason why idiom containing *hati* and transitive verb becomes the main discussion of this article. In addition to the reasons, idioms containing *hati* and transitive verb becomes the object of research because there is an aim to be achieved, (i) to reveal the transitive form which could join with the word *hati* to make idiom and (ii) idiom’s semantic field involving *hati* and transitive verb in Bahasa Indonesia.

This part will explain the basic terms used as the conceptual basis for analyzing idiom data in terms of conscience and transitive verbs in the Indonesian language. The terms in question are idioms, the word *hati*, transitive verbs, and semantic fields.

Idiom is a ‘language unit (can be words, phrases, and sentences) whose meaning cannot be predicted from the elements’ lexical meaning or grammatical meaning (Chaer 1990, p.76). Based on the definition, idiom has two characteristics, (i) a language unit that can be in the form of a word, a phrase, and a sentence and (ii) idiomatic meaning cannot be predicted only from its lexical or grammatical meaning of its element. The word *burung* (bird) in *kabar burung* (rumors) (Chaer 1984:82), plural *patah hati* (broken-hearted) (Chaer, 1984, p.134), phrase *dari hati ke hati* or ‘talking directly heart to heart’ (Chaer, 1984, p.53), clause *membakar hati* (to burn the heart) ‘to cause somebody jealous’ (Chaer, 1984, p.25), and sentence *terbuka hatinya* (to open the heart) or ‘realizing something’ were included as idioms because the meaning cannot be predicted from its lexical or grammatical units.

There is a formula which can be used to differentiate the construction of idiom and non-idiom. The formula of idiom is A+B that will mean C, while the construction of non-idiom is A+B that will have meaning AB (Alwi, 2003, p.151). This formula could be presented by examples of word combining *mencuri hati* (to steal the heart) and *mencuri uang* (to steal money). The combination of *mencuri*

‘to steal’ (A) and *hati* (B) would be *mencuri hati* which does not mean ‘*mencuri* (A) and *hati* (B)’ but it means to cause someone to feel love or affection (C). (Chaer, 1984, p.49). The combination of *mencuri uang* isn’t an idiom because the combination of *mencuri* ‘stealing’ (A) and *uang* ‘money’ (B)” means to steal money literally. The establishment of idiomatic meaning is based on tacit agreement of language users.

There are at least seven meanings of *hati* based on *Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia Pusat Bahasa Edisi Keempat* (the Fourth Edition of Indonesia Dictionary) (2008, pp.486-487). First, as an anatomical term, the words *hati* means ‘Reddish-colored organs in the upper right portion of the abdominal cavity, it is usually used to absorb the juices in the blood and produce bile’. Second, the word *hati* means ‘Meat from the liver as food (especially from animal hearts slaughter)’. Third, the word *hati* means ‘heart’. Fourth, the word *hati* means ‘something that is in human body that is considered as the place for all feelings and a place to store understandings (feelings etc)’. Fifth, the word *hati* means ‘the deepest part (about fruit, branches, plants, etc)’. Sixth, the word *hati* means ‘human characteristic’. Seventh, the word *hati* means ‘everything that is feeling inside’. From those seven meanings, the meaning which is relevant to this research object is the fourth, sixth, and seventh meanings, namely ‘*batin*’, ‘*jiwa*’ (soul), or ‘*perasaan*’ (feeling)

Transitive verb is a verb which (i) begins with *me(N)-*, (ii) has verbal balance begin with *di-*, (iii) demands an object in a clause. For example, the word *memberi* (giving) in the idiom *memberi hati* “to give the heart” (giving affection) (Chaer 1984:33) is a transitive verb because it begins with *me(N)-*, has a verbal beginning with *di-* which is *diberi* (given), and demands an object in its clause, i.e. the word *hati*.

In this discussion, the semantic field was understood as an abstraction of the similarity of meaning between linguistic units. Semantic field can be symbolized using one of the language units. One of the language units has more abstract meaning or more general than any other language units. This language unit that has abstract meaning is known as hypernym or superordinate. The language unit that has more specific meaning is known as hyponym or subordinate.

## Method

This research was conducted by collecting data, analyzing data, and presenting the result of the data analysis. *Metode simak* (observation method) was employed in this research by observing idioms containing *hati* and a transitive verb in Bahasa Indonesia from data sources. Then the method was executed by taking note technique, which means writing idioms containing *hati* and transitive verb in Bahasa Indonesia on the data record. Indonesian Idiom Dictionary by Caher (1984) was used as data sources. After being collected, the data was classified based on its meaning.

Later, the data that has been classified is being analyzed using *metode distribusional* (distributional method) and *metode padan* (equivalence method). Distributional method is a data analysis method whose instrument was part of the language itself (Sudaryanto, 2015, p.15). Distributional method applied by *teknik markah* (mark-up technique), *teknik parafrasa* (paraphrase technique), and *teknik*

*perluasan* (expansion technique). Those three techniques are used to give evidence whether the word that follows *hati* is a transitive verb or not. Mark –up technique was applied to give evidence that the transitive verb has *me(N)-* as its prefix, for example, *memberi*, *melapangkan*, and *melukai*. By applying the paraphrase technique, it could be proven that transitive verbs are equivalent with the transitive verb that has prefix *di-*, for example, *diberi*, *dilapangkan*, and *dilukai*. From the expansion technique, it is proven that transitive verb is indeed demanding an object which in this case is *hati* itself so it forms idioms *memberi hati*, *melapangkan hati*, and *melukai hati*. This expansion technique is also used to give evidence to a language’s idiomatic unit (Wijana, 2016, p.34). An idiomatic language unit cannot be expanded by giving attribute to its idiom, for example *makan hati* or ‘sadness’ cannot be expanded to *makan hati ayam* or ‘to eat chicken’s liver’ because the meaning will be different and not idiomatic.

*Metode padan* or equivalence method is a method which the instrument is outside and regardless to a language that correspond (Sudaryanto, 2015, p.15). *Metode padan* that was applied on this research was *metode padan referensial*, which is a method in which the source is a referent or a fact that was shown by its language or language referent. (Sudaryanto, 2015, p.15). In this research, *metode padan* is used to give evidence of the meaning of idioms containing *hati* and a transitive verb. For example, *memikat hati* or ‘to be appealing’ (Chaer, 1984, p.139), *mengikat hati* or ‘impressive’ (Chaer, 1984, p.73), *menghampiri hatinya* or ‘to impress somebody’ (Chaer 1984:68), *menyanjung hati* or ‘to give somebody compliment/ to make somebody happy’ (Chaer, 1984, p.154), and *menawari hati* or ‘to persuade’ (Chaer, 1984, p.170) have a similar meaning, that is to persuade or to look for attention.

Data analysis shows lists of idioms containing *hati* and transitive verbs in Bahasa Indonesia and its meaning. The idiom lists and its meaning will be shown in tables. The method of data analysis report is called formal methodology (Sudaryanto, 2015, p.241)

## Findings and Discussion

Through this research, there are 77 idioms containing the word *hati* and a transitive verb as its element in Bahasa Indonesia. Transitive verbs that can be combined with the word *hati* to make idioms consisted of three parts. First, is transitive verb that is formed by *me(N)-+word base*, for example *mengetuk* (knock) in *mengetuk hati* (to knock on someone’s heart) or ‘lifting up somebody’s consciousness to help people’ (Chaer, 1984, p.91). Second, transitive verb that has *me(N)-+word base+kan*, for example *melembutkan* (soften) in *melembutkan hati* (to soften the heart) or ‘to make somebody happy/to get rid of anger’ (Chaer, 1984, p.108). Third, transitive verb of *me(N)-+word base+i*, for example *melukai* (hurt) in *melukai hati* ‘to hurt somebody’s feeling’ (Chaer, 1984, p.108). Those three transitive verbs could be combined in one formula, *me(N)-+word base+(i/kan)*. Therefore, idioms containing *hati* and transitive verb has *me(N)-+word base+-(i/-kan)+hati* structure. Idiom which has *me(N)-+word base+-(i/-kan)+hati* is considered as a clause with *me(N)-+word base+-(i/-kan)* as its predicate and *hati* as its object.

Based on its semantic field, idioms containing the word *hati* and a transitive verb consist of 8 types, there were idiom that means (i) persuade or to look for attention, (ii) to make somebody happy, (iii) to lift up the mood, (iv) to tolerate, (v) to make feeling better, (vi) to make somebody angry, (vii) to scare somebody, (viii) to make somebody feel sad. The examination of each idiom containing the word *hati* and transitive verb is provided below.

There are 16 idioms which mean ‘to seek for attention’. The idioms explained are shown on the table below.

**Table 1: Idiom Whose Meaning Is ‘to Persuade or Seek Attention’**

No	Idiom	Meaning	Translation
1	mengambil hati “to take the heart”	mempersenang hati orang supaya disukai (disenangi, dicintai) (Chaer, 1984, p.17)	To make somebody happy so they will like us.
2	mencuri hati “to steal the heart”	berbuat baik (merayu) sehingga orang lain menjadi cinta, sayang, suka (Chaer, 1984, p.49)	To make somebody feel the love or affection
3	menghampiri hatinya “to drop by someone’s heart”	membujuknya atau merayunya (Chaer, 1984, p.68)	To persuade
4	mengikat hati “to tie someone’s heart”	membujuk dan mempengaruhi supaya orang lain mengingini atau terkesan (Chaer, 1984, p.139)	To persuade somebody to give impression.
5	mengetuk hati “to knock on someone’s heart”	membangkitkan kesadaran untuk menyumbang atau menolong orang (Chaer, 1984, p.91)	To make people realize to help others willingly.
6	melemahkan hati “to weaken the heart”	Menggiurkan	To desire
7	memikat hati “to captivate the heart”	membujuk dan mempengaruhi supaya orang lain mengingini atau terkesan (Chaer, 1984, p.139)	To persuade somebody to give impression.
8	meruntuhkan hati “to crumble the heart”	melemahkan hati karena sifatnya yang menggiurkan (Chaer, 1984, p.150)	
9	menyanjung hati “to praise someone’s heart”	membujuk; membuat orang lain senang (Chaer, 1984, p.154)	Persuading, to make somebody happy.
10	menyentuh hati “to touch someone’s heart”	kena di hati seseorang sehingga mau mengubah kelakuannya (Chaer, 1984, p.157)	Heart-touching so people change their behavior.
11	menawan hati “to capture someone’s heart”	membangkitkan perasaan agar orang memperhatikan menyukai, menyenangkan (Chaer, 1984, p.170)	To impress somebody so he/she likes us.
12	menawari hati “to offer the heart”	membujuk (Chaer, 1984, p.170)	Persuade



13	mengumbut hati “to attract the heart”	melakukan pekerjaan atau perbuatan supaya mendapat pujian (Chaer, 1984, p.38)	Doing something to get compliments.
14	mengurut hati “to massage the heart”	membujuk; merayu (Chaer, 1984, p.189)	Persuading somebody.
15	membelenggu hati “to chain the heart”	tidak bisa berbuat apa-apa karena hati sangat tertarik atau terpikat (Chaer, 1984, p.31)	Feeling paralyzed due to the affection
16	menarik per(hati)an “to attract attention”	menyenangkan orang karena indah atau cantik (Chaer, 1984, p.169)	To make somebody happy because of something beautiful/impressive.

Idioms (1) to (16) could be classified into idioms whose meaning tends to ‘persuade’ (*mengambil hati, mencuri hati, menghampiri hatinya, mengikat hati, memikat hati, mengetuk hati, menyanjung hati, menyentuh hati, menawari hati, mengumbut hati, mengurut hati*) and idioms whose meaning tends to ‘seek for attention’ (*melemahkan hati, membelenggu hati, menawan hati, meruntuhkan hati, menarik perhatian*).

There were 11 idioms whose meaning is ‘to make somebody happy’. This kind of idiom is provided in table below.

**Table 2: Idiom Whose Meaning Is ‘to Make Somebody Happy’**

No	Idiom	Meaning	Translation
1	memberi hati “to give one’s heart”	memanjakan; menurutkan kemauan (keinginan, kehendak) (Chaer, 1984, p.33)	To spoil somebody
2	melapangkan hati “to extend the heart”	membuat sabar; menyenangkan (Chaer, 1984, p.98)	To be patient, exciting.
3	melegakan hati “to relieve the heart”	menyenangkan; menggembirakan (Chaer, 1984, p.100)	To relieve
4	melembutkan hati “to soften the heart”	menggembirakan; menghilangkan kemarahan (Chaer, 1984, p.101)	Exciting, to get rid of anger
5	melengah-lengah hati “to cheer up the heart”	menghilangkan kesedihan (Chaer, 1984, p.102)	To let go of sadness.
6	melepaskan hati “to let the heart go”	memuaskan; menurutkan hasrat atau hawa nafsu (Chaer, 1984, p.103)	To have the impulse
7	melipur hati “to console the heart”	menggembirakan; menyenangkan; menghilangkan kesedihan (Chaer, 1984, p.107)	to relieve
8	menaruh hati “to put the heart to	mencintai atau menyukai (Chaer, 1984, p.170)	To love

9	someone” meraih hati “to reach one’s heart”	menyenangkan orang lain (Chaer, 1984, p.145)	To make somebody happy.
10	menambat hati “to tie one’s heart to someone else’s heart”	membuat jadi senang (Chaer, 1984, p.166)	To make somebody feel the love or affection
11	menurutkan hati “to follow one’s heart”	mengikuti kehendak (Chaer, 1984, p.84)	Following the will

If these idioms are classified into groups, the idioms whose meaning is ‘to make happy’ consist of (*melapangkan hati, melegakan hati, melembutkan hati, melengah-lengah hati, melipur hati, menaruh hati, meraih hati, menambat hati*) and the idioms whose meaning is ‘to make somebody happy’ (*memberi hati, melepaskan hati, menurutkan hati*)

There are 8 idioms whose meaning is ‘encouraging’. Those idioms are presented in table 3.

**Table 3. Idiom Whose Meaning Is ‘Encouraging’**

No	Idiom	Meaning	Translation
1	membesarkan hati “to enlarge the heart”	menjadikan bangga, girang, gembira (Chaer, 1984, p.34)	To encourage
2	membuka hati “to open the heart”	menyebabkan timbul kemauan, keinginan, kegairahan (Chaer, 1984, p.38)	To desire
3	membulatkan hati “to round the heart”	meneguhkan kemauan, niat, kehendak (Chaer, 1984, p.40)	To determine
4	menggerakkan hati “to move the heart”	membangunkan perasaan sehingga mau atau berani untuk berbuat sesuatu (Chaer, 1984, p.64)	To drive someone
5	menguatkan hati “to strengthen the heart”	meneguhkan; mengokohkan pendirian (Chaer, 1984, p.92)	To determine
6	menabahkan hati “to toughen the heart”	membuat kuat menghadapi persoalan atau penderitaan	To bear, to endure
7	memaku hati “to nail the heart”	tidak dapat ditawar lagi; tidak bisa berubah lagi pendiriannya (Chaer, 1984, p.130)	To be persistent, to be firm
8	menggantungkan hati “to hang the heart”	menaruh harapan cinta kepada seseorang (Chaer, 1984, p.61)	To fall for someone

Idioms whose meaning is ‘encouraging’ can be grouped into (i) idioms whose meaning is ‘strengthen up the will’ (*membuka hati, membulatkan hati, menguatkan hati, menabahkan hati, memaku hati, menggantungkan hati*) and (ii) and idioms which mean ‘to encourage bravery/pride’ (*membesarkan hati, menggerakkan hati*).

There were 5 idioms whose meaning is ‘to tolerate’. Those idioms are explained in table 4.

**Table 4: Type of Idioms Whose Meaning Is ‘to Tolerate’**

No	Idiom	Meaning	Translation
1	mengajuk hati “to play with one’s heart”	menduga isi hati (Chaer, 1984, p.15)	To conjecture
2	menjaga hati “to guard one’s heart”	menenggang perasaan (Chaer, 1984, p.76)	To withstand, to put up with
3	memelihara hati “to preserve the heart”	menjaga agar orang lain tidak tersinggung, marah, kesal, sedih (Chaer, 1984, p.136)	To be considerate
4	menimbang hati orang “to weigh someone’s heart”	menaruh belas kasih; tidak kejam (Chaer, 1984, p.178)	To be considerate / deliberate
5	menjolak hati “to play with one’s heart”	ingin mengetahui isi hati seseorang (Chaer, 1984, p.80)	To be curious about someone’s feeling

Idioms whose meaning is ‘to tolerate’ can be divided into idioms whose meaning is ‘to tolerate’ (*menjaga hati*, *memelihara hati*, *menimbang hati orang*) and idioms whose meaning tends to be ‘understanding one’s feeling’ (*mengajuk hati*, *menjolak hati*).

