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Informal Indonesian and the Spirit of Pluralism

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Abstract

This brief paper deals with the emergence of the informal style of Indonesian, especially from the point of view of its motive, its function, its form and the effect of the vitality of the local vernaculars. It is the result of long observation and participation as a citizen of Indonesia, who speaks Javanese as a native speaker and who has spoken Indonesian from the time of its inception

Keywords: *diglossic, informal Indonesian, code-switching*

Introduction

When I was a pupil of *Sekolah Rakyat* (Elementary School) in Wonosari in 1941, I learned Malay (*Bahasa Melayu*) as a subject. In 1945 Indonesia was declared independent and Malay was chosen to be the national language of the country with the name *Bahasa Indonesia*. Indonesia became diglossic, using Indonesian for official, national, and modern matters, and Javanese or any other vernacular for unofficial, regional, and traditional matters. In 1947 I started Junior High School (SMP, *Sekolah Menengah Pertama*), and Indonesian became the medium of instruction. I was amazed that most of my teachers were able to speak Indonesian fairly fluently. In 1948 very often student leaders from Gadjah Mada University visited us, informing us of the political situation of the country, and preparing us for the student mobilization to fight against the Dutch soldiers in case of the Dutch attack. The student leaders were good at delivering speeches in Indonesian, and that very much amazed me, too. We used Indonesian to talk about school subjects and to have deliberations in student organization meetings. In informal occasions, however, we used Javanese with our school friends.

Then from 1950 to 1953 I studied in SGA (*Sekolah Guru Atas*, Senior Teachers' School

in Yogyakarta. The teaching staff and the students were not only Javanese. Quite a few were from outside Java. There were two students from Aceh, eight students from West Kalimantan, two students from Manado, one student from Makassar, and one student from Bali. We lived in an *asrama* (hostel) next to the school. Outside school we talked in Javanese with our Javanese friends, but we had to use Indonesian when talking to the non-Javanese friends. I did not realize that this was the beginning of Informal Indonesian for me and for all of us living in the hostel. Informal Indonesian came into being.

The Speakers of Informal Indonesian

Inter-ethnic friendship did not only occur in the hostel of SGA. There were several SGA's then, and there were also State Universities such as Gadjah Mada, the University of Indonesia in Jakarta, and ITB (*Institut Teknologi Bandung*, Bandung Institute of Technology) that enrolled students from various provinces in Indonesia. There were also government offices that employed officials from various different ethnic origins, private businesses with various employees from different islands, political activists who fought for the unity of the country, and religious leaders who wanted to spread their faith throughout the country. They too

became friends and used informal Indonesian when talking informally to each other. Thus, the rise of informal Indonesian signifies friendship between various people from different ethnic groups in Indonesia.

Nowadays informal Indonesian is also used by friends of the same ethnic background and has even spread to many children of educated people and has become the medium of communication in their family. For example, in Java to avoid the hesitating choice of the polite level (*krama*) or the non-respectful level (*ngoko*), new acquaintances or colleagues decide to use Indonesian rather than Javanese. Indonesian can be a solution for those who feel too polite using *krama*, but too rude in using *ngoko*. Further, as an instance, the sons and daughters of my nephews and nieces in Yogyakarta use informal Indonesian when talking to their parents and do the same thing to their grandparents. The grandparents complain but they cannot do anything to make their grandchildren talk to the parents and grandparents in Javanese. The grandchildren learn Indonesian from their kindergartens. Such a phenomenon and such a complaint do not seem to occur only among parents and grandparents in Yogyakarta or in Java. It has occurred in many other towns and provinces.

The Form of Informal Indonesian

The form of informal Indonesian is just like standard Indonesian with several exceptions. The forms of the two styles of Indonesian are a little different because, first of all, if standard and formal Indonesian is meant to be used everywhere in Indonesia, informal Indonesian is usually more limited in its coverage. Formal style of speech observes the rules of prescriptive or normative grammar and standard dictionary, while informal speech contains many elements from outside the grammar book and the dictionary. Formal speech is used nation wide, whereas informal style of speech is used locally. Formal speech is learned at school, while informal speech is developed casually outside formal schooling. Informal speech is heavily influenced by the local vernacular. Each ethnic group may have its

own specific informal Indonesian. All linguistic variables of the vernacular may appear in the informal speech. It can be phonological, morphological, syntactic or lexical. Sometimes the system in the speech level may also affect the form of the informal style. In the case of pronunciation, the influence can be seen in the form of the individual phoneme, syllable structure, or prosodic pattern. For example, the informal style of Indonesian used by the Javanese may contain such Javanese phonological features as the contraction of diphthongs and syllables and Javanese prosody. The contraction of diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ into /e/ and /o/ (*sampe*, arrive; *kalo*, if), the contraction of /CðrV/, /CðlV/ into /CrV/ and /ClV/ (*brani*, brave; *slalu*, always), and the even stress for the first and second syllable (*sla-lu, bra-ni*) frequently appear. Javanese affixes such as *O*, *N-*, *ke-an*, *ke-en* may be used instead of Indonesian *ber-*, *men-*, *terkena....* or *terlalu....* (*kerja*, to work; *ngambil*, take; *kecurian*, stolen by thief; *keberaten*, too heavy). Javanese syntactic patterns such as the split of the subject into some sort of theme plus the subject, and also the subject following the predicate may also appear. For example *Pak Hari itu, anaknya cantik-cantik*, or *Pak Hari itu, cantik-cantik, anaknya* (Hari's daughters are pretty). Inverted sentences may happen in statements, questions, and commands. For example *Bu, sudah habis, nasinya* (Mom, the rice is gone), *Mau diapakan nasinya ini?* (What are we going to do with the rice?); *Masuk dulu, kamu* ((You) go in forst). Inverted sequences within an informal discourse may also happen. The items presented in formal speech, which is usually well-ordered, may occur in inverted order or even in disorderly sequence in informal speech.

As for the lexical items, Javanese words such as *celeng* (boar), *tawuran* (mob fighting), *kenes* (flirtatious), and many others are used. In connection with the sentence pattern, very often sentence particles such as *dong*, *deh*, *sih*, *ya*, *lho*, *kok*, and *kan* are used. For examples, *Jangan mbolos ya* (Do not cut classes, okey), *Jangan gitu dong* (Do not do it like that, please).

Secondly, if formal and standard Indonesian is meant to convey messages

clearly in a brief and compact way, informal speech does not have to always be very clear and brief. A speaker may express a vague or even an unfinished message to his interlocutor, yet the latter knows what the speaker wants because the latter knows the speaker very well. The interlocutor knows the speaker's background, his temperament, his present condition, his preoccupation, and his aspiration. Corrupted words, corrupted affixes, unfinished sentences, dangling sentences, unfinished discourses, all can easily be comprehended by the interlocutor. The deleted sound(s) in the word and the affix(es), the deleted phrase or the clause in the sentence, the omitted sentences in the discourse do not seem to bother the interlocutor. The followings are some examples of corrupted words. They are almost always used in such forms that they seem to have become the accepted informal forms. Corrupted words are, e.g., *aja* (only) for *saja*, *udah* (already) for *sudah*, *gitu* (like that) for *begitu*. Corrupted affixes are, e.g., *O* for *ber* (intransitive verb prefix), *N-* for *meN-* (transitive verb prefix); so *jalan* (to walk) for *berjalan*, *ngambil* (to take) for *mengambil*. Corrupted sentence is e.g. *Telan dulu baru ngomong* (Swallow your food in your mouth first, then only you can talk) for *Telan dulu makanan di mulutmu, sesudah itu baru kamu dapat berbicara*. Corrupted discourses are for example the shouts of food venders or shoe repairers in the street to attract the attention of perspective customers, such as *Te* for *Sate ayam, saya jual sate ayam. Silahkan beli sate ayam saya; Sol sepatu, sepatu sol* (shoe soles, sole shoes) is the shout of a shoe repairer who invites the customers to repair their shoes and sandals.

On the other hand, in informal speech, time is very often not very important. For example, to make his message clearer, a speaker can make his utterance very long by adding cumbersome illustrations. To give emphasis, a speaker may repeat the phrases, clauses, sentences or discourses that he wants to emphasize. He may repeat twice, three times, four times, and even more times. For example *Telan dulu, telan dulu, telan dulu, baru ngomong* (Swallow the food first, swallow the food first, swallow the food first, then you can talk). Very often a speaker adds

his message with irrelevant information or even seemingly unrelated utterances.

Thirdly, if formal and standard speech should be accurate, informal speech can be a little ambiguous. Instead of using accurate words and idioms, a speaker often uses terms that are too general in nature. They may have a lot of different meanings, and are of more highly frequent of use. For example, instead of asking for *telur dadar* (omelette) or *telur ceplok* (sunny side up) or *telur orak-arik* (scrambled egg), a husband may just say *Makan pake telur saja* ((I want to) eat (rice) with just egg). The verb *makan* (eat) in an informal speech can be used to mean many different things. For example *Remnya nggak makan* (The brake does not work), *Bapak itu makan anak tirinya* (That man rapes his own step daughter/child), *Kakinya patah dimakan Paiman* (His leg was broken because he was kicked hard by Paiman).

In terms of the sentences, informal speech is usually not expressed in long complex compound sentences as in the formal speech. They are usually in either simple sentences or coordinate sentences using such a connector as *dan* (and), *tetapi* (but), or *setelah itu* (after that).

Fourthly, if formal style of speech is business-like, informal speech can be emotional. Informal speech may contain lexical items that express various kinds of uncontrolled feelings, such as anger, sadness, burst of happiness, pain, and worry. Interjections (e.g. *aduh*, Goodness gracious), shouts (e.g. *ee*, *hi*), screams (e.g. *emoh*, don't want to), moans (e.g. *aduh biyung*, gosh), cries for help (e.g. *tulung*, help), and the like can be found in an informal speech.

Further, if formal and standard style of speech should be objective and distant (formal), informal speech can use intimate vocabulary or intimate expressions. The speaker may use kin terms such as *pak* (dad), *bu* (mom), or terms of address such as *dok* (doctor), *prof* (professor), or terms of endearment such as *sayang* (darling) that show his wish of intimate relation, urgent persuasion, or strong plea of favor.

Fifth, in an informal speech the speaker may also refer to such an extra-linguistic object in the surrounding using such a demonstrative pronoun as *ini* (this), *itu* (that), *di sini* (here) or *di situ* (there).

Sixth, if the formal style of speech uses one code consistently from the beginning to the end, informal speech can use code switching or even code mixing. This means that the speaker is free to change his emotion, his intention, his topic of conversation, the addressee he is speaking to, and how he regards his relation with the addressee. In the informal style of speech, the speaker often changes the style of speech, the speech level, the register, the dialect, and even the language he is speaking.

Related to code switching, while formal speech is expected to be in good sequence, informal speech one can be otherwise. The discourse does not have to start with the opening sentence and end with a closure. The opening sentence can be inserted in the middle or even at the end of the discourse. The topic sentence does not have to be at the beginning or at the end of the discourse, it can be inserted in the early part, middle part or final part of the discourse, or not be mentioned altogether. Informal speech does not have to follow a certain format. The speaker may vary the order in the way his impulse dictates to him, and the effect is perceived as normal.

The Function of Informal Indonesian

The informal style of speech is used in informal communication. Moods of ease, informality, tolerance, accommodation and friendship surround the use of informal speech. Informal speech improves personal relationships. Informal speech facilitates relaxed conversations, conveyance of inner feelings, and exchange of jokes. In a joking atmosphere, friends tolerate unpleasant differences. Informal Indonesian seems to have the same function, especially when used by people of different ethnic backgrounds. With the rise of informal Indonesian, tolerance and accommodation of differences between people from different ethnic groups

in Indonesia has become easier. It has encouraged friendship between people from different islands, different provinces, and different regions.

In other words, the spirit of pluralism has arisen in Indonesia, due to, among other reasons, the use of informal Indonesian. People are beginning to appreciate differences in customs and habits. Friendship and inter-marriage are now normal practice.

The Effect of Informal Indonesian on the Linguistic Repertoire

Up to 1950 the relation between such a regional language as Javanese and Indonesian resembles diglossia; with Indonesian functioning as the H (high) code and the regional language as the L (low) code (Ferguson, 1964). The regional language has its specific function and Indonesian has another specific function. Javanese is used for an unofficial situation and for intra-ethnic communication, while Indonesian is used for an official and inter-ethnic communication. Indonesian is a national language, and Javanese is a regional or provincial language. Indonesian is used to communicate "modern" topics such as science, national politics, and high level economics, while Javanese is for traditional topics such as traditional arts, religion, and social matters. The separation of the function is clear. Overlaps in the use of Indonesian and Javanese are rare. But when informal Indonesian has become popular, the separation of the function becomes more complex. Several domains of life can be conveyed in either Javanese or informal Indonesian.

The following are charts that give pictures of the separation of the functions between Javanese and Indonesian before and after the emergence of informal Indonesian. Figure 1 represents the diglossic situation and the clear separation of the function of Indonesian and Javanese. Figure 1 represents the diglossic situation and the clear separation of the function of Indonesian and Javanese. Figure 2 gives picture of the division of functions after the emergence of the informal Indonesian (Poedjosoedarmo, 2002).

Figure 1
The Separation of Function before the Emergence of Informal Indonesian

Function Language	Situation		Ethnic Origin of P2		P1-P2 Relation		Topic	
	Official	Unofficial	Outside	Inside	Distant	Close	Modern	Traditional
Indonesian	✓		✓		✓		✓	
Javanese		✓		✓		✓		✓

Figure 2
The Separation of Function after the Emergence of Informal Indonesian

Function Language	Situation		Ethnic Origin of P2		P1-P2 Relation		Topic	
	Official	Unofficial	Outside	Inside	Distant	Close	Modern	Traditional
Standard Indonesian	✓		✓		✓		✓	
Informal Indonesiane		✓		✓		✓		✓
Javanese		✓		✓		✓		✓

From the above description it can be observed that nowadays the linguistic situation is no longer diglossic, but rather triglossic or even polyglosic. Such a phenomenon may not be described as a leaking diglossia, but rather a total split of the form and function of the H (high) code, and hence an overlap in the use of Indonesian and Javanese in several domains of communication.

The Emergence of the Practice of Code Mixing

Among some speakers, especially among young children in urban areas and among good friends of middle class people, the separation of the function of Javanese and Indonesian has become distinct. For them the difference in function between informal Indonesian and Javanese is unclear. They can convey messages using either Javanese or Indonesian. This unclear separation between Javanese and informal Indonesian has prompted the practice of code-mixing. Unlike in code-switching, the speaker shifts codes not because he or she wants to give a certain impression, to show that he is addressing a different interlocutor, to communicate a different topic of conversation, or to show a different relational attitude toward the addressee. He constantly switches from Javanese to Indonesian, and vice versa, because he does not know the different

functions or the different meanings of the two languages. Unlike the code-switch, code-mix is not motivated by the change in intention, wish, or context of conversation, but rather by the change in the impulsive presence of the codes in the head of the speaker. Whichever code comes up in the mind, that is the one the speaker utters. And since the functions of the two codes are unclear, confusion dictates the appearance of the codes in the mind. Hence mixing is a common practice in Malaysia and the Philippines. In Malaysia people speak of *bahasa rujak* and in the Philippines *halo-halo language*. The popular names suggest that everything or anything can be mixed into the language. It seems that in Indonesia some people are starting to speak it. Once can name such a mixture of language *gado-gado* language.

The Effect of Informal Indonesian on the Regional Language

In general one can state that the vitality of the regional languages in Indonesia is becoming less and less vigorous. The function of the standard style of the major regional languages (*bahasa daerah*) such as Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese is gradually shrinking because, instead, Indonesian is now in use. Javanese, Sundanese, and Balinese are now rarely used to communicate official business. Further, with the emergence of informal Indonesian, the function of the

informal speech of the major regional languages is also gradually reduced. As a consequence, the lovers of *bahasa daerah* have to make an extra effort to maintain the vitality of their languages.

With the reduction of their vitality, the inventory of the lexicon of most regional languages is becoming smaller. Many words and idioms are fading away because they are rarely used. The younger generations are forgetting many traditional words and idioms. Apart from the lexicon, the syntactic pattern and the phonology of the regional languages are also becoming poorer. Many items have either merged with some others or have disappeared from use. This is understandable because the regional languages are only the informal code in the totality of the linguistic repertoire. An informal code does not have to be as rich as the standard one, because it has only to convey messages that require no maximal clarity unlike the standard one (Poedjosoedarmo, 2002).

Conclusion

The rise of the informal style of Indonesian is an interesting phenomenon. First of all, it reminds us of the existence of the informal polite (*madya*) level in Javanese (Poedjosoedarmo, 1977). There are many similarities between informal Indonesian and *madya* level, either in their forms or their functions. In terms of the forms, both informal Indonesian and *madya* contain corrupted forms. For example, they use a lot of linguistic elements from the first code or the first language of the speakers. They do not have to be very clear and accurate. They use a lot of repetitions, interjections, and friendly terms of address. In terms of their meanings, both convey the spirit of informality, intimacy, accommodation and tolerance.

Secondly, the process of the development is also interesting. While in Europe people are busy developing their standard languages, in Indonesia people are developing informal Indonesian. Since the time of the renaissance many nations in Europe developed their standard languages to unite their countries

and to increase the prestige of their civilizations (Haugen, 1969: 119-130). In Indonesia, soon after Malay was accepted as the national language, people started developing informal Indonesian to facilitate the spirit of friendship and the acceptance of pluralism of culture.

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The Use of English in Indonesian Adolescent's Slang

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Abstract

This paper aims at describing the use of English in Indonesian Adolescent's slang broadly known as bahasa gaul, the colloquial variation that symbolizes intimate relationships among the youngsters. By using data extracted from three slang dictionaries, the investigation finds that most English expressions of various linguistic levels (word, phrase, and sentence) are formally and, or semantically changed to attain various communicative functions.

Key words: *slang, expression, and adolescent*

Introduction

It cannot be denied that nowadays English is used by people from all over the world. This language constitutes an international language used by the speakers to meet the need of various communicative functions. Accordingly, its influence on other languages will be very significant in all domains of usage. With regard to *Bahasa Indonesia*, English approximately contributes not less than 57% of the total borrowings. Others come from Arabic (18%), Javanese (18%), Dutch (2.5%), and Jakarta Dialect (1.2%) (Wijana, 2009: 203). Generally, the discussions of English influence on Bahasa Indonesia are so far mostly concerns with its usage in formal and more prestigious occasions, such as what has been done by Hassal (2010) concerning the basic principles that underlie the use of foreign words (including English) by the educated Indonesians and Budiman (2010) in connection with the use of them as a means of code switchings by the characters of three contemporary Indonesian novels. On the contrary, its influence in casual interactions might be considered not or less important by the experts who are interested in studying English borrowings in Bahasa Indonesia. Accordingly in this brief article, I want to investigate the existence of English

expressions in colloquial Indonesians broadly known as *Bahasa Gaul* (friendship Language), language used among Indonesian youngster for symbolizing their intimacy. Even now, only a few Indonesian Scholars pay attention to this issue. Two of them are Wijana (2009) and Yuwono (2010). Wijana states that there are several interesting problems with regard to the use of English in Indonesian slang words, and one of them is translational failures. Meanwhile, Yuwono who focuses his attention on swearing expressions says that the use of English is motivated by economical and stylistic purposes. Even though slang can only be found in casual speech, this colloquial variation is rich of linguistic phenomena that cannot be ignored in linguistic description. In addition, from pragmatic perspective, the use of slangy expressions is exploited by the teenagers to convey various communicative functions, such as informing, directing, joking, swearing, teasing, keeping something secret, etc. Thus, the use of slang conceals a lot of information on Indonesian teenagers' behaviors.

As far as the use of English is concerned, there are at least three important issues to discuss related to Indonesian slang. Those are form and formation, linguistic process, and meaning that will become the focus of my study. The term "formation"

includes morphological and syntactical processes. Meanwhile “linguistic process” covers all phonological modification, such as sound change, phonological and syllabic transposition, sound deletion, sound addition, etc.

Most data used in this paper come from three Indonesian slang dictionaries compiled by Livia (2007), Sahertian (2008), dan Mastuti (2008) and other sources. Firstly, all slangy expressions borrowed from English are extracted from the dictionaries, and further they are classified and analyzed according to those three issues. Finally, those data, together with their Indonesian meanings, are presented as supplement in alphabetical order (see data supplement).

Form and Formation

There are hundreds of English expressions that enrich Indonesian slang vocabulary, and many of them are English words which have been phonetically and orthographically maintained, adapted, and slightly or markedly changed, as shown by (1) to (6). Several words have been treated as Indonesian words by the speakers (1) and (2). The slangy expressions are commonly used to refer to different meaning (1), (2), and (3), and some of them only use for giving beauty (4), (5), and (6).

- (1) *Abstrak* ‘wajah tidak berbentuk, jelek, tidak cakep, aneh’ (ugly)
- (2) *Sarden* ‘istri tua’ ‘first wife’
- (3) *MARS* ‘mahasiswa alim rajin sembahyang’ (a good and delligent praying student)
- (4) *Master* ‘pakar’ (expert)
- (5) *So sweet* ‘sangat manis’ (very sweet)
- (6) *So wot* ‘memang kenapa’ (so what)

In the first three examples the word abstrak (originally abstract), sarden (originally sardencis), and mars which conventionally mean ‘abstract’, ‘tinned sardin’, and ‘name of planet’ are changed to refer to facial state, first or old wife that often betrayed by the husband, and idealized student. Meanwhile, there is no semantic alteration applied to master, so sweet, and so wot except a marked ortographical

modification occurs in the last example (what > wot).

Formally the slang expressions borrowed from English may take three forms, i.e word, phrase, and sentence. These three types of slang will be analyzed below.

Word

English words exploited as slang in Bahasa Indonesia may be base forms as well as complex ones. Base forms are expressions that have not been undergoing morphological prosecesses. They only consist of a single free morpheme, such as (7) to (11) below:

- (7) *Affair* ‘hubungan gelap, selingkuh’ (deviate)
- (8) *Ay* ‘aku, saya’ (I)
- (9) *Error* ‘kesalahan’ (mistake)
- (10) *Chicken* ‘pengecut’ (coward)
- (11) *Kiyut* ‘keren, (cute)

In contrast, the complex forms consist of two or more morphemes as a result of various morphological processes, such as affixation (12), (13), (14), and (15), internal modification (16) and (17), reduplication (18), (19), and (20), compounding (21), (22), and (23), and contraction (24) and (25).

- (12) *Cookies* ‘kumpulan laki-laki’ (a group of men)
- (13) *Hunting* ‘cari-cari sambil menjelajah’ (looking for and exploring)
- (14) *Joger* ‘melulu’ (joking)
- (15) *Emphazise* ‘ditekan, dipaksa’ (to be forced)
- (16) *Hang* ‘bego, bodoh’ (stupid)
- (17) *Bondon* ‘jangan dibatasi’ ({bound} don’t > do not {bind}, do not limit’)
- (18) *Blink-blink* ‘perhiasan mengkilat yang dipakai para rapper’ (sparkling rappers’ accessories)
- (19) *Hello mellow* (stupid fellow) ‘halo’ (hallo)
- (20) *Walking-walking* ‘jalan-jalan’ (take a walk)
- (21) *Down load* ‘boker, doyan’ (like very much)
- (22) *Crocodille tears* ‘air mata buaya’ (scoundrel tears)

- (23) Down load 'boker, doyan' (like very much)
- (24) HIV 'hasrat ingin vivis' (urinating need)
- (25) Akuisisi 'akuliah ini sia-sia' (Confess that it is useless)

In affixation process, the bound morpheme might be taken from Bahasa Indonesia or its dialect. In (26) Nyemok 'merokok' (smoking) for example, ny- is one of the {N-} allomorphs in Jakarta dialect. The base form smoke is English borrowing modified from smoke. Reduplication process is totally a characteristic of Bahasa Indonesia because this kind of word formation process does not exist in English. In Indonesian slang, the reduplication form can be a total reduplication or one with sound change. The other examples are (27) and (28). A lot of English compounds are created from word to word or literal translational process which is strongly avoided in translation activities, such as (29), (30), and (31). Finally, contraction process is deliberately created by creating abbreviations and acronyms which have similarities to English words. For other examples see (32), (33), (34) below:

- (26) Nyemok 'merokok' (smoking)
- (27) Walking-walking 'jalan-jalan' (take a walk)
- (28) Hello mellow stupid fellow 'halo' (hallo)
- (29) Fruit kid 'anak buah' (subordinate)
- (30) Blue blood 'darah biru, bangsawan, ningrat' (nobleman)
- (31) Enter wind 'masuk angin' (air sickness)
- (32) AIDS 'anak istimewa dengan sejuta pesona' (a special person with a million of wonder)
- (33) BMW 'body mengalahkan wajah' (a nice body person with ugly face)
- (34) Coffee drink 'komplek sepi bikin merinding' (quite and spooky house complex)

Phrase

Phrase is any linguistic unit which consists of two or more words that does not have a characteristic of clause. All elements that form the slangy phrases are commonly

English (35) to (41). However, some times the phrases are also possibly created by taking Indonesian colloquial words, such as maksud 'meaning'(42), and Sudir(man) 'personal name' (43).

- (35) Different river 'lain kali' (other time)
- (36) Homer boy 'cowok rumahan yang jarang keluyuran' (boys that rarely go outside home)
- (37) Meteor garden: 'title of Taiwan film'(Mi telor ganjen) 'flirtatious egg noodles'
- (38) Not a play 'bukan main-main' (unserious)
- (39) One Pack 'perut buncit' (big stomach)
- (40) So sweet 'sangat manis' (very sweet)
- (41) Car kid 'anak suka mobil tapi tidak tahu mobil' (guys who like cars but do not know much about them)
- (42) Meaning of the maksud 'sesuatu yang perlu dijelaskan' (something important to explain)
- (43) Sudirboy 'lelaki yang kuliah di Sudirman' (a man who studies in Sudirman campus)

The meanings of the phrases might be the true or close translation (40) and (43), literal translation (35) and (38), creative translation (36), (41), and (42), metaphorical correspondent (39), and phonological correspondent of the pure or mixed English phrases (37).

Sentence

Indonesian slang sentences are generally constructed by simple sentences or shorts complex sentences. The simple sentences consist of single clause (43), (44), (45), and (47). Meanwhile, to yield short expressions, the complex sentences should have undergone ellipsis, such as subject deletion that occurs in (46). Like slangy phrases, the sentence may consist of an Indonesian or a regional language element, such as a slight orthographical modification of Javanese "donk" 'understand' in (43). The Indonesian influence can also be badly translated Indonesian sentence into English, such as (44).

- (43) I don't donk 'saya tidak mengerti'
(don't understand)
- (44) Don't follow mix 'jangan ikut campur'
(do not interfere)

The English sentences are also often phonologically or orthographically deviated, such as (45) and (46) below.

- (45) Ilopu 'Aku cinta padamu' (I love you)
- (46) Slow but suwe 'pelan tapi yakin'
(slow but sure)
- (47) Wats ap 'Ada apa sih?' (what happen) <> Whats up!

Meanwhile, in (48) the relation between the form and its intention sometime is merely based on the phonological similarities:

- (48) Go back to the door 'gobak sodor'
(name of traditional Javanese game)

Pragmatically the use of slang sentences is exploited to carry out various communicative functions, such as directing, informing, expressing emotional state etc. In (43) the speaker might want to get clarification or explanation about what the interlocutor has said. In (44) the speaker possibly wants the interlocutor not to interfere his/her personal business. In (45) the speaker expresses his/her passion, and in (46) the speaker may seek information about what has happened to the person (s)he speaks to.

Linguistic Process

Phonological differences between English and Bahasa Indonesia cause a lot of difficulties for the Indonesian speakers in pronouncing English words. As a result, a number of English sounds are changed or replaced with other sounds that exist in Bahasa Indonesia. For example, the sound [sy] orthographically represented by sh is replaced by [s]. English diphthongs [ou] and [ea] are substituted by monophthongs [o] and [e]. See (47) to (49) below:

- (47) Siyok 'Shock, terkejut setengah mati'
(schoked)
- (48) Bondon 'jangan dibatasi' (bound
don't > do not bind, do not limit)

- (49) Suwer takewer-kewer 'sumpah tidak bohong' (swear!)

In contrast, to achieve stylistic goals, some sounds and letters that exist in Bahasa Indonesia are changed by English sounds or letters in English spelling system, such as the substitution of [d] and [k] with [sh] and [ck] in (50) and (51) below:

- (50) Oh, my gosh 'Oh, my god'
- (51) Backam 'bebek kampung' (village girl), bedes kampung (village boy)'

For yielding short expressions some English words undergoing syllabic deletions, such as (52), (53) and (54):

- (52) Borju 'kaya, banyak uang' (borjuis,
rich)
- (53) Bro 'kakak' (brother)
- (54) Idi 'idiot'

If Indonesian words become the target of modification, either deletion or addition, the results are English-like expressions, as shown in (55) and (56).

- (55) Hamilton 'hamil'
- (56) Ketty 'ketiak' (armpit)

Phonological transposition which is broadly known as metathesis is also found in Indonesian slang. For examples the modification of pipis 'urinate' becomes pepsi 'name of soft drink brand' and I am sorry 'pardon me' becomes Amrosy 'name of terrorist in the first Bali bombing', doberman 'dog species' becomes debormen are three evidents of this phenomenon.

- (57) Pepsi 'buang air kecil' (urinate)
- (58) I am sorry, Amrosy (personal name)
- (58a) Debormen 'demam ngebor mengap
mengap' (gasp for breath drilling
fever) < Doberman (species of dog)'

Finally orthographical modification, for imitating either English or Indonesian, is considered dominant in slang creation. See the following examples.

- (59) Betmen 'berak terus mencret'
(Batman)

- (60) Kiyut 'keren, (cute)
- (61) J-rock 'jorok' (dirty, untidy)
- (62) Ontohot 'bego, nyalakan sampai panas' (stupid, heat it until hot).
- (63) Skul 'sekolah' (school)
- (64) So wot 'memang kenapa' (so what)

Many English words in Indonesian slang are pronounced according to the Indonesian manners, in which there is no big difference between the spelling and their pronunciation. Therefore, popeye in (65) below is pronounced [popeye] instead of [phOp ai], and blink-blink in (18) above is pronounced [blIŋk-blIŋk] instead of [blIŋk-blIŋk].

- (65) Popeye 'lelaki berbadan kecil, tapi berotot' (a small man, but muscular)

English words in Indonesian slang vocabulary are never totally reversed or given insertion elements, such as the process applied to Indonesian or regional words (Wijana, 2010, 25-27). The impossibilities are probably caused by the relatively bigger differences of English spelling and pronunciation than that of exist in Bahasa Indonesia. Notice (67) to (70) below:

- (66) kewut < tuwek (old)
- (67) elub-elub < bule-bule (albinos)
- (68)(69) Cokin < C + -ok- + in < Cin(a)
(Chinese)
- (69)(70)nyokap < ny + -ok- + ap < nyak
'mother'

The creation of (67) to (70) is intended to hide the speakers' intentions. The normal order variation Tuwek 'old' and nyak 'mother' are borrowed from Javanese and Jakarta dialect respectively. Meanwhile, bule 'albino' and Cina are both Indonesian words.

Meaning

Some English expressions have the same meaning to their Indonesian equivalents. The use of English for these expressions are intended by the speakers for giving beauty or showing their English mastery. The English words in (71) to (75) below do not experience semantic alternation.

- (70) ay > 'saya' (I)

- (71) Error 'kesalahan' (mistake)
- (72) Go home 'pulang ke rumah' (back home)
- (73) Home alone 'di rumah sendirian'
(title of children film played in
christmas and new year)
- (74) Matching 'pas, cocok' (matched)

Semantic changes do not occur in word to word translation slangs. See (75a), (75b), (75c) below:

- (75a) Blue blood 'darah biru, bangsawan, ningrat' (nobleman)
- (75b) Don't talk as delicious as your belly button 'jangan ngomong seenak udelmu' (do not talk as you wish)
- (75c) Hot sick 'sakit panas' (fever)

However, most of English borrowings in intimate interactions among the Indonesian youngsters are semantically deviated for gaining various communicative goals, such as joking, insulting, teasing, directing, etc. The deviation causes several semantic relations between the English words and their Indonesian counterparts. Those semantic relations are simply classified into metaphor, metonymy, homonymy, and cohyponymy.

Metaphor

Metaphor is the use of linguistic expressions to refer to other things based on certain similarities (Kridalaksana, 1993, 136). In language use, metaphor is exploited by the speakers to produce figurative meanings. In human life metaphor plays an important role, not just in language but in thought and action as well. The human conceptual system, in terms of which they both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003, 3). English word big whose meaning denotes to physical concepts is enlarged for referring a nonphysical matter (76). Affair which formerly has neutral and broader meaning is violated and narrowed to refer to negative behavior in husband and wife relation (77).