There were 8 idioms whose meaning is ‘to make feeling better’. That kind of idiom is provided on the table below.

**Table 5: Type of Idioms Whose Meaning Is ‘to Make Somebody/Condition Better’**

No	Idiom	Meaning	Translation
1	membersihkan hati “to clean the heart”	menghilangkan rasa benci atau dengki (Chaer, 1984, p.33)	Casting out hatred/envy.
2	menahan hati “to contain the heart”	mengekang diri sendiri (Chaer, 1984, p.163)	To keep ourselves from something/somebody.
3	melunakkan hati “to soften the heart”	menghilangkan kemarahan atau kejengkelan seseorang (Chaer, 1984, p.108)	To cast away hatred
4	merendahkan hati “to lower one’s heart”	tidak menyombongkan diri (Chaer, 1984, p.148)	To be humble
5	menyejukkan hati “to cool off the heart”	menghilangkan kegelisahan atau kejengkelan (Chaer, 1984, p.156)	To get rid of worry/anger.
6	menyucikan hati “to purify the heart”	menghilangkan rasa benci atau dengki (Chaer, 1984, p.33)	To purify the soul
7	menenangkan hati “to calm the heart”	menghilangkan rasa ketakutan atau keresahan (Chaer, 1984,	To let go of worry.

8	membelokkan hati “to divert the heart”	p.173) memberi petunjuk yang benar (Chaer, 1984, p.31)	Give the right advices
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There were 8 idioms whose meaning is equivalent to ‘to make angry’. In this table below, a list of idioms is shown.

**Table 6: Type of Idioms Whose Meaning Is ‘to Make Angry/Insulting’**

No	Idiom	Meaning	Translation
1	menganguskan hati “to burn the heart”	menyebabkan marah (Chaer, 1984, p.21)	To insult
2	mengasah hati “to sharpen the heart”	membuat orang jadi marah (Chaer, 1984, p.22)	To provoke
3	membakar hati “to burn the heart”	membuat orang menjadi marah, jengkel, kesal, penasaran, cemburu (Chaer, 1984, p.25)	To irritate
4	membawa hati “to carry the heart”	menjadikan marah (kecewa, jengkel) (Chaer, 1984, p.29)	To disappoint
5	menjadikan hati “to make the heart”	menyebabkan marah atau kurang senang (Chaer, 1984, p.76)	To aggravate
6	memanaskan hati “to heat the heart”	membangkitkan amarah karena cemburu (Chaer, 1984, p.130)	To make someone angry due to jealousy
7	menikam hati “to stab the heart”	menjengkelkan atau menyusahkan (Chaer, 1984, p.178)	To aggravate.
8	menunu hati “to aggravate the heart”	membuat jadi marah (Chaer, 1984, p.183)	To make somebody angry

There are 5 idioms that were found whose meaning is “to terrify/scare”. These kinds of idiom are shown in table 7.

**Table 7. Type of Idioms Whose Meaning Is ‘to Terrify Somebody’**

No	Idiom	Meaning	Translation
1	mendahsyatkan hati “to scare the heart”	menakutkan (Chaer, 1984, p.52)	Terrify
2	mencabarkan hati “to bland the heart”	Menghilangkan keberanian; menjadikan takut (Chaer, 1984, p.44)	To make somebody scared.
3	menganji hati	menakutkan, menyeramkan (Chaer, 1984, p.84)	Scary, terrifying
4	mengecilkan hati “to make the heart small”	menjadikan agak takut; menjadikan hilang keberanian (Chaer, 1984, p.86)	To cause somebody scared.
5	menujukan hati “to double the heart”	menjadikan bimbang atau ragu-ragu (Chaer, 1984, p.55)	To make somebody doubt.

There were 16 idioms found whose meaning is equivalent to ‘to make somebody feeling sad/bad’. The lists of idiom mentioned before is provided in the table below.

**Table 8. Types of Idioms Whose Meaning Is ‘to Make Somebody Feeling Sad/Bad**

No	Idiom	Meaning	Translation
1	melukai hati “to hurt the heart”	menyakiti batin atau perasaan (Chaer, 1984, p.108)	To hurt somebody
2	mengasami hati “to spread acid on the heart”	menyakiti perasaan (Chaer, 1984, p.22)	Hurt someone’s feeling
3	mengganggu hati “to disturb the heart”	merusuhkan hati; menyusahkan hati (Chaer, 1984, p.61)	To offend someone
4	menggores hati “to scratch the heart”	menyakitkan hati (Chaer, 1984, p.65)	Offensive.
5	menggunting hati “to scissor the heart”	menyakiti hati (Chaer, 1984, p.65)	Hurt somebody’s feeling.
6	menghancurkan hati “to break the heart”	sangat menyedihkan (Chaer, 1984, p.68)	Sorrowful
7	menghanyutkan hati “to drown the heart”	menyedihkan; terbawa sedih (Chaer, 1984, p.68)	Sadden.
8	meracun hati “to poison the heart”	menyebabkan hati menjadi terasa tidak enak (Chaer, 1984, p.145)	To make somebody grieve.
9	merawankan hati “to make the heart vulnerable”	memilukan; menyedihkan (Chaer, 1984, p.147)	Heart touching.
10	menyakiti hati “to hurt the heart”	menyebabkan jadi tidak senang (dendam, benci) (Chaer, 1984, p.151)	Causing revenge.
11	menyakitkan hati “to cause pain to the heart”	menyebabkan tidak senang atau tersinggung perasaannya	To cause somebody
12	menyayat hati “to slit one’s heart”	memilukan; membuat sedih (Chaer, 1984, p.68)	Heartbreaking
13	menyebelahkan hati “to set the heart aside”	membagi cinta (Chaer, 1984, p.31)	Share the love
14	menikam hati “to stab the heart”	menjengkelkan atau menyusahkan (Chaer, 1984, p.178)	Annoying.
15	menusuk hati “to puncture the heart”	menyakiti hati; menyinggung perasaan (Chaer, 1984, p.186)	Offensive.
16	(me)makan hati “to eat the heart”	menderita sedih karena perbuatan orang yang dikasihi (Chaer, 1984, p.113)	Broken heart.

## Conclusion

From this research, 77 idioms containing the word *hati* and a transitive verb are found as the element of idioms in Bahasa Indonesia. Transitive verbs that can be combined with the word *hati* to form an idiom consist of three types. First, transitive verbs with *me(N)-+word base* structure, for example, *mengetuk* (knock) in *mengetuk hati* (to make someone realize to help other people) (Chaer, 1984, p.91). Second, transitive verb with *me(N)-+word base+kan* structure, for example *melembutkan* (soften) in *melembutkan hati* or to make happy, to cast out anger (Chaer, 1984, p.101). Third, transitive verbs with *me(N)-+word base+i* structure, for example *melukai* in *melukai hati* (to hurt somebody's feeling/to make somebody angry) (Chaer, 1984, p.108). Those three types of transitive verbs can be formulated into *me(N)-+word base+(-i/-kan)*. Therefore, the structures of idioms containing *hati* and transitive verb is *me(N)-+word base+(-i/-kan) + hati*. Idiom which has *me(N)-+word base+(-i/-kan)+hati* is considered as a clause with *me(N)-+word base+(-i/-kan)* as its predicate and *hati* as its object.

Based on its meaning, 77 idioms containing *hati* and a transitive verb in bahasa Indonesia consisting of (i) 16 idioms whose meaning is 'to persuade' or 'to look for attention,' (ii) 11 idioms whose meaning is "to make happy," (iii) 8 idioms whose meaning is "to lift up the mood," (iv) 5 idioms whose meaning is 'to tolerate' (v) 8 idioms whose meaning is 'to make the feeling better,' (vi) 8 idioms whose meaning is 'to make angry,' (vii) 5 idioms whose meaning is 'to terrify,' and (viii) 16 idioms whose meaning is 'to make feeling sad or to feel bad'.

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## **PRAGMATIC PHENOMENA CONSTELLATION IN SPECIFIC CULTURE DIMENSION LANGUAGE STUDY**

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### **Abstract**

The linguistic phenomena studied in pragmatics evolve over time. Among the pragmatic phenomena that can be mentioned here are: implicature, deixis, presupposition, entailment, language politeness, language impoliteness and language phatic. There are certainly other pragmatic phenomena outside the phenomena mentioned above. In the future, other new pragmatic phenomena are expected to arise, along with the better development of pragmatic studies. Among those pragmatic phenomena, the phenomenon of language impoliteness can be regarded as a new phenomenon. How the constellation of pragmatic phenomena in the language study with the specific culture perspective becomes the main issue discussed in this short article. The benefit obtained by understanding the constellation of this new pragmatic phenomenon is that the interpretation of the pragmatic intent or meaning of language impoliteness becomes increasingly sharp, profound and comprehensive because its association with other pragmatic phenomena is sometimes an inevitable fact.

**Keywords:** phatic language, linguistic impoliteness, pragmatic phenomenon, specific culture

### **Introduction**

Pragmatics is a branch of language science that is 'context bound' or 'context dependent' in nature. That is, in pragmatics, the intent of the speaker or the pragmatic meaning can only be interpreted by taking the context into account. Pragmatics differs from linguistics in terms of contextual obsolescence used as a basis in the analysis process. Therefore, the meaning in pragmatics can also be said to be triadic, while the meaning in linguistics is said to be dyadic. The meaning in pragmatics is triadic because of the existence of the context. Leech (1983) mentions that the context in pragmatics differs from the context in linguistics. The context in linguistics is called co-text, while the context in pragmatics is called speech situational context.

Over time, along with the development of science and technology, the context in pragmatics has become more varied and complex. Along with the development of such varied and complex contexts, pragmatics as a branch of language science evolved as well as its complexity. The linguistic phenomena



studied in pragmatics evolve over time. Among those pragmatic phenomena, the phenomenon of language impoliteness can be regarded as a new phenomenon. How the constellation of pragmatic phenomena in the language study with specific culture dimension becomes the main issue discussed in this article. The benefit obtained by understanding the constellation of this pragmatic phenomenon is that the interpretation of the pragmatic intent or meaning of each pragmatic phenomenon will become increasingly sharp, profound and comprehensive because the relation between pragmatic phenomena is sometimes inevitable.

### **Method**

Data collection methods used in this study were listening method and speaking method (Sudaryanto, 2015). Some techniques used in the implementation of the two methods above were the taking notes technique, recording technique, and fishing technique. There were two kinds of data analysis methods used in this study, which were distributional analysis method and equivalent analysis method (Sudaryanto, 2015). The distributional analysis method was used to describe the linguistic dimensions of language studies in the specific culture perspective. The equivalent analysis method was used to reach the pragmatic dimensions of this linguistic study. Furthermore, each method used for analyzing the data was detailed by both basic techniques and advanced techniques. Since this study was of pragmatic dimension, it had to be emphasized that the equivalent method applied was the extralingual equivalent method. What were paired were nonlinguistic entities that were essentially outside the language, or which in linguistic studies are commonly referred to as extralinguistic factors. The distributional method was applied by using dividing technique for both dividing technique which was direct in nature and dividing technique which was indirect in nature towards the elements of speech that contained language phatic as the object of the study (Rahardi et al, 2015).

### **Findings and Discussion**

On several occasions, the researcher has conveyed the idea that as a new pragmatic phenomenon, language impoliteness must continue to be inflated. The findings of language studies pragmatically on a certain specific culture basis must be communicated to the public so that this linguistic phenomenon is increasingly understood by the public. The phenomenon of language impoliteness can be said to have only begun since Bousfield et al. (2008) wrote a book entitled 'Impoliteness in Language'. The researcher believes that the presence of the book was a milestone in the emergence of the studies of language impoliteness. The incredible passion in the study of language politeness emerged since Fraser (1994) presented four views to assess politeness, and the study of language impoliteness by Bousfield et al. (2008) was the milestone. In a book written by Bousfield et al. (2008), a number of views on language impoliteness are described in detail as follows.

The view of Locher (2008) which asserts that language impoliteness is '... behaviour that is face-aggravating in a particular context.' Essentially, language impoliteness refers to face-aggravating attitudes and behaviors. Face-aggravating behavior is different from face-threatening behavior as offered in various definitions of classic language politeness, such as Leech (1983), Brown and

Levinson (1987), or earlier studies in 1978 that tend to be influenced by the face concept of Goffman (cf. Rahardi, 2009). The difference is that in face-aggravation, there is a dimension of insult and/or humiliation against one's face. Another interpretation that is related to Locher's (2008) definition of the phenomenon of language impoliteness is that the actions are not just the attitudes and behaviors that make a person's face aggravated, but a behavior that 'plays someone's face'.

In the view of Bousfield (2008), language impoliteness is understood as, 'The issuing of intentionally gratuitous and conflictive face-threatening acts (FTAs) that are purposefully performed.' Bousfield (2008) emphasizes the dimension of 'gratuitous' in the practice of impolite language. Therefore, if a person's language behavior is face-threatening, and the threat to the face is done gratuitously, until the gratuitous category action brings conflict, or even quarrel, and the action is done in purpose, then the act of language is a reality of language impoliteness.

Culpeper's (2008) understanding on language impoliteness is described as follows, 'Impoliteness, as I would define it, involves communicative behavior intending to cause the "face loss" of a target or perceived by the target to be so.' He gives emphasis to the fact of 'face loss' - if in Javanese it may be close to the concept of '*ilang raine*' [losing the face], or '*ra duwe rai*' [no face], or '*kelangan rai*' [loss of face]. Therefore, impoliteness in language is a communicative behavior that is intentionally tuned to make a person really experiences face loss, or at least the person 'feels' losing his or her face.

Terjourafi (2008) considers impoliteness as, 'impoliteness occurs when the expression is not conventionalized relative to the context of occurrence; It threatens the addressee's face but no face-threatening intention is attributed to the speaker by the hearer.' Thus, the language behavior is said to be impolite when the addressee feels a threat of face threatening act, and the speaker does not get the face threat intention from the addressee. They argue that impolite behavior is the negatively marked behavior, because it violates the social norms prevailing in the society. In addition, they assert that impoliteness is a means to negotiate meaning. Furthermore, their views on language impoliteness are presented as follow, '... impolite behavior and face-aggravating behavior more generally is as much as this negation as polite versions of behavior.' (cf. Lohcer & Watts, 2008, p.5).

As mentioned earlier, in the pragmatic studies that have developed so far, the study of impoliteness is not one of the phenomena to be studied. One of the reasons underlying the absence of impoliteness as a pragmatic phenomenon is that the study of language impoliteness is considered to be paired with politeness. Like a natural phenomenon, what happens is bipolar in nature, the good is paired with the bad, the natural is paired with the unnatural, and so on. The same thing is applied in the pragmatic context, the advantageous is paired with the disadvantageous. Leech also has the same argument, the polite is paired with the impolite, the advantageous is paired with the disadvantageous. Therefore, such a bipolar reason is one of the reasons why language impoliteness is not a phenomenon in the pragmatic study. Another reason that causes language impoliteness not being made a separate phenomenon in pragmatics is because the society is always oriented to what is polite in behaving in the society, not the impolite one. Thus, what is important for them to learn is something polite, not

something that is impolite. In other words, there is a kind of assumption that the study of impoliteness is not really necessary in the society because the society certainly will not commit impoliteness practices in communicating with others.

In the context of pragmatic developments and this may be the third reason, impoliteness is recently emerged after the study of politeness. If the phenomenon of politeness has been born since the Erving Goffman era in the 1970s, impoliteness has just begun to be widely studied in the 2000s. It was natural for the birth of this new pragmatic phenomenon that has just emerged to be manifesting a very early development. A number of studies on language impoliteness conducted so far, especially in Indonesian language, are still very early studies of language impoliteness.

Furthermore, the concept of implicature was first presented by Grice (1975) in his article entitled 'Logic and Conversation'. One of the impacts of Grice's thought on implicature is the one that eventually leads to a view of language politeness which is based on implied meanings. Rahardi (2012) mentions that the language politeness in the implicature basis was presented by Grice as the 'Gricean View of Politeness'. Thus, it can be emphasized that the view of politeness which is based on the principles of implicature points to the language politeness which was developed by Grice.

In relation to this implicature, Wijana (1996) mentions that a speech can be said to imply a proposition or intention that is not part of the related speech. The implied proposition or intent is referred to as implicature. The relationship between the speech that implies and something that is implied is not an absolute consequence. Therefore, it can be said that in fact the implicature is not really a part of the speech that is implying something. A further illustration of the implicature in pragmatics can be observed on the following speech snippet.