- (76) Big man 'orang yang paling berpengaruh' (the most influential person)

- (77) Affair ‘hubungan gelap, selingkuh’
(deviate)

Indonesian youngsters recently create a lot of new metaphorical slangs by using the taste of food referents as the basis of the similarities. See (78) to (79) below:

- (78) Brownis ‘lelaki ganteng, nama kue, brondong manis (acronym)’
(handsome male, brownies, sweet popcorn)
(79) Cookies ‘kumpulan laki-laki’ (a group of men)
(80) Popcorn ‘berondong yang ganteng dan tajir’ (a handsome and rich young person)
(81) Barbeque ‘istri simpanan’ (mistress)

The rapid advances of information, automotive and other technologies inspire the youngsters to create various metaphorical slangs, as shown in (82) to (87) below.

- (82) Down load ‘boker, doyan’ (like very much)
(83) Pentium 1 ‘bodoх, lemah otak’
(stupid, slow thinking)
(84) Hang ‘bego, bodoh’ (stupid)
(85) Cewek linux ‘wanita berkeprabadian rumit, sulit ditebak’ (woman with complicated personality)
(86) Hunting ‘cari-cari sambil menjelajah’
(looking for and exploring)
(87) Cadillac ‘heroin, kokain, narkoba’
(drugs)

Metonymy

Different from metaphor, the semantic relation in metonymy is not based on similarities, but on associations. ATM which means ‘Auto Teller Machine’ does not mean ‘money’, but it is only assosiatively related to such a thing and to sense of materialism. As a proper name, the word Einstein does not have any meaning. This word refers to a genius scientist, the founder of “relativity theory”. As such, this word can be associated to any clever person. The following (88) and (89) are the examples of metonymy exploitation in Indonesian slangs.

- (88) ATM woman ‘cewek matere’
(materialistic woman)
(89) Enstein ‘very clever person’
The other examples are (90) and (91) below:

- (90) Popeye ‘lelaki berbadan kecil, tapi berotot’ (small muscular man)
(91) Mis Ring-ring ‘woman who likes making phone calls’
(92) Strawberry ‘cewek yang pakaianya serba merah’ (woman in completely red)

Homonymy

Two or more linguistic expressions possibly have the same form (phonetically or orthographically) but different meaning. The relation between or among them is called homonymy (Cf. Allan, 1986, 150). Complete homonyms have the same pronunciation and the same spelling. Partial homonyms only have similarity in one respect which can be further divided into two categories, i.e homophony and homography. The first relies the similarity on pronunciation while the latter on spelling. In slang vocabulary, the homonymic pairs are intentionally created by treating ordinary English words as abbreviations or acronyms. The following (93) (to) (98) show that English ordinary words, phrases, acronyms and abbreviations have their newly created meaning(s).

- (93) AC : Air condition angin cendela
(window air)
(94) AIDS: aquired immune deficiency syndrome anak istimewa dengan sejuta pesona (a special person with a million of wonder)
(95) BOS: boss bekas orang susah (ex poor person)
(96) Coffee drink: coffee komplek sepi bikin merinding’ (quite and spouky house complex)
(97) Internet: International network indomi pake telor dan kornet
(noodle with egg and corned beef)
(98) Joker : person who is very skillful in making a joke jomblو keren
(handsome single fellow) jorok keringatan (dirty and sweaty) jongos keren (handsome male servant)

For obtaining amazing impressions, the speakers create one of the meaning as if it reasonably relates to the other meaning(s), such as (99) and (100) below:

- (99) Humor: humor hubungan menyenangkan orang (entertaining relation)
- (100) ATM: auto teller machine artos tina mesin' (money come out of mechine)

Meanwhile, for eliciting humorous effects, the Indonesian youngsters intentionally make the association of the homonymic pairs as if they are contradictory to each other, as clearly seen in (101) and (102).

- (101) elit : elit Ekonomi sulit (difficult economic condition)
- (101) pilot: pilot pikiran kolot (conservative thinking)
- (102) populer: popular pulang-pulang teler' (drunken when got home)

Cohyponymy

Hyponymy is a relation that holds between generic and (more) specific concepts. In this relation words with generic concepts are called hypernym, while ones with (more) specific concepts are called hyponym. For instance, the meaning of bird covers robin, dove, sterling, etc. As such, bird is the hypernym of robin, dove, and sterling. Conversely, the last three bird species are the hyponym of their genus, bird. Meanwhile the relation among robin, dove, and sterling is called cohyponymy. The use of sea food in (103) below is an exploitation of cohyponimic relation because it is used to refer to 'fried cat fish' for gaining a more prestigious image. The genus of this cohyponimic pair is fish.

- (103) sea food 'lele goreng' (fried cat fish)

It is also important to note that a lot of Indonesian slangs which come from English sources are merely based on phonological similarities such as in (48). The other examples are (104) to (106) below:

- (104) kolang-kaling dalam gelas: palm seeds in the glass 'calling-calling nggak jelas' (to call unclearly)
- (105) Sesuk tomorrow 'see you tomorrow'
- (106) Meteor Garden: Mi telor ganjen 'flirtatious egg noodle' (title of Taiwan film)

Closing Notes

The use of English elements in colloquial Indonesian is rich of linguistic phenomena. The linguistic processes occurring in informal situations are considerably much more various than those of in the standard variations. This fact suggests that the linguistic investigations which concern with English influences on Indonesian in the future time must not only focus on the standard Indonesian, but should also be directed toward its use in more casual varieties. Such kinds of investigation will give us more comprehensive understandings about how Indonesians of the lower social economic class use English expressions in their daily activities together with their views and attitudes toward English which nowadays functions as an international means of communication. This brief article is not more than a data collection display. Therefore, more serious studies concerning English contribution in casual Indonesian discourses are considered very urgent to carry out.

Finally, I herewith sincerely allow any linguists or other researchers to use my data collection for studying theses issues more deeply.

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Data Supplement

Common Expression

A

- Abstrak 'wajah tidak berbentuk, jelek, tidak cakep, aneh' (ugly)
 Affair 'hubungan gelap, selingkuh' (deviate)
 I am sorry, Amrosy (personal name)
 Aqua: 'air kencing kuda' (horse urine)
 ATM woman 'cewek matere' (materialistic woman)
 Ay 'aku, saya' (I)

B

- Barbeque 'istri simpanan' (barbeque)
 Blink-blink 'perhiasan mengkilat yang dipakai para rapper' (sparkling rappers' accessories)
 Blue blood 'darah biru, bangsawan, ningrat' (nobleman)
 Bodyguard 'teman yang mengikuti kemana-mana' (loyal friend)
 Bondon 'pelacur, PSK' (prostitute)
 Borju 'kaya, banyak uang' (borjuis)
 Bro 'kakak' (brother)
 Brownis 'lelaki ganteng, nama kue, brondong manis'

C

- Cadillac 'heroin, kokain, narkoba' (drugs)
 Capsa 'poker'
 Car Genic 'wanita yang kelihatan cantik kalau di dalam mobil' (a woman who looks beautiful when she is in a car)
 Car kid 'anak suka mobil tapi tidak tahu mobil' (guys who like cars but do not know much about them)
 Cewek linux 'wanita berkepribadian rumit, sulit ditebak' (complicated woman)

Cheese 'ucapan saat dipotret supaya ketawa' (yell to elicit laugh/smile in picture taking)

Chiken 'pengecut' (coward)

Cookies 'kumpulan laki-laki' (a group of men)

Crocodille tears 'air mata buaya' (scoundrel tears)

Crunchy 'melulu tapi tidak lucu' (unfunny joking)

D

Different river 'lain kali' (other time)

Don't follow mix 'jangan ikut campur' (do not interfere)

Don't talk as delicious as your belly button 'jangan ngomong seenak udelmu' (do not talk as you wish)

Down load 'boker, doyan' (like very much)

E

Emphazise 'ditekan, dipaksa' (to be forced)

F

Fan kui 'setan liar' (wild devil)

Far genic 'cewek cantik kalau dilihat dari jauh' (beautiful far looking woman)

Fotocopy 'afdruk foto' (print, copy)

Fruit kid 'anak buah' (subordinate)

Enter wind 'masuk angin' (air sickness)

Error 'kesalahan' (mistake)

G

Gangster 'kelompok penjahat'

Go home 'pulang ke rumah' (back home)

Go village 'pulang ke kampung' (back to village)

go back to the door 'gobak sodor' (name of traditional Javanese game)

H

Hamilton 'hamil'

Hang 'bego, bodoh' (stupid)

Hegemoni 'perkumpulan, kelompok' (group)

Hello mellow stupid fellow 'halo' (hallo)

Home alone 'di rumah sendirian' (title of children film played in Christmas and New Year)

Homer boy 'cowok rumahan yang jarang keluyuran' (boys that rarely go outside home)

Hot sick 'sakit panas' (fever)

Hunting 'cari-cari sambil menjelajah' (looking for and exploring)

I

I Don't donk 'saya tidak mengerti' (Idon't understand)

Idi 'idiot'

Ilopou 'Aku cinta padamu' (I love you)

J

Jackpot 'muntah' (vomit)

Joger 'melulu' (joking)

J-rock 'jiplak cheat on exam), copy, jorok' (dirty, untidy)

K

Ketty 'ketiak' (armpit)

Kiyut 'keren, (cute)

Kolang-kaling dalam gelas 'calling-calling nggak jelas' (to call unclearly)

L

Lamborduz 'orang yang berwajah jelek, abstrak, berantakan' (an ugly person)

Loading 'mikir' (thinking)

M

Master 'pakar' (expert)

Matching 'pas, cocok' (matched)

Meaning of the maksud 'sesuatu yang perlu dijelaskan' (something important to explain)

Mi telor ganjen 'meteor garden' (title of Taiwan film)

Mis Ring-ring 'woman who likes making phone calls'

N

Not a play 'bukan main-main' (unserious)

Nyemok 'merokok' (smoking)

O

Oh, my gosh 'Oh, my god'

One Pack 'perut buncit' (a big stomach)

Ontohot 'bego, nyalakan sampai panas' (stupid, heat it until hot).

P

Pentium 1 'bodoh, lemah otak' (stupid, slow thinking)

Pepsi 'pipis, buang air kecil' (urinate)

Popcorn 'berondong yang ganteng dan tajir' (a handsome and rich young person)

Popeye 'lelaki berbadan kecil, tapi berotot' (a small man, but muscular)

R

Rofulius 'Oh my god'

Sarden 'istri tua' 'the first wife'

Sesuk tomorrow 'see you tomorrow'

Siyok 'Shock, terkejut setengah mati' (schoked)

Skul 'sekolah' (school)

Slow but suwe 'pelan tapi yakin' (slow but sure)

Slow-slow 'pelan-pelan' (slowly)

Sorry borry 'maaf' (sorry)

So sweet 'sangat manis' (very sweet)

So wot 'memang kenapa' (so what)

Spiderman 'laba-laba' (spider)

Stand by 'sudah siap' (ready)

Strawberry 'cewek yang pakaianya serba merah' (woman in all red)

Sudirboy 'lelaki yang kuliah di Sudirman' (a man who studies in Sudirman campus)

Suwer takewer-kewer 'sumpah tidak bohong' (swear!)

Syellen 'sialan' (bad luck)

T

Tips 'uang bonus'

V

Vis 'rkok, nyemok' (smoking)

Voicegenic 'tampang tak seindah suaranya' (ugly person with a good voice)

W

Wats ap 'Ada apa sih?' (what happen)

Wak waaw 'ungkapan kaget' (surprise expression)

Walking-walking 'jalan-jalan' (take a walk)

Y

Your granny 'Nenek lu' (Damn, you! Jakarta dialect swearing)

Abbreviation

A

AC 'angin cendela' (window air)

ACDC 'bencong waria' (guy)

'Aku cinta dia cinta' (mutual love)

'Aku cium dia cengir' (I kiss her, but she smile sheepishly)

AIDS 'anak istimewa dengan sejuta pesona' (a special person with a million of wonder)

ATM 'agak telat mikir' (think a little bit slow)
'artos tina mesin' (money come out of machine)

B

BF 'best friend'

BMW 'body mengalahkan wajah' (a nice body person with ugly face)

BMX 'bau mulut dan Xetek' (mouth and armpit smell)

BOS 'bekas orang susah' (ex poor person)

BT 'bad today, bad tempered'

'birahi tinggi' (high sexual desire)

'Becek terus' (always muddy)

C

C3 'cool, calm, confident'

CD 'celana dalam' (underwear)

CT 'counter teroris (markas)' (terorist's headquarter)

D

DOHC 'dayung otot hingga cepat (becak)' (peddy cab)

G

G2 'gay girls (cewek berbakat PSK)' (a girl with prostituting talent)

F

FALS 'Federasi anak lelaki sejati' (a true boy federation)

FBI 'Fans berat Inul' (Inul's fanatic fans)

Flu 'feeling lonely uh'

H

HIV 'hasrat ingin vivis' (urinating need)

M

MARS 'mahasiswa alim rajin sembahyang' (a good and delligent praying student)

MSG 'main save goblog' (safe sex, stupid!)

N

NATO 'No angpau thanks only' (no money giving, only thank you)

NBA 'Naik bajai aja' (Just by Bajaj)

NF 'night friend, perek, pecun' (prostitute)

O

OD 'over dosis'

OMG ‘Oh my God’

OMGD ‘Oh my god dragon’ (Oh my god)

OMGDPA ‘Oh my god please donk ah’ (Oh my God, please)

P

PSPB ‘pren sama pren berantem’ (fight between friends)

SLI ‘selingkuh lebih indah’ (deviating is more beatiful)

SWT GTL ‘So wot gitu lo’ (So what)

T

Tough ‘tampang ok, untung gak homo’ (good looking, and fortunately not homosexual)

W

WTF ‘What the Fuck, What,s that for’

X

XL ‘extra legit’ (very sticky)

Acronym

A

Akuisisi ‘akuilah ini sia-sia’ (Confess that it is useless)

Alba ‘alim-alim bangsat’ (religious but rascal)

Aqua botol ‘anak kualat bodoh dan tolol’ (an accursed and stupid fellow)

B

Basket ‘basah ketek’ (wet armpit)

Bazoka ‘barudak zomblo kararasep (jomblو itu ganteng sekali)’ (that single person is very handsome)

Beckam ‘bebek kampung’ (village girl) ‘bedes kampung’ (village boy)

Betmen ‘berak terus mencret’ (defecate and diarrhea)

Bondon ‘jangan dibatasi’ (bound don’t > do not bind, do not limit)

Bucheris ‘bule ngebet sendiri’ (self dyeing albino)

C

Casio ‘kekasih orang’ (someone’s boy or girl friend)

Citos ‘Cilandak Town Square’

Coffee drink ‘komplek sepi bikin merinding’ (quite and spouky house complex)

Cookies ‘kumpulan laki-laki eksekutif muda’ (a young male executive group)

D

Dashbod ‘Dasar bodoh’ (that is just like a stupid person)

Debormen ‘demam ngebor mengap-mengap’ (gasp for breath drilling fever)

Delon ‘gede-gede blo’on’ (big but stupid)

Demokrat ‘depak monyet konglomerat’ (kick that stupid conglomerate)

E

Ebony ‘Eh bolong ni ye’ (Oh, apparently you are not virgin)

‘Eh botak ni ye’ (Oh, apparently you are bold)

Ekskul ‘ekstrakurikuler’ (extracurricular)

Esmod ‘eksekutif muda’ (a young executive)

Estafet ‘esmod tampang copet’ (a young executive with pick pocket appereance)

G

Gazebo ‘gak zelas Bo’ (It is unclear, friend!)

Gitaris ‘Gigi tampak rapi sekali’ (neat looking teeth)

‘gigolo tak laris’ (unsold gigolo)

Go home ‘gondrong homo’ (homosexual long hair style)

H

Humor ‘hubungan menyenangkan orang’ (entertaining relation)

I

Ilfil ‘ilang filing’ (lost of feeling)

Intelek ‘intip toket lewat ketek’ (peeping breast through armpit)

Internet ‘indomi pake telor dan kornet’ (noodle with egg and corned beef) ‘International network’

J

Joker ‘jomblو keren’ (handsome single fellow)

‘jorok keringatan’ (dirty and sweaty)

‘jongos keren’ (handsome male servant)

K

Kanker ‘kantong kering’ (empty pocket)

Kapten ‘kapal tenggelam’ (sinking ship) ‘kepala paras tentara’ (army style head)

Kiyut ‘keren (cute)

Kobra ‘kolot bringasan’ (stupid and violent)

‘komplotan berbadan ramping’ (slimp body gang)

M

Macho 'mantan cowo' (ex boy friend)
‘mantan copet’ (ex pick pocket)
Masteng ‘mas tengik’ (stingky fellow)
Mercy ‘merasa seksi’ (feel sexy)

N

Narcist ‘nonton atraksi pake karcis’
(watching without ticket)

O

Opak ‘over acting’
Oracle ‘ora kelar-kelar’ (will never be clear)

P

Patrick ‘pantat burik’ (speckled buttock)
‘pria aktif cari cewek’ (a man who is
active in looking for a girl friend)
Pilot ‘pikiran kolot’ (conservative thinking)
Populer ‘pulang-pulang teler’ (drunken
when get home)

R

Rocker ‘remaja oke dan keren’ (good and
handsome teenagers)

S

Simpatik ‘simpanse pake batik’ (chimpanzee
wearing batik)

V

Versace ‘versi salah cetak’ (misprinted
version)

Vocer ‘vodka ceria’ (happy vodka)

Modernity/Modernism in Philippine Literature

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Abstract

When the American colonial regime set up the Philippine public school system in the first decade of 1900s, it installed a curriculum that was heavily based on the American educational system. The English literature and humanities curriculum, in particular, was heavily Anglo-American notwithstanding the Filipinos' lack of proficiency in the English language in the early years. By the third decade of the American occupation, the Filipinos who had been able to attend the university in the country and abroad and had developed a higher level of competence in the English language, began to produce writers and critics who had been trained formally in the Anglo-American literary and critical modes. This generation produced the first Filipino "modernist" writers, who would later constitute the canon of Philippine Literature.

Soon after, Filipino writers in Tagalog and the other Philippine languages began to develop a taste for modernist writing as well and soon produced their own kind of "modernistas." Ironically, as Americanization in literature developed inroads in Philippine letters in the major languages, Filipino writers in English and Philippine languages, specifically, were to be split into two camps, the "art for arts' sake" camp (the modernists), led by Jose Garcia Villa, and the socially oriented camp (the socially oriented writers) led by Salvador P. Lopez. The first claimed to be heir to Anglo-American-modernist writers whose works they had read; the second were said to be heir to the local tradition of socially-oriented writings in Philippine literature which tradition they ostensibly wished to keep alive. Numerous polemical exchanges would ensue from the 1900s to the 1940s shortly before World War II, which were published in the daily newspapers and weekly magazines. The polemics would embody the contradictions as well as the ambivalences of the Filipino writers' reception of Anglo-American literary "modernism," outline the contours of "modernism" in Philippine literature, and underscore the continuing unease that Filipino writers today, especially those writing in Philippine languages, about "western" modernism, and the desire to go past it, resulting in the development of a complex if contradictory kind of modernism and a sense of modernity and the role of language in this development.

Key words: modernity, modernism, Philippine literature

Introduction

In the Philippines, often referred to as the first "modern" nation in Southeast Asia, and the only former Asian colony of the United States, modernism and modernity are inextricably linked and loosely interchangeable yet are distinctly and diversely inflected in incommensurably uneven, overlapping and contradictory ways.

First, it is said that as a result of "modern" western European and Anglo-American hegemonic imperatives upon postcolonial societies, dominantly through the setting up of the colonial public educational system, "modernity" - as a social and historical phenomenon - has weakened or destroyed traditional beliefs and practices of non-western societies as the people themselves are decimated by colonialism. However, historically, such imperatives have had to deal with existing local traditions,

languages and practices, nonetheless producing “modernities” and “modernisms” of differentiated characteristics and uneven development across the different Philippine languages. This is exemplified by the diverse development of “modern” genres in the Philippines like the Filipino novel written in the different local languages which ranges from the integrative classic realist “modern” types to the discrepant hybrid varieties of pre-modern (tradicional) to postmodern (contemporary) varieties.

Second, it is posited that as a cultural and artistic response to modernity, “modernism” embodies cultural practices which are disjunctive of practices that fetter and habits that bridle. However, to “make new” is not simply an aesthetic response but a deeper and more sweeping reaction to the experience of modernity, embodying appropriative, as well as abrogative or aesthetically transgressive in Philippine literature. This is exemplified by such writers as Alejandro G. Abadilla (Tagalog) and Jose Garcia Villa (English)

Abadilla

In 1935, the Tagalog writers' group called *Kapisanang Panitikan*, organized as a reaction to *Ilaw at Panitik*, an earlier writers' group, published a literary magazine, *Panitikan*, in 1938. Its members staged a revolt against the worsening commercialism of local magazines, rampant use of clichés and formulaic repetition of old literary forms and worn-out conventions. They demanded artistic freedom to innovate in theme and technique and led the efforts for artistic experimentation in Tagalog writing. The group, which included Alejandro G. Abadilla, Teodoro Agoncillo, Clodualdo del Mundo, Brígido Batungbakal, Jesus Arceo, Salvador Barros, and Genoveva Edroza-Matute, publicized its cause with a book-burning rally at Plaza Moriones in Tondo on 02 Mar 1940, referring to themselves as “radical but aristocratic.” The group threw into the flames literary works they considered “unfit to be passed on to posterity.”

The leader of the “literary rebels” was Abadilla, whose use of free verse, defiance of

literary convention, and commitment for individualist, avant-garde sensibility in art and knowledge paved the way for the release of new aesthetic energies among Tagalog poets. *Panitikan* was

...determined to be “modern,” in the sense that it was to diverge from traditional along lines being pursued by the writers of Philippine English literature. (Lumbera, 2007: 97)

The poem, “Ako ang Daigdig,” is said to have declared a kind of poetic mutiny and social insurrection in protest of protest of hypocrisies in conventional society that had made a as he stripped his verse of rime and meter of the dominant conventional Tagalog versification.

Abadilla was arguably a crusader for freedom, like Villa, who resisted all conventional social and artistic restrictions like a personal war. Assuming a mythical “real self,” he believed that individual freedom could be achieved through disengaging himself from other men. Individualistic in temper, he was obsessed by the self only because he believed individuals true to themselves would usher a better society. Later on, his experimentation with free verse would prepare the way for its acceptance by younger poets, who would then go beyond his theme of individualism while acknowledging his formalist innovations

AKO ANG DAIGDIG

Ni Alejandro G. Abadilla

i.

ako
ang daigdig
ako
ang tula
ako
ang daigdig
ang tula
ako
ang daigdig
ng tula
ang tula
ng daigdig
ako

ang walang maliw na ako
ang walang kamatayang ako
ang tula ng daigdig

ii.

ako
ang daigdig ng tula
ako
ang tula ng daigdig
ako ang malayang ako
matapat sa sarili
sa aking daigdig
ng tula
ako
ang tula
sa daigdig
ako
ang daigdig
ng tula
ako
ang daigdig

iii.

ako
ang damdaming
malaya
ako
ang larawang
buhay
ako
ang buhay
na walang hanggan
ako
ang damdamin
ang larawan
ang buhay
damdamin
larawan
buhay
tula
ako

iv.

ang daigdig
ako
sa tula
ako
ang daigdig
ng tula
ako
ang daigdig
ako
ang tula
daigdig
tula

ako.

(1940)

I AM THE UNIVERSE

By Alejandro G. Abadilla

i.

i am
the universe
i am
the poem
i am
the universe
the poem
i am
the universe
of the poem
the poem
of the universe
i am

ii.

i am
the universe of the poem
i am
the poem of the universe
i am
the free I am
true to myself
to my universe
of the poem
I am
the poem
in the universe
i am
the universe
of the poem
i am
the universe

iii.

i am
the feeling
free
i am
the image
alive
i am
the life
without end

i am
the feeling
the image
the life
feeling
image
life
poem
i am

iv.
the universe
i am
in the poem
i am
the universe
of the poem
i am
the universe
i am
The poem
universe
poem
i am.

(1940)

Translation: Bienvenido Lumbera

Villa

But among English writers, unrest was pervading the literary atmosphere as well. On one side, there were the *Veronicans* – also organized in 1935 by those who were believed to have stood for art for art's sake, like Jose Garcia Villa, forming another avant-garde group of Filipino writers. On the other hand, there were those who urged their fellow writers in English to create a more socially engaged art, like writers Salvador P. Lopez, Federico Mangahas, Arturo Rotor, and Manuel Arguilla, who became the stalwarts of the Philippine Writers League. Coming mainly from the University of the Philippines, and elite universities based in Manila, the English writers were urged to commit to great social responsibility even as they also sought for artistic freedom; on the other hand, Tagalog writers, coming out in commercial publications, were admonished to raise aesthetic standards even as it was tacitly assumed that their works should also serve social ends.

A powerful voice as a avant-garde artist, critic, modernist poet, fictionist, Jose Garcia Villa is known for his technical innovations of "reversed consonance" in *Have Come, Am Here* (1942), for example, and "comma poems" in *The Anchored Angel*. His poems deal with angelic rebellion, the solitary genius, and artistic exceptionality reminiscent of Wallace Stevens, or e.e. cummings. It had been said that Villa was able to do "much to establish Philippine writing alongside Tagalog and Spanish literatures" which had obviously longer histories behind them.

He introduced a new rhyming scheme called "reversed consonance" wherein, according to Villa: "The last sounded consonants of the last syllable, or the last principal consonant of a word, are reversed for the corresponding rhyme. Thus, a rhyme for near would be run; or rain, green, reign." In 1949, Villa presented a poetic style he called "comma poems," wherein commas are placed after every word.

First, A Poem Must Be Magical

Jose Garcia Villa

First, a poem must be magical,
Then musical as a seagull.
It must be a brightness moving
And hold secret a bird's flowering
It must be slender as a bell,
And it must hold fire as well.
It must have the wisdom of bows
And it must kneel like a rose.
It must be able to hear
The luminance of dove and deer.
It must be able to hide
What it seeks, like a bride.
And over all I would like to hover
God, smiling from the poem's cover.

Fragment

Jose Garcia Villa

Anchored Angel
And, lay, he, down, the, golden, father,
(Genesis', fist, all, gentle, now).
between, the, Wall, of, China, and,
The, tiger, tree (his, centuries, his,
Aerials, of, light)...
Anchored, entire, angel!

He,in,his,estate,miracle,and,living,dew,
His,fuses,gold,his,cobalts,love,
And,in,his,eyepits,
O,under,the,liontelling,sun—
The,zeta,truth—the,swift,red,Christ.

Villa is known for having fought almost singularly for “art for art’s sake,” and for his insistence upon the autonomy of art from society (Lumbera, 2007: 96). It must be noted, however, that against such aestheticism, some of his contemporaries writing in English believed instead in “proletarian literature” and in using the pen as a weapon for social change.

In Philippine literary history, this particular development towards the aesthetic, as exemplified by Villa, is said to have constituted a “radical break from tradition,” as despite linguistic, generational or even linguistic and ethnic divisions, Spanish writing and literatures in the various Philippine languages had been mostly respectful of a more socially-conscious tradition in the long history of literature.

Third, while modernism is usually understood as a set of literary techniques and attitudes rooted mainly in Anglo-American avant-garde aesthetic and literary movements as these had influenced literature by Filipinos through American colonial education, in the Philippines, modernism is a conjuncture of diverse fields of forces in the Philippines, at once literary and non-literary, local and foreign, formalist and political, so that one might refer to modernisms (plural) rather than modernism (singular). In the context of the country’s struggle for self-determination under Spanish colonialism, then, American colonialism, through the Commonwealth Period, and then under the Japanese Occupation, “non-literary” themes of nationalism and social justice understandably inflect Philippine modernism/s. This is illustrated by noted writers during the Commonwealth Period, Salvador P. Lopez (English) and Benigno Ramos (Tagalog) in whose writings modernism is equally politically transgressive.

Modern Literature and the Philippine Commonwealth

The Tydings-McDuffie Act presented the promise of freedom from colonial bondage under American “tutelage.” With the Philippine Commonwealth Period (1935-1946), described by some historians as ushering in the birth of the modern nation, Filipino preparations for self-government were underway. Finally, independence seemed truly within reach.

After being referred to only as “Las Filipinas” for centuries as a colony of Spain, and as the “islands” as an American territory, this time, a vision leading to a unified, modern, democratic, and sovereign nation was within the realm of possibility, indeed – a country, finally, to be forged under the flag, “the Philippines.” Between speeches and propaganda of both the American colonial and Philippine Commonwealth leaderships, an image of a prosperous, progressive would-be-nation under a sovereign state was being painted everywhere in the media – happy, satisfied citizens living in egalitarian peace and harmony. In Philippine public schools, such polemical colonial atmosphere was accompanied by the developing canon under American tutelage ranging from Irving and Longfellow to Shakespeare, Poe, and Matthew Arnold.

In fact, the country was disintegrating into chaos, as it faced widespread unrest. In a number of provinces, the peasantry had been in revolt against the age-old inequities of the feudal *caciquismo*. The promises of agrarian reform in huge friar lands by the Philippine Revolution to which they had given up their lives, had come to naught. Now, neither having land nor independence, they continued to be enslaved even under a so-called democratic system that promised freedom and equality for all, but which remained unjust and oppressive - a commonwealth government that could not protect the very people from the very roots of their centuries-old oppression. Thus, as they had done before, the peasants clamored for agrarian reform once more even as the struggle for independence was being waged. The Muslims of Mindanao, the country’s

second biggest island, as it had been for centuries, were fighting mightily for cessation as ever despite American colonial efforts at integrating them. (Constantino, 1975: 342-383)

Ramos

Although workers in factories had held numerous strikes within and around Manila in open defiance of both capitalists and the government, bearing powerful witness to this struggle was the *Sakdalista* movement. The *Sakdalistas* were farmers who had been fighting for the break-up of the *hacienda* system and the oppressive usurious practices associated with it, which had been instituted during the Spanish colonial era, only to continue to be perpetuated under the Americans. This movement was founded in 1930 by Benigno Ramos, a noted writer in Tagalog and a well-known pro-independence peasant leader, who had worked at the office of Manuel L. Quezon, the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. He resigned from his office when in 1930, he led a strike by teachers in opposition to the Commonwealth leadership; later, he formed the *Sakdalista* movement which was perhaps the peasant movement with the most widespread influence of the period. A fine writer himself, he established a Tagalog language newspaper called *Sakdal* which became popular among peasants. (Constantino 367-370)

Ramos belongs to a long tradition of politically engaged writers in Philippine literary history beginning with the national hero, Jose P. Rizal (Philippine national hero but also referred to as the father of the modern Filipino novel), who had led the cause of social justice and patriotism. As a poet in Tagalog, despite his mastery of poetic conventions, Ramos is known for being a precursor in the use of modernist poetic techniques specifically in his innovations in versification earlier on in his writings at a time when, by and large, Tagalog poetry was deeply steeped in the conventions of traditional poetics, derisively referred to today by Tagalog *modernistas* as *Balagtasismo*. Although his poems had not been as widely published as his

contemporaries during his lifetime, he is currently so highly regarded by literary historians that it has been said that his poetry "ought to rank him among the major poets of the Tagalog language." But unlike the younger avant-garde poets, his later poems especially were politically purposive as these made his poems "easily accessible to the masses in whose service he had placed his art" (Lumbera, 2007: 101). Clearly, his modernism is both aesthetic and political. Ramos' literary creed is embodied in his famous poem, *Panulat*, whose tropes speak of the role of literature in the struggle for national emancipation and social justice.

PANULAT

ni Benigno R. Ramos

Kung ikaw, Panulat, ay di magagamit
 Kundi sa paghamak sa Bayang may hapis,
 Manong mabakli ka't ang taglay mong tulis
 Ay bulagin ako't sugatan sa dibdib.
 Kung dahil sa iyo's aking tutulungan
 Ang nagsisilait sa dangal ng Bayan,
 Manong mawala ka sa kinalalagyay,
 At nang din na kita magawang pamaslang!...
 Di ko kailangan na ikaw'y gamitin
 Kung sa iyong katas ang Baya'y daraing,
 Ibig ko pang ikaw'y magkadurug-durog
 Kaysa magamit kong sa Baya'y panlubog.
 Sa bawat anak mo ay itinatanim
 Ang dati mong hapis at aping damdamin,
 At bago mamamatay, ang iyong habilin
 "Iyong ating lupa'y pilitin mong kunin."
 Kailangan kita sa gitna ng digma
 At sa pagtatanghal ng bayaning diwa,
 Hayo't ibangon mo ang lahat ng dukha
 Hayo't ibagsak mo ang mga masiba!
 (1930)

PEN

By Benigno R. Ramos

My pen, if your only use
 is to cast dishonour on my unhappy country,
 may you break into two and may your point
 pierce my eyes and wound my heart.
 If I'd be adding my voice through you
 to those that malign my country's good
 name,
 may you vanish from where you rest,
 that you might not serve as an instrument
 of death!...

I don't have any use for you
if the sap you secrete will give my country
pain,
I'd sooner burn you or chop you up
than be a party to treasonous deeds.
I refuse to use you to spread
fragrance along the paths of men of evil
will,
I'd sooner have you crumble into dust
than use you to keep my country down.
I want to use you in the thick of battle
to hold up the hero's mind for all to
emulate,
go, raise up the poor who lie prostrate!
go, pull down all those who rose through
greed!

(1930)

Translation: Bienvenido Lumbera

S.P. Lopez

In response to the polemics of the "coterie of aesthetes" among the Filipino writers in English led by Villa to whom "art is a method of escape," "Salvador P. Lopez insisted upon the role of the writer as "tiller of the soil, spade in hand, digging into the roots of things and planting seeds."

...Despite the fact that events in the odern world have made it increasingly difficult for artists to do their work, there are still those who fondly cling to the delusion that there is an Ivory Tower to which the worshippers of Beauty can retire away from the madding crowd. Of course, there is no such tower; only people who imagine that they dwell in one.

In praise of Teodoro Kalaw, Filipino writer and editor of the nationalist newspaper *El Renacimiento* which was forced to close down by the American regime, Lopez described Kalaw's work as "growing out of the strong spirit of nationalism and the universal aspiration for independence from America." Following the long tradition of socially-conscious literature in the country, in his essays, in the face of so much worsening social injustice in the cities and the countryside during the Commonwealth Period, he urged Filipino writers to produce

"proletarian literature" rather than "art for art's sake."

The Philippine Commonwealth Government's Policy: The Role of Language and Literature in Shaping Modernism/s

So in this defining moment, how was the Commonwealth government, whose burden was to prove to the American colonizers that it was "mature" enough to self-govern, to respond to the challenges in this period of "tutelage"?

The deterioration of the economy seemed unstoppable, owing to the social contradictions in a Commonwealth-in-name-but-a-colony-in-fact, and to the forces of global capitalism to which it had been tied as supplier of cheap raw materials to industrialized countries like the US. The agitations were coming from all sides, -- including the politically committed creative writers and journalists -- so the government set out to work on a so-called "social justice program" and other state initiatives meant to address in words if not in deed, the concerns of the Filipino underprivileged.

Manuel L. Quezon, the President under the 10-year transitory Commonwealth government, hoped to hold back the growing tide of social unrest by attempting to address on major fronts some of the socio-economic issues resulting from the country's problems -- including the ones that concerned language and literature.

By executive Order 134, delivered by radiocast in December 1937, Quezon proclaimed that the Filipino national language would be based on Tagalog; in the same executive order, he created the Institute of National Language to be headed by Jayme C. de Veyra, a Visayan and not a Tagalog. Paradoxically, the executive order also indicated that "the adoption of the Philippine National language shall not be understood as anyway affecting the requirement that the instruction in the public schools shall be primarily conducted in the English language." Emphasizing in his speech later during the First Filipino Writers Conference in 1940 that

"The constitution provides that arts and letters be under the patronage of the government," Quezon seemed adamant in his decision:

The Americans were denying our ability to run our own government on the ground that we did not have a common language... A common language expresses a common nationality. (Arguilla 27-28)

The political link between the issue of the granting of Philippine independence by the US and the issue of national language was clear to Quezon; in his mind, it was as if one were a precondition for the other:

But now that independence is coming, we must realize and admit that we need a common language – a common national language. (Arguilla 27).

He also instituted the Commonwealth Literary Awards on 25 March 1939 "in response to the efforts of the Philippine Writers League to realize the provision of the constitution..."

Thus, as mandated by the constitution, the Philippine Writers' League organized the First Filipino Writers Conference in 1940. This conference was attended by the most prominent Filipino writers in Spanish, Tagalog and English of the day.

At one fell swoop, Quezon, in an effort to prove the ability of the Filipinos for self-government had also to prove that the Filipinos could have a common language in which would be expressed a common experience and shared culture through literature. And this literature presumably would be modern and forward-looking, hence the title of the conference was "Modern Literary Objectives." Thus, towards this end, Quezon hoped to mandate the trajectory of Philippine language and literatures, and along its path, unwittingly, some of the basic problems as well, that continue to haunt the country to this day, unresolved. Understandably, the Philippines Writers' League-sponsored Commonwealth Literary Contests was "approved by the Office of the President." Indeed, Quezon himself said:

All I can say is under my administration, arts and letters will receive due encouragement and I am prepared to ask the National Assembly..... to appropriate funds for this purpose. (Arguilla 30)

The Writers' Response: Modern, Modernity, Modernism

The discussions at the "Modern Literary Objectives" conference centered on multiple if contradictory challenges:

- a. The writers in Spanish were looking back. Having lost the audience they used to have until the 1900s, the so-called Golden Age of Hispanic Literature in the Philippines, they were concerned with the Hispanic legacy. In the conference, the speech on Spanish literature was evaluating the influence of Hispanic classics in Tagalog translation like *Don Quixote* and emphasizing the need to point out the "democratic spirit that pervades the work" as the writers continued to write in the vein of the Hispanic *modernistas*.
- b. The writers in Tagalog, on the other hand, were looking at the present, anxious about the state of literature of Tagalog which, unlike Spanish writing that has lost much readership, had the masses of readers, but did not have the quality of writing they would have desired. Caught between the mass readers of Tagalog novels in commercial magazines and mass audiences of Tagalog movies to which the most popular serialized novels were being adopted, the "maverick" young Tagalog writers were very vocal of their criticism of the older writers whose alleged passivity and complicity had caused the trend towards commercialization of literature to worsen. The young writers were demanding for the raising of aesthetic standards. The Tagalog writers continued to draw from a rich literary tradition even as they began to experiment with the techniques learned from western modernism.

Finally, the writers in English were looking into the future, faced as they were with the question of audience by writing in a new foreign language. Carlos P. Romulo, in his speech at the conference, asked "Will Filipino Literature in English Endure?" (Arguilla 31). The writers in English were divided into ideological lines, arguing between the priority of writing for innovation in craftsmanship to be in-step with the aesthetic trends among their modern or modernist Anglo-American models like Walt Whitman or e.e. cummings, or writing primarily for the economic emancipation of the country and social justice for their countrymen consistent with the writings of Steinbeck or Dos Passos – in English? As the debates around these themes had been going on for some time, by 1940, these debates surprised no one.

Apostol

As generally assumed, "modernity" or the experience of the modern has historically become increasingly associated with the modern "west." However, in the context of the Philippines' multiple colonialism and resulting in a historical sense of oppression, Philippine literature's modernism has been a complex combination of temporalities as well as spatialities characterized by uneven development. Such complexity is a result of the fact that it draws at once from indigenous, folk and popular forms and Asian traditions, as it does from European (mainly Spanish) and Anglo-American influences. A Hispanic example is by Filipino writer in Spanish, Cecilio Apostol.

Part and parcel of the *modernismo* of the writers in Spanish was *nationalismo*, as illustrated by the works of a major Filipino poet in Spanish, Cecilio Apostol, who had written for the revolutionary anti-Spanish newspaper, *La Independencia*, under General Antonio Luna, and later, for well-known nationalist publications like *The Brotherhood*, *The Union*, *Renaissance* and *Democracy* during the early years of the American regime.

Having read *modernistas* like Miguel de Unamuno, Ruben Dario, Rueda who visited Manila in 1914, Apostol's commitment for both nationalism and modernism is

unmistakable in one of his famous poems, "Al 'Yankeee.'"

AL "YANKEE"

Cecilio Apostol

Siempre que la codicia
rasga un giron del territorio extrano
.....
poetas, vengadores
de la conciencia universal, acaso
podreis guardar silencio,
la honrada voz de la protesta ahogando?
Ferrari

!Jamas! Cuando la furza
con la traicion y la injusticia pacta,
para aplastar los fueros,
los sacrosantos fueros de una raza;
Cuando los hijos del infame Judas
venden la fe jurada;
cuando al gemido de los pueblos debiles
contestan con brutales carcajadas;
Cuando el santo Derecho se trucida
en el festin de la ambicion humana;
cuando como los yankees,
a canonazos brindan una patria;
No es posible callar: la Patria opresa
protestara indignada,
y en el pecho traidor del enemigo
escondera el punal de su venganza.
El irredento pueblo
sucumbira quizas en la demanda,
mas solo a su cadaver
se lograra imponer covunda extrana.
!Yankee! Situ nos vences,
con el potente empuje de tus armas,
no viviras dichose, porque te odia
hasta el ambiente mismo de mi Patria.

!Yankee! Si mis estrofas
logran sobrevivirme, sus palabras
vibraran en los siglos venideros
el odio eterno del eterno paria.
(1899)

TO THE YANKEE

Cecilio Apostol

As long as greed
tears a gash in foreign lands
.....
poets, avengers
of the universal conscience

can you be silent,
drowning the honorable voice of
protest?

-Ferrari

Never, when might,
joined with treason and injustice
 to crush the laws and rights
the sacred rights of a race,
When the sons of the infamous Judas
 sell the faith that has been sworn,
when the whimper of weak peoples
they answer with animal laughter;
When holy right is bartered
in the banquet of human ambition,
 as when the Yankees
toast a nation to the sound of cannon;
Silence is impossible: the oppressed nation
 shall protest indignantly
and bury the dagger of vengeance
in the enemy's breast.
This unredeemed people
may perhaps succumb in the struggle,
 but only its corpse
can be yoked by alien tyranny.
Yankee! If you defeat us
with the powerful weight of weapons,
you will not live happily, because
 you are hated
even by the air of my native land.
Yankee! If my verses
survive me, their words
will echo in the centuries to come
the eternal hate of the eternal outcast.

Translation: Nicanor G. Tiongson

As such, Philippine modernism has not always broken with the past nor tried necessarily to be disjunctive of tradition as it has been in the "west." This is illustrated here by the poem "Bangsamoro," a poem by an anonymous author on the issue of the struggle for Muslim independence in the Philippines.

In non-west, specifically, in the Philippine context, modernity and modernism have taken place in uneven, multiple and even contradictory ways. In Philippine literature, modernism is at once constituted by and constitutive of modernity, shaping and re-shaping the experience of the "modern" in a postcolonial society in multiple ways: both as a discourse and counter-discourse of the kind

of modernity that came with colonialisms and capitalism. While being itself problematic, underpinned that it is by the traditions and traditional philosophy of the "west," modernism configures and reconfigures the articulation of the modern. Such was the Philippine experience during the Commonwealth Period.

Modernist Writing in Other Philippine Languages

In the 1930s, in the literature of the different major Philippine languages outside Manila, modern developments took root as well particularly marking the growth of short fiction; yet, in almost equal measure the decade was also witness to the heightening of social consciousness among writers, given the worsening of the economic situation of the country. In quick succession, for example, in Cebuano, Marcel M. Navarra was said to have "inaugurated" the modern short story with plotless narratives; while in Ilonggo, "modernism" became an issue raised by prominent writers like Lorenzo Dilag-Fajardo and Abe S. Gonzalez, who were attempting to depart from the more traditional forms which they deemed formulaic, as well as the experimentation in free verse by in the 1920s by Hiligaynon poets like Salvador Verroya and Isidro Escare Abeto. Meanwhile, writers in the other major languages also began to incorporate new techniques and modern sensibility into their works. However, it should be noted that "traditional" writing, which came out in popular magazines and adapted into movies, as well as the writing following the Spanish heritage, persisted side by side with the influx of new literary developments mainly influenced by Anglo-American trends.

On the university level, beginning in the 1930s, young Filipino writers started to be exposed to literary modernism which highlighted the individuality of the writer and cultivated craft-consciousness, sometimes, as has been observed, at the expense of social consciousness. As expected, the University of the Philippines led the way towards writing that kept up with literary trends outside the country. Founded in the first decade of American occupation, UP had been patterned

after Harvard University in administrative structure and curricular and academic programs. Only two decades of its founding it served as the center of new writing in English.

Thus, it has been said that the arrival of the Americans at the turn of the century was to alter the course of Philippine literature: Particularly during the Commonwealth period, new literary forms were introduced, including free verse in poetry, the modern short story, and the critical essay as the American influence came with the educational system which constituted English as the medium of instruction.

Conclusion

Recall that through the 19th century, the “modern age” had taken shape in the Philippines with the rise of secularism and a “culture of literacy,” the opening of the Philippine countryside with the growth of commercial agriculture and global trade, and the emergence of nationalism. At the same time, modernity has had to grapple with the facts of its own internal divisions in its search for a more just national collectivity.

“Modern” trends, apart from those which came from or through the United States, found their way into the practice of Spanish and vernacular poets in the early 20th century. Writers who were educated in Spanish accessed modern trends by reading the works of such Spanish and South American modernists as Ruben Dario, Antonio Machado and Federico Garcia Lorca.

Despite showing a mistrust of American colonizers, many memoirs in Spanish, written early during the 20th century, were also influenced by Anglo-American modernist writings. In the decades following the Pacific War, the presence of modern adaptations of works produced in the Spanish period further maintains the Spanish tradition.

Spanish, spoken and read only by 10% of the population at the close of the Spanish rule, quickly declined, however, though the Spanish cultural legacy remained an important constituent of Filipino culture.

The installation of English as a medium of instruction in Philippine schools gravely undermined Spanish. By the close of the 1930s, English writing had overtaken Spanish writing, the language of the new colonialists, having won out as the more prestigious medium for young writers. But while writing in Spanish is scant today, the triple legacies from the Spanish colonial period – didacticism, romanticism, and social realism are vigorously alive, with an admixture of Western modernism.

English was introduced as an “official language” and it grew in prestige as the Americanization of the Philippine society advanced. Filipinos were connected into a world in which American and, through American mediation, Western literary and intellectual traditions began to build cultural, literary and linguistic inroads. With the decline of Spanish, English became an important medium specifically for the essay, the adopted language of Filipino intellectuals in the 20th century; in fact, since the 1970s, there have been frantic efforts to “intellectualize” the Tagalog language as well by promoting its use in academic discourse.

Given the apparent contradictions in Philippine society, the writers repeatedly debated the issues of ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ as illustrated in the discussions that engaged the Tagalog writers’ groups *Ilaw at Panitik* and *Aklatang Bayan*. This debate would continue to the present, in line with the debates on the Philippine literary canon and the issue of national language.

Literary modernity has been referred to alternatively as an attitude toward the literary world which assumes a transformative dynamic between writer and literature, or a structure involving a complex of state institutions that mandate cultural and linguistic directions. If so, then it can be said on the basis of the foregoing exposition that in the Philippines, literary modernity consists of multiple, complex and contradictory attitudes or structures. Filipino “modernism” and “modernity,” as the terms are generally understood in the West, may seem at once strange and familiar. Owing perhaps ultimately to the law of uneven development

as much in economics as in politics in the history of relations between core and peripheral countries, imperial centers and colonial peripheries, the dynamics of “modernism” and “modernity” in the literature of the non-West like the Philippines has involved an amalgam of historical impulses that amount to something irreducibly different from the Western models.

As sensibility, there is the intersection of the liberal individualism symptomatic of the aestheticism exemplified by Jose Garcia Villa; but there is, too, the collective sense of self-determination in the nationalism of Banigno Ramos, and finally, there is the impulse for solidarity in the Socialist internationalism of Salvador P. Lopez, partisan and committed to the Filipino working class. As craftsmanship, there is the apparent shift from the medieval metrical romances in drama and the novel, that had dominated literature under the Spanish colonial era to the “realism” and experimentation of the modern genres, or the shift from the conventions of rhyme and meter of *Balagtason* to the free verse of Alejandro G. Abadilla. Between those, there are as many other shades of “modernism” in literature as one might care to name.

Still, there is, too, the continuing nagging quest for the national language, an issue that certainly has always been implicated in literature – what has been referred to as “the problem of language” in the Philippines. Not merely a vehicle of communicating power, especially in the Philippines’ multi-linguistic setting, language is itself associative of power of class, of culture. For better or for worst, Tagalog has been deemed by partisans to be the most developed of the Philippine languages, and hence the most modern; ergo, it deserves to be the basis of the national language, following the logic of Quezon more than seventy years go. The “language issue,” rooted in the country’s colonial history, remains “unresolved” to this day, indeed. Meanwhile, in languages as in literatures, in the Philippines, values have been assigned for literatures and languages to be either pampanitikan (high-brow) or pambakya (low-brow), or of having pulitika but not estetika, further complicating the

crisscrossing of modernities in the Philippines.

In the meantime, beyond Spanish, English or Tagalog or any other major Philippine languages, literatures coming from the farther “margins” of modernism/modernity who had not been represented in the First Filipino Writers Conference in 1940, simply continued to flourish all by themselves. In the face of the Muslim Filipinos’ quest for a rectification of the mistaken annexation of their homeland into the Philippine Republic by the United States during the Commonwealth Period, President Quezon’s call for the landless and the jobless mainly Christian Filipinos from Luzon and the Visayas to occupy Mindanao, “the land of promise,” only worsened the condition of internal colonization of the Filipinos from the south by the north. Although the Muslim Filipinos are not themselves the “first Nations” in Mindanao, as non-Muslim indigenous peoples of Mindanao had historic rights of ancestral domain, the Commonwealth Period, turned the land of promise into the land of strife, ever aggravating their condition of marginalization.

Modernism: Making New

As in the rich oral literatures of Muslim Filipinos, in the poem “Bangsamoro,” written by an anonymous author, the historical cry for freedom and desire for Moroland, remains the battlecry. In the poem, “Bangsamoro” is at once a trope for the building of a modern Philippines in which majority and minority cultures co-exist, a figure for modernity in which progress is achieved by a people united under a single flag, and modernist “making new” as it symbolizes the final break from an unjust past.

Bangsamoro

Bangsamoro, gedam imaman kanu
 Ka intindig su agama Islam
 So kapanlalim sa lekitanu
 nu taw a lumalapu
 wageb saguna na imbunwa tanu
 Bangsamoro, a baninindig
 kanu inged

lila su ngiwa indi lugo
Mamagayon, mamagisa-isa
apas tanu su kandaludaya
Palaw ataw didsan
Pawas kadatalan
su kandaludaya
ataw pakuburan

People of Bangsamoro

People of Bangsamoro, awake and make up your

Mind
Stand for our faith
The oppression they did to us
The immigrants
now is the time to fight them
People of Bangsamoro who
fight for our Cause
offer your body and blood
Cooperate, unite
aim for freedom in the mountains
even how many our enemies are
Freedom
or Martyrdom.

Translation by Zamzamin Ampatuan and Nikita Lauban

Indeed, caught between these crisscrossing lines in literature are the intersecting issues of sensibility, craftsmanship and languages in the Philippines, of historical divisions of class, of ethnicity. Modernism and modernity at once involve a break with the past, an affirmation of the power of the individual to create and the power of a people to determine their collective destiny, and the faith in the capacity of literature to make all that happen. But having remained an "ongoing project" in the literary scene of so many places for so long, modernism might also perhaps be a symptom of a global modernity in crisis.

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On Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero's Frustration: Denouncing Official Culture of traditional Asian Family

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is twofold, looking into a Philippine dramatic text, Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero's three-act play *Frustration*, and finding the meaning of the work. The aim of bringing to bear upon it the analytical perspectives of New Criticism, Russian Formalism and Structuralism, is to highlight the belief that any approach implemented is but to reveal its covert meaning. This is indirectly agreeing with the credo *l'art pour l'art* and that of the so-called instrumentalism [or rather, antirealism] instead of exercising the 'weird' attitude of investigating the political style of pretending to appreciate and be concerned with literary works.

Keywords: criticism, colonialism, culture, covert meaning

Introduction

It is admitted that more than three centuries of Spanish colonialism and about fifty years of American rule have influenced Philippine theater. This can be seen clearly in the folk theater such as *sinakulo*, *komedya*, *tibag*, *panunulayan*, *sarsuwela*, etc. They displaced the indigenous rituals and native theater of the pre-colonial times, even as those forms integrated elements of the indigenous drama. If *sinakulo* is essentially based on the *pasyon* (The Life and Passion of Christ) adapted into drama, and the *komedya* of the 19th century Philippines is characterized by a lot of presentational gestures and stylized movements, then, the *tibag* and *panunulayan* are religious dramatization performed during the Holy Week which formed part of the overall effort to christianize the natives. The *sarsuwela*, which supplanted the *komedya*, became popular during the early years of American colonialism (1898). It revolves around the intricacies of domestic life, usually revolving around a love story which focuses on a big-hearted hero and a heartless villain. In the work of Balagtas, however, the *sarsuwela*

became a political allegory with the characters representing ideas juxtaposing nationalism and collaboration.

Philippine Literature in English, however, is divided into many types and numerous periods. Croghan, for example, considers three stages through which the literature has passed: The Early Period, from 1900 to 1930; The Middle Period, from 1930 to 1960 and The Modern Period from 1960 to 1974. Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero, like Nick Joaquin, belongs to The Modern Period.

It is understandable why the name of Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero should be mentioned when one talks about modern Philippine drama: being a prolific playwright and influential leader of the University of the Philippines Dramatic Club (1946-1966?) for which he produced and directed over 120 plays. Guerrero studied at the Ateneo de Manila, at the University of the Philippines, and, briefly, at Columbia University. He wrote his first play at 14, and his play in Spanish, *No Todo Es Risa*, was produced at the Ateneo when he was 15. In 1962 he organized and directed the U.P. Mobile Theater with over

1000 performances. Guerrero teaches Acting, Playwriting, and Directing at the University of the Philippines. He has also the unique distinction of being the only Filipino who has had a theater named after him while still alive: the Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero Theater, at the Arts and Sciences Building, U.P. inaugurated on September 16, 1976.

The following is but a few of what people say about him:

"You capture vividly the atmosphere of the life of your people. ... Perhaps you could learn, if you want to, the methods of the international dramatist. I am by no means sure, however, that it would not be more useful if you aimed at writing professionally for your own country. As a matter of fact, I think that drama very much needs just now to be reborn in the context of specific cultures" – Joseph Wood Krutch, internationally known drama critic and writer, in a letter to Guerrero dated August 2, 1952, from Phoenix, Arizona.

"Guerrero's plays have been obviously influenced by Ibsen, but his writing seems to belong to no school except that which he has founded for himself ... Guerrero's plays were written to be acted on an intimate informal stage by capable actors. But any reader with a modicum of imagination will digest the players lines, envisage the completely life-like characters going through their paces, and enjoy the true beauty ..." – Lt. Fred J. Archibald

"Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero is, essentially, a satirist. He likes to pick fault. And the extraordinary thing about him is that he knows what and where the fault is: he pinpoints it, shows it up in grotesque figures, gives you several healthy laughs in the process, then as you dry your tears of laughter, you look around yourself and feel a little foolish, because you realize you have been laughing at yourself ... He is a caricaturist with the deft and delicate touch of a piña embroiderer ... with the yellow glint highlighting of an Amorsolo."

– *Lamberto V. Avellana (from his Foreword to 8 Other Plays)*

"... His comedies are pieces of very effective stage showmanship; they bustle and flare with a vitality and a humor peculiarly Filipino." – The late Dr. Paz Latorena (from her Foreword to the 2nd printing of 13 Plays).

"What Guerrero has written, what he will write, are historical portrayals and stirring sermons. More than any other Filipino playwright Guerrero is the historian and moralist of this confused, turbulent period when our time-honored virtues and way of life are somewhat giving way to a new and frightening system of thought and morals." – Arsine B. Arabia (from his English M.A. thesis entitled "The Plays of Guerrero" (1951).

"Guerrero's plays show clearly that he knows his milieu, whether it be the simple impassioned life of barrio folks or the brazzy, artificial, and corrupted life of middle class society and those of politicians In this sense, Guerrero is a Filipino who speaks about Filipinos for the whole world, without meaning to shun or insult them, but with the thought of showing that they are no different from all other people everywhere." – Celso Al. Carunungan (from his Foreword to 7 More Plays)

Guerrero has been the recipient of three national awards; the Rizal Pro-Patria Award (1961), the Araw ng Maynila Award (1969), both for Drama, and the Republic Cultural Heritage Award (1972) for Literature.

Instead of the 'weird' attitude of investigating the political style of pretending to appreciate and be concerned with literary works, looking into his *Frustration* in this study is meant to highlight that any approach implemented is but to reveal the covert meaning of the work. Both the credo *l'art pour l'art* and that of the so-called instrumentalism [or rather, antirealism] would be, then, put 'behind the door'.

Guerrero's three-act play *Frustration*

Admitting that the analytical perspectives of New Criticism, Russian Formalism and Structuralism in this study are purposely made used to highlight the character aspects of the play. It is unavoidable, however, that the discussion would also deal with the other elements essential to any work of literature. Besides its physical objects and moods, for example, Ingarden at least mentions sounds, meaning of words and sentences; the objects presented; the schematized appearances and 'metaphysical qualities.'

The setting of Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero's *Frustration* is Manila in 1940s. The characters are Araceli, Imelda, Victor, Dr. Fernando Solis, Fermina, Elena, Geronima, Rafael Esteva, Rosalinda Magno, Tony Escasa, Pura Roco, Maria Rita and Nemesio.

Araceli's frustration began when she had to leave her fiancé, Fernando, only to marry Tirso to save her parents' pride. They, then, had two children, Victor and Imelda. Araceli's love to Fernando Solis, however, never died. And so did Fernando's love to Araceli. Tirso's sister, Fermina, who lived together with them had never got along with Araceli. She always knew that Araceli had never been in love with her brother. Knowing that his wife had never loved him, Tirso ran to another woman, Pura Roco. With Pura, he had a daughter called Maria Rita. Both the love life of Victor and Imelda did not go smoothly either. All of this frustration comes into surface when Tirso died of a heart attack. Toward the end of the story, however, Araceli managed to make Victor change his mind to commit suicide. Araceli said, "Love is a gift, and like any other gift, it must not be sought after, but gratefully received."

New Criticism

Not only did the New Critics seek precision and structural tightness in the literary work, but they also favored a style and tone that tended toward irony. As a result, they insisted on the presence within the work of everything necessary for its analysis. They did not want to know anything

to do with matters outside the work itself: the life of the author, the history of his times, or the social and economic implications of the literary work. In other words, what the work says and how it says it as inseparable issues.

The words, phrases, metaphors, images, and symbols are expected to be examined in terms of each other and of the whole. By doing so – establishing the "internal logic" – the overall form of the work is identifiable. Images, themselves totally dissociated when joined in the circuit of a particular emotion located with specific relation to both of them, conduce to great vividness and accuracy of statement in defining that emotion. So, when that "internal logic" has been established, we are very close to identifying the overall form of the work.

In the case of drama, characters, as we know, comment upon themselves and others so that we can establish a tone peculiar to each and can evaluate speeches (and actions) by a kind of yardstick established by the play as a whole. The playwright's attitude can be traced through how he or she poses his/her characters against each other and the sorts of dialogue he/she puts into their mouths. The essence of any dramatic situation is that of the conflict established.

Actually, there is another important facet of context: the "world" of the work. It is understood how an author imagines and creates a world in which his/her characters move and have their being. For example the author desires a fictional world that closely mirrors the actual world with which we as the reader can relatively easily identify. So, to account for the world of a literary work, we need to ask what the "laws" are that control and define the behavior of the characters. Do they permit frequent violations of probability? Do they justify or proceed from some idea of a deity, or do they merely reflect the disordered state of an isolated mind? Are there recognizable links between causes and effects or merely inexplicable series of incidents that seem to have little or no necessary connections? Sometimes we also need to ask whether the world highly restricted in time and space, expansive in space or time, or timeless? Is there a highly

structured society or are anarchy and chaos prevalent? Such questions, indeed, would explain the setting: we can see the world presented by the work in terms of every implication, innuendo, and viewpoint.

In order to look into Guerrero's *Frustration*, we may begin interpretation by characterizing the world of the work. The setting, we know, is Manila in 1940s. It is, indeed, a world peopled by Guerrero's characters: the world of the scene of all the three acts is taking place in the luxurious living room of Araceli's house, an upper class one. It is a kind of unpleasant or rather hatred world. It was only three days ago that Araceli's husband died. Two guests, Elena and her sister Geronima came to express sympathy.

Actually, both of them are also representing those who are fond of gossip and nosing into other people's affairs. Geronima, in Act I, for example, says to her sister Elena:

I'm always curious to see the reaction of people when they lose somebody ... Because I can always, tell how much a person has loved the dead person. When I see them crying and being hysterical, then it's my guess that their love is deep and true. But then when they shed no tears and don't even faint – ay, it seems suspicious.

They know that Fermina, Tirso's sister who lives with him does not like Araceli. They can also feel that there is something wrong about the relationship between Tirso and Araceli. Elena and Geronimo, however, start to talk about things to establish their 'nosy' habit:

Elena. Araceli and Tirso were a perfectly happy couple, weren't they?

Geronima. I suppose so.

Elena. (Scandalized). What do you mean you suppose so! I've never heard of any serious quarrel between Araceli and Tirso.

Geronima. Married people don't always quarrel in public, you know.

Elena. But we would have heard! Fermina would have told us.

Geronima. I hope you are right. Hmp, but I have my suspicions!

Making use of the similar 'easy-to follow' conversations, Guerrero is actually, in Act I, introducing the characters: Elena, Geronima, Araceli, Fermina, Imelda, Nemesio, Fernando, Victor, and Rosalinda. In telling how Fermina dislikes Araceli, for example, he writes:

Elena. The servant told us she was resting.

Fermina. She (Araceli) woke up a short while ago.

Geronima. It must have been a terrible shock to her, poor Araceli. They loved each other so much.

Elena. Such an ideal couple, I always said

—
Fermina. (smiling bitterly, without looking at them.) No, no, she never broke down. ...She didn't shed any tears ... she didn't attend the funeral ... She stayed at home ...

The rest of the characters, indeed, comment upon themselves and others. We can easily see a tone peculiar to each character: Elena is dominated by her elder sister, Geronima. We cannot see a kind of intimacy between Araceli and her sister in law, Fermina.

The dramatic situation of the play can also be found merely from the conflict between the characters: the plot of the play. When Araceli had an argument with Fermina, for example, Guerrero is trying to expose the Inciting Moment. Araceli asked ironically whether grief should be worn always on the outside; and then gave a comment, "There's such a thing as bad taste." The argument stopped after Fermina broke into bitter sobs and said that both of them had never understood each other.

Through his characters Guerrero makes the story run very smoothly. About Araceli or even Geronima and Elena, for example, he writes:

Geronima. And Victor is two years older, isn't he? But Araceli can't be more than - (She stops, aghast)
Araceli. (Cuttingly). I've never kept my age a secret; I am forty-three.
Elena. Forty-three! No!
Geronima. I am fif- (But she stops embarrassed)
Elena. How do you manage to look so young, Araceli?
Geronima. Yes, what cream do you use?
Araceli. (Annoyed by the women's remarks.) You could still get married, Geronima, if you wanted to.
Geronima. (Hurt). Why, Araceli - !

Guerrero writes in such a way that we can easily follow or even guess what is going to happen next. What is going to be faced by Imelda – she canceled her wedding and broke with Rafel and was in love with Tony who was a married man – for example, is signaled by the following conversation in the middle of Act One:

Elena. This Tony is a very attractive young fellow. Several girls have lost their heads over him.
Geronima. What a fine baritone voice he has. Did you hear him sing in "Rigoletto"? (Imelda begins to sway.)
Araceli. (Quietly). Imelda -
Fernando. What's wrong? (Imelda, conscious of the stares, pull herself together.)
....
Imelda. I'm all right, really I am. Please excuse me. (Imelda goes out. Elena and Geronima, smelling something, discreetly nudge each other.)
Geronima. I wonder why Imelda became so upset all of sudden. (Standing.) I'll see if I can help -

It is clearly put by Guerrero that Act One is to carry the exposition. He knows how to anticipate the subsequent actions. He is, in fact, smoothly preparing us for what is to follow. In the beginning of Act Two, the foreshadowing is easily seen through the talking of the bottle of arsenic brought by Nemesio. Guerrero makes his characters speak for themselves. The bottle of arsenic can be interpreted easily that it is nothing to

do with his characters such as Araceli and Imelda. It would go to the weak character: Victor. We can see even before reading or watching the whole play what this poison is leading to.