- (+) *Sendi di mana, Ton?*  
[Where is Sendi, Ton?]
- (-) *Andi di rumah neneknya sekarang.*  
[Andi is at his grandmother's house now.]

At a glance it can be seen that the speech contained in (+) is not related to the speech (-), even it seems that the speech (-) is deviating from the speech (+). However, in fact the speech (-) contains implicature entities. Something that is implied is that 'Andi' is a close friend of 'Sendi'. If 'Andi' is at his grandmother's house, then the implication is that 'Sendi' is also at the house of Andi's grandmother. From the above speech example, it is obvious that something that is implied is not a part of the speech delivered. It even seems as if the speech which is the answer to the previous speech is apart from the form of speech.

In the pragmatic study so far, the implicature in such language practice has been closely observed and studied. There are many studies on the preparation of theses in universities which also take this implicature as the object of their studies. Therefore, it can be said that research and studies on implicature as a pragmatic phenomenon do not need to be re-inflated because that has in fact been done a lot. Nevertheless, if new dimensions are found in the pragmatic implicature, research and studies on this pragmatic phenomenon can also be performed.

The second pragmatic phenomenon, which has also been widely described, is presupposition. A speech will be said to presuppose another speech if the truth or untruth of a presupposed sentence leads to the truth or untruth that the presupposing sentence could do. The illustration of the statement can be observed through the following speeches.

- (-) *Anak kecil di rumah besar itu cerdas sekali.*  
[The child in that big house is very brilliant.]
- (+) *Istri dosen muda itu cantik sekali.*  
[The young lecturer's wife is very beautiful.]

What is presupposed in the speech (-) is that in the big house there is a very brilliant little boy. If there is no child in the house, or there may be a small child but that child is not very brilliant, then it can be said that what is presupposed in the speech is wrong. The study of language impoliteness is also closely related to the concept of this presupposition in pragmatics. The context used as the primary device for understanding pragmatic meaning or intent, has a primary substance in the form of assumptions. Thus, it can be said that the study of language politeness is adjacent to the study of presupposition as one of the pragmatic phenomena.

Earlier, it is said that in the implicature, the relationship between something that is implied and a speech that implies something is unnecessary. It can even be said that in the implicature, something that is implied is not a part of the speech that implies something. However, there are times when the relationship between a speech with the other speech is absolutely necessary. In other words, one speech is an entailment of the previous speech. An example can be observed through the following speech.

- (-) *Kemarin terjadi gempa bumi lagi di Aceh.*  
[There was an earthquake again in Aceh yesterday.]
- (+) *Beritanya, tidak lebih dari 10 rumah roboh.*  
[According to the news, not more than 10 houses collapsed.]

From the previous speech snippets, it can be explained that speech (+) is really a logical and absolute consequence of the speech (-). Therefore, the relationship between the speeches can be said to be obligatory or absolute. That is, the presence of speech (+) is really a logical consequence of the presence of speech (-). Thus, it can be emphasized that speech (+) is an entailment for speech (-), and not a speech that is implied by speech (-). The study of language impoliteness also cannot be separated from the entailment phenomenon as one of the pragmatic phenomena. In the various data of natural speeches that are analyzed to obtain a picture of the pragmatic meaning, there are many facts which have found that they contain this pragmatic phenomenon. Therefore, it can be asserted that the study of language impoliteness cannot detach this other linguistic phenomenon in pragmatics which is commonly referred to as entailment.

Kridalaksana (1993) defines deixis as a thing or function of those points to something outside the language. Meanwhile, Alwi et al. (2003) explains that deixis is a semantic symptom contained in a word or a construction whose reference can only be interpreted by taking into account the situation of the

conversation. For example the word 'now' can be interpreted as 'right now' or 'this moment'. People might even define that 'now' is this 'second'. However, in other speech, 'now' can be interpreted as merely something that points out time which is different from 'tomorrow' or 'the day after tomorrow'. Thus, it can be said that in the second word 'now', the time period is different from the first 'now'. The difference in the pragmatic meaning or the intent that the word 'now' carries in that context of different speech is what is interpreted as a deictic phenomenon. It should be noted that deixis is not only related to time. Deixis is in fact connected to place as well. In Javanese, when people say '*wanten mrika*', then the meaning can vary. The intent contained in the form of '*mrika*' might turn out to be 'close' or even might be 'very not close'. Similar with the form of '*di sini*' [here] or '*di sana*' [there] in Indonesian language that turns out to point at different distances. Although the form of 'here' or 'there' are equally used, different contexts will inevitably produce different meanings as well.

In addition to the deixis of time and place as described previously, there is also deixis of pronoun. The use of the word 'you' can refer to a second person pronoun which only refers to one person. Nevertheless, in a different context, the word 'you' can refer to a second person pronoun which is plural. The word 'you' which refers to a single entity and the word 'you' which refers to a non-singular entity is one example of the use of deixis of pronoun in Indonesian language. For certain people, the form '*kami*' [us- exclusive] and the word '*kita*' [us- inclusive] mean differently. Meanwhile, some other people refer to '*kami*' [us-exclusive] as '*kita*' [us-inclusive] and vice versa. For certain, the only entity that will be able to give meaning and determine the meaning precisely is context. Therefore, it can be concluded as well that the phenomenon of deixis in the language is also cannot be separated from the entity of context in understanding it. It is clearly undeniable that the study of language impoliteness can never be detached from the phenomenon of deixis. In fact, sometimes, the form of language impoliteness is linguistically evident in the use of the deictic phenomenon. Hence, it can be said that both of them are in fact closely correlated. The phenomenon of deixis cannot be separated from the phenomenon of language impoliteness, and vice versa.

The concept of chit-chat in language is adjacent to the concept of 'phatic communion' or which is translated into 'fatist communication' conveyed by Malinowski (1923). The word 'phatic' comes from a Greek verb that means 'to speak'. The term 'communion' means the creation of 'ties of union', while 'phatic' is defined as 'by speech' or what is spoken (cf. Mey, 1998, pp.672-673). The phenomenon of chit-chat, as well as the phenomenon of language politeness, is universal. That means, such linguistic phenomena can be found in every language. In Indonesian language, for example, we would very easily find people saying the 'How are you' form of chit-chat, that is when a person is meeting his friend, then the person would easily use that linguistic form. When a colleague has just recovered from his illness and then entering the office, his colleagues would then quickly ask '*Sudah sehat?*' [Okay already?] or maybe '*Sehat?*' [Okay?] or '*Sehat-sehat?*' [You okay?].

But in truth, the intent of the speech is not to first ask about the health condition, but only as a sort of chit-chat to ask about the health condition of his colleague. It seems odd that when someone obviously appears to go to a church or to a mosque for worship, someone asks 'Where are you going?'. People, who do

not understand or do not comprehend the context, may find it very easy to get angry with the linguistic form that is spoken. However, for a person who understands the context, such a speech is simply used to express chit-chat. The main goal of people to chit-chat with each other is to maintain a relationship in the communication practice. Whether people want to use the dimensions of chit-chat or not to use chit-chat in the greetings; it really depends on whether or not they want to be polite or on the contrary they want to express their impoliteness. In other words, the phenomenon of chit-chat is not detached from the phenomenon of language impoliteness. Both can be said to be interrelated, one is present in the other one.

One of the pragmatic phenomena that is now widely studied is the phenomenon of language politeness. Speaking of the concept of language politeness, it is normally divided into two, namely the politeness that is based on the concept of face, and the politeness that is based on the concept of implicature. The first concept was defined by Erving Goffman which was later developed into 'Goffmanian View of Politeness'. The second concept was defined by Grice with his concept of implicature, which then gave birth to 'Gricean View of Politeness' (cf. Rahardi, 2013). Speaking of the phenomenon of language politeness, we cannot ignore the politeness principles that Geoffrey N. Leech has conveyed, dividing it into the maxims of politeness. The maxims of politeness of Geoffrey N. Leech can be mentioned one by one as follows. (1) tact maxim: minimize cost to other; maximize benefit to other, (2) generosity maxim: minimize benefit to self; maximize cost to self; (3) approbation maxim: minimize dispraise; maximize praise of other; (4) modesty maxim: minimize praise of self; maximize dispraise of self; (5) agreement maxim: minimize disagreement between self and other; maximize agreement between self and other; (6) sympathy maxim: minimize antipathy between self and other; maximize sympathy between self and other. (cf. Leech, 1983, p.119).

The principle of politeness can be said to be complementary to the principle of cooperation. If the principle of cooperation is widely used for textual pragmatic entities, the principle of politeness is more used with respect to pragmatic entities that are non-textual. Thus, it can be said that the principle of language politeness is actually a complementary of the principle of cooperation. The principle of cooperation can be fully expressed in the following maxims: maxim of quantity, maxim of quality, maxim of relevance, maxim of implementation. (cf. Rahardi, 2009, p.23). From the literature that the researcher can afford, it was found that the study of language politeness developed very quickly after Fraser (1990) showed four models of politeness studies in language, namely (1) a politeness view that is related to social norm, (2) a view that sees politeness as a conversational maxim, (3) a politeness view that is related to the efforts to save the face, and (4) a politeness view that is related to a conversation contract. (cf. Rahardi, 2005, p.38). The relation between the two phenomena in this pragmatic study is very clear and undeniable. Even in the concept of politeness of a number of experts, the phenomenon of impoliteness is considered as a bipolar phenomenon with the phenomenon of language politeness. If there is a term of politeness on one side, it is certain that there will be a term of impoliteness on the other side. Thus, it can be clearly stated that one cannot be separated from the other one that one is intertwining with the other one.

## Conclusion

As a conclusion, it can be reiterated that in fact the pragmatic phenomena cannot be separated from one another. One linguistic phenomenon is related to other linguistic phenomena. In fact, sometimes, one pragmatic phenomenon is an integral part of other pragmatic phenomena. In connection with that fact, to produce a comprehensive study, a study involving pragmatic phenomena as a whole and integratively is essential to be conducted immediately. With such a holistic and integrative study, the description of pragmatic phenomena in Indonesian language will become more complete and not just fragmented.

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## **GENDER DIFFERENCES AND THE USE OF METADISCOURSE MARKERS IN WRITING ESSAYS**

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### **Abstract**

This study aims at investigating metadiscourse markers in academic essays written by male and female students. With the goal in mind, 20 essays written by EFL female students and 20 essays written by EFL male students were chosen. These data were analyzed based on the metadiscourse framework proposed by Hyland (2005). The findings revealed that both male and female writers employed more interactive markers than interactional markers due to the fact that both genders inserted transition markers frequently to guide readers through the texts. However, a cultural factor may influence the writers' tendency not to use transition markers showing arguments. Furthermore, although male students employed more interactional markers, female students used more markers in interactional sub-categories except self-mentions. Although it is assumed that women prefer to use a more personalized style, male writers in this study also personalized their essays by using self-mentions. One possible reason was that the use of these features tended to be more field-specific than gender-specific. The findings and discussion indicated that gender is not the only factor influencing the use of metadiscourse markers. Other possible variables discussed in this study should be taken into account.

Keywords: metadiscourse, gender, discourse

### **Introduction**

Studies have suggested that men and women tend to favor distinct language features in expressing themselves (Lakoff 1975, Waskita, 2008, Matei, 2011, Subon, 2013, and Shirzad & Jamali, 2013). Lakoff (1975) revealed that women used linguistic features that reinforced their subordination. She further revealed that they were inclined to use some specific language features, such as lexical hedges, tag questions, empty adjectives, intensifiers, and emphatic stress. These differences between men and women in communication have attracted on-going scholarly discussion. Some studies have extensively explored how gender differences influence both spoken (Subon, 2013 & Matei, 2011) and written language (Shirzad & Jamali, 2013 and Waskita, 2008). Besides claiming that women's language tended to be more polite (Subon 2013) and more complex

(Shirzad & Jamali, 2013; Waskita 2008), Matei (2011) suggested that women had the tendency to use more discourse markers in spoken communication.

A previous study on gender and discourse markers by Pasaribu (2017) showed that both genders shared similar patterns, in which they tended to use more elaborative markers than contrastive markers. However, the study was limited to the use of discourse markers or the textual markers used by the students. While the framework of discourse markers elaborates the relations between sentences, clauses, and phrases, the theory of metadiscourse markers employed in this current study covers both the interactive and interactional dimensions of the data. Hyland (2005) articulated that the concept of metadiscourse markers “is the cover term for the self-reflective expressions used to negotiate interactional meanings in a text, assisting the writer (or speaker) to express a viewpoint and engage with readers as members of a particular community” (p.37). Hyland and Tse (2004, p. 156) elaborated that the use of metadiscourse markers expressed “communicative engagement between the writers and readers”. This model does not only investigate interactive markers which are employed to assist writers to organize the discourse, but it also covers interactional markers which enable writers to highlight some aspects in the discourse and project their attitudes.

Some literature has investigated gender-based differences and the use of metadiscourse markers. Tse and Hyland (2008) pointed out that the linguistic features that male and female researchers used are not merely determined by gender. On the other hand, Yeganeh and Ghoreyshi (2015) revealed that gender differences play an important part on the use of two metadiscourse features, booster and hedges. They argued that Iranian females preferred to use hedges in their writing, while the males tended to use boosters more frequently. The tendency occurred possibly because women “were more cautious in writing and reporting their opinions” (Yeganeh & Ghoreyshi, 2015, p. 688). A recent study by Seyyedrezaie and Vahedi (2017) investigated the projection of gender identity through metadiscourse marking. They found out that both although males and females writers shared the same patterns of using stance makers, it turned out that the male writers used more frequent epistemic markers than their counterparts. It was interpreted that the male authors expressed more certainty in their writings. The distinct findings from these studies showed that further research in the field of gender and metadiscourse markers should be conducted. Therefore, this study aimed at elaborating the gender differences and the use of metadiscourse markers in 40 academic essays written by male and female students.

### **Theory**

Hyland (2005) applied the term metadiscourse markers to highlight the use of markers in written form. He elaborated that writers use metadiscourse markers as a set of tool “to negotiate interactional meanings in a text” (p. 37). They help the readers see the writer’s perspectives. In his perspective, the use of metadiscourse markers encourages the relationship between the writer and readers. For example, the function of attitude markers, such as unfortunately and surprisingly, express the writer’s attitude toward the issues presented in the text.

He classifies metadiscourse markers into two categories, namely: interactive and interactional dimension.

Hyland (2005) elaborated that the interactive dimension “concerns the writer’s awareness of a participating audience and the ways he or she seeks to accommodate its probable knowledge, interest, rhetorical expectations and processing abilities” (p. 49). The resources in this dimension serve as tools to organize information which meets the readers’ need. Table 1 projects the five broad sub-categories of this interactive dimension which was taken without modification from Hyland, 2005, p. 49.

**Table 1: Interactive Categories of Metadiscourse Markers (Hyland, 2005, p. 49)**

Category	Function	Examples
Transitions	Express relation between main clauses	in addition; but; thus; and
Frame markers	refer to discourse acts, sequences or stages	finally; to conclude; my purpose is
Endophoric markers	refer to information in other parts of the text	noted above; see Fig; in section 2
Evidential	refer to information from other texts	according to X; Z states
Code glosses	elaborate prepositional meanings	namely; e.g.; such as; in other words

Another dimension proposed by Hyland (2005) is the interactional categories which concern on how the writers present “interaction by intruding and commenting on their message” (p. 49). There are five sub-categories of interactional dimension which was taken without modification from Hyland, 2005, p. 49.

**Table 2: Interactional Categories of Metadiscourse Markers (Hyland, 2005, p. 49)**

Category	Function	Examples
Hedges	Withhold commitment and open dialogue	Might, perhaps, possible, about
Boosters	Emphasize certainty or close dialogue	in fact, definitely, it is clear that
Attitude Markers	Express writer’s attitude to proposition	Unfortunately, I agree, surprisingly
Self-mention	Explicit reference to authors	I, we, my, me, our
Engagement markers	Explicitly build relationship with readers	Consider, note, you can see that

The aim of this study is investigating the use of both interactive and interactional markers in EFL academic essays. With this goal in mind, the study analyzed 40 academic essays by employing Hyland’s theory of metadiscourse markers.

## Method

This study elaborated the differences and the similarities in the use of metadiscourse markers between female and male students' essays through document analysis (Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2006). The data were collected from 20 essays written by female students and 20 essays written by male students in Critical Reading and Writing I. The researcher carefully identified the metadiscourse markers which were classified into Hedges (Hg), Boosters (Bt), Attitude Markers (Am), Self-mention (Sm), and engagement markers (Em). The markers were highlighted, counted using Antconc, a free concordance and analyzed by drawing on Hyland's model of metadiscourse markers (2005). The collected data were elaborated using descriptive qualitative approach. Both figures and numbers are explained through verbal means.

## Findings and Discussion

The findings indicated that both genders applied more interactive resources (1561) than the interactional ones (1406). Both groups are heavy users of transition markers and hedges. Furthermore, males used these resources more than females. This section elaborates the phenomena in details.

Table 3 shows that both sexes use 1561 interactive metadiscourse markers. Both groups had the tendency to use transition markers. Female students used 574 markers or 36.8% of 1561 interactive resources, while male students used 667 markers (42.7%). The table also shows that both genders only used the endophoric markers once.

**Table 3: Interactive Dimensions of Metadiscourse Markers**

Interactive MM	Females		Males		Total	
	E	%	E	%	E	%
Transition markers	574	36,8	667	42,7	1241	79,5
Frame Markers	42	2,7	87	5,6	129	8,3
Endophoric Markers	1	0,1	1	0,1	2	0,1
Evidential	31	2,0	23	1,5	54	3,5
Code Glosses	75	4,8	60	3,8	135	8,6
Total	723	46,3	838	53,7	1561	100,0

The most frequent feature of interactive markers as shown in table 3 is the transition markers. The model suggested by Hyland (2005) classifies transition markers into three distinct categories: addition, consequence, and argument. In line with Pasaribu's findings (2017), essays written by male and female students share similar patterns.

**Table 4: Transition Markers**

Transition Markers	Females		Males		Total	
	E	%	E	%	E	%
Addition	435	27,9	480	30,7	915	58,6

Consequence	134	8,6	180	11,5	314	20,1
Argument	5	0,3	7	0,4	12	0,8
Total	574	36,8	667	42,7	1241	79,5

Total Interactive MM : 1561

Table 4 shows that addition markers are the most common transition markers. The variants of these markers are *and, furthermore, moreover, in addition, besides, likewise, in the same way, in contrast, however, but, yet, although, on the contrary, on the other hand, and despite*. Both females and males students had the tendency to use addition markers. Next, both genders also used markers to show consequences, such as *thus, therefore, consequently, as a result, for this reason, hence, we can conclude, since, because, because of, and so*. Finally, both sexes also tended not to use markers to signal argument. A few variants are used such as *in any case, in this case, and of course*. The data indicated that the writers preferred adding more information to arguing the ideas. One possible cultural explanation for this preference was due to the fact that Indonesian people tend to avoid arguments. One of the famous sayings integrated with the students' characteristic is "*manut lan pinurut*" or to obey and to follow (Dardjowidjojo, 2006). The belief that obeying is more encouraged than arguing can also be expressed from the students' tendency not to employ markers showing arguments.

The writers also employed frame markers serving as signals of text boundaries (Hyland, 2005). There are three types of frame markers, namely: additive relations, discourse goals, and topic shifts. Although male writers tended to use more frame markers, both sexes were inclined to apply additive relations rather than explicitly state their purpose in writing by the use of discourse goals (0.3%).

**Table 5: Frame Markers**

Frame Markers	Females		Males		Total	
	E	%	E	%	E	%
Additive relations	32	2,0	72	4,6	104	6,7
Discourse goals	2	0,1	2	0,1	4	0,3
Topic shifts	8	0,5	13	0,8	21	1,3
Total	42	2,7	87	5,6	129	8,3

Total Interactive MM : 1561

Hyland (2005) elaborated that some frame markers show additive relations between sentences or groups of sentences. The variants of additive relations found in the essays are *first, second, third, at the same time, and next*. Besides using markers to show additive relations, the EFL writers also used several interactive markers such as *well, right* and *now* to indicate topic shifts. The EFL writers tended to elaborate the relation between ideas rather than announcing the discourse goals. Some discourse goals found in the essays are *I argue* and *I agree that*. Although they knew that the essays they wrote indicated causal relationship and arguments related to particular issues, they had the tendency not to express

their purposes explicitly by employing only a few markers expressing discourse goals. The students did not explicitly mention their purposes probably due to their preference in using an Asian rhetorical model, whose development of texts is not written straightforwardly (Wahab, 2006)

It is interesting to note that males use more markers in interactive dimensions except code glosses and evidentials. Writers use code glosses to express “additional information by rephrasing explaining or elaborating what has been said” (Hyland, 2005, p. 52). Writers add more code glosses by giving definition or using examples. In this study, female students used more code glosses than male students. The writers provided definition to clarify the issues presented in the texts. The markers used to indicate definitions in the essays are *this is called*, *in other words*, and *that is*.

**Table 6: Code Glosses**

Code Glosses	Females		Males		Total	
	E	%	E	%	E	%
Definitions	15	1,0	20	1,3	35	2,2
Examples	60	3,8	40	2,6	100	6,4
Total	75	4,8	60	3,8	135	8,6

Total Interactive MM : 1561

The writers support their opinion not only by giving definitions, but also by providing examples. In supplying additional information, female students were heavy users of examples as seen in table 5. The writers introduced examples by using various markers such as *for example*, *for instance*, *such as*, and *like*. The examples were given to make the writers ideas more concrete for the readers.

Both genders also used markers as evidentials from other sources to support their arguments. However, female students tend to use more evidentials as sources to support their arguments. As argued by Yeganeh and Ghoreyshi (2015), women had the tendency to be more careful in writing by citing others or giving examples. The variants of this metalinguistic representations are *according to x*, *x states*, *x noted*, *x said* and *x mentions*.

**Table 7: Endophoric and Evidential Markers**

Evidential and Endophoric markers	Females		Males		Total	
	E	%	E	%	E	%
Attribution	31	2,0	23	1,5	54	3,5
Reference to other parts	1	0,1	1	0,1	2	0,1
Total	32	2,1	24	1,6	56	3,6

Total Interactive MM : 1561

Writers also introduced other parts of the text by using endophoric markers. Endophoric markers are phrases which refer to earlier material or something yet to come (Hyland, 2005). The EFL writers do not use many endophoric markers. Some of references to others found in the essays are *what is mentioned* and *like I said before* as seen in table 7.

As shown in table 8, both genders have the tendency to use engagement markers. By using engagement markers, the students engaged with the readers. It is turned out that although male students tended to use the overall interactional metadiscourse markers, female students employed more categories of interactional markers than male students except self-mention.

**Table 8: Interactional Metadiscourse Markers**

Interactional MM	Females		Males		Total	
	E	%	E	%	E	%
Hedges	122	8,7	100	7,1	222	15,8
Boosters	40	2,8	33	2,3	73	5,2
Attitude Markers	38	2,7	33	2,3	71	5,0
Self-mentions	46	3,3	115	8,2	161	11,5
Engagement Markers	450	32,0	429	30,5	879	62,5
Total	696	49,5	710	50,5	1406	100,0

Table 8 reveals that both groups applied a considerably high use of engagement markers which involve features that address the discourse participants (Hyland, 2005). Writers acknowledge participants by using pronouns indicating first person plural (we, our, us) or second person pronoun (you, your). As seen in table 9, female students use more engagement markers (29.9%) than male students (28.4%).

**Table 9: Engagement Markers**

Engagement Markers	Females		Males		Total	
	E	%	E	%	E	%
Addressing Readers	421	29,9	399	28,4	820	58,3
Directives	29	2,1	30	2,1	59	4,2
Total	450	32,0	429	30,5	879	62,5

Total Interactional MM : 1406

The other purpose of using engagement markers is positioning readers into the discourse (Hyland, 2005). The students did this by giving directives using modals like *should*, *must* or *have to*. There is no clear indication that women express request or command using less direct manner than men because both genders shared similar variants of directive modals.

Furthermore, Lakoff (1975) introduced hedges to describe words which make things more or less blurry. Moreover, Hyland (2005) mentioned that this feature emphasizes the writer's subjectivity. The information is presented as an opinion which is open for negotiation. This feature also implies the degree of confidence and certainty. It is also used to convey indirectness. The variants of hedges found in the essays are *possible*, *might*, *perhaps*, *usually*, *sometimes*, *almost*, *likely*, *tend to*, *should*, *may*, *a little bit*, *kind of*, *at least*, and *maybe*. Hedges tended to be more common in essays written by female students. Female students presented more hedges (122 times or 8.8%) than males (100 times or 7.2%). This finding confirms the previous study by Yeganeh and Ghoreyshi

(2014) in which they revealed that females were more careful in presenting their opinions or arguments.

Different from hedges, boosters highlight certainty. The use of boosters represents a confident voice (Hyland, 2005). He adds that boosters are “widely used by chairpersons to demonstrate a confident image” (p. 79). The variants of boosters found in the essays are *clearly, actually, certainly, really, always, definitely, and in fact*. The results show that the female students were more likely to use boosters (40 or 3%) than their counterparts (33 or 2.5%). This suggests that female students are more inclined to present higher degree of assurance. This result contradicts Yeganeh and Ghoreyshi (2014), who found out that males tended to use more boosters. Meanwhile, the current finding is in line with Serholt (2011) who revealed that females were more inclined to use boosters.

Another common feature is self-mention markers which “refer to the degree of explicit author presence” (Hyland, 2005, p. 53). The presence of the authors in this study is reflected by the use of first person pronouns (*I, my, and me*) and first person plural pronouns (*we, us, and ours*). Male students were more inclined to use this feature to personalize the ideas in the essays. According to Hyland (2005) this feature served several functions such as strengthening the writers’ presence, including personal narratives or experience, and promoting solidarity. Usually personalized writing style is often favored by women (Goodwin 1988 in D’angelo 2008). However, male students also personalized their essays or made their presence noticed by using self-mentions. The use of this feature seemed to be influenced by a field-specific factor. According to Hyland (2005), self-mention markers were more frequent in humanities and social science papers than in science and engineering. In this case, it is likely that the use of self-mentions was influenced by the topic of the texts related to social issues.

The writers’ engagement with the texts and the topics is also shown through the use of attitude markers. These features are used to project writers’ attitude to ideas presented in the text. Hyland (2005) suggested that they expressed writers’ affective attitude.

**Table 10: Attitude Markers**

Attitude Markers	Females		Males		Total	
	E	%	E	%	E	%
Verbs	5	0,4	5	0,4	10	0,7
Adverbs	7	0,5	6	0,4	13	0,9
Adjectives	26	1,8	22	1,6	48	3,4
Total	38	2,7	33	2,3	71	5,0

Total Interactional MM : 1406

The table shows that both sexes used attitude markers. Female students were slightly more inclined to use more attitude markers (38 times or 2.7%) than their male counterparts (33 times or 2.3%). The attitude markers found in the essays are: *unfortunately, easily, fortunately, appropriate, strange, weird, negative, important, usual, amazing, correct, essential, interesting, shocked, shocking, surprised, unexpected, and unusual*. By using these verbs, adjectives and adverbs



which contained affective messages, the writers conveyed their attitude towards information and ideas presented in the text.

### Conclusion

The study stems from the assumption that gender differences influence the use of metadiscourse markers. The study indicated that both groups share similarities, in which they employed more interactive markers than interactional markers. Both genders were heavy users of transition markers which help them connect ideas in the discourse. In using transition markers, students preferred elaborating ideas than arguing ideas because they were not accustomed to contrasting or arguing ideas. Furthermore, although male students use more interactional resources, female students use more markers in the sub-categories except self-mentions. Although it is assumed that women prefer to use a more personalized style, male writers in this study also made their presence noticed by using self-mentions. One possible reason was that the use of a personalized style tended to be more field-specific rather than gender-specific. It confirms Hyland's argument (2005) that writers often employ more self-mentions in humanities and social science papers than in science and engineering. The discussion indicates that gender is not the only factor that determines how writers express themselves. Further research focusing on the discipline of the essays and the cultural backgrounds of the writers is necessary in the future.

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## **PROMOTING INDONESIAN TOURISM TO CHINESE TOURISTS THROUGH JOURNALISM STRATEGIES IN WECHAT**

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### **Abstract**

Indonesia is one of the top ten destinations for Chinese people. In fact, Chinese tourists contributed the highest number of foreign tourists to Indonesia. The innovative access to information facilitated them to plan itinerary in Indonesia. The Indonesian government who aimed at increasing Chinese tourists can implement digital tools. This brief study elaborates the use of journalism to review destinations which were disseminated through Wechat. Various destinations in Indonesia can be informed to more than 800 million of Wechat users. The reviews of a tourism destination are not limited to general or popular destinations, but also to new destinations that have not been known widely. The news structure is divided into 6 sections, including location details, the history, the attraction, how to get to the place, useful information, and the cost. Some obstacles related to translation and the dissemination of the news can be solved by working with some parties to promote this strategy.

**Keywords:** Strategy, Increasing Chinese Tourists, Tourist Journalism, Wechat

### **Introduction**

In 2016 Indonesian government targeted three million Chinese tourists (Asdhiana, 2016). Indonesian tourism industry contributes greatly to increase the income as well as provides more employment opportunities in different areas, such as transportation services, tour guides, crafts, and food. The tourism industry in Indonesia currently contributes 4 percent of total GDP (Indonesia-investments.com). There were 11.5 million foreign tourists in 2016 who visited places in Indonesia. The number is less than the number of the tourists who travelled to Thailand (30 million in 2015). The government official website ([kemenpar.go.id](http://kemenpar.go.id)) mentions that the highest number of foreigners who visited Indonesia is from China. The list is followed by Singapore, Australia, and Malaysia.

The Indonesian government continues to boost the tourism sector by improving infrastructure and developing various promotions to attract foreign tourists. Many Indonesian-themed festivals in several countries were held to introduce Indonesian tourism. Nowadays, some new tourism destination promoted. In Beijing, Indonesia-themed festival fascinates local people.

Indonesian cultural festival is also performed by Indonesian students at many universities in China to attract students to know about Indonesia.

There are still many Chinese who only know few things and places about Indonesia, such as Bali and Jakarta. Bali is famous for its culture and natural beauty. Some Chinese celebrities married in Bali. This phenomenon also attracted other Chinese people. Having a honeymoon and getting married in Bali are considered the dream of Chinese couples.

Research conducted by Su An Zhi (2017) inspired this brief paper. The study was conducted by involving 342 random respondents among 18-45 years old whose monthly income varied from 600 USD to 4000 USD. There were 22% of respondents who visited to Bali. More than half of them (60%) visited Jimbaran Beach, Kuta Beach and Tanah Lot Temple. Besides those places, they also visited Nusa Lembongan Island, Puri Saren Agung Ubud, Pura Tirta Empul, Tegallalang Rice Terrace, and Nusa Dua. Bali is viewed as a place with beautiful beaches, wedding places, special culture, and friendly people. Beautiful beaches, special culture, and friendly people were common impression that foreign tourists know about. Bali as a wedding place is strongly influenced by the news of various media in China about celebrities who are married and honeymoon in Bali.

Some factors that support Chinese tourists coming to Bali is its natural beauty. Another factor is its tropical climate. Because China has four seasons, Chinese often travel to the south during winter. Furthermore, visa-free is also an important factor to attract these respondents who visited Bali. In addition, the hospitality is also an important aspect to impress the tourists. Indonesian hospitality, indeed, has been well-recognized in many countries. The last factor found in that study is Balinese culinary is very tasty.

In order to support the increasing number of tourists from China to Indonesia, several airlines have opened direct flights. Some direct flights come from various cities, such as Beijing, Shanghai, Hongkong, Guanzhou, and Chengdu (Bayu, 2017). Besides Bali, many tourism destinations should be promoted to attract Chinese tourists. The growth of tourism in Indonesia has entered the world's top 20 and the second in ASEAN (Ramadhanny, 2017). Indonesian President, Joko Widodo, asked the tourism minister to increase the growth of tourism. In order to improve the growth of Indonesian tourism, various strategies can be developed.

This brief paper attempts to propose a strategy to increase Chinese's interest in Indonesian tourism. Through digital information on the Wechat, tourism information in Indonesia can be delivered quickly and effectively. The information can be displayed through innovative journalism methods. Travel journalism serves tourism information as well as composing a story that flows to readers in a travel record style. In an article written by Fitriya Ramadhanny (2015), travel journalism contributes greatly to tourism in Indonesia (Ramadhanny, 2015). Travel journalism is composed based on the rules of journalism, highlighting objectivity. Many new destinations appear due to the viral on social media. Therefore, travel journalism can be used as a method to inform tourist in order to increase the attractiveness of readers to Indonesian tourism.

## **Method**

Wechat is China's largest social media with an active number of more than 800 million people (Wan, 2017). Although most Wechat users are Chinese, there are 70 million users 'non-Chinese' in the world. Chinese people do not only use the Wechat app for friendship communication, but also spread the news and business purposes. Various news portals are created and disseminated via Wechat. In addition, Wechat becomes popular for business marketing. Therefore, Wechat can now be used to disseminate any information according to the purpose of its users.