Victor has a broken heart. Then, in Act Three, Victor with a bottle (of arsenic) in hand, rushing in across the stage, followed by his mother:

Victor. Don't come near me, Mama!
Araceli (Terrified). No, my son, no! The bottle - give the bottle!
Victor. No, I won't, I won't!
Araceli (Imploringly). The bottle, Victor, the bottle!
Victor (More threatening). Don't come near me, I said!

From the events stirred by the characters of the play we may grab and see what the theme of the play is. The roles of or rather what happen to the characters manage to embody the play: *Frustration*. Guerrero has 'forced' us to enter the world of all the characters' enduring frustration. Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero employs twisted idioms and a kind of gesture to help expose the inner compromises and failures of the insatiable part of society.

Russian Formalism

The Russian Formalists believed that critics should be able to establish a 'science' of literature – a complete knowledge of the formal effects, namely devices, techniques and so forth – which together make up what we call 'literature.' The literary aspects of a play, then, are those which concerned with transforming raw material like facts, emotions, stories ... into the play. Reading a play is, therefore, for many reasons: for comfort, for inspiration, for entertainment.

Guerrero said, "I started by reading plays ... Sometimes I get an idea while watching a play or a movie ... the definition of the most original man in the world is the one who reads a lot." The Formalists, however, read literary works in order to discover their 'literariness' – to highlight the devices and technical elements introduced by writers in order to make language literary. Victor

Shklovsky believed that literary devices 'defamiliarize' our perceptions of reality.

Guerrero's *Frustration* culminates in evoking what Ingarden calls 'metaphysical qualities.' The play's 'baring' of its literary devices – in this case a mixture quality of the frightfulness (of the characters' fate) and the firmness of the protagonist's life: first, the characters are in difficult and embarrassing situations. In Act One, for example, we can see how Elena and Geronima are embarrassed when they talk about age and marriage in front of Araceli; when Fermina has to argue with Araceli about custom and tradition; when Araceli mentions about Imelda's wedding and so forth. In Act Two we can see how Imelda is in an awkward position when Fernando mentions Tony Escasa; when Fermina finds out in front of everybody that Araceli never loves her brother; when Fermina sees Araceli and Fernando are in each other's arm or when Fermina realizes that her brother is not such an angel as she thinks; or in Act Three when Aurora happens to see that her husband, Tony, has special relationship with Imelda, when Victor should face the fact that Rosalinda does not love him, etc.

Secondly when the main characters such as Araceli, Imelda, Victor, Fermina face a kind of domestic difficulties: the death of Tirso in Act One, Imelda's canceling her wedding in Act Two and in Act Three Victor and a bottle of arsenic. Thirdly, the play has a happy ending: Victor and Imelda, like two frightened children, nestle in Araceli's comforting arms.

Structuralism

The Structuralists might also be included in those of what so called the Formalists in the sense that they were also concerned with the way in which the individual work of art (or *parole*) was perceived differently against the background of the literary system as a whole (or *langue*). The Structuralists, however, set themselves the task of describing the organization of the total sign-system itself by dissolving the individual unit back into the *langue* of which it is a partial articulation. In short, a study of superstructures or rather of ideology is what

they undertake. The object is, thus, seen as the unconscious value system or system of representations which orders social life at any of its levels. One of the structuralist thoughts that is going to be used in this study, anyway, is 'Binary Oppositions.'

As we know, forms of binarism have been there in human thought. In philosophy and religion, for example, we recognize subject and object, God and man, temporal and eternal and so forth. It is understandably when Raman Selden exposed the concept of 'privatives' in analyzing Arthur Miller's *Death of a Salesman*. He writes that the world in terms of *absence* of certain qualities: darkness is an absence of light, an object is still when it lacks movement. The concept can, indeed, cover certain substantive 'Binary Oppositions' (BOs): 'woman' – as feminists have pointed out – is defined as lacking certain male features. Deconstructive critics talk about the pervasive presence of binary logic in Western discourse and, needless to say, structuralists have argued the importance of BOs in human language.

Arguing that there is possibility of discovering binary structures in texts, Jonathan Culler proposes what he calls "the reader's use of BOs as a means of attributing significance to literary texts." Appearance and reality, country and city, body and soul, reason and feeling, are a few of many BOs which readers have employed as interpretive strategies. The danger of BOs, he further explains, is that they permit one to classify anything beside the fact that we can always find some difference between any two items. There is a good example of how we might go through this unexpected thing: being tempted to align two BOs and to regard them as possessing the same structure ('homologous') just because they are both present in a text. On the other hand, certain BOs are capable of generating a whole series of associated oppositions within a text: the biological nature and Divine Nature, the organic and mechanical, and fancy and judgment.

In Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero's *Frustration* we can find in Act I:

Geronima. We wanted to come last night, but we were afraid Araceli might be indisposed.

Fermina. No, Araceli is not indisposed at all.

Elena. The servant told us she was resting.

Fermina. She woke up a short while ago.

Geronima. It must have been a terrible shock to her, poor Araceli. They loved each other so much.

Elena. Such an ideal couple, I always said

-

Fermina. No, no, she never broke down.

Elena. But of course when Tirso died -

Fermina. She didn't shed any tears.

Geronima. Araceli didn't weep?

Elena. Surely at the funeral - a

Fermina. She didn't attend the funeral.

Geronima. She didn't?

Fermina. She stayed at home.

Elena. How strange. I remember when my husband died, I broke down several times. For five days I lay in bed -

Geronima. And Elena insisted on going to the funeral.

Elena. They had to carry me home, unconscious.

Geronima. How strange of Araceli.

Fermina. Yes, rather. But Araceli says tears are no sign of grief.

Both Geronima and Elena are shocked knowing that Araceli was not indisposed; instead of having a terrible shock she never broke down; instead of shedding tears she didn't weep, didn't attend the funeral Both Geronima and Elena came to know why Araceli was "strange" only after Fermina explained [bitterly] "Araceli says tears are no sign of grief."

In Act 2 Araceli tried to inform her two children, Imelda and Victor after they find out that their mother never loved Tirso:

Imelda. If you never loved Father [Tirso], why did you marry him?

Araceli. Fernando and I were already engaged -

Imelda. You were in love with him?

Araceli. We loved each other deeply.

Imelda. And then?

Araceli. My father - your grandfather - made a serious slip.

Imelda. What kind?

Araceli. He had one vice: gambling. One day, he over bid and lost.

Imelda. How much?

Araceli. One hundred.

Imelda. One hundred!

Araceli. The fear of a scandal, family pride -

Imelda. Amor propio!

Araceli. Yes, my dear, human pride. Two little words, but the tragedies they have brought to countless persons!

Imelda. And so-- ?

Araceli. For one whole week - I fought and struggled. Finally -

Imelda. Grandfather won - you lost.

Imelda knows the reason why her mother never loved Tirso. On the other hand, Tirso was indifferent to her. Her mother has been in love with only one man, Fernando. Tirso, on the other hand, then, had a love affair that surprised Fermina:

Araceli. This is Fermina, Tirso's sister.

Pura. Fermina - yes, I heard Tirso mention your name very often.

Fermina. You knew my brother?

Araceli. Extremely well.

Fermina. I didn't catch your name - if you please -

Pura. Pura Roco.

Fermina. I don't remember - he came to ask for help.

Fermina. For help?

Araceli. This is her daughter. What's her name?

Pura. Maria Rita.

Araceli. A pension used to be given to them, but this has been stopped. Tirso, I understand, used to give her this pension.

Fermina. My brother gave you a pension?

Araceli. Maria Rita is studying at St. Anthony's Girls' Institution

Fermina. What has got to do -

Araceli. You don't seem to understand,

Fermina. Maria Rita is his.

Fermina. His? Tirso's? I don't believe it!

Araceli. This child is Tirso's.

Fermina. No, you're lying! My brother didn't, couldn't - you've no proof!

Araceli. I shall help you, of course.

Fermina. No, no! It would imply we approve of his immoral relationship!

*Pura. Tirso, you see, never loved his wife.
He told me – more than once.*

Fermina was surprised to know that his “angel” brother went to another woman. He had even a daughter with the woman, Pura Roco. The worst of all was that Tirso did not love his wife, Araceli. She, then, regretted to have said that by helping Pura Roco was approving of the immoral relationship.

The following is what happened to Imelda toward the end of Act one:

Araceli. What are you trying to tell me?

Imelda. About our wedding.

Araceli. You want to postpone it?

Imelda. No. I broke with Rafael.

Araceli. You – what – !

Imelda. I broke with Rafael.

Araceli. When?

Imelda. This afternoon.

Araceli. But weren't you at the modista – ?

Imelda. Precisely. While having my gown fitted, I suddenly – decided it.

Araceli. But why?

*Imelda. I don't know, Mama, I don't know.
It just came to me.*

The reason of why Imelda decided to break with Rafael is quite obvious: she would not have loved him that much. Somehow she felt that she would not be happy with him. Later, in the next conversation with her mother Imelda admitted that there was no such an excitement, vibration and the like whenever she was with Rafael ... the kind of feelings when she was with Tony. The similar situation also happened to Victor in Act Three:

*Victor. Rosalinda, may I talk to you alone?
Rosalinda. What for?*

Victor. I'm awfully sorry for what I said the other day –

Rosalinda. I'm through with you, I told you!

Victor. Can I see you tonight?

Rosalinda. I have a date with Sandy.

Araceli. Please, Victor –

It is very clear that Rosalinda does not love Victor. What happened next was even worse:

*Araceli. I want your happiness above all.
Victor. Happiness! What happiness? Damn that girl!*

*Araceli. You've chosen the wrong girl.
Victor. She isn't worth it.*

Victor. But I love her.

Araceli. Look for a girl with more understanding.

Victor. I can't! I want only her!

Araceli. You're still young, son. Put your mind and energy in your studies first.

Victor. She's the only girl I want! I wish I had never met her!

We can see now that Victor is another victim of frustration. The following dialogue might make everything clearer:

*Victor. I'm sick of everything – everything!
araceli. Your infatuation for a frivolous girl like Rosalinda has sent you to the bottom. Look at you now! A man, my son, owes it to himself to keep his self-respect.*

Victor. What do you know?

Araceli. More than you imagine.

Victor. You admitted you – never loved Father – why did you – marry him then?

Araceli. Because, like you, I was a coward.

Victor. A coward –

Araceli. We often get married to the wrong person because circumstances – or social convention or convenience – or weakness – or plain cowardice – compel us to. Then we go through life, silently and bitterly nursing our disillusionments, victims of our own frustrations, hoping to escape from them and seldom succeeding – except for a few brave and determined souls. You, Victor, are a man, and a man should have a strong enough backbone not to allow a shallow, worthless girl like Rosalinda to lick you.

Victor. Love – why must we love? Because I love Rosalinda too much, I've lost her.

Araceli. My son, always remember this, this implacable rule of nature: in every love, however mutual, one loves less profoundly than the other.

Victor. I found that out – to my regret

The patterns of contrast and similarity between the characters turn upon certain qualitatively significant binary oppositions,

which have been active all the time in the analysis above, so far. The BOs are apparent in key correlation between attitude and frustration. What is meant by frustration here is feeling disappointed due to many things such as the death of the husband, love failure, unexpected behavior and so on.

We can express the BOs as they relate to particular characters as follows:

<i>Ariceli</i>	<i>Elena</i>
reserved	demonstrative
<i>Araceli</i>	<i>Fermina</i>
logical	emotional
<i>Araceli</i>	<i>Geronima</i>
frank	hypocritical
<i>Araceli</i>	<i>Victor</i>
coward	coward
<i>Imelda</i>	<i>Tirso</i>
brave	compensating
<i>Araceli</i>	<i>Tirso</i>
coward	indifferent

Those are some possible BOs in the play that produce significances: following Culler's view regarding the BOs reading strategies.

Final Remarks

Having looked into Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero's *Frustration*, not only can we see the work better, but we can also see a better picture of the play as well as the playwright. He seems to bravely but sensibly denounce the so-called official culture of the traditional Asian (in this case the Philippines) family: a male-imposed double-standard. His *Frustration* is a kind of social critic, a gentle one.

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¹ Maria Luisa F. Torres, "Brecht and the Philippines: Anticipating Freedom in Theater," *Brecht in Asia and Africa XIV* (1989): 134-138

² Richard V. Croghan, S.J., *The Development of Philippine Literature in English (Since 1900)* (Quezon City, 1996), 3

³ Wilfrido Ma. Guerrero, *My Favorite 11 Plays* (Quezon City, 1976), v-vi

⁴ R. Ingarden, *Das literarische Kunstwerk* (Halle, 1931) in Ewa M. Thompson, *Russian Formalism and Anglo-American New Criticism* (The Hague: Mouton & Co. N.V., 1971), p. 111-112

⁵ Edilberto N. Alegre and Doreen G. Fernandez, *Writers and Their Millieu, Part II* (Manila: De La Salle University Press, 1993), p. 204 et 211

⁶ Raman Selden, *Practising Theory and Reading Literature* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), p. 38

⁷ Ewa M. Thomson, *Russian Formalism and Anglo-American New Criticism* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1971), p. 112-113

⁸ Frederick Jameson, *The Prison-House of Language* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 101-102

⁹ Raman Selden, *Practising Theory and Reading Literature* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1989), p. 55

¹⁰ ibid., 56-57

The Search for Oral Narratives of the Chinese Community in Semarang

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Abstract

Oral narratives are considered for their being out-dated, excessively glorifying and exposing the romantic past and therefore useless. Yet, it is almost forgotten that in connection with the sustainability of Indonesia as a nation there are many basic things needs preserving and developing. One of them is about the national consensus on racial and ethnical heterogeneity. The study on the Chinese community in 'Pecinan' (Chinatown) that was conducted several years ago interestingly resulted in some "facts" about Chinese culture that had been 'silenced' during the New Order regime. Regarding the fact, it is quite interesting to find out oral narratives in the community. This article is concerned with the existence of oral narratives and how they are appreciated.

Keywords: oral narratives, ethnicity, race, cultural diffusion, pluralism

Introduction

Lots of cultural studies point out that oral communication has become the most important means of cultural transformation. Alphabet, ideogram and other modern means of communication cannot essentially change oral communication since they are merely the alternative means of communication. They all give their weight on the importance of oral interaction as the primary means of communication (Goody in Richard Bauman, 1992: 12). Oral narratives basically deal with myths, legends, and tales.

Nowadays, it is impossible not to say that Indonesians tend to leave and put aside oral narratives. Most of them think that such 'heritage' is impractical and meaningless to national development in many aspects of life. Yet, it is almost forgotten that in connection with the sustainability of Indonesia as a nation there are many basic things needs preserving and developing. One of them is about the national consensus on racial and ethnical heterogeneity.

This article is based on the results of field research conducted by a team from Centre for Urban Studies Soegijapranata Catholic University on The Tradition of Oral Narratives of Chinese Community in Semarang, Indonesia. This article comprises two main sections: first is Oral Narratives in Semarang's Chinatown and second is Oral Narratives and Appreciation of Pluralism.

Oral Narratives in Semarang's Chinatown

"When and how did oral narratives start to exit in Semarang's Chinatown?" This question undoubtedly leads the reader to trace back the existence of Chinese community in Semarang. From the interviews with the sources, the team found out 26 (twenty six) stories. These stories could be categorised: 20 (twenty) legends, 4 (four) myths and 2 (two) tall tales (tales of lying). The 20 (twenty) legends consist of 14 (fourteen) individual legends, 3 (three) religious legends, and 3 (three) supernatural legends. Of the 26 (twenty-six) stories 5 (five) are of local while the rest is mainly migratory. Yet, only one story is relatively intact based

on Axel Olrik's super organic law (Dananjaya, 1997: 25). From the interviewees, they did not precisely know when and how oral narratives exactly appeared in the community. Nevertheless, they indicated that since the early coming of Chinese to the archipelago (Nusantara or Indonesia) in 7th A.D. and the waves of migration during Dutch Colonial times (c.a.18th – 19th), oral narratives had also been 'brought'.

In addition, Kwa Tong Hay, one of the interviewees, stated that oral narratives started to develop when Admiral Zheng He of the Ming Dynasty arrived in a place, which is now Semarang. Interestingly, his statement goes in accordance with the statement of a former Singaporean Ambassador in Indonesia, Lee Khoon Choy, mentioning as follows:

It was told in my family for generations that the besides bringing enormous wealth and crew, great voyages of Zheng He also brought along with them tales which were told to the indigenous. As a matter of fact the crew was from many different places. Some of them only passed by, some others made contact with the indigenous and settled down here. They all told their tales to the indigenous and vice versa (Khoon Choy, 1976: 32).

From the statements above, it can be deduced that the arrival of Admiral Zheng He induced the growth of oral narratives in Semarang. Yet, it cannot be taken for granted as it may neglect a possibility that Chinese communities that had settled down earlier in towns of Juwana, Lasem, and Tuban than in Semarang, and that had even come before Zheng He's visits to Java (Setiono, 2002), might have spread out tales, legends, and myths to the indigenous. Nevertheless, such possibility needs further researching.

Meanwhile, another interviewee, Gan Kok Hwie saw the development of oral narratives in Semarang as to be coherent with the history of Chinese community in the city as mentioned below:

There have been a lot of 'stories' in our community since the days we lived in

Semarang. A very long time ago we lived in Simongan. Then by the Dutch Colonial, we were replaced to the nowadays Chinatown. As more people came and the community became more crowded, more 'stories' also spread out. Sio Hok Bio temple was established in 1753. Prior to the establishment of the temple, there was a pond or 'blumbang' (in Javanese translation) behind it. At that time, the condition of the pond was still natural with its huge size, its fresh water surrounded by big trees as well as bushes. Chinese people, mainly peasants, who arrived afterward lived nearby the pond and built a shrine for Kwan Im Ting. Kwan Im Ting was a shrine for Goddess Kwan Im Hudco. At that time, only on the first and the fifteenth days that people came to pay homage. And it was conducted during daytime, as people were afraid of big trees and the stillness pervading the place at night. Moreover, there were no electrified lights as we have now. What they had were merely candles. As the density of the population increased, people were no longer afraid of coming to the shrine to pay homage as often as they wanted even at night time. Then, people started to open small business there such as selling foods and drinks. Not only were Chinese's sellers there but also Javanese's. During the time, there were many tales of which the most popular was that connected with the pond. It was about a mythical turtle of the pond whose apparition would bring good fortune for those who happen to see it. Ever since, the shrine became more and more mythically significant.

There are two important things that can be drawn from the quote; first is about Simongan and second is about Kwan Im Ting. Simongan is believed to be birthplace of the Chinese community in Semarang. Nowadays, it is situated in the western part of Semarang City separated by western canal locally known as 'Kaligarang'. Here is the area on which 'Sam Poo Kong' or to the locals known as 'Gedong Batu', the famous temple to commemorate Admiral Zheng He, was built. The fact that Simongan is considered as the birthplace of the early Chinese community in Semarang can also be found in some sources (Thian Joe, 1933).

The existence of Kwan Im Ting as described above seems to have given effect on the development of 'Cap Kauw King', a name for 19 small houses in Chinese-Hokkien dialect. It can be seen from the condition and the density of the area and from the tale of mythical turtle. About the mythical turtle, it is quite possible that such a tale might have been 'created' on purpose to economically serve the benefits of either Chinese or Javanese sellers in the area. Yet, regardless such possibility, Thompson (1955) mentions that the fact about a turtle as one of the mythical animals for Chinese is undeniable.

Unlike the previous interviewees, Thio Tiong Gie tried to see the Admiral Zheng He's expedition to Java as a consequence of his duty to the imperial (Ming Dynasty). He thought that the imperial duty served both political and economical interests of the Ming Dynasty. He also underscored the idea that such duty did not give any cultural implication to both Chinese and the visited areas, particularly in spreading out oral narratives from and to China as revealed in the interview below.

Zheng He is a Mandarin, but in Hokkien is The Ho.

*So, we have Sam Poo Kong in Semarang....
Yes...*

Are there any tales or legends about Sam Poo Kong or Zheng He?

No, there is no story about it. Zheng He only gave us the temple as his mark in Semarang. But there is a story in Cirebon. Long ago, there lived Haji Tan Eng Kwan, a Chinese merchant, whose daughter was proposed by Sunan Gunung Jati, the Sultan of Cirebon. Ever since, there was a story of Chinese Lady of Gunung Jati in Cirebon.

Yet, is there any story of Zheng He himself in Indonesia?

To the best of my knowledge, there is none. He came here only to execute Chinese imperial foreign policy. However, we must know about his expeditions. After visiting Cirebon, Zheng He continued his expedition with a short stop in Semarang. He landed in an area known as Gedong Batu now. It was still a coast at that time. He anchored there and climbed a hill to observe the weather and direction before

continuing the expedition to Madura. When he was observing, it rained very hard. So, he went down the hill in a hurry. While going down, he found a cave. Then, he decided to stay there off the rain. That is why Zheng He left no story in Semarang but a place where he was once there. Therefore, the hill where he climbed on and stood up on was named Sam Po Tun. And the cave where he took shelter from the rain was named Sam Po Tong. Then, it became a belief by the locals so as more people came to consider the place sacred and built a shrine to pay homage for Zheng He. Afterwards, a 'kongco' was brought from China and was placed there. The Kongco was then added with an inscription of Chinese letter 'Ching'. The letters implies that one bearing it has an extraordinary quality. It is beyond human ability. That is why the idol in the temple is named Sam Po 'Ching' Tong. So, herein there is no history about Zheng He, but a commemorating temple. Yet, there are in Cirebon and Surabaya.

From the quote above, there are two things that need to be underscored. First is the identification of oral narratives as 'history' or as at least having connection with history. It can be seen in the case of 'Chinese Lady of Gunung Jati' of Cirebon. Second is the idea that Zheng He's expedition does not leave any 'stories' about him in Semarang except diplomatic mission and commerce (read also Stuart-Fox, 2003: 86-87 and Khoon Choy, 1976: 94)². The absence of 'history' and 'oral narratives' becomes quite interesting to analyse for what Thio Tiong Gie narrated is, in fact, a legend of a historical figure. Disregard the possibility that Zheng He eventually once 'climbed up' the hill and took 'shelter' from the rain in the cave, which can be the indicator of Neo Euhemerism (Dananjaya, 1997: 60), it implies that the fame of Zheng He could be the source of his legend passed down from generation to generation in the community. In addition, Zheng He's expeditions once became of the inspiration of a 'novel' containing fantasy of supernatural stories of the formidable Zheng He (Khoon Choy, 1976:90).

Oral Narratives and Appreciation of Pluralism

This part of the article is meant to show how far oral narratives of Chinese origin are welcomed by the Javanese and to what extent the Javanese take part in developing them. In this respect, Kwa Tong Hay pointed out that there are similar themes of some Chinese and Javanese stories. As a case in point, a legend of a Goddess descends to earth and then marries a man as known in Chinese's classical legend 'The Seventh Goddess' and in the legend of Peacock Lady 'Rona' in Yunnan Province could also be found in the Javanese's 'Joko Tarub'. Nevertheless, Kwa Tong Hay doubted how the similarity might occur. Then, he gave an assumption that it may occur by the time Admiral Zheng He arrived in Java wherein his crew and the indigenous exchanged 'stories'. Yet, no single Javanese is sure when the legend of Joko Tarub exactly appeared for the first time.

Kwa Tong Hay's ideas may imply two things. On the one hand, he has mentioned the concept of cultural diffusion (Dananjaya, 1997: 56); whether or not he realises it. On the other hand, his notion indicates uncertainty of some following questions: was it Chinese who influenced Javanese? Or the other way round? Or both of them influenced each other? Such questions may lead to the possibility of acculturation (read also Koentjaraningrat, 1990 and Hariyono, 1994).

About the acceptance of Chinese's oral narratives by Javanese can be seen in the impact of Chinese kungfu stories to the Javanese. Kwa Tong Hay mentioned that those stories are deeply rooted in both Chinese history and oral narratives such as legends, and folktales (read also Suryadinata, 2002: 207-208). The acceptance of the indigenous Javanese towards those stories can be drawn from Tong Hay's statement below:

I think Chinese and Javanese influenced each other. It can be simply pointed out that in mid-60s stories such as Condor Heroes, which was then filmed, were tremendously popular here. Then, Herman Pratikto, a writer from Yogyakarta, wrote a local epic entitled 'Bende Mataram' on

the basis of Condor Heroes. So, he basically imitated Condor Hero and brought the composition into indigenous context with its history to make it more familiarised. Though he imitated Condor Hero, he did it very cleverly and smoothly. This is because he really was a smart and creative writer. Just for example, he changed Mongolian troops of Yuan Dynasty into the Colonial Dutch troops. He also transfigured a Mongolian Lady named 'Go Cin' into a daughter of Dutch Major, 'Sonni de Hoop'. Another writer who did the same thing, as Herman Pratikto was the late Widi Widayat. Yet, in comparison to the latter's work, the formers was far more sophisticated, smooth and engrossing. The later tended to combine his work not only from Condor Heroes but also from other stories. It resulted in the atmosphere of his work as being technically speaking, incoherent. However, we have to admit that the birth of Indonesian 'kungfu' stories is from such endeavours. Herman Pratikto, Widi Widayat and then S.H. Mintardjo who really composed by himself Legends of Javanese Lands such as the Legend of Magelang, the Legend of Menoreh and many more started it. Although there might have been some sort of influence from Chinese legends and tales, Mintardjo's works were, technically speaking, typically Javanese by plot and characterisation. And that is great! It was such a positive influence. Before the time, I hardly found any Javanese 'kungfu' stories. When I was a little boy, there weren't such stories. Such stories started to exist when I was in senior high school even. What I had in my childhood was Tales of 'Warok'.³ But Warok is not a 'kungfu' story I suppose.

From the long quote above, it can be indicated that the acceptance of Chinese stories lies not only on the process of imitating, modifying, and transforming any Chinese's elements to those of Javanese culture and history, but also and more importantly on how they inspired indigenous writers to develop stories of their own. Being inspired in this case may mean that Chinese stories could be very much interesting from their plots, characterisation, or themes to be

imitated and be model or standard to make Javanese stories. It really was such an appreciating endeavour to support.

Likely, Gan Kok Hwie implied that indigenous appreciation towards Chinese oral narratives lies in their enthusiasm to read those stories. He even gave a conviction on the matter as what he himself experienced in the mid-60s. At the times, there were a great number of readers of all strata, age, ethnics who were fond of kungfu stories. He himself saw it when he was in a train to deliver a package of translated kungfu serials books from Semarang to Jakarta. He observed many people spent their time reading Kungfu stories in the train. Such a situation can also be seen in some other references (read Setiono, 2002:381-421 and also Suryadinata, 2002: 212-228).

Furthermore, he also stated that the manifestation of cultural appreciation between Javanese and Chinese does not only reside in how Javanese loves Chinese kungfu stories and even modifies them as their own, but also in how Chinese appreciates 'authentic' Javanese tales and legends as depicted below.

Are parents of Chinese families in Semarang used to telling Chinese tales or stories to their children?

No, they are not. Not now. But in the past, parents or grandparents used to tell stories to their children, for example Tales of the Three Kingdoms or 'Sam Kok' and legend of the mighty monkey 'Sun Go Kong'. Children loved them very much. The elderly indeed liked to tell stories to children. Due to the fact that they lived in Indonesia, it was not only Chinese stories being told but also those of Indonesian, especially of Javanese such as 'Kancil Nyolong Timun' or 'Anglingdarma'.

From the quote above, it is interesting to know their very reason. On the basis of "living in Indonesia", Indonesian and Javanese tales have also been introduced in Chinese families by means of storytelling. Though such a situation mostly occurred in the past, it may justify that the existence of cultural tolerance between Chinese and Javanese through their oral narratives has taken place

for centuries. With taking no attention to a possibility that such a condition might have resulted from any 'external force' or their 'unwillingness', making use of oral narratives from one ethnic group can be a medium to introduce the beauty of cultural diversity to other ethnic groups. If it is introduced to children as a part of their bedtime stories, it will be very advantageous to minimise any potential of racial conflicts as they grow up. Imparting them with cultural awareness and familiarising them with notion that pluralism and diversity are ordinary things can be an extraordinary 'investment' since there lays togetherness, warmth and harmony between two individuals or more. There also lies critical thinking, moral messages and appreciation at the same time.

The condition above is not to be seen as a utopia though the fact indicates that it really is facing great obstacles. Taking into account of the results of Berkowitz's research, there are some factors of which mostly are external that make youngsters dislike oral narratives by means of storytelling. They are television, education, new religion and domestic economy. The accumulation of those factors results in the perception that oral narratives are outdated and paying attention to them is a real waste of time. This alienation to tradition is due to the absence of parental role and authority. For the sake of fulfilling economic needs, parents often work overtime outside the house, and it makes them think there is no need to carry out tradition ((Berkowitz, 1975: 29-30). It is a critical moment and it does need an attention and actions before turning to an irony. The only way to preserve oral narratives from extinction is by introducing them through Cenggi.⁴

Meanwhile, Thio Tiong Gie saw that stories in Po Te Hie (classical Chinese puppet) still do get appreciation from the Javanese audience in Semarang. He further compares what happens in Semarang to that in Yogyakarta where stories of Po Te Hie have been well tailored and then staged by a Ketoprak (read Bandem, 1996: 26) group called Cokrojiyo.

One of the stories in Po Te Hie that is Ji Ze Jing Chung Kwee was translated and

adapted by Cokrojiyo. It can be seen from some modification, for example: Kingdom of Tay Tong Tia with its triple "t" becomes Tanjung Anom; King Li Sen Bin becomes Prabu Lisanpura; General Che Jun Kwee or Sin Jin Kui becomes Manggolo Yudho Joko Sudiro; Royal Prince Djia Tao Kin becomes Pangeran Dono Wilopo; Captain Jun Han, who could fly, becomes Cahyono while Captain Tok It Ho, who could make way into the earth, becomes Tausidono. I have personally checked it.

Fact that Cokrojiyo often performs with the Javanised Chinese epics and sagas could also be found in another research. In the research, it is also mentioned the process of acculturation of Chinese and Javanese resulting in two kinds of puppets, namely: Po Te Hie and Sino-Javanese Shadow Puppet created by Gan Thwan Sing (Mastuti, 2004).

Besides making the stories Javanised and being an attentive audience, Thio Tiong Gie thought that another appreciation of the indigenous to Po Te Hie could be seen in their involvement as the musical crew in the performance. He even pointed out that the puppet makers are of Javanese. Thus, such relationship induces a sort of dependence between Chinese and Javanese. One may not smoothly work without the other. In addition, he mentioned that prior to Presidential Instruction no 14/1967; the government did officially acknowledge Po Te Hie as part of Indonesian culture. It proves that Thio Tiong Gie was once appointed by the Office of Ministry of Education and Culture in Central Java to give recommendation to any new puppeteers of Po Te Hie wanting to get legitimation. The same thing also occurred to Javanese shadow puppet wherein Ki Narto Sabdo used to be the one who could give recommendation.

Nevertheless, it is admitted that classical Chinese legends, myths and tales are still the narrative source of Po Te Hie's performances. So, it seems that Javanese legends, myths and tales have not been yet (or even will never be?) the narrative source of Po Te Hie. Thio Tiong Gie personally admitted that he had no courage to do that. The argument could be so tricky and twofold. First is because the very "soul" of Po Te Hie is of naturally Chinese, and

second is because of "practical reason". The later is assumed to have arisen from the socio-political "considerations". These "practical considerations" may deal with the fear of negative reactions from either Javanese as the biggest ethnic group in Indonesia or Chinese communities themselves.

Vis a Vis Sino-Javanese shadow puppet itself that could be said as a syncretic art of Chinese and Javanese, for its narrative source, still faces similar situation with Po Te Hie. This Sino-Javanese art grounds its stories on classical Chinese folklores though its use of style, staging, heraldry and ranks, humble servants, except Semar (read Khoon Choy, 1976: 105), and gamelan orchestra are similar to those of Javanese. Although Javanese culture was of great influence, the narrative sources performed, which were still rooted on Chinese folklore, were undeniable. In other words, acculturation did find its own way and form in this art.

Concluding Remark

Oral narratives considered as being useless and trivial, in fact, possess a capability to be an invaluable educative medium. This invaluable thing is not the kind that ends up in material gains but enlightenment. It is a sort of enlightenment that can make people smile on the irrationality of Sun Go Kong, Sam Pek Eng Tay, Sin Jin Kui, Sing Hong Loya and many more, but that can also make them ponder or brood over the depth of "the messages" implied. Such a moment is less frequent and even almost forgotten in this era when people are hooked up with internet and cellular showing off their post-modernist pride.

The fact that there has already been centuries of cultural exchange and understanding between Chinese and Javanese through "story-telling" could be made an entry point to better see togetherness, peace and harmony. That A Cong may well understand Anglingdarma and Joko knows Sin Jin Kui; feel proud of them, and practice their moral values should not be a dream; therefore it needs tremendous efforts and struggles from time to time, together.

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¹ Kongco is an idol representing immortals or mortals with divine power to be worshiped for.

² Prof. Martin Stuart-Fox's idea in his book *A Short History of China and South East Asia: Tribute, Trade and Influence*, Allen & Unwin: New South Wales, 2003, pp.86-87. He says that one possibility of the purposes of Zheng He's expedition is to introduce and confirm Chinese philosophical concept of "Middle Kingdom". Such concept places Chinese as the "Center of the Universe" (Chakravartin) with its Emperor as "Son of Heaven" to which all-Asian kingdoms, including those of South East Asian should refer. It can be deduced on how Zheng He brought and distributed thousands of Chinese manuscripts to those kingdoms as a way to introduce their influence and how those kingdoms should behave. Read as well Lee Khoon Choy's the *Myth of Sampo and His Aides in Indonesia Between Myth and Reality*, Nile & Mackenzie, London, 1976, p.94, about "Poortman Incident" (the discovery of Chinese ancient manuscripts in Sam Po Kong, 1925).

³ Warok is a name for an individual who is expert at martial art, having formidable strength and supernatural power. Warok is quite popular in mid and southern regions of East Java such as Tulung Agung, Trenggalek and Ponorogo.

⁴ Cenggi is a symbolic performance of legends, myths, or tales on wheeled-carts (now on cars) to display one of the episodes where a prominent figure/character display his/her misdeed or might. Cenggi is usually performed in a street carnival.

The Distribution of the Agentive Nominalizer of the Suffixes {-er} and {-an}

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Abstract

This study focuses on the suffixes {-er} and {-an} because these suffixes are the most commonly used suffixes in daily life and thus really productive. There are three problems formulated for this topic: (1) What are the characteristics of stems receiving suffixes {-er} and {-an}? (2) What meanings are introduced by suffixes {-er} and {-an}? (3) What are the distributions of the allomorphs of suffixes {-er} and {-an}?

The data of this study are morphemes and affixes. Hornby's Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary (year of 2000) is used. Finally, the present researcher found that the suffixes {-er} and {-an} are attached to certain verbs, adjectives, and nouns. The suffix {-an} are not attached to verbs. The suffix {-er} is mostly attached to transitive verbs to create three possibilities of meaning. There is only one meaning of the suffix {-er} when it is attached to an adjective, and eight meanings of the suffix {-er} when it is attached to certain nouns. For suffix {-an}, there are three meanings when it is attached to adjectives and five meanings when it is attached to nouns. There are two meanings of the suffix {-an} when it is attached to nouns. The allomorph of the suffix {-er} are -or, -eर /ɪər/, and -ier /ɪər/, while the allomorphs of the suffix {-an} are -ian /ʃn/, -ian /ɪən/, and -ean /ɪən/.

Keywords: morpheme, derivational suffixes, an agentive nominalization, stem, allomorph

Introduction

English language development is growing rapidly. The most common process used by human beings for language development is affixation because most of the new words are created by using affixation. This is what Bauer also said in his book "affixation in the most frequent process to form words" (Bauer, 1988:19). In this study, the present researcher focuses on the suffixes {-er}, {-ist}, and {-an} because these suffixes are the most commonly used suffixes in our daily life and are thus really productive. Quirk argued that agentive nominalizations have the status of "full productivity", that they have possibility to be either 'permanent' or 'temporary' agential noun" (Quirk, 1980:436). Therefore, the present researcher is interested in discussing this topic because

people are familiar with these suffixes. According to the function, the suffixes {-er} and {-an} are categorized into derivational suffixes to create an agentive nominalization. Additionally, the present researcher hopes that by studying this topic, people can minimize their misuse in using these suffixes.

Part of Speech of the Stem Attached to the Suffixes

Verb Stem

There are 95 words or 60,5 % occurrences of the suffix {-er} attached to verbs. Most verb stems of the suffix {-er} are derived from French word such *abuser*, *advertise*, *attacker*, *bomber*, *browser*, and *challenger*. Since the suffix {-er} is the most productive, many verbs coming from Old

English also can be verb stems for this suffix, such as *crawler*, *comer*, *cleaner*, *believer*, and *borrower*. Verbs derived from Latinate words can be attached to the suffix {-er} such as in the words *commuter*, *consumer*, *contender*, and *designer*.

One of the characteristics of verb stems is that they are transitive verbs such as *admirer*, *adjudicator*, *editor*, *manager*, and *researcher*. Thus, it is unacceptable to say *crier, *walker. However, it is not impossible for intransitive verbs to have {-er} as an indicator to have the agentive nominalization such as *sleeper*, *dreamer*, *drummer*, and *runner* as long as they refer to either 'a person whose job is X-ing' or 'a person who repeats the activity X-ing' or in a simple way, it refers to a habitual activity. Yet, there are also some exceptions that although the words belong to transitive verbs, they do not have the suffix {-er} as their agentive nominalization such as *getter, *seer, *sayer, *knower, and *meeter unless they are in form of compound noun such as in *over-seer*, *doom-sayer*, and *dignitary-meeter*. In addition, verbs with the suffix -ize and -ate form such as *apologizer*, *organizer*, *dictator*, and *animator* also can be attached to the suffix {-er}. Another characteristic of the verbs is that {-er} suffix is mostly attached to monosyllabic verbs. These monosyllabic verbs come from native Old English words such as *swimmer*, *seeker*, *seller*, *drinker*, *writer*, *washer*, and *buyer*.

Adjective Stem

There are 7 words or 4,5 % occurrences of the suffix {-er} attached to adjectives. Etymologically, most adjectives are derived from Old English such as *westerner*, *easterner*, *southerner*, and *northerner*. These adjectives have the same characteristic that they refer to a certain part of the world. The three other words, *commoner*, *stranger*, and *foreigner*, are derived from Old French.

Noun Stem

There are 55 words or 35 % occurrences of the suffix {-er} attached to nouns. Based on the noun classification, the present researcher found that the noun stems for this suffix fulfill all noun classes. There are four noun classes based on Quirk *et al*. Those are

concrete nouns, abstract nouns, countable nouns, and uncountable nouns. For the concrete countable nouns, the present researcher has the words *falconer*, *sealer*, and *whaler*. For the concrete uncountable nouns, the present researcher has the words *rancher*, *commissioner*, and *councilor*. The present researcher also has abstract nouns as the stem of the suffix {-er} such as *astrologer*, *philosopher*, and *astronomer*. However, the present researcher found that there are only seven abstract nouns which can be noun stems for the suffix {-er}: *adventurer*, *astrologer*, *astronomer*, *auctioneer*, *conventioneer*, *probationer*, and *philosopher*. Therefore, it can be concluded that mostly nouns attached to the suffix {-er} are concrete nouns.

Etymologically, most nouns which can be stems of the suffix {-er} are derived from the French language such as *villager*, *trumpeter*, and *slaver*. The other borrowed words come from Latinate words such as *gondolier*, *costumier*, and *senator* and Greek words such as *astrologer*, *philosopher*, and *astronomer*. In addition, the nouns derived from Greek are those abstract nouns which are related to some form of study. There are also some native nouns derived from Old English that can be the stem of the suffix {-er}, although not as many as the Old English verbs which are attached to the suffix {-er}. There are five words derived from Old English: *adventurer*, *crofter*, *hatter*, *drover*, and *sealer*.

Stem Attached to the Suffix {-an}

Adjective Stem

There are 5 words or 6,8 % occurrences of the suffix {-er} attached to adjectives. Etymologically, 100 % adjectives with the suffix {-an} are derived from Latinate words. Three of them are directly borrowed as English words such as *civilian*, *valedictorian*, and *veterinarian*. One of them is borrowed by the French first before English used the word: *disciplinarian*. One of them is borrowed through Greek first before the English used the words such as *electrician*.

Noun Stem

There are 69 words or 93,2 % occurrences of the suffix {-er} attached to nouns. The noun stems attached to the suffix {-an} only fulfill two classes from the noun classification proposed by Quirk et al. The characteristic noun stems attached to this suffix is 87% abstract nouns such as *comedian*, *beautician*, *musician*, and *statistician*. The uncountable concrete nouns can be the stems of the suffix {-an}. From the data, only 13% of the nouns are concrete uncountable nouns, most of them are related to the proper name of a country, as Peters said "this common suffix generates adjectives from proper names, both personal and geographical" (Peters, 2004: 36). This quotation explains that mostly, proper names related to geographical names can be the stems of this suffix such as *Arabian*, *European*, and *Australian*. There is no concrete countable noun as the stem of this suffix. This explains why there is no **bookian* for 'a person who studies books' and **birdian* a person who studies birds' as the agent for the suffix {-an}.

Etymologically, most nouns which can be stems of the suffix {-an} are derived from

Latin such as *seminarian*, *politician*, *custodian*, and *centenarian* and Greek such as *academician*, *mathematician*, and *phonetician*.

Analysis of the Meaning of the Suffixes

In this part, the present researcher tries to find the general meaning of the suffix and the other meanings which are more specific. This is what Matthews said in his book, *Morphology*, "all morphology would be lexical" (Matthews, 1991: 43). This means that basically, all morphemes (both free and bound morphemes) have their meaning and contribution toward the lexical itself. Accordingly, the present researcher uses lexical meaning in this part.

Meaning of the Suffix {-er}

Verb Stem

According to Quirk et al. in *A University Grammar of English*, the meaning of the suffix {-er} when it is attached to certain verbs is "agentive" (Quirk et al., 1980: 438). Meaning to say, this suffix can be attached to almost all verbs. The meaning of the verb + the suffix {-er} is "a person who X-s".

Table 1: General Meaning of a Verb +{-er}

Stem → Noun	Change of meaning	Semantic Effect
Vote → voter	To show formally by making a paper or raising your hand which person you want to win the election → a person who has the right to vote	A person who X-s the object
Farm → farmer	To use land for growing crops and or keeping animals → a person who manages a farm	

There are two alternative meanings of suffix {-er} when it is attached to certain

verbs which support the general meaning which is 'a person who X-s' the object.

Table 2: Other Meanings of a Verb +{-er}

Stem → Noun	Change of meaning	Semantic Effect
Teach → teacher	To give lessons to students in a school, college, or university → a person whose job is teaching	A person whose job is X-ing
Write → writer	To produce something in a written form so that people can read → a person whose job is writing	
Smoke → smoker	To suck smoke from a cigarette or pipe → a person who smokes tobacco regularly	A person who likes to X

Dictate → dictator	To tell somebody what to do → a person who behaves as if they have complete power over other people, and tell them what to do	
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Adjective Stem

Generally, the meaning of the adjective + the suffix {-er} is 'a person who is X'.

Table 3: General Meaning of an Adjective +{-er}

Stem → Noun	Change of meaning	Semantic effect
Southern → southerner	Connected with the southern part of the world or a country → a person who comes or live in southern part of the world	A person who is X
Common → commoner	Typical of somebody from a common social class → a person who does not come from a noble family	

There are two alternative meanings of suffix {-er} when it is attached to certain adjectives which support the general meaning which is 'a person who is X'.

Table 4: Other Meanings of an Adjective +{-er}

Stem → Noun	Change of meaning	Semantic effect
Western → westerner	Connected with the western part of the world or a country → a person who comes or live in western part of the world	A person who comes from a/an X part of a world
Eastern → easterner	Connected with the eastern part of the world or a country → a person who comes or live in eastern part of the world	
Foreign → foreigner Strange → stranger	From a country that is not your own → a person who comes from another country Not familiar because you have not met the person before → a person that you do not know	A person who has a/an X characteristic

Noun Stem

According to Quirk et al. in *A University Grammar of English*, there are two meanings of the suffix {-er} when it is attached to certain nouns. They state that the meanings are "a person engaged in an occupation or

activity (*engineer*) and inhabitant of X (*teenager, Londoner*)" (Quirk et al., 1980: 437). For the present researcher, there is no generalization of the suffix {-er} + noun meaning because the occurrences of each meaning are almost the same percentage.

Table 5: Meanings of a Noun +{-er}

Stem → Noun	Change of meaning	Semantic effect
Commission → commissioner	An official group of people who have been given responsibility to control something → a member of commission	A person who is related or engaged to the activity of X
Convention → conventioneer	An official agreement between countries or leaders → a person who is attending a convention	
Village →	A very small town situated in a country → a person who	A person who

villager Prison → prisoner	lives in village A building where people are kept as a punishment for a crime they have committed → a person who is kept in prison	lives in X
Debt → debtor Ranch → rancher	A sum of money that somebody owes → a person that owes money A large farm where cows, horses, etc are bred → a person who owns a ranch	A person who owns X
Geography → geographer Philosophy → philosopher	the scientific study of the earth's surface → a person who studies geography The study of nature and meaning of the universe and of human life → a person who studies or writes about philosophy	A person who is the expert of X
Seal → sealer Whale → whaler	A sea animal that eats fish and lives around coasts → a person who hunts seals A very large animal that lives in the sea and looks like a very large fish → a person who hunts whale	A person who hunts X
Drove → drover Gondola → gondolier	A large number of animals, often doing something as a group → a person who moves group of cows or sheep from one place to another A long boat with a flat bottom and high parts at each end → a person whose job is to move and steer a gondola in Venice	A person whose job is to move X
Bugle → bugler Puppet → puppeteer	A musical instrument like a small trumpet → a person who plays a bugle A model of a person or an animal that can be made to move → a person who plays with puppets	A person who plays X
Hat → hatter Armour → armourer	A covering made to fit the head → a person who makes and sells hats Military vehicles used in war → a person who makes and repairs weapons and armour	A person who produces X

Meaning of the Suffix {-an}

Adjective Stem

Generally, the meaning of the adjective + the suffix {-an} is 'a person who is X'.

Table 6: General Meaning of an Adjective +{-an}

Stem → Noun	Change of meaning	Semantic effect
Valedictory → valedictorian	Connected with saying goodbye, especially at a formal occasion → the student who has the highest marks or grades in a particular group of students and who gives the valedictory speech at a graduation ceremony	A person who is X

There are two alternative meanings of suffix {-an} when it is attached to certain adjectives

although both of them basically support the general meaning which is 'a person who is X'.

Table 7: Other Meanings of an Adjective +{-an}

Stem → Noun	Change of meaning	Semantic Effect
Civil → civilian	Connected with the people who live in a country →	A person

Barbar → barbarian	a member who is not connected with the armed force Connected with the people who are uncivilized → a person who is uncivilized	whose X characteristic
Electric → electrician	Connected with electricity → a person whose job is to connect, repair, etc. electrical equipment	A person whose job is connected with something X
Veterinary → veterinarian	Connected with caring for the animals → a person who has been trained in the science of animal medicine, whose job is to treat animal that are injured.	

Noun Stem

According to Quirk et al. in his book, *A University Grammar of English*, there is only one meaning of the suffix {-an} when it is attached to certain nouns. They mentioned

that the meaning is “pertaining to X” (Quirk et al., 1980: 437). In this part, the present researcher finds other meanings introduced by this suffix when it is attached to certain nouns. Generally, the meaning of the noun + the suffix {-an} is ‘a person who studies X’.

Table 8: General Meaning of a Noun +{-an}

Stem → Noun	Change of meaning	Semantic Effect
Mathematics → mathematician	The sciences of number and shapes → a person who is an expert in mathematics	A person who studies a/an X
Tactic → tactician	The particular method used to achieve something → a person who is very clever at planning the best way to achieve something	

There are four alternative meanings of suffix {-an} when it is attached to certain nouns although all of them are basically not

supporting the general meaning which is a person who studies X.

Table 9: Other Meanings of a Noun +{-an}

Stem → Noun	Change of meaning	Semantic Effect
Canada → Canadian	Name of a country → person from Canada	A person who is from a/ an X country
Academy → academician Republic → republican	A school or college for special training → a member of an academy A country that is governed by a president and politicians elected by the people → a person who supports a form of government with a president and politicians elected by the people	A person who is the member of X
Library → librarian	A building in which collections of books, tapes, newspaper, etc are kept for people to read, study, or borrow	A person who is in charge in a/an X
Centenary → centenarian	The 100 th anniversary of something → a person who is 100 years old or more	A person who has the age of a X

Anaylsis of the Allomorph of the Suffixes

1. Allomorph of the Suffix {-er}

a. The Suffix {-or}

In the agentive nominalization, the suffix *-or* is the allomorph of the suffix *{-er}*. Twenty six words of the *-or* occurrences are found from the data. What can be seen in this allomorph is that this is an orthographical phenomenon because they have different letters but the same phonemic transcription, /ər/. Native verbs derived from Latin such as *actor*, *investor*, and *collector* use *-or* as their nominalization. It can be noticed also that mostly verbs that end with *-ate* are regularly changed into *-or* with final /ə/ deletion. In addition, the present researcher found that the words ending with *-ate* are also derived from Latin such as *adjudicator*, *infiltrator*, *dictator*, and *illustrator*. In addition, it can be generalized that the suffix *-or* occurs when the stems are derived from Latin, borrowed directly by English. This explains why *dieter* and *deserter* have the suffix *{-er}* as their agent although they are derived from Latinate words. It is because they are not directly borrowed by English, French borrowed it first before they came to English. Therefore, they do not have the allomorph *-or* as their agent.

For the phonological rule, it cannot be generalized that the suffix *-or* occurs when the stems' last syllable ends with /t/ as the final consonant such as *conductor* /kən'dʌktər/, *constructor* /kən'strʌktər/, *contractor* /kən'træktər/, and *detractor* /dɪ'træktər/. It can be either an orthographical or a phonological phenomena which occur in a suffix. In order to create a phonological rule, the present researcher needs to have a different phoneme between input and output, while this *-or* allomorph which is only an orthographical phenomenon has the same phonemic transcription as the suffix *{-er}* which is /ər/.

b. The Suffix *-eer* and *-ier* as Pronounced /iər/

Basically, the suffixes *-eer* and *-ier* as the allomorph of the suffix *{-er}* have different letters but phonetically, they have the same phonemic transcription which is /iər/. There

are nine words which have the *-eer* allomorph. It can be noticed that etymologically, native verbs derived from French such as *charioteer* and *puppeteer* use *-eer* as their nominalization. In order to extend the explanation, Peters explained that the appearance of the suffix *-eer* can be generated from the meaning which is formed after the process of affixation.

-eer suffix serves to identify a person by whatever item they engage within their work. A number of such words have been used in connection with military personnel, and this seems to have paved the way for its use in civilian forms of contention. This in turn may have helped to attach a derogatory flavor to words with -eer (Peters, 2004: 174).

From the quotation, the present researcher concludes that the suffix *-eer* is used when it creates four possible meanings. First, the meaning of the words refer to 'a person who is engaged with the activity related to X' such as *puppeteer*, *mountaineer*, and *engineer*. The second meaning is for 'a person who is connected with military personnel' such as *cannoneer*, *charioteer*, *musketeer*, and *racketeer*. The third meaning is for 'a person who is contributive in a civilian form of contention' such as *auctioneer*, *electioneer*, and *pamphleteer*. Finally, the fourth meaning is to imply a negative implication such as *profiteer*, *racketeer*, (*black*) *marketeer*, *commandeer*, and *domineer*. However, *volunteer* and *pioneer* are free from any negative flavor.

There are five words with the suffix *-ier*: *costumier*, *couturier*, *gondolier*, *hotelier*, and *bombardier*. All of those words come from French. This is also what Peters said, "this suffix *-ier* appears in two kinds of English words: a few agent words borrowed from French and for a person associated with a particular commodity" (Peters, 2004: 266). This quotation strengthens the present researcher's finding that the suffix *-ier* is attached to English words which are borrowed from French. In addition, this suffix is also related to a person who is associated with a particular commodity when it is attached to noun stems. It is proven by the

existence of the word *costumier*, *clothier*, and *furrier*.

In the case of *charioteer* and *puppeteer*, both words are nouns derived from Old French and ending with /t/. Thus, the present researcher finds that the allomorph /ɪər/ occurs under conditions when the stems are nouns derived from French, borrowed directly by English, and the stems' last syllable ends with /t/ as the final consonant such as *puppeteer*, *charioteer*, *pamphleteer*, *racketeer* and *marketeer*. The present researcher creates a rule as follows:

/ər/ → [ɪər] / /t/ _____

The rule for the agentive suffix above is read as followed: /ər/ will change into [ɪər] after /t/. *Trumpeter* which is derived from the French noun which is *trumpete* is the exception in this case since there is no **trumpeteer* in English.

The present researcher finds that the allomorph /ɪər/ occurs under conditions when the stems are nouns derived from French and the stems' last syllable ends with /d/ as the final consonant such as *bombard* /bɒm'bɑ:d/ → *bombardier* /bɒmbə'dɪər/. The rule is written as followed:

/ər/ → [ɪər] / /d/ _____

The rule for the agentive suffix above is read as followed: /ər/ will change into [ɪər] after /d/.

For the /t/ and /d/ phonemes, the phonological rule is written as followed:

/ər/ → [ɪər] / C _____
 { -sonorant
 -continuant
 +anterior
 +coronal }

The rule for the agentive suffix above is read as followed: /ər/ will change into [ɪər] after stop anterior coronal consonants.

Convention and *auction* are Latinate words. English has *conventioneer* and *auctioneer* as their agent. It can be generalized that the allomorph /ɪər/ occurs

under conditions when the stems are nouns derived from French, borrowed directly by English, and the stems' last syllable ends with /n/ as the final consonant such as *mountaineer*, *engineer*, *cannoneer*, *conventioneer*, *electioneer*, and *auctioneer*. The present researcher creates a rule as followed:

/ər/ → [ɪər] / /n/ _____

The rule for the agentive suffix above is read as followed: /ər/ will change into [ɪər] after /n/. However, English still has *domineer*, *volunteer*, and *pioneer*. In each case, those words are borrowed ready-made into English. Thus, they cannot be analyzed in the same way as the English formations.

The present researcher finds that the allomorph /ɪər/ occurs under condition when the stems are nouns derived from French and the stems' last syllable ends with /m/ as the final consonant such as *costume* /kɒstju:m/ → *costumier* /kɒstju:mɪər/. The present researcher creates a rule as followed:

/ər/ → [ɪər] / /m/ _____

The rule for the agentive suffix above is read as followed: /ər/ will change into [ɪər] after /m/.

For the /m/ and /n/ phonemes, the phonological rule is written as followed:

/ər/ → [ɪər] / C _____
 { +sonorant
 -continuant
 +anterior
 +nasal }

The rule for the agentive suffix above is read as followed: /ər/ will change into [ɪər] after nasal consonants.

The present researcher finds that the allomorph /ɪər/ occurs under conditions when the stems are nouns derived from French and the stems' last syllable ends with /r/ as the final consonant such as such as *couture* /ku'tjʊər/ → *couturier* /ku'tjʊəriər/ and *fur* /fɜ:r/ → *furrier* /fɜ:riər/. The present researcher creates a rule as followed:

/ər/ → [ɪər] / /r/ _____

The rule for the agentive suffix above is read as followed: /ər/ will change into [ɪər] after /r/.

The present researcher finds that the allomorph /ɪər/ occurs under conditions when the stems are nouns derived from French and the stems' last syllable ends with /l/ as the final consonant such as *hotel* /həʊ'tel/ → *hotelier* /həʊ'teliər/. The present researcher creates a rule as followed:

/ər/ → [ɪər] / /l/ _____

The rule for the agentive suffix above is read as followed: /ər/ will change into [ɪər] after /l/.

For the /l/ and /r/ phonemes, the phonological rule is written as followed:

/ər/ → [ɪər] / C _____
 + sonorant
 + continuant
 + anterior
 + coronal
 + approximant

The rule for the agentive suffix above is read as followed: /ər/ will change into [ɪər] after either lateral or central consonants.

2. Allomorph of the Suffix {-an}

a. The Suffix {-ian} as Pronounced /ʃn/

The /ʃn/ is the allomorph of /ən/ because both /ən/ and /ʃn/ occur in a different environment, as Fromkin et al. (2003) called a predictable complementary distribution. One of the determinations whether an allomorph will occur or not is based on their stem's final consonant.

There are two conditions in which this allomorph occurs. Firstly, it is when the stem is derived from either noun or adjective. Secondly, it is when the final phoneme of the stem is /k/. There are eleven nouns ending with /k/ of all nouns having this allomorph such as: *magic* /mædʒɪk/ → *magician* /mæ'dʒɪʃn/, *mathematic* /mæθə'mætɪk/ → *mathematician* /mæθə'mætɪʃn/, *politici*

/'polətɪk/ → *politician* /pɒlə'tɪʃn/, and *electric* /ɪ'lektrɪk/ → *electrician* /ɪlek'trɪʃn/.

The phonological reason why the morpheme /k/ changes into /ʃ/ is to make the words easier to pronounce. Looking at the phonological environment, the suffix {-an} /ən/ has /n/ alveolar stop as its final consonant, the stem has /k/ which is velar stop as its final consonant, and the suffix -ian /ʃn/ has /ʃ/ whose features are alveolar fricative. It will be easier to have /ʃ/ which is alveolar fricative to move forward to the /n/ which is alveolar stop compared with /k/ which is velar stop to move forward to /n/ which is alveolar stop. Therefore, *magician* will be pronounced as /mæ'dʒɪʃn/ instead of */mæ'dʒɪkn/.

To describe the phonological condition in which the allomorph occurs, there will be segment change from /ə/ to be /ʃ/ under conditions when the stems' last syllable ends with the final consonant /k/. The present researcher creates a rule for the /ən/ changing into /ʃn/ allomorphy:

/ən/ → [ʃn] / /k/ _____

The rule for the agentive suffix above is read as followed: /ən/ will change into [ʃn] after /k/.

Based on the data, the present researcher tries to generalize the phonological rule for /ʃn/ allomorph. The rule is written as followed:

/ən/ → [ʃn] / C _____
 - anterior
 - coronal
 - voice
 - nasal

The rule for the agentive suffix above is read as followed: /ən/ will change into [ʃn] after velar voiceless consonant.

Peters also explained that "the -ian suffix also appears in many nouns referring to roles and professions" (Peters, 2004: 36). This quotation means that generally, words which are related to professions have the suffix -ian instead of the suffix {-an} for its agent. The present researcher believes that it can be

generalized that nouns which refer to a certain profession have more possibility to have the suffix *-ian* as pronounced /ʃn/ rather than the suffix {-an} as pronounced /ən/. This explanation answers why *custodian*, *centenarian*, and *civilian* do not belong to this category. First, it is because they do not refer to any profession; second, although they have the suffix *-ian*, it is pronounced as /ɪən/ and not /ʃn/. However, there are three words which are not related to profession but have /ʃn/ as its agent: *Egypt* → *Egyptian*, *Laos* → *Laotian*, and *Mauritius* → *Mauritian*. Those words are related to a nationality.

b. The Suffix *-ian* and *-ean* as Pronounced /ɪən/

As mentioned before in the first part of analysis that the stems of the suffix {-an} are commonly used for proper names (both personal and geographical), the present researcher finds that the allomorph *-ian* and *-ean* also appear in those circumstances. This is proven by the existence of the word *European*, *Chaldean*, *Arabian*, *Bostonian*, and *Canadian*. This is also what Peters said, “because the resulting ending is quite often *-ian*, the *-an* suffix has given birth to *-ian* as a suffix. It is common with proper names” (Peters, 2004: 36). This quotation means that somehow, the occurrences of the suffix *-ian* has a higher frequency compared with the suffix {-an}. One factor that causes this phenomenon is because people tend to make an analogy that it is more acceptable for proper names to be attached to the suffix *-ian* rather than the suffix {-an}. Here are some examples on how the suffix {-an} may be simply added to the end of the stems. Note that these are not the /ɪən/ allomorph since /ɪə/ is the part of the stem. There is no **Russ* as the stem of *Russian*, **As* as the stem of *Asian*, and **Syr* as the stem of *Syrian*: *Romanian*, *Asian*, *Persian*, *Victorian*, *Indian*, *Syrian*, *Australian*, *Russian*, and *Estonian*.

One other variant of the suffix {-an} is *-ean*. Peters said that this suffix “belonged originally to a number of classical words” (Peters, 2004: 36). From the quotation, the present researcher finds that the suffix *-ean* is also the allomorph of the suffix {-an}. However, because the number is limited

(only for classical words), the distribution of this allomorph is not really wide-spread such as *Antipodean*, *Herculean*, *Promethean*, *Mediterranean*, *Procrustean*, *Chaldean*, and *Epicurean*. For the suffix *-ean* which refers to a geographical name, English has *Chilean*, *Guinean*, *Belizean*, *Singaporean*, *Eritrean*, *Zimbabwean*, *Cape Verdean*, *European* and *Sierra Leonean*. From the example, it is noticeable that a country ended either *-e* or *-ea* spelling as its final vowel will have the suffix *-ean*. These vowels *-e* or *-ea* are actually the part of the stem in *Chile*, *Guinea*, *Belize*, *Singapore*, *Cape Verde*, and *Sierra Leone*. It is enough only to attach the suffix {-an} directly to those stem to have the agent for each stem. Accordingly, it can be concluded that whenever there is a country having either *-e* or *-ea* as their final vowel, orthographically, the suffix *-ean* occur. The exceptions for this generalization are *Ukraine* → *Ukrainian*, *France* → *French*, *Greece* → *Greek*, *Papua New Guinea* → *Papuan*, and *Suriname* → *Surinamese* because although they have either *-e* or *-ea* as their final vowel, they do not have the suffix *-ean* as their agent. However, note that the suffix *-ean* in *Eritrean*, *Zimbabwean*, *Chilean* and *Guinean* are not allomorphs of the suffix {-ian} because *Eritrean*, *Zimbabwean*, *Chilean*, and *Guinean* do not fulfill the requirements to be an allomorph because it has /ɪ/ (/ɪən/ for *Eritrea*) as the part of their stem. Thus, there is no vowel addition in its morphophonemic process to form the /ɪən/ pronunciation. *Chilean* and *Guinean* for example, the suffix {-an} may be simply added to the end of the stems: *Chile* /tʃili/ → *Chilean* /tʃiliən/ and *Guinea* /gini/ → *Guinean* /gini/.

Vowel change is the most common morphophonemic process occurring in this *-ean* allomorph. The present researcher finds that phonologically, the vowel change occurs in the morphophonemic processes because the final consonant *-e* for the stem's spelling is kept until the end of the process. In English, all *-e* spelling in final position will be dropped and become unpronounced (except for Greek words). The notation is written as followed:

/e/ → Ø / ____ #

The rule above is read as followed: /e/ will be deleted when it is in the final position. The addition of the suffix {-an}, /ən/, which is attached to final spelling -e, /ɪ/, of the stems forms the spelling will be -ean, /iən/. It causes the -e, /ɪ/, spelling to be pronounced, combined with the spelling -a as pronounced /ə/ in the suffix -an. Thus, the spelling will be -ean as pronounced /iən/.

Note however that several other words may be spelled either -ean or -ian, although for most of them, -ian is now the most common ending. The examples are *Argentinean* / Argentinian, *Aristotelean* / Aristotelian, *Boolean* / Boolean, *Caesarean* / Caesarian, *Hermitean* / Hermitian, and *Shakespearean* / Shakespearian.

Conclusion

The suffix {-er} is mostly attached to transitive verbs coming from French or Old English to create three possibilities of meanings. The suffix {-er} can be attached to some adjectives stem to create one general meaning. The suffix {-er} can also be attached to noun stems which are derived from French, Latin, Greek, and Old English. All noun categories can be attached to this suffix. There are eight meanings created by these noun stems when it is attached to the suffix {-er}. For the suffix {-an}, there is no verb stems which can be attached to this suffix. Adjectives derived from Latinate words can be stems of this suffix to create three meanings. The characteristics of noun stems for this suffix are mostly abstract nouns, proper names, and they are derived from Latin and Greek. There are five meanings when this suffix is attached to nouns. The suffix -or, -ier, and -eer are the allomorphs of the suffix {-er}. There are three allomorphs of the suffix {-an}. Those are -ian as pronounced /ʃn/, -ian as pronounced /iən/, and -ean as pronounced /iən/ which occur in certain environment.

Finally, there are two items that should be examined when people want to produce certain agentive nominalizations using the suffixes {-er}, {-ist}, and {-an}. The first is to remember the characteristics of the stem if it is acceptable, and the second is to relate the word to the meaning if it makes sense.