Wechat has a wider range of features than many other chat apps. Wechat can be used to deposit money and make online payments to someone or to various street vendors. If we want to buy snacks at the roadside we do not need to use cash if the seller receives payment via Wechat. In addition, Wechat can be used to make money transactions quickly and convenient. The next interesting feature is we can do various kinds of online payment for various purposes, such as buying transportation and cinema tickets or to rent a bike on the roadside.

To maximize Wechat's feature as a broadcasting media, it needs a creative strategy to attract readers. One of the strategies to provide attractive information is by using travel journalism. Fundamentally, travel journalism is one type of journalism that focused on travelling (Arismunandar, 2010). Travel journalism begins with diaries written by explorers such as Marcopolo who travelled to East Asia in the 13th century, Xuanzang's journey from China to India in the 7th century, and also Cheng Ho's maritime expeditions in the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

Fürsich and Kavoori (2001) described five important factors of studying travel journalism. First, the tourism industry is growing. Second, there have not been so many studies of tourism and its impact on the social life. Third, tourism is a social activity that is now commonly done by a lot of people. Fourth, travel journalism is as important as international communication that provides knowledge. Fifth, travel journalism can be potential in the future. The study of travel journalism is possible with a variety of purposes (Folker, 2010:68-82). The main objective in travel journalism is to describe and inform the public about tourism destinations in an interesting way and cling on the journalistic principles. The method of travel journalism is considered to become more flexible with a focus to inform the truth about the place and community (Hill-James, 2016).

This concept can be applied to record all forms of the travel activity. It can be served in the form of tourism news informing target audience. Many topics can be written via travel journalism, such as mountains, oceans, rivers, lakes, waterfalls, grasslands, and caves. In addition, we can also write about cities, historical places, culinary, social life, and cultural traditions in certain places. The willingness of journalists to be able to go into the fields and interact with the local community is a must. Local and foreign language skills also are important to communicate and write a report about the destination.

Searching for information through other sources such as the internet and related expert interviews can also be made to add or compare the results of direct observations. Some places have been summarized and reported by previous journalists. But in the previous report we can find outdated information, such as

the change of bus lines and the change of living costs, such as the cost spent for hotels, restaurants, phone numbers, and other information. Therefore, updated information will complement the news that has been written previously.

The information presented in the Wechat platform is expected to get many readers so that it becomes viral. Wechat is a very effective app to introduce various interesting destinations to Chinese people about tourism in Indonesia. The main obstacle in the delivery of information is language. The Chinese use Mandarin as the national language. Therefore, all the information compiled must be translated into Mandarin.

### **Findings and Discussion**

Choosing a potential tourism destination is considered to be more effective than reviewing widely known places. A freelance journalist, Jill Starley (2012) says that a travel journalist can review less popular destinations (Starley, 2012). In fact, some people are very interested in new destinations that are not popular yet. The result will attract the attention of readers to be more curious to visit new destinations. In Yogyakarta, Prambanan temple, King Palace, and Parangtritis beach is a place that is commonly known by tourists. Besides popular tourist destinations, there are many other places that are much more interesting. In fact, in Yogyakarta there are various kinds of tourism destinations such as mountains, museums, beaches, shopping centres, newly opened art performances. So far, the availability of such information is still limited to the Chinese tourists.

Introducing new destinations is the proper strategy to increase foreign tourists. I take the example of three new tourism destinations in Yogyakarta. First, Mount Nglanggeran as a new tourism destination in the east of Yogyakarta. The mountain that has an elevation of 700 meter is often called the ancient volcano because 60 million years ago, it was an active volcano (Pramesti, 2012). This brand new destination has attracter hikers. Tourists can climb the mountains and walk around countryside while enjoying the beautiful natural scenery. Information about Mount Nglanggeran is available on internet pages. Considering all facilities have been sufficient, then the destination has been feasible to be promoted internationally, especially to the Chinese tourists.

Beside Mount Nglanggeran, many beaches in Gunung Kidul region are also worth to be reviewed and presented to the online media. Recently, the beaches in Gunung Kidul are increasingly visited by domestic tourists. New beaches have been opened to public and more facilities were added in order to make the visitors more comfortable. The popularity of parangtritis beach seems to be increasingly faded due to the number of new beaches in Gunung Kidul. In 2017, former president of America, Obama visited a new tourism destination in Yogyakarta, namely Becici Peak in Bantul region (Diah, 2017). Becici Peak is a 4.4 hectare pine forest where tourists can hike while enjoying the cool air. Therefore, this new destination can also be reviewed into attractive news and presented in Wechat.

The news that is presented on Wechat platform is a kind of informative and attractive short news. Besides the news report, various interesting photos and videos can be added. Photography skills are indispensable in travel journalism to enhance a positive image. Therefore, one piece of news can contain 3 forms of information: reports, pictures, and videos.

The news contains all reviews related to tourism destinations. The structure of the news content in this paper is divided into 6 sections, including: location details, the history, attraction, how to get to the place (direction), useful information, and the cost. The location details can be shown with images from maps to make it easier for readers to know the location of the destination. The history of the destination, for example various temples in Java and some other historical places, should also be displayed. The attraction includes what tourists get at the location. For example, in Kotagede, Yogyakarta, there are many silver craftsmen and silver handicrafts promoted in eksotisjogja.com. Visitors can see how to make accessories or jewelry from silver and buy them directly at that location. How to get to tourist destinations is indicated by the availability of transportation to the location, especially public transportation. Useful information aims at informing the readers of general conditions related to geography, social, and general circumstances in tourism sites. All the recommended information regarding lodging, food and shopping also can be informed to the readers. The cost estimation is an optional aspect in tourism news. It facilitates visitors to know the range of expenses to get to the destination. Therefore, the structure of news content can be presented as follows.

<b>News Content</b>
1. Location detail
2. The history
3. Attraction
4. How to get to the place
5. Useful information
6. Cost

The location details are the earliest aspects featured in the news. Locations are not only described by showing the address clearly, but also telling the easiest ways to identify surroundings. To show Malioboro Street as a shopping centre in Yogyakarta city, we can add a description of the prominent places near Malioboro street, for example Post Office, Train Station, and hotels. By telling the distance between the nearest places to the Malioboro Street, it is easier for tourists to find locations on the map with the additional places. Although Malioboro Street is located in the centre of the city and clearly visible on the map, but tourists come from various directions. Therefore, showing places around is very important to make it easier for visitors to search the places.

The history of the destinations can be explained briefly and informatively. The explanation depends on the place's history. Yogyakarta Palace can be explained together with the history of various kingdoms and kings in the past. Descriptions can be written by revealing history in the form of general and interesting facts. For example, the Yogyakarta Palace keeps various precious art treasures. Therefore, by looking at the various relics of the kings, the visitors can imagine the past royal life in Yogyakarta. By writing an interesting history, surely, the reader will consider the place as a tourist destination.

The aspect of attraction is arranged by explaining the advantages of the tourism site. It will not be adequate to describe the beaches of Gunungkidul as places with beautiful scenery only. Journalists should be able to describe in more details by adding fine white sand, calm waves, clear water, and chilly breeze. In addition, on-site facilities such as comfortable hotels, cheap restaurants, and friendly service can be highlighted as a way to attract visitors. The aspect of attraction is the most important part of the news so it can really affect the readers' trust, especially when there are photos and videos which are made to support the news.

The aspect "how to get to the location" can be composed by providing transportation routes leading to the location. First, the location can be reached by taxi from the airport. Second, journalists should notify bus or train lines to get to the location. Third, if the distance of the location is very close, then the author can recommend walking. Special transportation which is the main attraction in Yogyakarta is the horse-cart and pedicab. Those transportations can also be an alternative transportation to the destinations. Each kind of transportation has advantages and disadvantages. At certain times there is also traffic jam to be explained so tourist can anticipate it.

The aspects related to useful information are presented in the form of interesting tips about the destination. In Malioboro visitors can bargain the price offered by the sellers. In addition, visitors can enjoy live traditional music performances for free at night. Surrounding Malioboro Street, there are many lodging in affordable price. If visitors want to eat on the roadside, remind them to ask information of the price first. All these tips are gained from previous experiences. Therefore, journalists should be sensitive to various tips on location to make tourists more comfortable.

Cost estimation becomes a very useful aspect for the readers as it is related to the financial plan that will be considered when visiting certain destination. The costs include transportation, hotels, food, tickets, and other expenses. Although some places have been included in the tour package with a fixed price, but new places do not have any information regarding cost estimation. As a result, many tourists experienced when finding information related to accommodation and other costs. Therefore, given the approximation cost, readers can plan and manage the expense easily.

The responsibility of journalists is to write the truth details of the tourism sites. The geography and temperature of the sites are very important to be informed so that tourists can prepare themselves before going to the location. A journalist is also expected to become more sensitive to the social conditions of a community at the location. The customs of a society that have become traditions and prohibitions should be informed to avoid misunderstandings between local people and tourists. For example, tourists who visit the temple of Borobudur are not allowed to climb or step on the stupa because the temple of Borobudur is a place of worship for Buddhists. Therefore, balanced reporting becomes the foundation of journalists in making their travel reports.

The first obstacle and challenge are ways to review new destinations and translate the information in Mandarin. Therefore, to attract Chinese tourists, the journalist is expected to review tourist destinations in Mandarin and spread it on



Wechat. Indeed, journalists can seek help from translators or compose the news by themselves. News can also be written in English, but the number of readers will not be as satisfying as the number of readers when the news is translated into Mandarin.

Secondly, it is vital to think of ways to disseminate the news to Chinese society. Wechat is considered as the most popular social media in China. The news can be disseminated from one's account to another through the sharing feature called "moment". In addition, we can also create a special news platform in Wechat to load the news. It can be updated regularly or even anytime. This platform can be used by a journalist to publish news about tourism. To spread the news, we need to cooperate with various parties in order to reach broadly. Some parties that are considered effective to be invited to cooperate in supporting the dissemination of the news including student groups, embassies, the study centre of Indonesia, tourism groups, and national or international media.

The last obstacle and challenge are how to support the production of the news financially. The funding can be done by joining with various parties. Travel agents can be invited to work together to fund the creation and translation of news. In addition to travel agents, government agencies can also be invited to work together to support the dissemination of news in Wechat. Although without financial support, news production activities can be done independently, but it will be not effective due to financial limitation. Therefore, to implement tourism in Wechat, some of these obstacles must be solved. Finally, the strategies to increase Chinese tourists can be well realized.

## **Conclusion**

Creative and innovative strategies are expected to be effective in promoting Indonesian tourism and inviting larger number of tourists. Tourism journalism presented in the news on Wechat can promote Indonesian tourism. The reviews of tourism sites do not only cover famous destinations offered by travel agents. On the other hand, new destinations should be introduced in tourism news. The structure should consist of 6 parts including the location details, the history, the attraction, the directions on how to get to the place, useful information, and the cost.

Since the target audience is Chinese, the news should be translated into Mandarin before exposed in that World Wide Web. Therefore, the main obstacle that should be anticipated and solved is the ability of journalists to write in Mandarin. An alternative way to overcome these obstacles is to work with translators. To spread the news, journalists should work together with various parties, such as the embassies, the centre of Indonesian studies, some media, and Indonesian students in China.

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## **THE TYPES AND THE FUNCTIONS OF THE FILLERS USED IN BARACK OBAMA'S SPEECHES**

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### **Abstract**

This study deals with the production of fillers used in Barack Obama's speeches. This study is to investigate the types and functions of fillers used by Barack Obama. The study seeks to answer two research questions: (1) what are the types of fillers in Barack Obama's speeches? and (2) What are the functions of fillers in Barack Obama's speeches? In order to answer these problems, the researcher applied Rose's (1998) theory on the types of fillers which combined with similar notions on the types and functions of fillers which taken from Stenström (1994) and Baalen (2001). This study adopted a descriptive qualitative approach which used a discourse analysis to conduct this study. This study aims to introduce the types and the functions of fillers and to increase the learners' awareness of fillers when they hesitate in the foreign language, which is actually the very nature of speaking.

Keywords: filler, types of fillers, functions of filler, Barack Obama

### **Introduction**

Language is a tool to have interaction in daily conversation. Doing an interaction means that people should be able to communicate to others. The communication would be meaningful if they use language as the tool to communicate. Bickerton (1945) stated, "Language is a tool of communication while human intelligence is the result of the accelerated growth and unusual size of human brains" (p. 14). It means that communication and language are two components which cannot be separated from human being.

Learning to speak a second language (SL), especially foreign language (FL) is not simple as possible. It requires many efforts in understanding and applying the foreign language, commitment in learning, and developing the awareness as each language has its own rules (Santos, Alarcón, & Pablo, 2016, p. 1). It is true when learning foreign language takes place in a context where the target language does not commonly use foreign language outside the foreign language classroom. According to Holmes (2013) and Chaika (2008), people need to develop not only the linguistic competence but also the appropriate communicative competence as well in communicating any foreign language. Therefore, understanding how to

pronounce words correctly, use the appropriate grammar, and choose a proficient vocabulary does not guarantee the success to be able to speak a foreign language.

Since speaking foreign language is not easy, sometimes people make some pauses during speaking. In fact, many spontaneous speakers of various languages have pauses on their speaking which are taken when needed (Erten, 2014, p. 1). This phenomenon is commonly called filler. Fillers are a moment when someone pause their speaking to think what they want to say without give the impression if we finish our speaking. In daily conversation, people often use *uh, er, um, ah, ehm, well, I mean, you know*, or similar expressions. According to Baalen (2001), these kinds of utterances are called fillers. He also describes the fillers as sounds or words or phrases that could appear anywhere in the utterance and could be deleted from the utterance without a change in content. Clark and Tree (2002) claim that fillers serve a communication function, having a place in the speakers' vocabulary. Fillers are not the main message; they just help to have a meaning in sentences.

One of the ways of interactional communicating is by public speaking. Hasling (2006) defines public speaking as a type of communication in which a person has the attention of many people for some period times (p. 8). The examples of public speaking are speech, lecture, and presentation. In this study, the researcher investigates the speech as one of the types of public speaking.

In education field, filler is seen as a negative perception in speaking because it may decrease the fluency grade. Dlugan (2011) claims that filler words can weaken our credibility and can indicate that we are lack of preparation. He also concludes that fillers are bad in speaking. However, some experts explain that fillers have a positive perception. Fillers have types and functions. Fillers have various functions which depend on the situation of the speaker (Schiffrin, 1978, p. 154). Therefore this study aims to investigate and initiate the types and functions of fillers in order to raise awareness of avoiding fillers in speaking. Afterwards the researcher formulates two research problems: (1) what are the types of fillers used in Barack Obama's speeches? and (2) What are the functions of fillers used in Barack Obama's speeches?

## **Theory**

Being a key concept, fillers are pause moments in speaking which the speaker produces some utterances or just silence. In this study, the researcher classifies the fillers into three types which are asilent pause filler, an unlexicalized filler, and a lexicalized filler. On the other hand, the researcher also describes the functions of fillers.

### ***The Definition of Filler***

According to Tottie (2011), the first researchers who studied on fillers, specifically on *Uh* and *Um*, were psycholinguists. She also mentioned the other researcher, such as Maclay & Osgood (1959), Goldman-Eisler (1961), Stenström (1990), Kjellmer (2003), Gilquin (2008), who conducted on the topic of filler. Stenström (1994) defines the filler as lexically an empty item with uncertain discourse functions, except to fill a conversational gap (p. 222). It means that the fillers commonly occur to mark of hesitation or to hold control of a conversation while the speaker thinks what to say next.

### ***The Types of Fillers***

According to Stenström (1994), fillers are categorized into two types; those are a silent pause and a filled pause (p. 1). On the other hand, Rose (1998) also divides the filled pauses into two types. The first one is an unlexicalized filled pauses and the second is a lexicalized filled pause.

Silent pauses are pauses that appear in strategic places of the sentences (Stenström, 1994, p. 7). According to Wu (2001), silent pauses define as the unfilled pauses when they occur in the middle of phrases and words (p. 3). As in Wu's definition, Matthei and Roeper (1983) also argue that silent pauses tend to occur within phrases of the sentence (p. 164). This statement is also supported by Brown and Yule (1983) that silent pauses are pauses which usually precede the utterance and help the speaker to plan putting the words into the utterances (p. 129). They also define silent pauses as extended pauses because they usually extend between 3.2 to 16 seconds and cause the speakers to provide sufficient information to the hearers (p. 163). Therefore, silent pauses are pauses which are not filled with any sound or utterance.