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Superiority of the Native Seen in the Tone of *The Track to Bralgu* by Bozic Wongar

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Abstract

This paper focuses on The Track to Bralgu, a twelve-chapter novel written by Bozic Wongar. The novel is concerned with the destruction and exploitation of the land and the Aborigines. The novel emphasizes the superiority of the colonizer as a surface representation, and the superiority of the colonized as the representation of depth. The aim of this study is to obtain an understanding of how the tone of The Track to Bralgu leads readers to the superiority of the colonized.

The objectives are first, to explain the steps of examining the tone of The Track to Bralgu and to explain how its tone can lead readers to the superiority of the colonized; second, to analyze the superiority of the colonizer as a surface representation of The Track to Bralgu; and third, to examine the tone of The Track to Bralgu which brings the idea of the superiority of the colonized.

The method that was conducted in the study was the library research, for all the reference textbooks applied in the study were gained from the library. In conducting the analysis, a postcolonial approach was applied. By applying a postcolonial approach, the researcher is able to understand the broad outline of the relation between the colonizer and the colonized presented in the novel.

The result of the study shows in The Track to Bralgu, the superiority of the colonizer is depicted through the superiority of tools and technology, while the superiority of the colonized is depicted in its close relation to nature. The tone of The Track to Bralgu is cynical and it brings the idea of the superiority of the colonized because its tone is examined from the colonized's cynical view of the colonizer.

Keywords: superiority, tone, colonized, colonizer, postcolonial

Introduction

Long before the expansion of European power into Asia, Africa, or the America began in 16th Century, colonialism had actually already begun and was considered as one of the widespread features of human history, as Ania Loomba put it in her book *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* (1998: 2). Before Western colonialism occurred, the Roman Empire spread from Armenia to Atlantic in the 2nd Century AD, the Mongols defeated the Middle East and China in the 13th C. Those two examples of history are one of the reasons for the emergence of European colonialism, but it adopted new and different kinds of colonial practices. Ania Loomba gave

an opinion about this modern colonialism, that

It did more than extract tributes, goods, and wealth from the countries that it conquered – it restructured the economy of the latter, drawing them into a complex relationship with their own. So colonialism can be defined as the conquest and control of other people's land and goods (1998: 2-3).

Western colonialism as modern colonialism gave birth to racial stereotyping and binary opposition; the 'othering' of vast numbers of people, and their construction as backward and inferior. Bijay Kumar Das in his book *Twentieth Century Literary Criticism: 4th*

Edition stated that the colonial power sought to establish the superiority of the West over the East, and thus Western superiority paved the way for the binary opposition that structured people's minds into ideas of the colonized's inferiority and the colonizer's superiority (2002: 214). Consequently, laziness, aggression, violence, greed, sexual promiscuity, bestiality, primitivism, innocence, and irrationality are attributed by the English to the 'others' (Loomba, 1998: 95).

In the late of eighteenth Century, Edward Said contributed Orientalism to postcolonial theory. The Europeans tried to justify their territorial conquests by producing the images of non-European as indolent, thoughtless, sexually immoral, unreliable, and demented. For a long time, they believed that they had accurately created the images of their conquered land (Bressler, 1998: 267). In Orientalism, Said tried to bring out the binary opposition between East and West, in the way that he changed the term East to the 'Orient' and West to the 'Occident', so that one cannot claim superiority over the other, and by using the term Orientalism, the East will not be constructed as barbaric or degenerate anymore (Bijay Kumar Das, 2002: 218). In conclusion, Orientalism by Edward Said aimed to reconstruct the structure that gave a bad connotation to the East, to demonstrate the values of Oriental Culture and he brought the marginalized 'Other' to the centre stage (Said, 1979: 84). This makes Orientalism by Edward Said the starting point of the awareness of being colonized.

The colonizer-colonized relationship is described in Abdul R. JanMohamed's *The Economy of Manichaean Allegory*:

The dominant model of power – and interest – relations in all colonial societies is the Manichaean opposition between the putative superiority of the European and the supposed inferiority of the native (1985: 63).

This Manichaean division of the world stresses that the colonizer is good, has power, and controls the colony's resources, while the colonized is bad, must be dominated, and

must forfeit control over both land and labor (Rajan and Mohanram, 1995: 20). This Manichaean division of the colonizer-colonized also led to the resistance of the colonized, as Bressler put it, resistance is born out of the colonized people's frustrations, their direct and personal cultural clashes with the conquering culture, and their fears, hopes, and dreams about the future and their own identities (1998: 266).

The inferiority of the colonized brought postcolonialists into existence. Postcolonialists sought to articulate the oppressed consciousness of the colonized subject and also to overcome the stigma of marginality (2002: 206). There are many colonized people who struggle to regain their identity by writing back to the centre, telling the colonizer that what they did was wrong and how their Western hegemony damaged and suppressed the ideologies of those who were conquered (Bressler, 1998: 267-268). Thus, resistance literature can be seen as that category of literary writing which emerges as an integral part of an organized struggle and resistance for national liberation (Slemon, 1997:107).

There were indeed the attempts of reclaiming and the regaining voice of identity of the colonized country, but many postcolonialists also influenced the colonizer constructed text of the third world, and consequently their attempts seemed useless. This condition is also justified by Bill Ashcroft in his *Post-Colonial Transformation*. He stated that,

The most tenacious aspect of colonial control has been its capacity to bind the colonized into a binary myth-- ... --of colonizer/colonized, civilized/uncivilized, white/black which works to justify the mission civilatrice-- ... --The theorists who re-write the story of Europe as 'developer' into the story of Europe as 'exploiter' remain caught in the binary of Europe and its others. The subject of the new history is still Europe (2001:21).

From this perspective, it is obvious that it shows how postcolonialists were trapped in the paradigm of 'the colonizer's superiority

and the colonized's inferiority'. Postcolonial writings, in fact, only represent the inferiority of the colonized since they only try to attract sympathy for the colonized.

In order to make this more tangible, we can compare Wongar's *The Track to Bralgu* with Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*. In Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*, the concept of the 'colonizer is superior' is applied throughout his work; the Congo is described as the dark continent inhabited by ruthless cannibals, and the native African people are described as selfish, helpless, uneducated, exotic, lower and inferior. The *Heart of Darkness* still holds on to the constructed text of the binary opposition of colonizer's superiority and the colonized's inferiority. Thus, the tangible difference between *The Track to Bralgu* and *Heart of Darkness* is that *Heart of Darkness* uses the old paradigm of postcolonialism that stresses both the colonizer's superiority and the bad images of the colonized people, while *The Track to Bralgu* adopts a new insight of postcolonialism that rejects the idea of the binary opposition of 'the colonizer's superiority and the colonized's inferiority'.

While other postcolonial writings are still trapped in the old paradigm, "East is inferior and West is superior", Bozic Wongar in his work *The Track to Bralgu* has adopted another idea of postcolonialism. It is the representation of the new paradigm of postcolonialism which believes that the natives are superior and which will obviously alter people's mindset from previously believing in the constructed text of the binary opposition of postcolonialism to accepting the new insight of the idea of postcolonialism. Thus, this is a deconstructive phenomenon.

Wongar's work is different from others in the way he adopted a new kind of genre. The plot in *The Track to Bralgu* does not have a causal relationship and every chapter stands by itself. Another significant element in *The Track to Bralgu* is the tone because the superiority of the native is depicted in the tone itself and leads readers to accept the new insight into postcolonialism.

According to Stuart Hall in *Representation: Cultural Representation and*

Signifying Practices, representation is the production of meaning through language (2003: 28). Representation can be divided into two; first, is the surface representation which is founded in the visual, including what is apprehended by the senses, while the second is the depth representation which means penetrating the visible in other words, it pierces through the veil of the visible to what the visible supposedly secretes (Gibson, 1996: 82).

As a representation, the novel is also interesting because there are two levels of representation: the representation of surface and the representation of depth. In the surface representation, the novel applies "the old paradigm", while in its depth representation, it applies the new paradigm.

Tone

It was Romantic criticism which gave birth to the concept of the 'Author as God', but not until the end of the 19th Century, was the 'Author as God' concept denied. T. S. Eliot together with The New Critics, made the importance of the author fall and the importance itself was shifted from the author to the text (Das, 2002: 159). Soon after, Roland Barthes produced an essay about *The Death of the Author*, about the impersonality of the author whose function is as a particular medium. The New Critic believed that the reader should have the priority to interpret the text.

According to I. A. Richards in C. Hugh Holman and William Harmon's *A Handbook to Literature: 5th Edition*, tone is a term designating the attitudes toward the subject and toward the audience implied in a literary work (1986: 503). This definition really supports Barthes' essay which stresses that the author is only a particular medium. In order to reveal the tone of *The Track to Bralgu*, we depend fully on how the text itself leads the reader into something.

Tone is a more delicate matter than spoken language, for we do not have the speaker's voice to guide us and it may convey not simply one attitude, but a medley (1999: 138). To interpret the message that the

author conveys in his work, the writer uses the point of view of hermeneutics. Hermeneutics is when a work of literature is seen from the perspective of the theoretical discourses, which work as the major shift in the interpretation of literature, such as postcolonial theory, deconstruction, psychoanalysis, etc. Such theoretical discourse is used to interpret what a work of literature is ultimately all 'about' (Culler, 2000: 61).

There are two accounts of hermeneutics, hermeneutics of recovery and hermeneutics of suspicion. According to Jonathan Culler in *Literary Theory: A Very Short Introduction*, the hermeneutics of recovery seeks to reconstruct the original context of production, while the hermeneutics of suspicion seeks to expose the unexamined assumptions on which a text may rely (2000: 64). Thus, the tone of *The Track to Bralgu* can be gained from the hermeneutics of recovery, since it concerns the text and its author as it seeks to make an original message accessible to readers today (2000: 64).

From Culler's definition of the hermeneutics of recovery, the writer should first understand the text of *The Track to Bralgu*, and secondly decide the context before coming up with the message exists in *The Track to Bralgu*. The interpretation of the message is certainly context-bound, or, context brings a message but at the same time, context is also boundless. Meaning to say, there is no determining in advance what might count as relevant, or what enlarging of context might be able to shift what we regard as the meaning of text (2000: 63-64).

Since *The Track to Bralgu* is a story about the destruction of one world by another, the context of *The Track to Bralgu* is postcolonial and it is used as the hermeneutics point of view. Thus, to reveal the tone of *The Track to Bralgu* is to uncover the postcolonial message that the text wants to portray.

From the intensive reading, the tone of *The Track to Bralgu* can be seen clearly in the colonized or the Aborigines' view of the colonizer. Once we get the tone of *The Track*

to *Bralgu*, it will lead to the message that exists inside the text.

Representation

According to Gibson, Classical theory develops two accounts of narrative representation, which are the representation of surface and the representation of depth (1996: 81).

Representation of surface views language as innocent, or in other words, it conceives of language as adequate to what it represents (1996: 81). Meanwhile, the representation of depth means penetrating the visible. Representation of depth pierces through the veil of the visible and then captures the unseen or captures something beyond the visible (1996: 82).

In *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Stuart Hall gave us three approaches to explain how the representation of meaning through language works, and those are the reflective approach, the intentional approach, and the constructionist approach. For *The Track to Bralgu*, the writer uses the constructionist approach; it argues that representation can be related to objects, people, and events in the real world, and can also be related to imaginary things and fantasy worlds or to abstracts ideas which are not in any obvious sense part of the material world (1997: 24 - 28). Obviously, this approach wants to emphasize that it is the language system which conveys meanings and not the material world (1997: 25).

How the Tone is Depicted in the Story of *The Track to Bralgu*

How the tone is depicted can be examined from the text of *The Track to Bralgu*. The objects being emphasized in *The Track to Bralgu* are the colonizer and the colonized. Within the text of *The Track to Bralgu*, the colonizer is emphasized through superiority of tools and technology, so that the whites can support the transportation faster, and the development of their mining operation and town. While the colonized is emphasized through their closeness to

nature, and consequently, the natives can survive in the terrible long drought by performing a rainmaking ceremony. The colonized is also emphasized through their view of the colonizer shown from the text of *The Track to Bralgu*. Throughout the novel colonized people state their thoughts on or views of the colonizer. Tone is the expression of a literary speaker's attitude to his listener (Abrams, 1985: 156). From this, it is obvious that the view of the natives that is addressed to the colonizer brings the tone to the surface.

The white man is so rock-hungry he will soon have moved the whole island away – and such a lot of the work has been done by me, swinging a hammer. (19-20)

It is about the cynicism that is addressed to the whites, since they are so mad about rocks and seem want to have all the rocks in the land, but surprisingly, swinging a hammer to reduce the sizes of the rocks, is done by the natives.

I shouldn't be in this at all; you track an animal or a snake but not a man. White fella will never understand that – he's keen to hunt down even his own kind. (47)

The native's cynical view above expresses that white men will never understand that it is not wise to hunt down a man.

What a bastard, this white man, who likes neither my voice nor my color, yet wants me to come up with a miracle that will make him a god. (66)

It shows the added cynicism of the native who is aware that even though the white men do not like him due to his voice and color, they still need the natives to help them as slaves.

Those explanations of the expression of the natives show cynicism and are addressed to the colonizer, and thus the tone of *The Track to Bralgu* is cynical. The tone of *The Track to Bralgu* obviously leads readers to the message that exists within the text. The new insight that will be penetrated using the representation of depth, is aimed at releasing

readers from being trapped within the constructed discourse of postcolonialism that stresses the superiority of the colonizer over the colonized.

Superiority of the Colonizer as the Surface Representation

The first story of *The Track to Bralgu* is about the black Christian priest named George of Riratjingu who wants to be buried in a Christian way. But unfortunately he is not given a piece of land for his grave.

"Whatever happened to me will have no bearing on your mining operation. I only need three feet by six feet – it'll do for the hole."

"I am afraid ... we could not allow burial on the leased land." (7)

I whispered: "what about the church, there is plenty of room in the courtyard."

"One has to be a saint to be buried there. Sorry, we could not bend the rules." (9)

"No, just three feet by six feet."

"Do not challenge the property law: make no obstruction to progress." (11)

It is obvious that the colonizer is superior since the native is forbidden to have any part of the land. In this story, Reverend George understands that even though he has served the whites as a Minister preaching to and helping them, but they will not take this into account.

It does not matter what you did all your life and that you preached the way it benefits them, once you die, you are kicked back to the tribal man – no, they would not let me be buried in the ground with a decent Christian service. (4)

"Jambawal, the Thunder Man" starts with how their cherished customs, the tribal meanings, the sacred places, all were broken to pieces by the guns and the laws and the bulldozers of the new gods (*The Track to Bralgu*, 1992: 1).

They have already cleaned the bush and bulldozed the black man's land. They have built their houses and made their graveyard – the country I knew so well is

ugly and strange. No black man now can point to a place and say: "Here, at the bottom of this water hole (...), lies the spirit of our ancestors... Even the trampled space where we dance to call for rain when drought was long – that has been taken by the white man. (14)

The superiority of the colonizer is even clearer from the description of the whites exploiting the natives and their freedom making them slaves and of how they have successfully built their town with their superior and sophisticated equipments

Now they put a great sledgehammer in your hands, and bully you to swing it against the rocks from dawn till dark. When night comes and you're pushed into lockup, you lie down without the strength to sigh or swear. (15)

"The Tracker" is about a native who is forced by three white men to track his own friend and one of them is carrying a gun.

They don't talk about why they're hunting the poor bloke; don't even say his name. (48)

I wonder why they're hunting him – what harm could he've done? None of them talk about that so maybe there's nothing much to say. (49)

It represents the superiority of the colonizer and the inferiority of the colonized since the native can do nothing except follow the colonizer's orders, even though the colonized understands that the colonizer controls, rules and treats them in unfair ways.

Superiority of the Natives as the Representation of Depth

In *The Track to Bralgu*, the prejudices of the West which considered the East as inferior, uncivilized and barbarous, are reversed through the representation of depth. Consequently, the West's justifications of colonialization to the East as lacked all the genius of the West will no longer deprecate the East. This new paradigm can be brought to the surface by the representation of depth.

In the first story George's deep disappointment leads him to be a Mogwoi, a trickster spirit, so that he can take revenge on the people who have harmed him.

Even if you beg and plead all your life, you are born a black, have to die as one, and worst of all you are buried differently from the way you wanted. (4)

Perhaps I should not be bothered any of them; the whites have their own problems to care about. After all what is the use of trying to nag, . (11)

The Riratjingu elders say often when a man dies, his spirits splits in three parts: one goes to Bralgu to join the ancestors; another sits on the bottom of the totemic water hole and waits to be reborn; while the third, the Mogwoi, they call it, wanders around tribal country. (12)

I am going to be a Mogwoi, (12)

George's decision to be a Mogwoi shows his awareness that being a black is better than being a white. In the white man's world, when death takes their souls, they only have one place to go and it will be heaven. But, in the black man's world, the black people have three options for their death. The first is Bralgu, the second is the bottom of the totemic water hole to be reborn, and the last is Mogwoi, a place to take revenge.

As a matter of fact, George is aware that whatever unjust treatment you get from the colonizer, it does not mean that the colonizer is superior, because in the end, he can take revenge in a more cruel way on the colonizer who makes his life uncomfortable.

"Jambawal, the Thunder Man" starts with the superiority of the colonizer who succeeds in destroying the native's land. But at last, the superiority of their tools is defeated by the native's superiority in his close relationship with nature.

I'm glad he made it at last. Since they brought me here to the island I've watched the sky and called to him... I

knew if I called, and waited long enough, Jambawal would rise from Bralgu to sweep across the sea in such a rage that when he hit the town the white man and his houses would flutter like leaves in the air. Sometimes I climbed to the island peak, high, like an anthill there, and looking toward Bralgu I danced and sang to Jambawal – not so loud as to annoy him, but gently; just enough to remind him that he must come. (13-14)

Within the text, the readers are convinced that the colonizer is superior and that the superiority of their tools really helps them to destroy the native's land. But unexpectedly, this chapter in fact represents the superiority of the colonized because of the native's close relationship with nature. In the story, one of the natives who is forced to be a slave, called Jambawal or the cyclone to come, and as a result, the town that has successfully been built by the whites was smashed down.

In chapter six "The Tracker", the image of the native as uncivilized is reversed. It is a story about the whites who forced the native to track in order to find the native's friend so that they will have the reward.

"I just want to get him, and collect that bloody reward," says Glasses. (51)

"I'll blow all my cut on beer," dreams the stockman.

"It'd make a whole pool of booze you could swim in." (52)

The whites are tricked by the native, but they do not realize that the native is leading them to another way. From this story, it is tangible that the native is superior to the white.

I shouldn't be in this at all; you track an animal or a snake but not a man. White fella will never understand that – he's keen to hunt down even his own kind. (47)

We're not following the tracks any longer, but the boss men haven't noticed – they're so sure I won't go wrong. (53)

All of the above stories are the reversal of the prejudices about the East that the West created. The West created bad images of the East and used them as their justification for mission civilatrice, but in *The Track to Bralgu*, those images of the East are reversed, so that actually the bad images of the East are shown to be the real images of West itself.

Conclusion

The first objects emphasized in the text of *The Track to Bralgu* are the colonizer and the colonized. Within the text, the colonizer is emphasized in the way that they own superior tools to support their mining development. This leads them to be greedy in occupying the native's land, and in exploiting its resources as well as exploiting the natives. The colonized is emphasized as being close to nature. This is shown through the Aborigines who can call Jambawal or the cyclone to come, or by the Aborigines who can perform a rainmaking ceremony when they are in a terrible drought.

The tone of *The Track to Bralgu* can be identified from the native's view of or expression statement about the colonizer. The tone is cynical as can be seen from the cynicism in every expression of the native.

Secondly the supposed superiority of the colonizer is depicted. The superiority of the colonizer can be clearly seen from the tools that support the development of their mining operation. Superiority of tools also allows them to build their town on the native's land and to make the circulation of their development news and transportation easier and faster.

Thirdly is on the real superiority of the colonized is depicted. Unlike the superiority of the colonizer that can be clearly seen within the text, the superiority of the colonized needs deeper examination because it is buried within the seen or the visible. Consequently, to bring the superiority of the colonized into the surface, the writer uses the representation of depth. The most interesting story that represents the superiority of the colonized is "The Tracker". On the surface, it shows the superiority of the colonizer in a

very obvious way, because the native has to obey the whites to track his friend. But, if the visible is pierced through, it shows the superiority of the colonized in the way that the whites depend fully on the native to track the right way. Surprisingly, the native is also clever, for he is not tracking his friend as the whites force him to. He leads the whites so that they will be dying from exhaustion and heat. From the surface representation, in "Mogwoi, the Trickster Spirit", it seems very tangible that it shows the superiority of the colonizer. But, as a matter of fact, when the visible is penetrated, the story shows the superiority of the colonized. The priest's realization that being black is better leads him to become a Mogwoi for one purpose; to take revenge on the whites who made his life on earth uncomfortable. This represents the superiority of the colonized because for the natives, the world is not a limitation. While in "Jambawal, the Thunder Man", the colonizer's superiority of tools and technology are defeated by the native's closeness to nature. In this chapter, the superiority of the native lies in their expertise at calling Jambawal, or the cyclone to smash down the white's town.

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The Impact of Mores on the Major Characters' Life in Ibsen's *Ghost*

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Abstract

This study examines the presence of mores as one aspect which constructs the social life in society as portrayed in Ibsen's Ghosts. The mores as a manifestation of society's demands become important key aspect which may give influence in one's life in his efforts to build social interaction within the community. Through the mores, the society's expectation of ideal social situation is being projected.

Some problems have been formulated as follows to see the way the major characters deal with the mores and the impact that may occur in their life. Firstly, it observes how the major characters are presented and what are the mores practiced. Secondly, it discusses what the impact of the mores on the major characters' life that comes out as the result of major characters' responses toward the mores.

Based on the analysis, it shows that characters' characteristics are various. The obdurate and conservative characteristic can be seen through Manders while Mrs. Alving is presented as an open-minded and critical though she seems like a doubter. Being different is Oswald which is more expressive, liberal and rebellious. The various kinds of characteristics above have significant role in the way a character response the demands of the society (the mores). Meanwhile in the world of reality, sometimes what is considered as an ideal in mores is not always appropriate to be applied in the real condition. This dilemma may lead some people to give various responses or even behave recklessly in dealing with mores. Then, consequently, whatever the response taken or shown by the people in responding the mores at last will bring a new impact in their life as an individual.

Keywords: *the mores, society, social life*

Introduction

In this world of reality, every person was born to live side by side with other people and it will lead them to realize the need of others' presence in their life to complete each other. It is strengthened by the common view on human which is widely known as social creature for his nature that cannot live without the existence of other humans.

Starting from the inability of a person to handle all of the matters in his life individually, at last, he will try to form a group that we may call as society in this modern era. Society here can be said as a

mass of people who lives together with common interest, activity and structural system in creating, sustaining and developing the life into a better direction and condition (Neumeyer, 1953: 7).

To live in society means that a person will face new various responsibility and demands to do. He is expected to adapt, to follow and to take part on the social system practiced. As widely known, in a society there must be certain regulations in many forms as the fundamental to define the acceptable behaviour (Becker, 1992: 910). Those patterns and demands are important in creating a stable situation in the society. So,

for this condition, the people are obliged to practice them. There will be negative consequences for those who do not conform since sanctions are the supporters of the regulations (Bierstedt, 1963: 229).

Every person is supposed and expected to accept and stand in the same position with the norms used since it will be very difficult for a person to make an opposition individually for his dependencies toward society. "They (people) have not all arrived at the same formula for their common happiness, but each individual must live in a group, tribe, city, or nation to which he or she belongs, and must adapt to its way of living" (Gonsalves, 1986: 93). This condition that requires one's sincerity and obedience toward the norms has possibility to create an internal or even external conflict for those who become the member of certain society. Then, indirectly, this conflict may bring an impact in their life.

Starting from the depiction above, the topic about the impact of the mores as one sub division of the norms was chosen to show how the mores may have unpredictable influence and effect on some people. The positions of the mores which is respected and seen as something noble and has relation to morality sometimes make many people mistreat the presence of the mores.

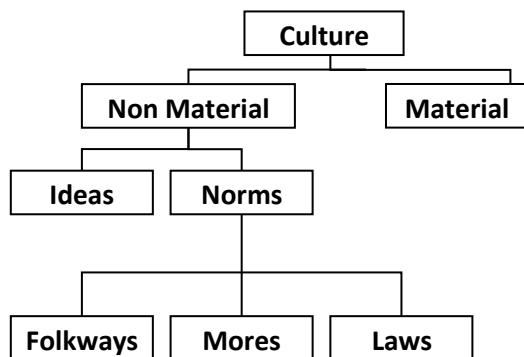
Then, for the function of literary works that can be used as a media to express and represent about certain object or topic in certain era, *Ghosts* which was written by Henrik Johan Ibsen in 1881 will be used as a vehicle to analyze on this topic. This literary work will be the starting point of the research to see and to observe the application of the mores in the middle of the society and their influence toward the member of society seen from the presentation of the major characters.

The Mores

The society is identical to the presence of culture as its product. The culture is often called as the result of cumulative process in the human interaction in their society or even it is used to show the level of quality and

complexity of a society. Meanwhile, the culture itself is already complex since it can be classified into many sub divisions.

Under the concept of culture, the concept of ideas and norms as the representation of non material culture will be found. Under the concept of norms, the concept of mores which has contribution to create the conformity and regularity in the society is found together with folkways and laws. The interrelatedness of those concepts basically can be summarized in the flowchart below:



There is an integrated system in human life. The position of culture is on the top of the flowchart. It means that culture is a big concept which covers all of the subdivision below. First, culture can be classified into two big classes. The first one is non-material culture which can be made more specific into ideas and norms while the second class is material culture.

As mentioned above, the non-material culture is classified into ideas and norms. Basically both ideas and norms still can be spelled out into more specific terms but the focus here is given to the norms. The norms here actually can be simply said as a conduct life for human to live in society (Bierstedt, 1963: 222).

The norm here is explained as an instrument of the society to control its member. In other words, it can be said that society through norms also gives certain direction and limitation or even expectations for those who live inside (Maciver and Charles, 1950: 5).

There will be an agreement and demand from the society for each of its members in order to create regularity or certain purpose to be gained in the society. Though the norm is already defined as a standard and instrument for the people but the context of norm is still too wide.

The norms can be subsumed into folkways, mores and laws. There are some differences that creates the norms is spelled out into those three concepts. Folkways here are more about our customary conduct in daily life or habit (Bierstedt, 1963: 226).

Our habit to wear good clothes, our habit to always use right hand to eat are some examples of folkways. Being different from folkways, laws are norms which are more complex. It is usually only found in society with social-political organization like government while folkways and mores are found in every society (1963: 228).

The next is mores. Just the same with folkways and laws, a person also cannot runaway and escape from the practice of the mores. The presence of the mores as one form of the norms cannot be separated from the presence of human being. The presence of human is considered as one aspect that creates the mores. It is believed that the mores are the result of human interaction and compromise that finally shaped the common concept that can and should be accepted and followed by the member of society. Moreover, the mores are also believed as one of the most important element to construct a good quality of society. The mores here is different to folkways since they are not merely about habitual conduct but moral conduct, while the mores also different from laws since they have no special agent to enforce the practice of the mores (Bierstedt, 1963: 227).

Meanwhile, when it is traced back to the origin of the word, the mores have strong connection with morality. "Mores forms the root of the English word 'moral', thus literally referring to any act or belief in accord with customary group expectations" (Merril, 1965: 118). To the more specific, the mores also can be defined as bundle of system in which

the people in certain area believed and practiced because they have normative power. Besides they are also related with the social welfare (1965:117)

Then, indirectly, it can be concluded that mores are as important as folkways and laws. They have power and play significant role in creating and establishing the conformity and regularity in the middle of society. The power and influence of the mores are getting bigger for the negative sanctions for violating one of them is to be considered immoral (Bierstedt, 1963: 229)

In the application of mores, the presence of public opinion also plays important role. They have power in insisting the people to take part in the application of the mores. The public opinion here is functioned as one tool to control society's behaviour. It means that the opinion of public may give the biggest pressure for the people. For those who do not take part, they will be commented by the public as a deviator or even immoral person as mentioned before.

The Presentation of Major Characters

There are three major characters can be found in *Ghosts*, they are Manders, Mrs. Alving and Oswald. Those characters live in Norway society in around 19th Century. Each of them lives in the same social situation scene but with different characteristics, attributes and background.

Manders in *Ghosts* is presented as a Pastor of the parish. His position as the Pastor of the parish brings him to a bigger responsibility to take care of the people in that region and be their protector. In other words, the position of Manders here also represents the presence of the church in the middle of Norway society. Manders has responsibilities to be their shepherd. He has to be the one who teaches and shows the way of life based on Christian teaching.

At that time, in European countries, church with all of its structure indirectly also has the power in limiting and giving conduct in social life (McNeill, 1974: 82-83). It means that related to *Ghosts*, Manders deserves

special position in the hierarchy of the society. He may give the conduct of life to the people and as the consequence, the people see him not as an ordinary person but as the one to follow and respect.

In regard to his presentation as a Pastor, Manders is also presented as a respectable person. Then, he has to behave properly in front of the public, besides the attention from the people around on him is getting bigger.

ENGSTRAND. Yes, because there will be a lot of fine folk here tomorrow. Parson Manders is expected from the town too (Ibsen, 170)

His position as a Pastor also brings Manders to be accustomed with so many dogmatic matters. This situation may lead him as a closed-minded and obdurate person. The old and traditional views have been implanted in his mind and this condition alienates his mind from the change.

Those two characteristics above at last will contribute to shape him as person who will always believe and obey with something which is already definite or patent. It means that he will not question too much with something which is already practiced commonly in the society from past time. In other words, Manders tends to be a conservative person as well. He will question those who try to stand outside the definite pattern.

MANDERS. Can you call it cowardice that you simply did your duty! Have you forgotten that a child should love and honour his father and mother? (Ibsen, 198)

MANDERS. But do you mean to say that it is possible for a man of any sort of bringing up, and a young woman, to reconcile themselves to such way of living-and to make no secret of it, either? (Ibsen, 186)

MANDERS. To crave for happiness in this world is simply to be possessed by a spirit of revolt. What rights have we to happiness? No! We must do our duty, Mrs.

Alving. And your duty was to cleave to the man you had chosen and to whom you were bound by a sacred bond (Ibsen, 189).

Ironically, his respectable position as a Pastor also brings him to paranoia toward anything that may libel his name. Then, Manders also can be seen as a timorous person. As a pastor he has been accustomed to be respected by the rest of the society. This condition brings him to have more awareness in maintaining and keeping his reputation in front of the society to avoid any attack or blasphemy.

Being different from Manders, Mrs. Alving is presented as a widow. She is depicted as a woman with her complicated experience in past life. Before the death of Mr. Alving, she used to live under many demands and pressures. As the wife of Mr. Alving , she is demanded to be more careful in her behaviour. Unfortunately, this condition only brings her to live under pressure with no happiness. This condition later brings her to doubt and stand on the different side with the demand of the society.

In the past, she was taught about duty and she got nothing except problems and miseries from that. Now, after the death of her husband, Mrs. Alving transforms into a woman with a new mind set. She tries to free herself from the common view. She wants her opinion and perspective in seeing particular issues to be freed from the pressure from any side.

As the consequence of her failure to deal with the demand in the society in her past life, Mrs. Alving becomes a critic toward the common view in her society. She learns from her mistake in the past and it creates her to always question many things, include the mores, before practices and accepts them. Based on Mrs. Alving's perspective, every movement of a person is being limited by those regulations and it is only make the people to live in misery when they practice it rigidly. The life condition of the people becomes unnatural for the presence of those regulations.

MRS. ALVING (*going to the window*). Oh, law and order! I often think that it is at the bottom of all the misery in the world (Ibsen, 198)

Her critical thinking on particular matters also leads her to be more open toward new idea. It means that she welcomes new idea to influence her mind. She does not want to be trapped by the common views in the society. Whenever she thinks a new idea is suitable for the recent condition, then there is no reason to reject it. Not only stopping there, Mrs. Alving is also presented as a rebellious since she has courage not only to criticize or welcome new idea but also to practice it.

MRS. ALVING. *Not a bit of it. It is the best thing for an active boy, and especially for an only child. It's a pity when they are kept at home with their parents and get spoilt* (Ibsen, 186).

MRS. ALVING. *If I were not such a miserable coward, I would say to him: "Marry her, or make any arrangement you like with her-only let there be no deceit in the matter."*

MANDERS. *Heaven forgive you! Are you actually suggesting anything abominable, so unheardof, as a marriage between them!* (Ibsen, 199)

Besides those characteristics, Mrs. Alving is also presented as a self-reliant woman. The endless problems in her life create her as a self reliant woman. Though it is very hard for a woman to face the confusion in the family, Mrs. Alving prefers to handle it herself. She keeps the problem in her family alone to avoid public attention on her family.