Filled pause is a hesitation in spontaneous speech partly or wholly taken up by a speech sound like *ah*, *err*, *uh*, et cetera (Clark, 1977, p. 561). Similarly, in 1983, Brown and Yule defined filled pauses as pauses which usually appear in the form of sounds or words and in some places of the sentence (p. 129). Moreover, filled pauses are the gap between words and forward planning and thinking about what the speakers want to say (Carter, Goddard, Reah, Sanger, & Bowring, 1997, p. 201). Based on those definitions about filled pauses, the researcher concludes that filled pauses are any utterances produced by a speaker when she plans to say something. Furthermore, Rose (1998) categorizes filled pauses into two types; those are an unlexicalized filled pause and a lexicalized filled pause (p. 7).

Unlexicalized filled pauses are non-lexemes (non-words) filled pauses which speakers use to indicate hesitation while the speaker think what to say next utterances (Rose, 1998; Baalen, 2001). In addition, Baalen (2001) also gives some examples of unlexicalized filled pauses, such as *ehm*, *uh*, *err*, *ee*, *ah*, *um*, and so on (para. 7). The definition of unlexicalized filled pauses is also supported by Juan (2006), he says that *ehm*, *uh*, *err*, *ee*, *ah*, *um* and other vocalizations which belong to unlexicalized filled pauses are the easiest sounds which made while having a speaking. Afterwards, he calls them as "neutral vowel sounds" (para. 1).

According to Rose (1998), claim that lexicalized filled pauses are fillers in the form of word or short phrases, such as *like*, *well*, *yeah*, *sort of*, *you know*, *if you see what I mean*, and so on (pp. 7-8). On the other hand, Baalen (2001) also states a similar statement that lexicalized filled pauses consist of the phrases *you know* and *I mean* which are mostly used when a speaker is grouping for words but does not want to give up the claim to the floor (para. 1). Furthermore, she suggests that one type of the fillers is *like* (when it is not used as verb or preposition) and *well* (not in the initial position). Stenström (1994) also notes that one type of fillers, which is similar to the lexicalized fillers, is verbal fillers, such as *well*, *I mean*, and *sort of*.

Considering the types of fillers from Rose (1998) and Stenström (1994), the researcher summarized the types of fillers into three; they were a silent pause, an

unlexicalized filled pause, and a lexicalized pause. In order to investigate the filler words, the researcher just used the unlexicalized filled pause and lexical filled pause in this study.

### ***The Functions of Fillers***

Actually, fillers have many functions. Fillers have various functions which depend on the situation of the speaker (Schiffrin, 1978, p. 154). In 2002, Clark and Fox Tree claimed that fillers served a communicative function and had a place in the speaker's vocabulary (p. 97). Nevertheless, they do not define as primary message in a communication. In other words, the use of a filler only helps the way of speaking, not the meaning in the communication. However, Corley and Stewart (2008) describe that deliberating fillers in the sense of communication function is not certain (p. 592). Therefore, fillers are used when the speaker is uncertain about his/her next utterance or he/she has choices to make in his utterance.

There are at least five functions of fillers that will be explained further. They are hesitating, empathizing, mitigating, editing term, and time-creating devices. The researcher analyzed the productions of fillers and defined the functions by considering the context of situation from the utterances. In order to answer the second research problem, the researcher used the functions of fillers based on Stenström (1994), Foss and Hakes (1978), Wu (2001), and Baalen (2001).

Fillers have the function as hesitation devices. Stenström (1994) defines a mark of hesitation as one of the functions of fillers. Foss and Hakes (1978) hesitations are pauses which increase in the places of a sentence when a speaker has difficult decision in using the words (p. 184). Matthei and Roeper (1983) and Wu (2001) clarify that these fillers occur when the speaker must stop and think about what he/she will say next and when he/she is putting a sentence together. Most of filled pauses (*ee, em, err, uhm, ah, hm, et cetera*) are used as the breathing pauses, such pauses generally match semantic-syntactic boundaries (Stenström, 1994, p. 7). Therefore, filled pauses are used for the hesitation purposes.

The speaker can use filler as an attention-getting device. It means that the speaker can check whether the listener pays attention or not. Based on Stenström (1994), fillers define as an invitation for the listener to be involved in what the speaker says (pp. 64-65). The examples of fillers as empathizing purposes are *well, you know, right, hey* and so on. They often appear at the beginning or at the end of a turn. Therefore, Jordan (2001) concludes that fillers can also be the indicators used by the listeners as a response in order to tell the speaker that the message is received, understood, or unclear, so the speaker knows that the listeners are giving response to what he/she says (p. 12).

Fillers can also serve as mitigating devices. Baalen (2001) assumes that fillers can mitigate utterances in order not to hurt the addressee's feelings (para. 6). She also highlights the fillers as a solidarity marker or politeness device. She explains that protecting face needs is an important function of fillers because face needs are the need to feel liked (positive face needs) and the need to have one's personal space respected (negative face needs). Fillers as like *well, ehm, eer, and okay* can be functioned as mitigating or politeness devices.

The editing term is also one of the filler functions. According to Baalen (2001), fillers are used to correct the speech errors in the utterances' speakers. In

the other word, the speaker is aware if he/she makes a speech error. Then, he/she wants to correct it. *I mean, um, ehm, uh, huh, ee*, et cetera can indicate the speaker's awareness of the speech error followed by her/his attempt to correct it. In correcting the speech errors, the speakers replace certain old words with new ones, so it indicates that the old words have been misplanned. Sometimes, the speaker also repeats the speech error directly.

According to Stenström (1994), fillers can also be used as time-creating devices. Fillers give some time for the speaker to think about what to utter next. Stenström (1994) argues that the common form of fillers used as the time-creating devices is the lexical repetition (pp. 77-78). Moreover, lexical repetition consists of two types. The first is single words repetition. It means that the speaker repeats a single word in his/her turn. The second is clause partial repetition. It is the clause repetitions which appear in his/her turn. All repetitions in the utterances function as the fillers in order to give some time for the speaker to plan what to say next.

## **Method**

Since the aim of this study was to investigate the types and functions of fillers used by Barack Obama, this study was conducted by using descriptive qualitative approach. It was also reported in the form of description as Bogdan and Biklen (1982) suggested that the written word was very important in qualitative research to record data and disseminate the findings (p. 28). In this descriptive qualitative approach, the researcher conducted a discourse analysis. According to Wood and Kroger (2000), discourse analysis defines as a person's perception that contains of methodological and conceptual elements (p. 3). Furthermore, they also state that discourse data includes spoken and written texts. In the other hand, Stark and Trinidad (2007) add that discourse analysis concerns on the language use. Therefore, the researcher conducted a discourse analysis to study the types and the functions of fillers in the utterances of Barack Obama's speeches.

The object of this research was Barack Obama's speeches which were taken from YouTube. There were three videos which used in this study. The first entitles *Indonesia's Example to the World*. The second is *President Obama on Early Childhood Education*. The last is *The President Delivers a Statement on the attacks in Paris*. Since this research conducted a discourse analysis, the researcher used the videos' and the transcripts' of Barack Obama's speeches.

To begin the study, the researcher described what *fillers* are according to several experts. Then, the researcher looked for and chosen the videos which were used. After collecting the objects of this study, the researcher wrote the transcripts of the selected videos. In the next part of the research process, the videos and the transcripts were analyzed by using the theories already written in part 2. In this process, the researcher used three steps. First, the researcher looked for some videos about Barack Obama's speeches, and then found the words or sentences containing fillers in his utterances. Second, the findings were analyzed and classified into the types of fillers. Third, the findings of classifications were defined and explained as the possible reasons why Barack Obama used those fillers in her speeches. Those three steps were to answer the research questions in

this study. Finally, the researcher drew the conclusion based on the finding in this research.

## Findings and Discussion

This part discusses the results of this study. It consists of two sections, namely the types of fillers and the functions of fillers occurrence in the utterances used in Barack Obama's speeches.

### *The Types of Fillers*

There are two types of fillers; those are a silent pause and a filled pause. Since this study was to investigate the word fillers, the researcher just focused on the filled pause. This study classified the types of filled pauses based on Rose's theory. According to Rose (1998), there are two types of filled pause; those are an unlexicalized filled pause and a lexicalized filled pause.

According to Rose (1998) and Baalen (2001), unlexicalized filled pauses mean non-lexemes (non-words) filled pauses which speakers use to indicate hesitation while the speaker think what to say next utterances. Here were some examples to represent the data:

- BO: *eeu Pulang kampung nih.* (Applause.)
- BO: The kids we saw today that I had a chance to spend time with in Mary's classroom; *um* they're some of the lucky ones...

In those two examples, there were *eeu* and *um* which classified as unlexicalized filled pauses. It was because those two utterances was not a word and did not have meaning.

Based on Rose (1998), lexicalized filled pauses are fillers in the form of word or short phrases. Here were some examples of lexicalized filled pauses:

- BO: I still remember the call of the vendors. *Satay! Right?*
- BO: *I mean*, some of the younger teachers who are here, ...
- BO: ... I don't want to speculate *okay*.

There were *right*, *I mean*, and *okay* which appeared in Obama's speeches. *Right* and *okay* were in the form of word and *I mean* was in the form of phrases. Those three examples also had the meaning but they were still considered as lexicalized filled pauses because those words were not important as a part of their sentence. Therefore, whether those words were in the sentence or not, they could not change the meaning of the sentence.

### *The Functions of Fillers*

Actually, fillers had many functions. Schiffrin (1978) argues that fillers have various functions which depend on the situation of the speaker (p. 154). There were at least five functions of fillers which became the focus on this study. They were hesitating, empathizing, mitigating, editing term, and time-creating devices. The researcher analyzed the productions of fillers and defined the functions by considering the context of situation from the utterances.

Stenström (1994) defines a mark of hesitation as one of the functions of fillers. He also give some examples of fillers as a mark of hesitation, such as *ee*, *em*, *err*, *uhm*, *ah*, *hm*, et cetera. In this study, fillers as hesitation devices appeared the most in the selected videos. These were some example of fillers as hesitation devices:



- BO: Most of them gave way to unpaved roads and *ee* the *kampongs*.
- BO: ... they're well-equipped as citizens with the *e e e* critical thinking skills that they need ...
- BO: *em* We don't yet know all the details of what has happened.

Based on the situation, *ee*, *e e e*, and *em* were said by adding a slight pause. It meant that those fillers appeared to give the speaker time to think about what he/she would say next.

Based on Stenström (1994), fillers define as an invitation for the listener to be involved in what the speaker says (pp. 64-65). Here were same sample of those fillers:

- BO: ... (applause) *hey*, some folks from *Menteng Dalam* right here.
- BO: And what's more, I don't think you'll find a working parent in America who wouldn't appreciate the peace of mind that their child is in a safe, high-quality learning environment every single day. *You know*.
- BO: This is not babysitting. *Right?*

Based on the first example, Barack Obama wanted to invite the listeners to pay attention to him, so he said *hey* loudly. Then, *you know* and *right* indicated that whether the message was received and understood or not. According to those three examples, the researcher concluded that fillers as empathizing purpose usually appeared at the beginning or at the end of a sentence.

Baalen (2001) highlights fillers as a solidarity marker or politeness device. It meant that fillers were used to make the speech more polite. Here was an example of fillers as mitigating purposes:

- BO: ... we intend to be there with them in that same fashion *uhm*.

In this situation, Barack Obama said the utterance of *uhm* by nodding his head. It meant that Barack Obama showed his respect.

According to Baalen (2001), fillers are used to correct the speech errors in the utterances' speakers. *I mean*, *um*, *ehm*, *uh*, *huh*, *ee*, et cetera can indicate the speaker's awareness of the speech error followed by her/his attempt to correct it. Sometimes, the speaker also repeats the speech error directly. Here were some examples to represent the data:

- BO: Lot of people *keep keeping* flowers around.
- BO: *I mean*, some of the younger teachers who are here, ...

In the first example, Barack Obama corrected his speech error directly. On the other hand, *I mean* referred to his previous sentence. By using *I mean*, Barack Obama would clarify his speech.

According to Stenström (1994), fillers can also be used as time-creating devices. He argues that the common form of fillers used as the time-creating devices is the lexical repetition. Fillers as time-creating devices meant that fillers give some time for the speaker to think about what to utter next. Here were some the examples of those filler:

- BO: ... that our children *are are are are* just sponges soaking stuff in ...
- BO: And as a young boy I was -- as a young boy I was coming to a different world.

The first examples indicated single words repetition. It meant that Barack Obama repeated a word (*are*) four times. The second example referred to clause partial repetition where Barack Obama repeated a clause (*as a young boy I was*). However, those two kinds of repetition were to get some times to think what to say next. Fillers as time-creating devices were almost same with fillers as hesitating purpose. The different was fillers as hesitating purpose referred to unlexicalized filled pauses and time-creating devices referred to lexical filled pauses.

### Conclusion

The results of this study showed that there were two types of fillers; those were unlexicalized filled pause and lexical filled pause. Furthermore, this study also showed five functions of fillers, namely hesitating, empathizing, mitigating, editing term, and time-creating devices. Based on those findings, the researcher concludes that fillers are not always considered as distraction of speaking. As the learners of foreign language (FL), we should know the fillers not only as a distraction of speaking but also as the way to improve our interaction.

The aims of this study are to introduce the types and the functions of fillers and to increase the learners' awareness of fillers when they hesitate in the foreign language, which is actually the very nature of speaking. Furthermore, the FL learners can learn and use fillers which are good to use. It is also help the FL learners to choose fillers which can bother our interaction. Therefore, this study has revealed that how important the fillers are in the interaction, especially in speech. In addition, to a certain extent, the findings of this study will also be expected to provide contributions for the development of the theory, especially to sociolinguistics study since this study is based on sociolinguistics.

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## LEXICAL AND SYNTACTIC AMBIGUITY IN HUMOR

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### **Abstract**

Ambiguity occurs when a sentence has more than one meaning. Ambiguity can be caused by the ambiguous lexicon in which one word has more than one meaning and it can also be caused because of the way the sentence is structure (syntactic). The context also determines whether the sentence can be interpreted differently and become ambiguous. Ambiguity often causes confusion, and has become one of the phenomena in language studies, especially semantics. This study investigates ambiguity in creating humors. The data were taken from electronic sources in forms of newspaper headlines, jokes, riddles and anecdotes. The number of the data collection includes 25 cases of ambiguity. 12 sentences were lexically ambiguous, while the other 13 sentences were syntactically ambiguous. The results showed that lexical ambiguity and syntactic ambiguity were the language devices used to create puns in humor. The results also suggested that the ambiguity could be an effective source of humor when it particularly involves dual interpretations in which one interpretation gives a serious meaning and tone, whereas the other interpretation gives a humorous meaning which is not likely to occur in normal contexts.

Keywords: lexical ambiguity, syntactic ambiguity, humor

### **Introduction**

Sentences containing jokes and humors often find their humorous power through ambiguity apparent in the English language (Seewoester, 2009). Ambiguous sentences have more than one meaning and sense. The different meanings can elicit different and humorous senses in certain contexts. In many humors and jokes, this kind of wordplay is often used. Therefore, ambiguity is an important means of creating puns in jokes, or riddles. Ambiguity is also deliberately employed in many contexts to elicit a sense of wit and to make a sentence more attractive, or to make people curious about it. In some newspaper headlines and advertisement slogans, ambiguous sentences are sometimes used.

Ambiguity as a language device commonly used to create puns in humors gives some insights into how word play can manipulate the interpretation of meaning resulting in humorous and witty senses. This suggests that due to the multi interpretations, certain different senses of a single sentence can confuse the

meanings and give different comprehensions which may elicit humors in certain contexts. There has been previous studies conducted to analyze this process, such as Duffy, Kambe, & Rayner 2001, Giora 2003, Gorfein 2001, MacDonald, Pearlmutter, & Seidenberg 1994, Tabossi 1988 and translation issues Antonopoulou 2004, Laurian 1992, Lew 1996, Ptaszynski & Mickiewicz 2004, Zabalbeascoa 1996. These prior studies found that ambiguity is a source which is often used to create humor.

There are two types of ambiguity commonly used as the source of humors, i.e. lexical and syntactic ambiguity. The former one refers to ambiguity conveyed through polysemous words or homonymous strings, while the latter refers to phenomena of ambiguous word order, referential ambiguity, and prepositional phrase arrangement (e.g. Hirst, 1987: 131–162; Gibson & Pearlmutter, 1994), for example. This study is limited to the discussion of those two kinds of ambiguity since they are the most employed types of ambiguity found in humors. The purpose of this study is to indentify the types of ambiguity used in the ambiguous sentences which elicit humors, whether it is lexical or syntactic ambiguity. The study will also investigate the process on how the pun is created due to the multi interpretations of the sentence by analyzing the meanings and senses that it elicits. The study attempts to explore ambiguity of sentence meanings and the interpretation of meanings in puns and humors.