MRS. ALVING. *Well-now, Mr. Manders, now I am going to tell you the truth. I had sworn to myself that you should know it one day-you, and you only!*

MANDERS. *And what may the truth be? Mrs. Alving. The truth is this, that my husband died just as great a profligate as he had been all his life* (Ibsen, 191).

Though she is depicted as a critical, open-minded, rebellious and self reliant woman,

the pressure from the outside and society makes Mrs. Alving appears like a doubter and reckless woman.

The last major character in Ghosts is Oswald. Oswald here is presented as the only son of Alving's family. He spends most of his time abroad. Most of his life time which was spent in foreign country gives him a chance to learn different culture and way of life. This condition leads Oswald to be more permissive toward new way of thinking. Besides, the lives of artists are known for its freedom. They usually live in unconventional way of living. Their nature as artists also leads them to be expressive and critical not only in doing art but also in viewing particular matters in life.

His critical and open minded characteristics lead him to reconsider and question the demand from the society. While his expressive characteristic leads him to encounter his interlocutor's words directly in front of her. There is no ill at ease when he encounters his interlocutor's words. When something is considered irrelevant in his eyes, he will just criticize it openly.

At first glance, Oswald seems to be a rude person. But, basically, Oswald just tries to see a matter objectively from his perspective. When the practiced more is already relevant, at least in his opinion, he has no doubt or opposition on it.

MANDERS. *Then what you are speaking of are those unprincipled conditions known as irregular unions!*

OSWALD. *I have never noticed anything particularly unprincipled about these people's lives* (Ibsen, 186).

MRS. ALVING. *It is dreadful to think of!—But surely a child should feel some affection for his father, whatever happens?*

OSWALD. *When the child has nothing to thank to his father for? When he has never known him? Do you really cling to that antiquated superstition—you, who are so broad minded in other things?* (Ibsen, 226)

Besides, his experience to live separately from his parents not only creates Oswald as a critical and open-minded person but also as a sensitive person. It means that Oswald becomes a person who can be easily hurt and offended especially in family matters.

The Mores Practiced

The first more that can be seen in *Ghosts* is about the importance of public opinion. Public opinion can be said as the common view accepted and believed by the society in responding certain situation. For many people, the public opinion also can be used as the fundamental in the way they behave. It means that the public opinion may influence and give pressure on one's behavior and mind to be in line with the major voice (Bennet & Tumin, 1952: 236). In other words, it is important for a person to consider what others might think and say before a person decides to do something. Here, the public opinion that represents the voice of majority cannot be considered as a trivial thing. It is also shown here how the characters have to think not only the good or bad side of a decision but also what the people might think over the decision taken.

MANDERS. My dear Mrs. Alving, there are many occasions in life when one has to rely on the opinion of others. That is the way in this world, and it is quite right that it should be so. What would become the society, otherwise? (Ibsen, 178)

The second more is about the esteem of religious leader. The situation of Norway as a country under the domination of Christianity as the major religion leads the position of Pastor into the higher level of respect compared with people in common (McNeill, 1974: 82-83). The respect given to the Pastor also put him in a dilemmatic position. Most of the people believe that a Pastor is kind of person to follow for his deep understanding in religious matters. In regard to that view, then it will be very difficult for the society to see their religious leader doing mistakes. The pastor in every of their presence is demanded to show his best performance without any mistake. The society expect that every step

taken by a Pastor should represent and in line with the religious teaching.

Next is about the marriage bond. It is widely known that Norway is dominated with Christian people. Then, when it is related to the topic of marriage, we will see that the Christian values will be dominant in the institution of marriage. In Christianity, especially Catholicism, the marriage is a bond that may not be divorced by human because it is God himself who joins husband and wife in this sacred bond (Elliot, 1990: 143). Here, everyone is demanded to declare and legalize their relationship in the bond of marriage before he steps to more serious level with his mate. Besides, the people are demanded to keep their marriage till death comes. There is no reason for a man to divorce his wife and vice versa.

Following the importance to the marriage bond is the more to maintain husband's reputation. In line with common belief that a husband is the head of the family, the reputation of a husband also becomes the main standard to appraise the reputation of a family in the eye of the society. Here the husband is demanded by the society to be the representation of a family. It means that he is required to show his best performance. He is the head of the family. So, what people think and see on him also will be applied to the whole family. His reputation and quality will have an impact to the whole family. Indirectly, it also brings a new duty for wife and children to always help the head of the family in maintaining his name.

Then it is also can be found about the more that gives conduct about woman's position. Just like society that was dominated with patriarchal system, the woman in Norway experienced the inequality between man and woman. The woman was subordinated and home is defined as woman's proper place (Hedger, 1949: 704-705). A wife is demanded to give her best service toward her husband. No matter how horrible her husband characteristics, it is not wife's part to criticize and to complaint that. She is only required to do her duty like taking care of the children and household matters.

MANDERS. To crave for happiness in this world is simply to be possessed by the spirit of revolt. What right we to happiness? No! We must do our duty, Mrs. Alving. And your duty was to cleave to the man you had chosen and to whom you were bound by sacred bond (Ibsen, 189).

The last more gives conduct on children-parents relationship. Mostly, people in Norway believe that in domestic relation that children must respect and obey their parents (Hedger, 1949: 704-705). Besides, in *Ghosts*, a mother as the representative from parents' side is expected to be the one who gives enough care and guidance. She is expected to be the person who transmits the values and conducts of life to the children. The responsibility to raise the children up is totally in her hands.

The Impact of the Mores on Manders

Manders position as a Pastor leads him to higher level of respect and the fact that the church has bargaining power in the society correlates with the increase of burdens in Manders' shoulder. He is viewed as the model for the people to behave and he is the focus of attention in the society. Then, like or dislike, this condition brings Manders in contact with public opinion. He has to create a good perception in the society in regard to his duty as a pastor since their opinion correlates to the stability of his good name. Meanwhile, to keep the stability of his name as a pastor is important for Manders since it correlates to his esteem of religious leader.

Regarding to his role in the society, there is no better way for Manders to be the ideal model of the society except by making adaptation and giving support to the mores. He has to make use of the mores as his partner in doing his work in the society. By doing this action, Manders will not only be seen as the morality keeper but he can also shape a good perception about himself in the society.

In his efforts to do both his role as a Pastor and duty to keep Pastor's reputation, he try to use the mores as his tool to give conduct of life in the society. He insists and

infiltrates that the practice of mores is something that the people cannot bargain to reach the ideal situation in the society. It is seen in his effort to support legal marriage institution. His attitude toward marriage institution meets Christian belief that the sexual union between man and woman outside the legal marriage is adultery (Elliot, 1990: 160-162). He believes that to prevent the people from committing sin, an intimate relationship between man and woman should be legalized by the institution of marriage.

MANDERS. Then what you are speaking of are those unprincipled conditions known as irregular union! (Ibsen, 186)

OSWALD. What else are they to do? A poor artist and a poor girl-it cost a good deal to get married. What else are they to do?

MANDERS. What are they to do? Well, Mr. Alving, I will tell you what they ought to do. They ought to keep away from each other from the very beginning—that is what they ought to do! (p. 186-187)

Besides, Manders also stands as the defender of marriage. Based on his belief that no one has right to separate two people tied in the bond of marriage, Manders is consistent to criticize and oppose those who want to break their sacred bond. The divorce is seen as an opposition toward God's words. Meanwhile, the opposition toward God's words is seen as the failure of a pastor in keeping and conducting the faith and life of the people. The failure of a pastor as the shepherd of the society may give negative precedent on the image of pastor in the social life which will always in line with the decrease of belief toward the reputation of religious leader. So, Manders as the pastor tends to see the marriage as the measuring rod of his success in doing the mission in the society.

Thus, it simply can be said that the motivation of Manders to defend the marriage is only for the image projection. The importance of public opinion to uphold the esteem of religious leader like him leads Manders to think superficially. The evidence of Manders' hidden motivation is also

portrayed in his response toward the more that gives conduct on parents and children relationship. Here, Manders insists that it is the children's duty to honor and give respect to their parents (p. 198). The pressure given by Manders above sounds illogical since he has already known the truth about Mr. Alving's past which is full of wickedness.

MANDERS. *Can you call it cowardice that you simply did your duty! Have you forgotten that a child should love and honour his father and mother? (Ibsen, 198)*

In short, Manders tends to support all of the mores because of his moral responsibility to be the perfect model of a person in his society. The demand from the society on Manders to keep the esteem and respect of pastor become reasons for him to be the supporter of the mores. Unfortunately this condition also shapes him to have paranoia toward anything that may ruin his name if he does not support the mores.

MANDERS. *No, that is just what I am thinking of. It is almost the worst part of the whole thing. The spiteful attacks and accusations—it is horrible to think of! (Ibsen, 219)*

The need of acknowledgement and also his self-interest to shape a good perception before the society support him to do this. He believes that it is the most effective way to get the sympathy and respect from the society. Unfortunately, his response to support the practice of mores does not come along with his full understanding on the essence of them. He only understands the content of mores textually. As the impact of this condition, many of his efforts in upholding the practice of the mores are done by ignoring other important aspects such as honesty and humanity.

The Impact of Mores on Mrs. Alving

Mrs. Alving is presented as a woman with her critical and rebellious mind. Her failure in past life has led her to be more critical in responding to certain matters, including the practice of mores. It is seen on Mrs. Alving's

belief that her house condition is not ideal anymore to raise her son, and then she prefers to deviate from the common thing. She let Oswald to grow separately from his parents and this response can be seen a form of rejection toward the more practiced.

Besides, Mrs. Alving also gives her approval on Oswald who sees that the irregular union as something normal (p. 186). Indirectly, the approval shown by Mrs. Alving brings her as the one who oppose the importance of marriage bond. Then, as the result of her opposition, the position of Mrs. Alving is being cornered. She is not only exposed as a guilty mother but also exposed as the betrayer of the more in front of her own son. This situation can be seen as the impact that she has to undergo as the result of her decision.

Though it seems that Mrs. Alving's rebellious characteristic has brought her to stand on different side with the mores but in some cases she fails to be freed totally from them. It is seen when she still treats Mr. Alving as her legal husband and build an Orphanage to commemorate him. Actually she knows that her husband is not a man that she should commemorate. But she is aware that by building the Orphanage, she can keep her family reputation stable. Indirectly this can be seen as her failure to get rid of her husband shadow. This is happen as the result of society's pressure.

MANDERS. *And this is the man you are building a memorial to!*

MRS. ALVING. *There you see the power of uneasy conscience.*

MANDERS. *An uneasy conscience? What do you mean?*

MRS. ALVING. *I had always before me the fear that it was impossible that the truth should not come out and be believed. That is why the orphanage is to exist, to silence all rumors and clear away all doubt (Ibsen, 193-194).*

Her effort by sending Oswald letters that explains his husband as a good and respectable man also makes Mrs. Alving seems like a doubter. Since in one side, she hates Mr. Alving but on the different side she

has to make a lie that Mr. Alving is a great man. Besides, silence when her position as a wife is subordinated by Manders also can be seen as another evidence of her failure to free her own self from her husband hegemony

MANDERS. *I know only too well what rumor used to say of him; and I should be the last person to approve of his conduct as a young man, supposing that rumor spoke the truth. But it is not a wife's part to be her husband's judge* (Ibsen, 189).

Regarding to all of those conditions, it is clearly depicted that Mrs. Alving is positioned in non-beneficial side. She always becomes the victim in the social life. It is very rare for the society to consider and acknowledge the efforts done by Mrs. Alving. Everything is blocked by the hegemony of her husband.

Then, overall, it can be inferred that as the impact of mores' practice, Mrs. Alving's position becomes not clear. She stands in grey area. She tries to free herself from mores' pressure, but she has to ruin her own effort since she cannot really get rid of that demands. Not only that, she tries to save her son by breaking the mores but at last her effort becomes a boomerang that creates bigger distance between her and Oswald.

The Impact of Mores on Oswald.

Oswald spends most of his life abroad alone. It means that he only experiences and shares less time with his family. The basic function of a family as an instrument to transmit the culture and belief also does not work properly. In regard to the condition above, most of the concept of culture in his mind is different with what believed by the society in his native land.

In viewing the more that regulates about the importance of marriage bond, Oswald also has his own opinion. His life as an artist makes him accustoms to the liberation to express.

MANDERS. *Then what you are speaking of are those unprincipled conditions known as irregular union?*

OSWALD. *I have never noticed anything particularly unprincipled about these people's lives* (Ibsen, 186).

MANDERS. *But do you mean to say that it is possible for a man of any sort of bringing up, and a young woman, to reconcile themselves to such way of living—and to make no secret of it, either? Oswald. What else are they to do? A poor artist, and a poor girl—it costs a good deal to get married. What else are they going to do?* (Ibsen, 186)

He does not see the practice of irregular union as something negative. Oswald's perspective here, indirectly, also shows his opposition toward the importance of marriage bond. He does not want the mores to limit his mind-set.

Though, in some cases he has different perspective in responding particular matters, but he still respect the relationship between children and parents. His intensive communication with his mother by using letter also strengthens his assumption. Unfortunately, the great imagination about his father fall down into ruins after the truth is revealed by his mother, Mrs. Alving. This shock causes a very significant change in the way Oswald views the relationship between children and parents.

MRS. ALVING *It is a dreadful to think of!—But surely a child should feel some affection for his father, whatever happens?*

OSWALD. *When the child has nothing to thank to his father for? When he has never known him? Do you really cling to that antiquated superstition—you, who are so broad minded in other things* (Ibsen, 225-226).

Overall, it can be concluded that the position of Oswald as a person who was deceived by his mother leads him to reject the practice of the mores. He cannot find any reason to respect his parents whenever there is no contribution given. As the impact, he has to lose his right to know the truth about his family condition. This confusion makes Oswald lose a figure that can be a role model

in his life. Both his mother and his father fail to do their role as his parents. His right as a son to get enough care and love is being ignored because of the practice of the mores.

Meanwhile, his open-minded characteristic that leads him to have different view in responding the mores leads him to be considered as an immoral person. At last, his freedom of mind, which is seen as the opposition toward conformity and morality, is being limited and imprisoned.

Conclusion

In general all of the major characters in *Ghosts* have shown quite different response between one and another. The difference on their presentation, characteristics and background make it possible for each character to have different response toward the mores. As the consequence, each of them also undergoes various impacts in their life.

Manders who is presented as a pastor with obdurate and timorous mind treats the practice of the mores rigidly. As the impact, he deifies the practice of the mores though it may lead him to ignore other important values in life. Being different from Manders, Mrs. Alving is presented as a widow with her traumatic experience toward the mores' practice. She believes that her obedience toward mores has contribution in her failure to maintain her family life. For that background, Mrs. Alving becomes a person who stands in the grey area. Her confusion in responding to the mores finally brings more problems in her life and ruins her relationship with her son. In the meantime, Oswald who is presented as a critical person for his experience in living abroad also feels the impact of the mores practiced. He becomes alienated from the family and his right to get enough care from the parents is carried away for his mother's sake.

Therefore, it can be seen that as long as the application of mores ignores its humanity side and stay inflexible, the people might be oppressed by their presence. Unfortunately, it may lead the people to behave recklessly before finally ends in confusion and disorder in life.

At last, it can be concluded that basically the presence of mores have positive purpose for the social life of the people. But, when the practice of mores ignores the context in people's real life, they may turn as the source of problem in social life.

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Word Formation: A Morphological Analysis

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Abstract

New words are required not only to increase our vocabulary but also to create new sentences. New words are acquired by the process of word formation which can be done in several ways. One of the most commonly used ways to form new words is affixation either through prefixation or suffixation. Confixation or infixation is hardly ever used and is evidenced in the Indonesian Language. Other methods of word formation include coining, clipping, blending, acronym, and compounding. A difficulty arises when one has to decide which morpheme comes first, if he encounters a word with bound morphemes at both sides, since the two bound morphemes are not simultaneously attached to the root. Confixation occurs when morphemes are bounded both ends of the root simultaneously. Confixation can be seen in the Indonesian language.

Key words: word formation, bound morphemes at both sides

What is word?

Words have a pivotal role in communication both in written and oral form. Without words, communication is almost impossible because a sentence, a group of words which is semantically acceptable and grammatically correct, allows us to communicate effectively. Without communication, life could cease to exist. So important are the words we use that we have to select them carefully when we talk. Diction or word choice is an important factor to consider before we talk or write. We try not to hurt other people with words we use when talking or writing.

Words can be viewed from several aspects. If they are seen from their internal structure, they can be classified into simple and complex words. Simple words are those which cannot be further segmented. For example, *water*, is a simple word because it cannot be further divided. Whereas complex words are those which can be further divided. For example, *watered*, is a complex word, because it can be further segmented into *water* and {-ed} as a bound morpheme.

If words are viewed from their class, they can be grouped into content and structural words which altogether form the parts of speech. Content words include noun, verb, adjective and adverb. Structural words include conjunctions, prepositions, articles, numerals, pronouns, and interjections.

But, what is a word really? It is not easy to give a precise definition of a word because what seems to be a word to the speakers of one language may not be a word to the speakers of another language. For example, **amo** in Latin, for most of us it seems like a word but actually it is a sentence which means **I love**. Words are the minimum free form that is the smallest form that can occur by itself (Aitchison, 1978: 3). Thus, a form that can stand by itself is called a word. The form *book* for example is a word because it can occur by itself. Richards (1985: 311) gives a similar definition that a word is the smallest linguistic unit that occurs on its own in speech and writing. The form "a" in English is a word although it consists of only a letter. However, {-s} in "books" is not a word despite the fact that it is also a letter. The word *undesirable* is a single word but has three morphemes. If the most elemental units of

meaning are assumed to be the words of a language, then {un-} has the same meaning in *unlikely*, *untouchable*, and *unchangeable* as it has in *undesirable* because they all consists of two units of meaning: {un-} + desirable, likely, touchable, changeable (Fromkin and Robert, 1974: 103). However, {un-} is not a word because it cannot stand by itself. Although it constitutes a certain meaning, it can only be meaningful if it is attached to another word. Therefore, a word should be distinguished from a morpheme. A word must be a morpheme, that is a free morpheme, but a morpheme is not necessarily a word like in the example above “undesirable”, {un-} is not a word but a morpheme, a bound morpheme, which never occurs on its own but it is always attached to another morpheme. So, “undesirable” is one word but it has three morphemes.

Bauer (1983: 12-13) shows the difference between word form and lexeme. The word form “shot” is a form of the lexeme “shoot”. Likewise, the words “shoots”, “shooting” and “shot” are all the from the lexeme “shoot”. In other words, it can be said that the words, *shoot*, *shoots*, *shooting* and *shot* are all subsumed under the lexeme ***shoot***.

Todd (1987: 49) states that we can isolate four of the most frequently implied meaning of “word”: the orthographic, the morphological, the lexical, and the semantic word. An orthographic word is one which has a space on either side of it. For example, *He had a book*. There are four words in this sentence because each has a space on either side of it. A morphological word is a unique form which considers only form not meaning. The word “table”, for instance, is one morphological word, but “tables” are two morphological words. A lexical word covers the various forms of items which are closely related by meaning. Thus, *take*, *takes*, *taking*, *took*, *taken*, are five morphological words but only one lexical word. This is really similar to what Bauer (1983) defines as lexeme and word form. A semantic word involves distinguishing between items which may be morphologically identical but have a different meaning. The word *table*, for instance, can refer to a piece of furniture or to a schedule. Thus, they belong to the same morphological word but they are also two semantic words

because they are not closely related in meaning.

How is a word developed?

We will have a limited number of sentences if there are no new words produced. This means that not all our needs can be expressed by a limited number of words. New words can be developed from existing words or invented due to technological advancement. According to Akmajian, et.al (1991: 21-24) new words can be formed by coining and compounding. Whereas Rachmadie 1985: 48-67) adds that words can also be formed by blending, clipping, and through acronyms. But the most commonly used way used to form new words is affixation.

1. Affixation

Affixation is a process of attaching an affix to the root either to the left side or right side of the root. When an affix is attached to the end of the root or to the right side of the root, it is called a suffix. For example, *free* + {-dom} → *freedom*. When an affix is attached to the front of the root or the left side of the root, it is called a prefix. For example, {dis-}+ *continue* → *discontinue*. Prefixes and suffixes are affixes attached to the bases or to various combinations of the morphemes (Wardhaugh, 1977: 84). Wardhaugh further states that English does not use infixes, the nearest equivalent being the kind of situation that occurs in the plural of man → men. In general, suffix changes the category of the word, except those of inflectional morphemes. Whereas hardly any prefix changes the category of the word.

{dis-} + *continue* (verb) → *discontinue* (verb)
good (adjective) + {-ness} → *goodness* (noun)
free (adjective) + {-dom} → *freedom* (noun)
leep (verb) + {-y} → *sleepy* (adjective)
{un-} + *true* (adjective) → *untrue* (adjective)

From the examples above, it can be seen that suffixes change the category of the word, while prefixes do not. However, there is a prefix which can change the category of the word, that is the prefix {en-}.

{en-} + *danger* (noun) → *endanger* (verb)
{en-} + *rich* (adjective) → *enrich* (verb)

This is the only prefix which can change the category of the word, other prefixes do not change the category of the word they are attached to. Nevertheless, the process of affixation is the most commonly used way to form new words.

2. Coining or Inventing Words

Coining words are those words which keep entering a language. The speakers invent new words to name previously non-existent objects that result from technology, such as Xerox, klenex, Kodak, laptop, computer, e-mail, digital, etc. In other words, coining words is the creation of new original words by writers, inventors, scientists, and others who are in need of a term to express a certain meaning or to name a product like coca cola, pentium, camera, tip-ex, laser disc, etc. Some coined words like *radar* and *laser* were originally created as acronyms, *radio detecting and ranging*, *light amplification by stimulated emission of radiation*. But people quickly forgot such origins and they become new independent words. They do not realize that such words are in fact the result of acronym but since they are already familiar with them they do not regard them anymore as acronyms.

3. Clipping Words

Clipping is the process of shortening a longer word. It occurs when the long word has a very common use and the shorter form results because it is simpler and more easily understood. These clipped forms are usually appropriate in informal conversation but some of them are also used in standard English.

pub	→ clipped from public
mag	→ clipped from magazine
dorm	→ clipped from dormitory
pro	→ clipped from professional

There is no exact rule of how to clip longer words. In general, only the first syllable and the first phoneme of the second syllable are taken as a clipped word if the word consists of two or three syllables. The clipped word "dorm" is taken from the first syllable and the

first phoneme of the second syllable of the word *dormitory*.

However, this is not always the case. Sometimes, a word of four syllables is clipped into two syllables or one only. For examples :

composition → compo
professional → pro
advertisement → ads
cafeteria → café
dormitory → dorm

From the examples above, the word *composition* and *cafeteria* are consistently clipped, but not with the other words in spite of being four syllables. In the word *composition* and *cafeteria*, the first and the second syllable are taken to form the clipped word, but the rest are not similarly treated. In the word *professional* only the first syllable is taken to form the clipped word as if it were a word of two or three syllables. The word *dormitory* should be clipped as "dormi" like the previous examples of *composition* and *cafeteria*. But people say "dorm" instead of "dormi". Therefore, the process of clipping cannot be applied to all words in the same way.

4. Blending Words

Blending is the fusion of two words into one, usually the first part of one word with the last part of another, so that the resultant blend consists of both original meanings. For example:

motor + hotel → motel
smoke + fog → smog
breakfast + lunch → brunch

The word *motel* is used to mean a hotel for motorists, *smog* is used to mean smoke and fog, and *brunch* is used to mean a meal taken instead of both breakfast and lunch.

Again, the process of blending does not follow an exact rule. Like clipping, it is formed according to the speaker's ease, meaning easy to say and easy to recall. Here below some more examples of blends.

radio + telegram → radiogram
biological + mechanic → bionic

American + Asian → Ameranesia
medical + care → medicare
mono + rail → monorail
turbo+ propeller → turboprop
cheese + hamburger → cheeseburger

From the examples above, it can be seen that there is no exact rule in forming a blend as shown above. It seems that practicality becomes one of the factors taken into consideration to make a blend.

5. Acronym

An acronym is the result of forming a word from the first letter or letters of each word in a phrase. This process happens because the name of the phrase is too long to say, therefore the speakers create a shorter way to say the phrase. For examples:

Aeronautics and Space Administration
→ NASA
Test of English as a Foreign Language
→ TOEFL
Very important person
→ VIP
World Health Organization
→ WHO
Teaching English as a Foreign Language
→ TEFL

Acronyms usually name political, industrial, and social institutions, not single or compound words. They usually consist of a long phrase which is then made into an acronym and formed into a word. However, some acronyms have already become permanent entries in the lexicon of English such as radar (radio detecting and ranging), laser (light amplification by stimulated emission or radiation), and scuba (self-contained under water breathing apparatus). People have forgotten that they are acronyms, instead they regard them as new entries in English.

Besides the long phrases which are made into acronyms, there are some short phrases as well which one made into acronyms.

Down payment → D.P
Brought in dead → BID
Delivery order → D.O
Ante cenan → a.c (before meals)

God bless you → G.B.U
air conditioned → a.c
Post meridiem → P.M
Over dose → O.D
Ante meridiem → A.M
road traffic accident → R.T.A

These kinds of acronyms are now used a lot in text messages, and everybody understands their meaning even when seeing them for the first time. The phrase "by the way" is made into btw, and "God bless you" into GBU. Words are clipped irregularly such as "thanks" becomes thx, "you" becomes u, and Christmas becomes Xs.

6. Compounding

Compound words are formed by combining two or more words into one unit with a perceptible meaning. For examples:

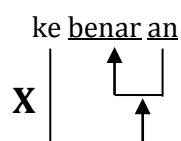
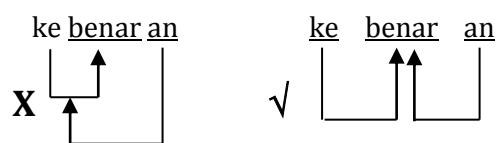
class (noun) + room (noun) → classroom
green (adjective) + house (noun) → greenhouse
sun (noun) + bathe (verb) → sunbathe
pick (verb) + pocket (noun) → pickpocket,
cut-throat
hit (verb) + run (verb) → hitrun
cut (preposition) + cast (verb) → outcast

These compound words can be made of many combinations but the most frequent combination is those of noun and noun. This is the largest sub-grouping of compounds. Many types of semantic relationship can be isolated within this grouping (Bauer, 1983: 202). It can be difficult to decide whether a combination of words is a compound or simply a noun phrase. The criterion taken to distinguishing between the two is the stress. If the stress is on the first word, then it is a compound. This is not difficult if the combination consists of a noun and a noun – like *movie star*, *classroom*, *ticket agent*, etc. But when the combination consists of an adjective and a noun like *deep structures* or *dancing teacher*, it can result in a different meaning. When the stress is on the left, *deep structure*, then it is a compound word which refers to a part of transformational grammar. When it is a phrase with the stress on the right or on the second element, the meaning is "a structure which is deep". Likewise, "dancing teacher", when it is a compound

word with the stress on the left, it means a teacher who teaches dancing. Whereas when it is a noun phrase with the stress on the right, it means a teacher who is dancing. However, these cases are quite rare, and only those with the -ing form can result in difficulty. One way to decide whether a form is a compound or a phrase is through its meaning. If the meaning can be unveiled by a relative pronoun, then it must be a phrase. On the contrary, if the meaning can be unveiled by a preposition, then it must be a compound. For example, *dining table*, it must be a compound since the meaning is a *table for dining*, not *a table which is dining*. Some, however, can be confusing like dancing teacher, hunting dog, flying planes, etc.

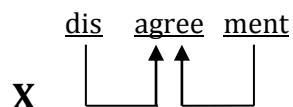
7. Bound Morphemes on Both Sides

In English there is no so-called confixes like in Indonesian. Confixes are affixes which are simultaneously attached to both sides of the root. Thus the word, **disagreement**, does not undergo the same process as the word **kebenaran** in Indonesian. {ke – an } in Indonesian is called confix because it must be attached simultaneously, not one by one.



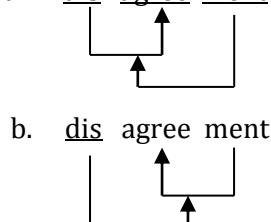
The description in the middle is the correct one because the confix {ke – an } should come together to the root "benar", then we have **kebenaran**. There is no "kebenar", then suffix {-an} is attached, nor "benaran", then prefix {ke-} is attached to it. Because of the existence of confixation in Indonesian, words are not formed by adding a prefix then a suffix or vice versa.

On the contrary, confixation is not found in English. It is sometimes difficult to decide which affix is attached to the root first if a word has affixes on both sides. Look at this example below.

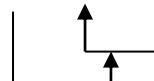


The process of confixation is not used in English. Both affixes are not simultaneously attached, but they are attached one by one. The problem is which is attached first, the prefix or the suffix.

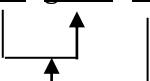
- (1) a. dis agree ment or



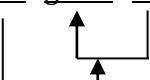
- b. dis agree ment



- (2) a. dis grace ful or



- b. dis grace ful



If we are faced with successive peripheral constituents on both sides of the root, we have two ways to analyze, (1) by analyzing the meaningful relationship, and (2) by studying the structural parallels (Nida, 1949: 89). By meaningful relationship it can be decided that in (1a) {-ment} as a modifier of **disagree**, meaning "being disagreed", or in (1b) {dis-} + agreement, meaning "no agreement". Likewise, in example (2a) {ful-} functions as a modifier of "disgrace", meaning "full of disgrace"; or in (2b) {dis-} + graceful, meaning "not graceful". Whereas by structural parallels, we have to compare various types of combination with {dis-} and {-ment}, and {dis-}{ and {-ful}.

The prefix {dis-} mostly occurs with a noun and a verb, and the resultant combination remains such *disagree*, *discolor*, *disrespect*, etc. They remain as verbs since the prefix {dis-} does not change the category of the word. Although the prefix {dis-} may

occur with a noun, it is not productive like {dis-} + harmony → disharmony. Whereas the suffix {-ment} occurs with verb, and the resultant combination is a noun such as agreement, reparation, attornment, endowment, employment, etc. The suffix {-ment} changes the category of the word to which it is attached. Likewise, in example (2a) the suffix {-ful} occurs with the noun and the resultant combination is an adjective such as careful, tasteful, beautiful, handful, etc. In other words, the suffix {-ful} changes the category of the word to which it is attached.

Therefore, by doing structural parallel analysis, the most acceptable analysis is the alternative (a) not (b) although the alternative (1b) indicates a noun like "agreement", but that is not acceptable because the noun "agreement" is a complex word, not a root. The prefix {dis} + noun is not productive, except with "harmony" as shown above. If we tolerate the alternative (1b), then we might have other combinations of {dis-} such as disshipment, disemployment, discommandment, etc which are all rejected. Likewise, in example (2a), this procedure is acceptable, and (b) is not because disgrace + {-ful} becomes an adjective, that is the function of suffix {-ful} to change the noun into an adjective. If we employ procedure (b) {dis-} + graceful, it still remains adjective, but contrary to the prefix {dis-} which is always attached to a verb or a noun and never to an adjective. Take another example, "disrespectful", the root's precisely bound-base "respect", must be a noun, not a verb. If it were a verb, then the prefix {dis-} is attached to it, it is still acceptable, but suffix {-ful} is never attached to a verb in order to change it into an adjective. The suffix {-ful} is attached to a noun to form an adjective. Therefore, we have to use the structural parallel analysis to decide which morpheme comes first if we have successive peripheral constituents on both sides of the root.

Conclusion

The coverage of word formation in English is quite wide. One of the most widely used ways to form new words is affixation, comprising prefixation and suffixation. Whereas coining, clipping, blending, acronym and compounding have their own rules in

forming new words. Since confixation is not known in English, one has a difficulty to determine how a word with bound morphemes on both sides of the root is formed. A question may arise which morpheme is firstly attached, the prefix or the suffix. The prefix and the suffix cannot be simultaneously attached because confixation is not available in English.

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Bridal Confession in “At the Altar Rail”

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Abstract

Stylistics is a linguistic analysis on literary and non-literary texts. This article is concerned with a systemic stylistic analysis of a poem in terms of Systemic Functional Linguistics and Verbal Art Semiotics. The article uses library research, qualitative data, documentary study, descriptive method and intrinsic-objective approach. The semantic analysis results in both automatized and foregrounded meanings. The automatized meaning produces lexical cohesion and in turn, produces subject matter. Meanwhile, the foregrounded meaning produces the literary meaning and in turn, it creates a theme. Finally, the analysis indicates that the subject matter is about the planning of a marriage, the literary meaning is about the confession of an experienced bride, and the theme is about bridal confession.