## **Theory**

Types of ambiguity which often create humorous meanings include lexical, and syntactic/ structural ambiguity. Lexical ambiguity in humors refers to the ambiguity that occurs in lexical level which involves a manipulation of legitimate and meaningful morpheme/ lexeme that elicits a serious and humorous interpretation (Seewoester, 2009).

### ***Lexical and Syntactic Ambiguity as a Mechanism of Eliciting Humors***

This ambiguity utilizes homonymy, and polysemy in creating the ambiguity, and can involve word class change. Homonymy refers to the unrelated senses of the same phonological word (Kreidler, 2002). Homonymy can include homographs, senses of the same written word, and homophones, senses of the same spoken word. Polysemy is similar to homonymy because both deal with multiple senses of the same phonological word, but polysemy is invoked if the senses are judged to be related (Kreidler, 2002).

The examples of lexical ambiguity and the dual meanings can be shown below:

- (i) I saw a tall tree outside the house.

From this single sentence, we can interpret two meanings because the lexeme ‘saw’ have more than one single meaning. ‘Saw’ can be the past tense of the verb ‘see’ and it can also belong to a different verb ‘saw’ which means to cut something using a saw. Although saw also can belong to a noun, meaning a tool for cutting woods (Longman Dictionary), the possible interpretations are limited to the verbs due to the syntactic (grammatical) requirement of the sentence. Thus the sentence can mean either ‘I saw (past tense of see) a tree’ or ‘I saw (cut using a saw) a tree’. This ambiguity is classified into lexical ambiguity, because the dual interpretations are cause by the multiple meanings of the lexeme ‘saw’. The

contexts of the word occurrence also make it possible for the meanings to be both interpreted. As Oaks (1994: 378) states, lexical ambiguity is “a word with more than one possible meaning in a context.”

The second type of ambiguity, syntactic ambiguity occurs in a sentence level. This ambiguity occurs because of the structure of the sentence. On the surface, syntactic jokes depend on “a duality of interpretation motivated by the structural patterns of the language system” (Lew, 1996 p.128) and ambiguity not of any lexical item but of the sentence of the syntactic level (Attardo et al. 1994b, p.35). The example of syntactic ambiguity is the ambiguous meanings of the sentence:

(ii) I shot an elephant in my pajama.

This sentence can have more than one interpretation. In the first interpretation, the sentence is interpreted as ‘In my pajama, I shot an elephant’ and in the second interpretation it is interpreted as ‘I shot an elephant (which is) wearing my pajama or (which is) in my pajama’. The multiple interpretations are caused by the structure of the sentence. This ambiguity is not caused by the meaning of the lexeme, but it is because of how the words are structured in the sentence. ‘In my pajama’ can either modify ‘I’ or ‘an elephant’ as a reduced clause. The structure does not violate any grammatical/ syntactic requirements and both interpretations have a solid ground. Since the ambiguity is caused by the structure/ syntax of the sentence, thus the ambiguity is classified into syntactic ambiguity.

#### ***Lexical and Syntactic Ambiguity Overlap***

The lexical and syntactic ambiguity can overlap when there is word class change. Word class change occurs in lexical level, yet the word exhibit different syntactic functions, and thus has different meanings which invoke multi interpretations. To cope with the boundary fuzziness in this study, ‘syntactic ambiguity resolution’ proposed by MacDonald et al. (1994) is employed. In his proposed model, he states that “lexical and syntactic information in sentence comprehension is governed by common lexical processing mechanism and syntactic ambiguities are based on ambiguities in lexical level” (1994, p.682). Chiaro (1992) also places word class change in the lexical realm, while distinguishing syntactic ambiguity based on not any single of lexical item, but of (parts of) sentences at the syntactic level. Thus, in this study, the ambiguity caused by the different word class will be classified into lexical ambiguity. However, for the purpose of this study, compound nouns and noun phrase will be considered as syntactic ambiguity. An example of the lexical and syntactic ambiguity overlap is shown in the sentence below:

(iii) Reagan wins on budget, but no more lies ahead.

The ambiguity occurs in the use of ‘lies’ in the sentence above. Although the cause of the ambiguity involves only one lexicon, however, in this study the ambiguity is classified into syntactic ambiguity instead of lexical ambiguity. This is done by the consideration that the word ‘lies’ is ambiguous in this contexts because of the word category (noun-verb ambiguity) which leads to the different meaning.

## Research Method

The research is qualitative research. As stated by Fraenkel and Wallen (2009, p.422), in a qualitative study, the researcher is supposed to understand the holistic description of the phenomena. This research is a document-based study. Document or content analysis is a research method applied in written or visual materials (Ary et al, 2010, p.457). The data that were analyzed consist of 30 ambiguous sentences occurring in newspaper headlines, advertisement slogans, and jokes all of which were taken from electronic sources. The data were taken from various internet sites, as follows:

<http://linguisticanthropology.org/blog/2013/12/09/ambiguity-jokes-and-trick-questions/>, [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html), <http://www.quora.com/What-are-some-great-lexical-ambiguity-jokes>, [http://www.cog.brown.edu/courses/cg7/11\\_ambiguity.pdf](http://www.cog.brown.edu/courses/cg7/11_ambiguity.pdf), [http://www.alta.asn.au/events/altss\\_w2003\\_proc/altss/courses/somers/headlines.htm](http://www.alta.asn.au/events/altss_w2003_proc/altss/courses/somers/headlines.htm), <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~beatrice/humor/contents.html>, <http://grammar.about.com/od/il/g/lexicalambiguityterm.htm>, <http://olgakagan.blog.com/2012/02/12/syntactic-ambiguity-in-cartoons/>, and <http://norvig.com/bls88.html>.

The definition of the words is taken from Longman dictionary (Longman dictionary). The analysis is done through interpreting the possible multiple meanings in the sentences by describing the definition or the syntactic requirements in the contexts in which the ambiguity occurs.

## Findings and Discussion

The collected data were analyzed; the data findings involved the classification of ambiguity and the analysis of meaning interpretations. From the total 25 data, 12 were lexically ambiguous while the 13 counterparts were syntactically ambiguous. The data were in form of sentences, or phrases taken from newspaper headlines, riddles and short story/ anecdotes. Each of the type of ambiguity is discussed respectively in this section including the analysis of how humorous meaning is created in each pun due to the dual interpretations

The findings of this study listed a total of 13 lexical ambiguities from the data collection in form of sentences and phrases. Some data were taken from newspaper headlines and advertisement slogans, therefore the data were not only in the form of sentences, but also phrases. However, both sentence and phrase forms in the data contain multiple meanings because of the ambiguity of the lexemes employed. The multiple interpretations result in the humorous elicitation.

- (1) The hay farmer drank through a straw.  
(Taken from: <http://norvig.com/bls88.html>)

From the sentence above, the sentence is ambiguous because the word 'straw' has more than one meaning. Based on Longman dictionary, 'straw' can mean the dried stems of wheat or similar plants that animals sleep on, and that are used for making things, such as baskets, hat, etc. it is synonymous to hay. Another meaning of hay is a thin tube of paper or plastic for sucking up liquid from a bottle or a cup. These are two meanings of 'straw', which, especially in this context, create ambiguity.

This sentence becomes ambiguously humorous because the subject of the sentence is ‘the hay farmer’. Thus the sentence can mean either the farmer drank by using straw (plastic tube) or the farmer drank through straw (hay).

(2) Ross was told what to do by the river.

(Taken from: <http://norvig.com/bls88.html>)

The humor in this sentence is created by the ambiguous meaning of the word ‘by’. The first meaning refers to the agent of the passive sentence and the second refers to the spatial information/ location. The noun ‘the river’ makes the ambiguous sentence humorous because it is not likely that the inanimate thing could tell Ross what to do. The serious meaning means that ‘Ross was told what to do (by someone) by the river (showing the location)’, while the humorous sentence means that ‘Ross was told what to do by the river (the river is the agent of a passive sentence).’

(3) Prostitutes appeal to pope (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

The ambiguous sentence is created by the word ‘appeal’. ‘Appeal’ can be interpreted as ‘to make a serious public request for help, money, information, etc’ (Longman dictionary). However, appeal can mean ‘be attractive (If someone or something appeals to you, they seem attractive and interesting)’ (Longman dictionary). The serious meaning implies that prostitutes make a public requests to Pope, while the humorous meaning implies that Pope finds prostitutes attractive and interesting. What makes the sentence more hilarious is the subject and object of the sentence that is Pope and prostitutes.

(4) Stolen painting found by tree (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

Similar to the case of sentence (2), the ambiguous meaning is caused because of the word ‘by’ which can be interpreted as the agent of passive sentence as well as the location information. The humorous meaning is created because it is unlikely that the tree found the stolen painting. This result also support the result of prior study on ambiguity and humor conducted by Bucaria (2004) which states that the humorous version of the meaning is created by the interpretation of ‘by’ as an agent of passive sentences instead of its intended spatial meaning.

(5) Miners refuse to work after death (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

The humor is created because of the multiple interpretation of the word ‘death’. ‘Death’ can be interpreted as ‘the end of the life of a person’ or ‘a particular case when someone dies’ (Longman dictionary). The serious meaning implies that the miners refuse to work after a particular case of someone’s death. This is very possible that miners work with high risks that may cause accident. However, the humorous meaning implies that miners refuse to work after they die.



This interpretation is humorous because it is impossible that they can work after they die.

- (6) Take your mother-in-law out back and shoot her (Kodak advertisement).  
(Taken from: [http://www.cog.brown.edu/courses/cg7/11\\_ambiguity.pdf](http://www.cog.brown.edu/courses/cg7/11_ambiguity.pdf))

The ambiguity is formed due to the dual meaning of the word 'shoot' that can be interpreted in this context. The first and intended meaning of the word 'shoot' is 'to take photographs or to make a film of something.' This definition is the intended meaning, since the sentence was taken from Kodak advertisement. The second possible and humorous meaning is 'to fire a gun/ to deliberately kill or injure someone using a gun' (Longman dictionary).

- (7) Farmer Bill dies in House  
(Taken from:  
[http://www.alta.asn.au/events/altss\\_w2003\\_proc/altss/courses/somers/headlines.htm](http://www.alta.asn.au/events/altss_w2003_proc/altss/courses/somers/headlines.htm))

This sentence becomes ambiguous because of the words 'Bill' and "House" which have more than one meaning. This context makes it possible for multiple interpretations. 'Bill' can be interpreted as 'a name of a person' or 'a written proposal for a new law, that is brought to the parliament so that it can be discussed' (Longman dictionary). The second ambiguous word is 'House' which can mean 'a building where someone lives in' and 'a group of people who make the laws of a country, e.g. the House of Commons/ Representatives' (Longman dictionary). Thus, this sentence can mean that the Bill (written proposal) for farmer is declined by the House (parliament) when interpreted figuratively. On the other hand, it can also mean that farmer Bill dies in house (where he lives).

- (8) Q: River Ravi flows in what state?  
A: Liquid.  
(Taken from: <http://www.ling.upenn.edu/~beatrice/humor/contents.html>)

This riddle is humorous because of the ambiguous meaning of the word 'state'. The answer of the question seems to be based on the different interpretation. The first, intended meaning of 'state' is country and the second meaning is 'condition/ physical or mental condition that someone or something is in' (Longman dictionary). Because of the different interpretation, the answer is not the expected answer of the question.

- (9) "I have a really nice stepladder. Sadly, I never knew my real ladder."  
(English comedian Harry Hill)  
(Taken from: <http://grammar.about.com/od/il/g/lexicalambiguityterm.htm>)

The ambiguous meaning of 'stepladder' is the source of humor in the sentence made by Harry Hill, an English comedian. 'Step-' has two possible meanings that can be used to interpret the sentence. The first meaning is 'stair/ a flat narrow piece of wood or stone, especially one in a series, that you put your

foot on when you are up or down, especially outside a building (Longman dictionary). The second possible meaning is a prefix which is ‘used to show that someone is related to you not by birth, but because a parent has married again (Longman dictionary). The second definition of step is the definition that is used to create a humor in this context. Therefore, the comedian stated ‘I never know my real ladder.’

(10) She is looking for a *match*

(Taken from: <http://grammar.about.com/od/il/g/lexicalambiguityterm.htm>)

The ambiguity is created by the ambiguous meaning of the word ‘match’. The word can be interpreted as ‘a marriage’ or ‘a good opponent’. This sentence becomes humorous because of the different interpretations of the sentence.

(11) "You know, somebody actually complimented me on my driving today. They left a little note on the windscreen; it said, 'Parking Fine.' So that was nice."

(English comedian Tim Vine)

(Taken from: <http://grammar.about.com/od/il/g/lexicalambiguityterm.htm>)

The comedian creates the humor by the ambiguity that is formed from the word ‘fine’. The first meaning refers to the noun which means ‘money that you have to pay as a punishment’ (Longman dictionary). The second meaning of the word ‘fine’ functions as an adjective, which means ‘very good or a very high standard’ (Longman dictionary). The humor is strengthened by the context in which the sentence occurs. The comedian, Tim Vine, led people to find humor in his mistaken interpretation in which he interpreted the parking fine (a form of punishment) as the compliment that somebody gave because he parked well. In terms of meaning, the punishment is the opposite of the complement, because punishment is given when someone does something wrong, meanwhile a compliment is given when someone does something very well. The meaning relation makes the humorous sense even stronger. Therefore, the ambiguity is used by the comedian to elicit humor.

(12) Iraqi head seeks arms (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

In this sentence, ambiguity is formed because of the multiple meanings of the word ‘head’ and ‘arms’. ‘Head’ can have more than one meaning because of polysemous meaning relation. ‘Head’ literally can mean as ‘the top part of your body that has your face at the front and is supported by your neck’ (Longman dictionary). The second meaning refers to ‘the front or the most important position/ leading position’ (Longman dictionary). The second ambiguous word in the sentence is ‘arms’. In its first meaning, ‘arms’ refer to ‘the two long parts of your body between your shoulders and your hands’ (Longman dictionary). The second meaning of ‘arms’ refer to ‘weapons used for fighting wars’ (Longman dictionary).

The sentence can thus, be interpreted as ‘an Iraqi leader seeks weapons’ (the serious interpretation). However, because of the lexical ambiguity, this sentence can also be interpreted literally as ‘an Iraqi head (the top part of human body) seeks arms (the part of human body).’ The interpretation of the ambiguous meanings become humorous because of the meaning relations of ‘head’ and ‘arms’ in which both are the members of the same hypernym of a human body.

The findings of this study listed 18 data of syntactic ambiguities from the collection of sentences and phrases. These ambiguous sentences and phrases were taken from newspaper headlines, advertisement slogans and other electronic sources. The sentences elicit humorous senses due to the dual interpretations of each sentence. The discussion and analysis of each ambiguous sentence are as follows:

(13) A: I saw a man-eating shark at the aquarium.

B: That’s nothing. I saw a man eating herring at the deli

(Taken from: <http://linguisticanthropology.org/blog/2013/12/09/ambiguity-jokes-and-trick-questions/>)

The humor is created because of the ambiguity of the phrase ‘a man-eating sharks’ and ‘a man eating herring’. These phrases can have dual interpretation due to its syntactic form. ‘A man eating shark’ can mean a man who eats sharks or sharks which eat a man. Both interpretations can be accepted in terms of meaning because those possibilities are likely to represent what the speaker intends to convey.

However, the same structure with only a different noun can create a humorous ambiguity. The humorous interpretation is strengthened by the B response ‘a man eating herring’ which can also be interpreted as ‘a man who eats herring’ or ‘herring (small fish) which eats a man.’ This ambiguity becomes the source of humor because from the same sentence with this structure, the interpretations can be very different, yet both interpretations are based on the way the sentence is structured.

(14) Complaints about NBA referees growing ugly (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

This headline is humorous because of the ambiguity in the phrase. The structure of the phrase makes it possible to be interpreted in two different meanings. The interpretation, which is the serious intended interpretation, describes the complaint (about the NBA referees) which grows ugly, meaning that the complaint becomes worse or bigger. However, it may also be humorously interpreted that the complaint is about NBA referees who grow ugly.

(15) Dealers will hear car talk at noon (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

The sentence above can be ambiguous because of the way the sentence is structured, especially in the phrase ‘car talk’. The arrangement of the sentence makes the sentence have two possible meanings and interpretations. The first

interpretation of car talk is the talk about cars, as in the noun phrase. The second interpretation, however, implies that dealers will hear car talk in which the car is an agent which can talk. This interpretation is humorous given that the car, as an inanimate object is not likely to talk. The result of the analysis is also in line with the finding of the previous study which analyzed the same data by Bucaria (2004). In the paper Bucaria states that the humorous meaning occurs because of the possibility of interpreting ‘talk’ as a noun or a verb.

(16) Drunken drivers paid \$1,000 in ’84 (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

In this sentence, the ambiguity lies in the possible meaning of the word ‘paid’. ‘Paid’ can either be the past tense of ‘pay’ or the past participle of ‘pay’. The difference can lead to the construction of an active or a passive sentence. Although the ambiguity is mainly caused by the meaning of a word, that is ‘pay’, in this sentence. The ambiguity is classified into syntactic ambiguity, based on the consideration that is discussed in the previous discussion. The ambiguity is created because the word belongs to different categories or syntactic function in the sentence. The different syntactic possible functions of the word make it possible for the sentence to be interpreted in an active or passive construction.

(17) Man eating piranha mistakenly sold as pet fish (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

The ambiguous sentence becomes humorous because the phrase ‘mistakenly sold as pet fish’ structurally possible to explain both the ‘man’ and ‘piranha.’ The serious, intended meaning describes a man who eats piranha which is mistakenly sold as pet fish, whereas the humorous interpretation implied that the man who eats piranha is mistakenly sold as a pet fish.

(18) Include your children when baking cookies (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

In this sentence the humorous meaning is created because the sentence in form of imperative sentence above can be interpreted as a command to ‘include your children when you bake cookies’ and it can also be interpreted as ‘you should include your children in the cookies that you bake.’ This humorous interpretation can be made because of the verb ‘include’ and the reduced form after ‘when’, which can mean that ‘you should include your children (in the time) when you bake cookies’ or ‘include your children in the cookies when (if) you bake.’

(19) Squad helps dog bite victim (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

This sentence is ambiguous because of the way words in the phrase ‘helps dog bite victim.’ Syntactically, following the use of the word ‘help’, an infinitive verb can be used. ‘Help’ can be followed by either a direct object or an infinitival

complement (a reduced form, in this case). Thus, the sentence can be interpreted in two ways: the first, which is the serious intended meaning, is ‘Squad helps the victim of dog bite’. The phrase is in the form of noun phrase. The second, humorous interpretation means ‘squad helps dog to bite victim.’ This ambiguity is also formed by the possible function of ‘bite’ as a noun and verb.

(20) Stud tires out (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

The sentence becomes ambiguous, especially because there is a different spelling of English and American English. Allowing the American spelling of ‘tyres’ (in British English it is usually known as ‘studded tyres’). The ambiguity is structural because of the noun-verb ambiguity of ‘tyres’. This ambiguity becomes more confusing due to the lexical ambiguity of ‘stud’. Based on Longman dictionary, ‘stud’ can mean ‘the use of animal, especially horses for breeding. It can also mean ‘a round piece of metal that is stuck into a surface for decoration. It is particularly confusing because typically, a newspaper headline does not necessarily include the main verb.

(21) Hospitals are sued by 7 foot doctors (newspaper headline)

(Taken from: [http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous\\_headlines.html](http://www.fun-with-words.com/ambiguous_headlines.html))

The ambiguity lies in the ‘7 foot doctors’ noun phrase. This phrase can be interpreted as 7 ‘doctors who are specialized in foot’ or doctors who are 7 feet tall. The syntactic requirement of a noun phrase requires a singular form of foot as in ‘a 3 year-old child.’ Thus, the sentence is syntactically ambiguous.

(22) The village blacksmith finally found an apprentice willing to work hard for long hours. The blacksmith immediately began his instructions to the lad, "When I take the shoe out of the fire, I'll lay it on the anvil; and when I nod my head, you hit it with this hammer."

The apprentice did just as he told. Now he's the village blacksmith.

(Taken from: <http://www.quora.com/What-are-some-great-lexical-ambiguity-jokes>)

The joke is created because of the dual interpretation of pronoun ‘it’ in ‘... you hit **it** with this hammer.’ Two nouns which can be replaced by the pronoun ‘it’ are previously stated; they include ‘the shoe’ and ‘my head.’ In this anecdote, the listener misinterprets what the blacksmith says and hits the blacksmith’s head instead of the shoe. This ambiguity occurs due to referential ambiguity represented by the pronoun.

(23) Come meet our new French pastry chef.

(Taken from: [http://www.cog.brown.edu/courses/cg7/11\\_ambiguity.pdf](http://www.cog.brown.edu/courses/cg7/11_ambiguity.pdf))

The sentence is ambiguous because of the noun phrase ‘French pastry chef’, which can mean ‘a chef who is French’ or ‘a chef of French pastry.’

(24) *One morning I shot a huge lion in my pajama*

(Taken from: <http://olgakagan.blog.com/2012/02/12/syntactic-ambiguity-in-cartoons/>)

The sentence is ambiguous because of the prepositional phrase ‘in my pajama’, which can function to modify the noun ‘I’ or ‘a huge lion.’ The ambiguity can create humor especially because in its humorous interpretation, a huge lion can be in one’s pajama.

(25) *The chicken is ready to eat*

(Taken from: <http://olgakagan.blog.com/2012/02/12/syntactic-ambiguity-in-cartoons/>)

This structure often causes ambiguity. In English one can say, for example, ‘the book is hard to understand’ to convey the meaning the content of the book is complex or confusing. It is not necessary to say ‘the book is hard to be understood’. In this context, therefore, the sentence can mean either ‘the chicken is served’ or ‘the chickens are ready to be fed or to eat something.’

## Conclusion

From the analysis of the ambiguous contexts, humors are created because the ambiguity offers possible dual interpretations that the reader can conclude from the sentences. The types of ambiguity that can form puns in humors are lexical and syntactic ambiguity. Lexically, the multi lexical meanings can confuse the reader and at the same time can create a mind-blowing possible interpretation, and thus can be a language device used to create puns in humor. Syntactically, the syntactic requirements and the way the words are structured in the sentence can also create ambiguity. In details, syntactic ambiguity can be forms by the syntactic requirement based on its functions and forms, such as ambiguity in prepositional phrase of the sentence, noun phrase, active-passive construction, pronouns, different word categories which lead to different meanings, etc.

The ambiguity can strengthen the humorous meaning especially when the possible interpretations involve a serious meaning and a humorous counterpart. The contexts and the choice of words also influence the process of how the humor is created. Ambiguity can occur only in certain contexts with relevant choice of words or with certain syntactic orders (by also considering the syntactic requirements). Thus, the contexts play an important function to make it possible for the sentences to be interpreted in different ways.

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## BOOK REVIEW

Title : Beyond Borders: Notes on the Colonial and Post-colonial  
Dynamics in the Americas, Europe and Indonesia  
ISBN : 978-602-6369-66-6  
Author : Baskara T. Wardaya, S.J.  
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*Beyond Border* is an inside look of what people across the globe have done for a long time. They all find themselves constantly engaged in action, reaction and interaction. The book answers the question of what colonial and postcolonial society has in common, i.e. crossing border.

Baskara T. Wardaya, the author of the book, is an ordained Jesuit priest and recognized historian and writer specializing in American History with an emphasis on democracy. In addition to teaching History, Religion and Politics, and Development of Cultural Studies in Sanata Dharma University, he also serves as the director of PUSDEMA (Centre for Democracy and Human Rights Studies) at the same university. Earning both Masters and Doctorate degrees from Marquette University, the recipient of numerous scholarships and other research accomplishments has given us assurance that he had conducted thorough research for *Beyond Borders*. In 2011-12 he was granted a Fulbright scholarship to teach history at the University of California-Riverside. In 2014, he conducted archival research on US-Indonesian relations during President Nixon's administration (1969-74) in the US with the generous grant from AIFIS (American Institute for Indonesian Studies). *Beyond Borders* is his second book written in English after *Cold War Shadow: United States Policy toward Indonesia 1953-1963* (2007). Among his best-sellers are *Bung Karno Menggugat!* [Sukarno Accuses] published 7 times since 2006, and *Membongkar Supersemar* [Dismantling "Supersemar"] (2007) that has seen its fourth printing.

*Beyond Borders* delivers an entertaining account and perspective on history of colonialism and postcolonialism all over the world. This book is an excellent resource to students of American History, specifically, and history enthusiasts in general, to say nothing of those interested in (post)coloniality.



The Introduction of the book is very helpful. Unusually placed before the “Acknowledgements” page, it helps navigate readers as to see that living in a deeply interconnected world, people cannot help but move from place to place and influence each other. Citing the top four border crossers being the Romans, Genghis Khan, Christopher Columbus and the CIA, Wardaya sets out to remind us that border-crossing has been done since times of yore and is now even more important. Placed in today’s postcolonial context, the book helps to underline that borderless society is real and necessary because people need to interact and work with diverse communities beyond borders to solve world issues such as human rights abuses, gender inequity, ecological damage, poverty, and radicalism.

The book comprises of 13 chapters, 9 of which mainly talk about America beginning from the colonial times to the end of World War II. Regrettably, in Chapter 11, *Beyond Border* stops short of where it should ideally begin. As shown in the title of the book, Europe is the area of coverage. But here we see that UK integration/disintegration is taken as the only example of European border crossing included in the book. It is, however, a comprehensive account of the history of Britain’s participation and lack thereof in EU. The next two chapters on Indonesia are well-written, although the author says that these chapters are “a bit different” (xi). One may ask what the different is. If the book is addressed to international, beyond-border-readers, no Othering is necessary. What does the author mean when saying “While chapter one to eleven talk about other places, especially the Americas and Europe, chapter 12 and 13 will focus on Indonesia” (xi)? Does it mean that the target readers are Indonesians?

Nonetheless, *Beyond Borders* is important to non-specialists as well. To take but one example is the Puritan history section. Salem witch trials are dark history in America that remains puzzling to date. But are not slandering, bigotry, and injustice political cards we are keen to play even today? Chapter 2 is a must-read for students of American literature. It provides us with some historical context for reading Puritan-themed novels from Nathaniel Hawthorne to Arthur Miller.

Throughout the book, Wardaya presents topics that can be read against and relevant to international politics of today. Media supremacy and sectarianism that give colours and shapes to the U.S. policy are among the topics that also ring true in current’s Indonesian politics.

Almost every chapter is filled with pictures to illustrate the discussion. But what picked out for praise are the pertinent quotes from famous people. The epigraph shown in each chapter is aptly chosen. Not only does it show the author’s enthusiasm for the topic, but it also prepares readers to feel the thrills inside the chapter.

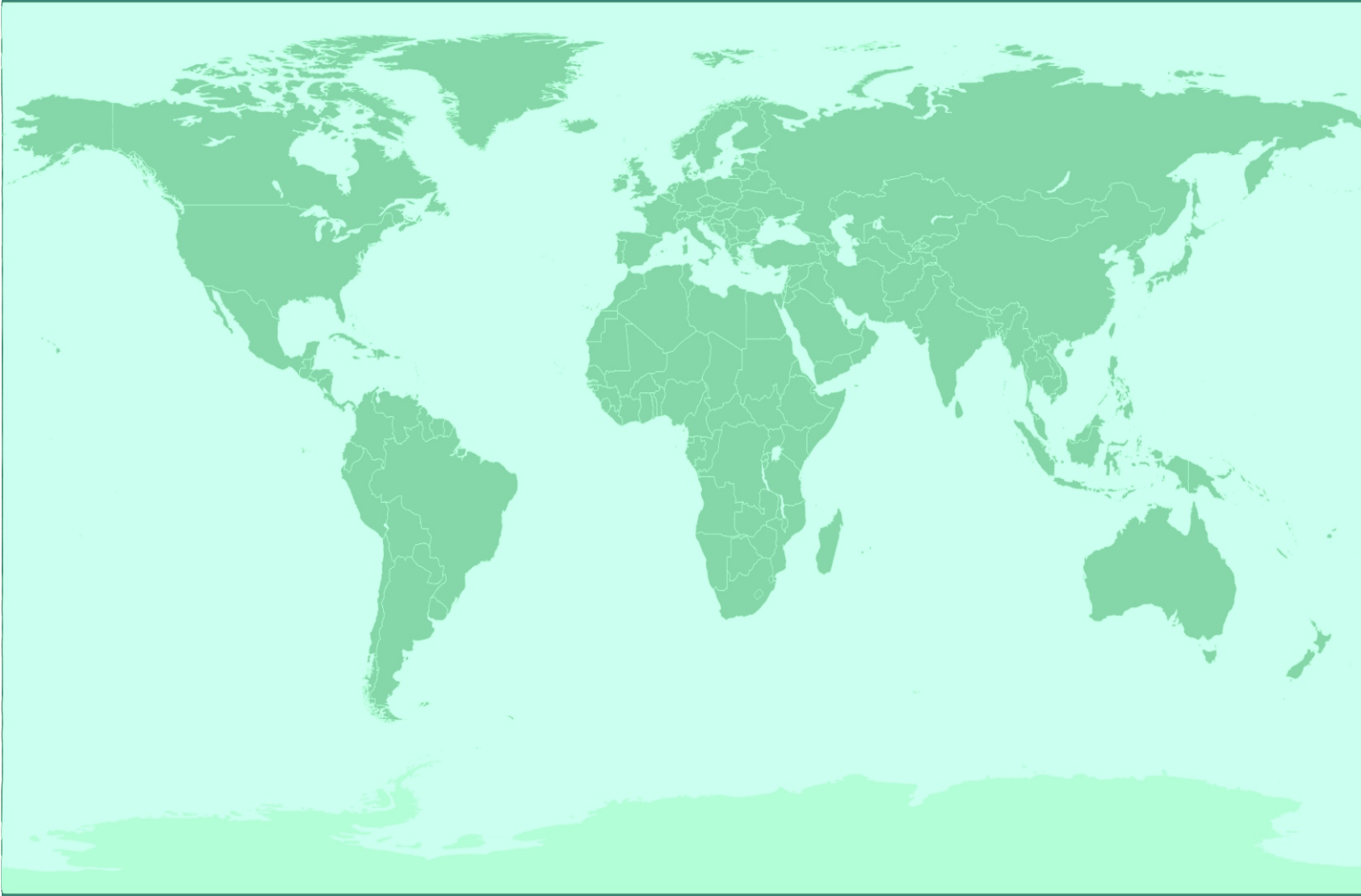
The bibliography is well-referenced, making clear division of first and secondary sources which will be useful for snow-ball reading to obtain more information.

Finally, paratextual comments are like mini-reviews. While illustrations and pictures are helpful, the quality thereof is quite poor. Internet sources are often not satisfactory. Editing errors are also hard to hide. Spelling, punctuation, lower case/capitalization and typos are plagues that will likely be lightened by later editions. These shortcomings are only a minor distraction to the narratives; they do not take away from the border-crossing story being told.

# Author Guidelines

The editors of *International Journal of Humanity Studies (IJHS)* welcome authors to submit articles written **in English** in accordance with the following guidelines -- points 1-10:

1. Articles have not been published or accepted for publication, or are being considered for publication elsewhere.
2. In addition to the manuscript, a written statement should be attached which clarifies the originality and free of plagiarism.
3. Types of articles suitable for publication include research reports and conceptual ideas.
4. Each article should be in form of essay written in English which includes:
  - a. Title (15-20 words) in bold type and in capital each word (except for function words; Use lower case for function words, for example, prepositions and conjunctions), and in 12- point size of Times New Roman font. Please follow the template uploaded in the website.
  - b. Author's name (without academic degree) with an e-mail address and institution's name.
  - c. Abstract in English (150-200 words) which includes research problems, methods, and results.
  - d. Keywords in English (3 - 5 words).
  - e. Introduction (without subsection) which includes the background and objectives. The introduction section ends with an emphasis on items to be discussed.
  - f. Theory (literature reviews/theoretical construct) of the research.
  - g. Method
  - h. Results (with sections)
  - i. Discussion (with sections) which includes data analysis, verification of hypothesis, findings, and the interpretation.
  - j. Conclusion (without sections) which includes the concluding remarks, research implications, and suggestions.
  - k. Reference list should appear at the end of the article and includes only literatures actually cited in the manuscripts. Reference list should contain at least 60% new primary literatures and at most 40% new secondary literatures. References are ordered alphabetically and chronologically. When writing a reference list, please use the APA style (the sixth edition).
5. Conceptual Idea
  - a. Introduction
  - b. Theory
  - c. Theory Application
  - d. Conclusion
  - e. Reference
6. Every section heading is in bold type and in upper case for the first letter, for example, Introduction, and every subheading is in bold type, in italics and in upper case for the first letter of each content word and in lower case for the first letter of each function word, except for the first letter of the function word which begins a subheading, for example, Data Analysis and Engaging Activities and Tasks.
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