Keyword: automatized meaning, foregrounded meaning, literary meaning.

Introduction

In fact a text is a semantic unit and a clause is a grammatical unit. Therefore semantics is an interface between the context of a situation and lexicogrammar. In this sense the semantic systems are related upwards to contextual systems but also they are related downwards to lexicogrammatical systems; moreover these semantic systems are sideways related to cohesive systems (Halliday and Hasan 1985, Martin 1992, Eggins 1994 and Matthiessen 1995). The contextual systems are Field (subject matter), Tenor (role relation) and Mode (rhetoric). The semantic systems are logical, experiential, interpersonal and textual meanings. The cohesive systems are structural conjunction, lexical cohesion, conversational structure, cohesive conjunction, reference, substitution and ellipsis. Specifically, lexical cohesion deals with repetition, synonym, antonym, hyponym, cohyponym, meronym, comeronym and collocation. The lexicogrammatical systems are Complexing, Transitivity, Mood and Theme.

Then logogenesis, ontogenesis and phylogenesis constitute semogenesis.

Actually logogenesis is a process of creating meanings through instantial system (shifting system) in the unfolding text. The shifting system is used not only by the writer/speaker as a resource to create a text but also by the reader / listener as a resource to interpret the text; logogenetic pattern reveals coincidence between shifts in grammatical pattern and shifts in textual structure (Halliday and Matthiessen, 1999). In general literariness is defined as the difference between automatization or background and defamiliarization or foreground (Jefferson, 1995: 37). Background is also called ground, familiarization, automatization and the normal, canonical, habitual, common, automatized and familiarizing pattern; whereas foreground(ing) is also called figure, defamiliarization, deautomatization and the foregrounded, dominant, prominent, motivated, deautomatized and defamiliarizing pattern (Mukarovsky, 1977). The opposition of background and foreground in Verbal Art is analogous to the reversal of ground and figure in Gestalt Psychology (Butt, 1996). In other words the opposition of semantic background (subject matter) and semantic foreground (literary meaning) in Verbal Art is analogous to the reversal of ground (two black faces: *dua*

wajah warna hitam) and figure (white chalice: *gelas anggur warna putih*) in Gestalt Psychology. The reversal of ground and figure is diagrammed in the following Figure 1.

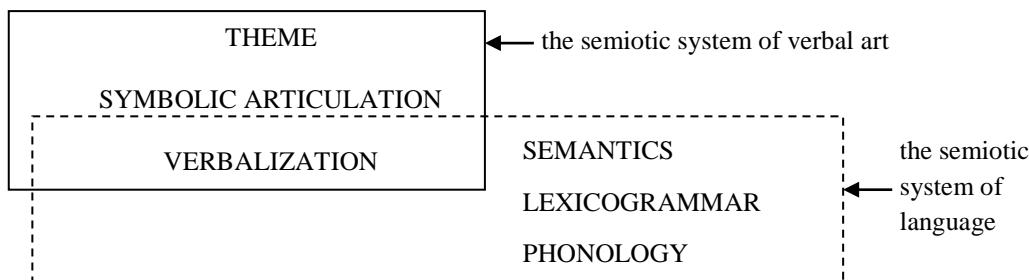
Figure 1
The Reversal of Ground and Figure



In addition, consistency of foregrounding has two aspects. By stability of semantic direction, consistency of foregrounding means that the various foregrounded

patterns point toward the same general kind of meaning. By stability of textual location, consistency of foregrounding means that the significant patterns of foregrounding have a tendency to occur at a textually important point (Hasan, 1985: 95). In particular the concept of the consistency of foreground(ing) is used by Hasan (1985, 1996) to propose the two semiotic systems of verbal art and of human language. The semiotic system of verbal art is concerned with verbalization (expression), symbolic articulation (content 2) and theme (content 1), whereas the verbalization is the semiotic system of human language concerned with phonology (expression), lexicogrammar (content 2) and semantics (content 1). The two semiotic systems are shown in Figure 2.

Figure 2
Two semiotic systems of verbal art and of language (Hasan, 1985: 99)



First at the stratum of verbalization, the consistency of foregrounding makes the foregrounded patterns produce the first order meaning. The first order meaning is also called the deep level of meaning and consistently foregrounded meaning. Then at the stratum of symbolic articulation, the first order meaning functions as a symbol, sign or metaphor for the second order meaning. The second order meaning is also called the deeper level of meaning and literary meaning. Next at the stratum of Theme, the second order meaning creates the Theme. The Theme is also called the deepest level of meaning and the third order meanings. Thus the first order meaning is the product of linguistic semiotics but both the second order meaning and the deepest level of meaning are the products of artistic semiotics.

This article is concerned with a systemic stylistic analysis of a poem written by Thomas Hardy shown as follows:

At the Altar-Rail

"My bride is not coming, alas!" says the
groom,

And the telegram shakes in his hand; "I own
It was hurried; we met at a dancing-room
When I went to the Cattle-Show alone,
And then, next night, where the Fountain
leaps,

And the Street of the Quarter-Circle sweeps.
"Ay, she won me to ask her to be my wife--
'Twas foolish perhaps!--to forsake the ways

Of the flaring town for a farmer's life.

She agreed, and we fixed it. Now she says:
It's sweet of you, dear, to prepare me a nest
But a swift, short, gay life suits me best.
What I really am you have never gleaned;
I had tasted the apple ere you were weaned."

(Thomas Hardy)

The Semiotic System of Language

1. Logical Meaning, Logical Metafunction or Logical Semantics

Logical meaning is a resource for constructing logical relation (Halliday, 1994: 36) and the logical meaning describes a clause type (clause complex). In other words, logical meaning is concerned with the logical relation of clause complexes in the text, and the logical relation includes taxis (parataxis and hypotaxis), expansion (elaboration, extension and enhancement) and projection (locution and idea). In terms of logical meaning, this poem is composed of three

clause complexes consisting of three main clauses and twenty expanding clauses. Out of twenty expanding clauses, there are seven clauses of paratactic extension, six clauses of hypotactic enhancement, two clauses of paratactic elaboration, two clauses of paratactic projection and three embedded clauses. Thus, extension is the automatized pattern because the poem is frequently realized by extending clauses. Actually, logical meaning is realized by complexing and the complexing analysis is presented in table 1.

Table 1: Complexing Analysis

No.	Notation	Logical Relation	Clause
1.	"1	Projection	"My bride is not coming, alas"
2.	2	Main Clause	Says the groom
3.	+3	Extension	And the telegram shakes in his hand;
4.	+4 α	Elaboration	I own
5.	4 × β	Extension	It was hurried;
6.	+5 α	Extension	We met at a dancing room
7.	5 × β	Enhancement	When I went to the Cattle-show alone
8.	+6 α	Extension	And then, neat night, [[9.1 9.2]] ah she won me
9.	6 × β	Enhancement	To ask her to be my wife
9.1	[[]]	Embedding	Where the fountain leaps
9.2	[[]]	Embedding	And the street of the Quarter Circle sweeps
10.	1 α	Main Clause	It was foolish perhaps
11.	1 × β	Enhancement	To forsake the ways of the flaring town for a farmer's life;
12.	+2	Extension	She agreed
13.	+3	Extension	And we fixed it
14.	1	Main Clause	Now she says
15.	"2 α	Projection	It's sweet of you
16.	2 × β	Enhancement	To prepare me a nest
17.	+3	Extension	But a swift, short, gay life suits me best:
18.	=4	Elaboration	You have never gleaned [[18.1]]
18.1	[[]]	Embedding	What I really am:
19.	=5 α	Elaboration	I had tasted the apple
20.	5 × β	Enhancement	Before you were weaned

2. Experiential Meaning, Experiential Metafunction or Experiential Semantics

Experiential meaning is a resource for construing experience (Halliday, 1994: 36) and the experiential meaning discusses a type of process (processes). In other words, experiential meaning deals with the process

of clauses in the text, and the process includes material process (process of doing), mental process (process of sensing), verbal process (process of saying), behavioral process (process of behaving), existential process (process of existing) relational process (process of being) and causative process (process of causing). In terms of

Experiential Meaning, this poem is expressed by twenty three clauses consisting of eleven clauses of material process, three clauses of mental process, four clauses of verbal process, and five clauses of relational process. In addition, the poem is expressed by nine clauses of past tense, eight clauses of present tense, one clause of present continuous, one clause of present perfect tense and one clause of past perfect. Moreover, the poem is

expressed by twenty clauses of finiteness and three clauses of non-finiteness. Thus, material process, past tense and finite clause are the automatized patterns, because they are frequently used in the poem. Then, experiential meaning is expressed by Transitivity and the analysis of Transitivity as displayed in Table 2.

Table 2: Transitivity Analysis

No.	Process	Tense	Finiteness	Clause
1.	Material	Present Continuous	-	"My bride is not coming, alas"
2.	Verbal	Present Tense	-	Says the groom
3.	Material	Present Tense	-	And the telegram shakes in his hand;
4.	Relational	Present Tense	-	I own
5.	Relational	Past Tense	-	It was hurried;
6.	Material	Past Tense	-	We met at a dancing room
7.	Material	Past Tense	-	When I went to the Cattle-show alone
8.	Material	Past Tense	-	And then, neat night, [[9.1 9.2]] ah she won me
9.	Verbal	-	Non-finite	To ask her to be my wife
9.1	Material	Present Tense	-	Where the fountain leaps
9.2	Material	Present Tense	-	And the street of the Quarter Circle sweeps
10.	Relational	Past Tense	-	It was foolish perhaps
11.	Material	-	Non-finite	To forsake the ways of the flaring town for a farmer's life;
12.	Verbal	Past Tense	-	She agreed
13.	Material	Past Tense	-	And we fixed it
14.	Verbal	Present Tense	-	Now she says
15.	Relational	Present Tense	-	It's sweet of you
16.	Material	-	Non-finite	To prepare me a nest
17.	Mental	Present Tense	-	But a swift, short, gay life suits me best:
18.	Mental	Perfect Tense	-	You have never gleaned [[18.1]]
18.1	Relational	Present Tense	-	What I really am:
19.	Mental	Past Perfect	-	I had tasted the apple
20.	Mental	Past Tense	-	Before you were weaned

3. Logogenetic Process

According to Halliday and Matthiessen (1998: 184-5), logogenesis is a process of constructing meaning through an instantial system (a changing system) when text unfolds (in the unfolding text). The speaker/writer uses the instantial system (the changing system) as a resource to create a text, whereas the listener/reader uses the instantial system (the changing system) as a resource to interpret the text. Moreover, Matthiessen (1995: 40) adds that logogenetic process reveals that lexicogrammatical shift (Cf. Butt, 1988: 83 on "latent patterning") coincides with episodic shift (Hasan, 1988: 60 on "textual structure"). Textual structure is

also called narrative structure (O'Toole, 1983), schematic structure (Martin, 1985), staging structure (Plum, 1988) and generic structure (Eggins, 1994). In this poem, the shifts are described as follows:

Shift from material process (clause 13) to verbal process (clause 14) coincides with the shift from the Condition of the Bride to the Confession of the Bride.

In this poem, the instantial system of process is used as a resource for constructing meanings. Finally, logogenetic process is provided in table 3.

Table 3: Logogenetic Pattern

Clause Number	Lexicogrammatical Shift Cf. Latent Patterning	Episodic Shift Cf. Generic Structure
1 13	Material process Material process	The Condition of Bride
14 20	Verbal process Mental process	The Confession of Bride

4. Lexical Cohesion

A poem is realized by a series of lexical chains and each chain has a number of lexical items. Actually, this poem is realized by twenty lexical chains consisting of 54 lexical items. The lexical chains include *bride* (six lexical items), *groom* (three lexical items), *we* (two lexical items), material process (ten lexical items), mental process (four lexical items), verbal process (four lexical items),

relational process (five lexical items), repetition (two lexical items), synonym (twelve lexical items), antonym (two lexical items), cohyponym (two lexical items), and collocation (two lexical items). Thus, lexical cohesion is realized by the main lexical chains of *bride*, material process and synonym. Lexical cohesion is realized by lexical chains, and the analysis of lexical chains is drawn in Table 4.

Table 4: Lexical Analysis

No.	Lexical Chain	Lexical Item	Total
1.	Bride	bride, she, she, she, I, I	6
2.	Groom	groom, I, I	3
3.	We	we, we	2
4.	Material Process	is not coming, shakes, met, went, won, to forsake, fixed, leaps, sweeps, to prepare	10
5.	Mental Process	suits, have gleaned, were weaned, had tasted	4
6.	Verbal Process	says, to ask, says, agreed	4
7.	Relational Process	own, was, was, is, am	5
8.	Repetition	life (2x)	2
9.	Synonym	bride = wife, sweet = gay, swift = quick, dancing = flaring, room = nest, show = circle	12
10.	Antonym	foolish >< clear	2
11.	Cohyponym	town – street	2

12.	Collocation	farmer - apple	2
		Overall Total	54

5. Subject Matter

Field includes subject matter as one of its special manifestations (Halliday, 1993: 110) and Field is realized through Experiential Meaning (Halliday, 1993: 143). Field is encoded by Experiential Meaning and lexical cohesion (Eggins, 1994: 113). Moreover, subject matter is expressed by lexical chains (Butt, 1988: 177) and specifically subject matter is indicated by the main lexical chains (Butt, 1988: 182). Thus, subject matter is realized by Experiential Meaning and lexical cohesion.

In section 2.2, experiential meaning was frequently realized by material process. In section 2.4, lexical cohesion was frequently realized by material process. This means that subject matter is normally realized by material process. In fact, the frequent use of material processes indicates that the functional elements are Actor (*we*), Process (*fixed*), and Goal (*marriage*). In conclusion, the subject matter is about the planning of a marriage. The analysis of material processes is offered in table 5.

Table 5: The Analysis of Material Process.

No.	Actor	Process	Goal	Circumstance
1.	My bride	is not coming		
2.	The telegram	shakes		in his hand
3.	We	met		at dancing room
4.	I	went		to the cattle-show alone
5.	She	won	me	
6.	The fountain	leaps		
7.	The street	sweeps		
8.	We	fixed	it	

The Semiotic System of Verbal Art

1. The Deep Level of Meaning

In section 2.1, extension was automatized, so a combination of extension, elaboration, enhancement and projection is foregrounded. Thus, the foregrounding of logical relation takes place in clauses 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 18.1, 19 and 20. In section 2.2, material process was automatized, so other processes are foregrounded. Therefore, foregrounding of process occurs in clauses 2, 4, 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 18.1, 19 and 20. Moreover, in section 2.2, past tense was automatized, so other tenses are foregrounded. Consequently, the foregrounding of tense occurs in clauses 1, 2, 3, 4, 9.1, 9.2, 14, 15, 17, 18, 18.1 and 19. In section 2.2, finite clause was automatized, so non-finite clause is foregrounded. Accordingly, the foregrounding of non-finiteness exists in clauses 9, 11 and 16.

Finally, the patterns of foregrounding are mapped out in table 6.

Table 6: Patterns of Foregrounding

Note: dotted lines = clause complex boundary

No.	Logical Relation	Process	Tense	Finiteness
1.	-	-	1	-
2.	-	2	2	-
3.	-	-	3	-
4.	-	4	4	-
5.	-	5	-	-
6.	-	-	-	-
7.	-	-	-	-
8.	-	-	-	-
9.	-	9	-	9
9.1	-	-	9.1	-
9.2	-	-	9.2	-
10.	-	10	-	-
11.	-	-	-	11
12.	-	12	-	-
13.	-	-	-	-
14.	14	14	14	-
15.	15	15	15	-

16.	16	-	-	16
17.	17	17	17	-
18.	18	18	18	-
18.1	18.1	18.1	18.1	-
19.	19	19	19	-
20.	20	20	-	-

Table 6 shows that the patterning of the various foregrounded pattern points toward clauses 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 18.1, 19 and 20. It means that the consistency of foregrounding converges toward the last clause complex. The consistency of foregrounding refers to the last clause complex due to the foregrounding of logical relation, process, tense and non-finiteness. Therefore, the consistency of foregrounding makes the foregrounded patterns of the last clause complex produce consistency in foregrounded meaning which is also called the first order meaning and the deep level of meaning. In summary, the consistently foregrounded meaning of the last clause complex is the deep level of meaning in this poem: Now she says, it's sweet of you dear to prepare me a nest, but a swift, short, gay life suits me best: you have never gleaned what I really am: I had tasted the apple before you were weaned.

2. Symbolic Articulation: The Deeper Level of Meaning

The deeper level of meaning functions as a symbol, sign or metaphor which is also called the literary meaning and the second order meaning. In section 3.1, the deeper level of meaning refers to the last clause complex because of the foregrounding of logical relation (a combination of extension, elaboration, enhancement and projection), process (mental, verbal and relational), tense (present continuous, present tense, present perfect and past perfect) and finiteness (non-finite clauses). Therefore, the last clause complex reveals that the bride says that the groom is very kind to provide her with a house, but the bride prefers a quick, short, happy marriage because the groom has never heard about her and the bride is much more experienced than the groom. In short, the

deeper level of meaning is about the confession of the experienced bride.

3. Theme: The Deepest Level of Meaning

The deeper level of meaning creates the deepest level of meaning which is also called Theme and the third order meaning. Hasan (1985: 97) states that Theme is the deepest level of meaning in verbal art; it is what a text is about when dissociated from the particularities of that text. In its nature, the Theme of verbal art is very close to generalizations which can be viewed as a hypothesis about some aspect of the social life of man. Moreover, Hasan (1985: 54) adds that the deepest level of meaning is a meaning that arises from saying one thing and meaning another. In this poem, saying one thing (*the confession of the experienced bride*) means another (*bridal confession*). In brief, the deepest level of meaning is about the bridal confession.

Conclusion

The lexicogrammatical analysis produces semantic components and there are two kinds of semantic patterns such as automatized and foregrounded. On the one hand, the automatized pattern produces the automatized meaning, and in turn the automatized meaning produces subject matter. On the other hand, at the stratum of Verbalization, consistency of foregrounding makes some foregrounded patterns produce consistently foregrounded meaning which is also called the deep level of meaning and the first order meaning. At the stratum of symbolic articulation, the deep level of meaning functions as a symbol, sign or metaphor of the deeper level of meaning which is also called the second order meaning and literary meaning. At the stratum of Theme, the deeper level of meaning creates the deepest level of meaning which is also called Theme and the third order meaning. In summary, there is a symbolic relation between lexicogrammar and Theme in verbal art. The meanings in this poem are outlined in the following table.

Table 7: Meanings of Verbal Art Semiotics.

Verbalization	Symbolic Articulation	Theme
Consistently Foregrounded Meaning	Literary Meaning	Theme
The Deep Level of Meaning	The Deeper Level of Meaning	The Deepest Level of Meaning
The First Order Meaning	The Second Order Meaning	The Third Order Meaning

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The Representation of Mexican-Americans' Life Stages through the Models in Luis Valdez's *Los Vendidos*

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Abstract

*Literature and history are interrelated. Literature does not only serve for entertainment but it also serves as a historical record of certain society in certain period. Through literature, many history and events can be examined. This is particularly why *Los Vendidos* becomes an interesting example. It examines Mexican-Americans' history through its satirical element. The model characters in the play describe not only distinctive characteristics but also specific perception and condition of Mexican-Americans' life in different periods, or stages. Each model represents the reality of Mexican-Americans' history. Thus, at the end, this research will not only evaluated Mexican-Americans' history or discrimination, but it also examine the whole life, the culture and the ideology of Mexican-Americans.*

Keywords: Mexican-Americans' history, models, stages

Introduction

Mexican-Americans are often regarded simply as Mexican, or even American alone. However, this would be an unfair way to examine them because they are not just Mexican or American alone. They are something in between. It can even be concluded that Mexican-Americans are both Mexican and Americans at the same time. This community experienced different history, valued different culture and preserved specific ideology for themselves. Thus, this community is a unique mix of Mexicans and Americans. Based on this point, the researcher chooses Mexican-American as the subject of the research. By examining Mexican-Americans in the research, the researcher would like to reveal further their life and identity as a community.

For this study, the researcher is interested in the play *Los Vendidos* by Luis Valdez because the play itself is also a mix between literature and history. It means the play itself is a satirical historical record. *Los Vendidos* is interesting both as a literary work and a historical track of Hispanic culture.

Apart from the entire plot and the setting, the historical aspect of the play is revealed vividly and broadly through the model characters such as Farm Worker, Revolucionario and Mexican-American. Each model depicts different facts, perception and condition of Mexican-American community. Therefore, the researcher would like to begin from the model characters of the play.

Therefore, the researcher raises the issue of Mexican-Americans' life stages which are represented by the models in *Los Vendidos*. The research is very significant in revealing the life and culture of Mexican-American through sequential periods, or stages that Mexican-Americans had undergone. These stages are the result of Mexicans' migration for a better living. Thus, the first stage reveals the early life of Mexicans immigration such as life condition and job available. As Light argued that these people were constantly exploited and they were put in the second-class job like labors, farmers and cotton pickers (1989: 370). There were no job option other than labors and farmer because most of them did not speak English. They were uneducated and illegal. The next stage examines the Mexican immigrants' reaction

toward the unfairness in the form of aggression and revolution. This is the phase where they acted for equal right. The last stage reveals the acculturation process where these Mexicans started to attach themselves as Americans resulting to the existence of Mexican-American people. These are the three stages that Mexican people had undergone in America and these phenomena are common in race relation process.

Race Relation

Reaction is a very common result in race relation, that is when two or different cultures clash each other, they will likely to react toward the situation. This reaction would vary in different circumstances like equal condition or unequal one. Kitano refers this phenomenon as "Racial Interaction" (1985: 11). This theory is particularly interesting in the case of unequal power where one ethnic has weaker position than the other one. Mexican-American, on the other hand, is appropriate to explain the situation where the inferior Mexican-Americans or the minority had to mingle and live with Americans as the superior and mainstream group. Mexican-American, as the newcomer, had to be ready in the New World, America. This is the "Racial Interaction" phenomenon existed.

On one side, the reaction of the superior group could be rejection, discrimination and segregation. These were what the superior group commonly did toward the minority people. They excluded people as stranger or alien. However, what particularly interesting is the minority group's reaction toward the situation. Kitano refers this as the minority's adaptation and it can be in the form of conflict, acceptance or even avoidance (Kitano, 1985: 65). Their acceptance as the effort of adaptation could exist in the process of acculturation. This process will be explained further in the next theory. Another adaptation of the minority group would be in the form of conflict such as aggression, race riot, strike and boycott (Kitano, 1985: 72). The minority group in an unfair and discriminative situation could react negatively. They fought back and protested.

The same thing also applied to Mexican-Americans. As the community which was put in the lowest position in America, the community eventually revolted against the unfair treatments. This community fought for their right and they often trapped in bloody conflicts with the authority. Norton explained "in the 1930s Mexican-Americans belied their image by engaging in prolonged and sometimes bloody strikes" (1982: 743).

Acculturation

Acculturation process is part of Kitano's racial interaction where minority group, in this case Mexican-Americans, tried to adapt with the condition in the mainstream, America. Mexican-Americans, as the result of racial interaction, tried to be accepted in the mainstream through adaptation of value, culture and ideology. This is the process of acculturation where people from certain culture try to be similar with another culture in many ways. In the case of Mexican-American, Kitano refers it as "Anglo Conformity" (1985: 2).

From Sociology point of view, acculturation is understood as "the process by which an individual forsake his or her own culture tradition to become part of a different culture" (Schafer, 1986: 232). Thus, it can be concluded that a person who has neglected his or her own tradition and adopts a different tradition or culture is said to have acculturated. The main point here is adaptation where people try to be one by practicing the same value, tradition and culture.

However, acculturation should not only be defined but it needs to be recognized. According to Hazuda, acculturation should be recognized as "a multi-dimensional process which covers language, culture beliefs and values, and structural assimilation" (<http://www.rice.edu/project/HispanicHealth/Acculturation.html>). Therefore, it is understood that the process of acculturation involved the practice of language, culture and value adaptation and structural acculturation through society's acceptance in social structure. From this point of view, it is

possible to examine whether or not Mexican-Americans have acculturated with Americans.

Discussion

In this part, the researcher will examine the three stages of Mexican-Americans' life from the three model characters like the Farm Worker, the Revolucionario and the Mexican-American. Each represents one significant period of Mexican-Americans' life and all of them constitute sequential periods or stages itself.

The idea of sequential stages has been presented by Valdez from the introduction of the characters itself. For example, Farm Worker model is depicted of having no ability to speak or to understand English at all. The model speaks only Mexican. Then, it is introduced Pachuco model and Revolucionario model which know very limited English. However, at the end, Mexican-American model is introduced to be a bilingual and educated model. Here, it is obvious how Valdez tries to reveal the sense of development, from not bilingual to a completely literate and bilingual model.

Another example is from food preferences. Farm Worker resembles Mexican with its Mexican foods preference like chile, tortilla and beans. As the other models are introduced, these models depict more complex food preferences like a mix of Mexican food and American food like in Revolucionario model. In fact, Mexican-American as the last model consumes American food only. Here, it is obvious that through food preferences, the sense of development or stages has existed from pure Mexican, a mix between Mexican and American to a total Americanized version.

The First Stage: The Migration 1900s

The migration period is best represented by the Farm Worker model. This part will examine the common life condition and challenges faced by Mexican immigrant at that time. The period began when massive number of Mexican people came to America in 1900s to seek for new life and opportunity. This is because America, at that time, grew

rapidly in economy and agriculture which demanded more labors. This was the Mexicans' opportunity for a better living, and this was what triggered the massive migration in 1900s (www.everyculture.com/multi/Le-Pa/Mexican-Americans.html). Because agriculture demanded more and more cheap labors, the Mexican immigrants became the exploited workers. This is because they were uneducated, illegal and they did not speak English. This is why at that time, almost all Mexican immigrants became labors and farmers.

Basically, the Mexican immigrants' condition at that time was very devastating and unfair. The most obvious discriminatory action they experienced was in terms of payment. These plantation and field labors were not paid reasonable and they were even underpaid compared to other ethnic worker. Take a look at the following quotation.

As a result, Hispanics, on average, earn only half to two-thirds of the average American income. The Spanish median income is \$17, 465; the national median income is \$23, 618. Many Hispanics make up an underclass of workers who take jobs no one else wants at wages no one else will accept (Light et al, 1989: 90).

It is obvious that Mexican immigrants' income was very low even to the national income of American people at that time. This is because their wages were extremely low and they had to accept that with no question because they did not have legal status as labors. They were mostly undocumented workers with no law protection; therefore, they had to accept whatever offered to them, even the lowest payment none wanted to take.

This unfair payment is represented by the Farm Worker with its "economical" feature. The model is said to be so economical that it only needs one plate of bean with tortillas and plenty of chile. The model also only needs pennies a day to make it run (Valdez, 1994: 1405). It is stated that to run the model, it needs a very cheap and simple food with no cost at all. This is actually Valdez's satire toward the actual condition

that Mexican immigrants often paid so low that they could not even fulfill their basic needs. Thus, it is obvious that how cheap the model is represents and satirizes how low and unfair the payment of Mexican immigrants in actual condition.

Another discrimination and inappropriate treatment these people had to bear was in terms of house facilities. Mexican immigrants were not only underpaid, but they were also neglected without housing, health and sanitation facilities from their employers. These workers had to squeeze themselves in a very small house together. They had to live with ten or more people in one small house. It is obvious in the following quotation.

Sometimes, whole families of "braceros" would only get paid twenty cents for three hours of work. Working families lived in small run down shacks or tents in crowded camps. If there wasn't enough room, some family members would sleep under bridges nearby. In order to survive, families were forced to move to where work was available

(http://l3d.cs.colorado.edu/systems/age_ntsheets/New-Vista/grape-boycott)

Here, it is obvious how insufficient the housing was. It was too small to hold many workers, but they had to stay there. They even had to stay outside in the field when the house could not hold people anymore.

Through Farm Worker, Valdez also tries to reveal this condition. The model is described to be very "portable". It means the model could be stored in any place such as old barns, old cars, or even river banks. In fact, the model is so portable that it does not even need a place to be kept. It can be left out in the field. Examine the following dialogue.

SECRETARY. *What about storage?*

ANCHO. *No Problem. You know these new farm labor camps our Honorable Governor Reagan has built out by parlier or Raisin city? They were designed with our model in mind. Five, six, seven, even ten in one of those shacks will give you no trouble at all. You can also put him in old*

barns, old cars, river banks. You can even leave him out in the field overnight with no worry!

(Valdez, 1994: 1405)

The last would be the challenges faced by the Mexican immigrants in fields and plantations. As labors who worked as cotton pickers or fruit harvesters, the real obstacle would be the weather. This is because they had to adapt themselves in every season and they had to be ready in any condition when the harvest month came. No matter how hot or cold the weather was they had to be in the field. It was even more devastating because weather kept changing each month. Summer brought its heat while winter blizzards would pile up and troubled the workers. Not only that, In March and April, melted snow threatened the workers with flood that would wiped out all the crops (Norton et al, 1982: 453). This was what the workers had to face, the weather.

The idea is also represented through Farm Worker's durability with its special features such as *Sombrero*, a typical wide Mexican hat and four-ply Goodyear *huaraches*, anti-rain tire. The model is described to be very durable that it could work in any condition and weather with the help of its features. Take a look at the following dialogue.

SANCHO. (...)*Also take special notice of his four-ply Goodyear huaraches, made from the rain tire. This wide-brimmed sombrero is an extra added feature- keeps off the sun, rain, and dust.*

SECRETARY. *Yes, it does look durable.*
(Valdez, 1994: 1404)

Here, it is obvious that the *Sombrero* is very useful for the Farm Worker to keep off the sun, rain, and even dust. Thus, it will not be a problem for the model to work under the hot sun, or to work under rain. The model can overcome that. Not only that, the model is also very durable with its anti-rain tire which will help it in slippery land in rainy season. Thus, it can be concluded that Farm Worker model is prepared with any kind of condition, weather and season, and it can work effectively. Here, it is very obvious how

Valdez represents the weather as an obstacle in Mexican workers' actual condition by making the Farm Worker model to be fully prepared with any weather condition. The model's durability represents the necessity of Mexican Workers to adapt in any condition, season and weather.

The Second Stage: The Revolution and Movement After 1940s

As Kitano argued before about "Racial Interaction" (1985: 11), minority group, in this case Mexican-Americans would react aggressively toward the discrimination and prejudice by Americans as the result of conflict adaptation. After the previous period where Mexican workers were discriminated and treated bad, these people reacted back and they fight back in this period. Thus, in this period, it is basically reveal the struggles and the clashes of Mexican to gain their equal right. They fought vigorously in order to be treated fair and respectfully. This is the period of Revolution and Movement which is best represented by the Revolucionario.

Basically, in the second stage, it will be revealed the general condition during the revolution and the mindset of people toward those revolutionaries. As what has been mentioned before, revolution was basically the way Mexican workers fought back through direct aggression, conflict, strikes and boycott. These people did many strikes and boycotts to show their aspiration for equal right. These strikes were often happened in the plantation or in the field. What commonly happened during strikes was that these people demonstrated and aspired their rejection toward discrimination. It resembled much a demonstration. On the other hand, the authorities and the police would also reacted back in the form of violence and abuses toward the Mexican immigrants. The condition often ended bloody and brutally. Take a look the following quotation.

But in the 1930s Mexican-Americans belied their image by engaging in prolonged and sometimes bloody strikes. In united action in the San Joaquin valley in October 1933, eighteen thousand cotton

pickers walked off their jobs and set up "strike city" after being evicted from the growers' camp. Shortly after, their union hall was riddled with bullets and two strikes died. The next year labor violence was frequent in the imperial valley, where police crushed a strike by burning the pickers' camp to the ground. In this dispute and others, Mexican-Americans showed their determination to organized, gain strength from unity, and fight for their rights (Norton et al 1982: 743).

The quotation has described the chaotic condition of revolution efforts and strikes. People were fighting each other. The police even used bullets to control the situation even if they had to kill many people. This is basically the idea in strikes and boycotts where people gathered and yelled out their protests out loud.

This chaotic condition is revealed humorously through the Revolucionario's volume control feature. The model is depicted of having a volume control. Thus, the model can scream when the volume is increased or it can even gives mousey and small sound. Take a look at the following dialogue.

SANCHO. Well, he was in all of them.
Listen to this. (Snap.)
REVOLUCIONARIO. (Scream). VIVA
VILLAAAAA!
SECRETARY. That's awfully loud.
SANCHO. He has a volume control. (He
adjusts volume. Snap.)
REVOLUCIONARIO. (Mousey voice). Viva
Villa!
(Valdez, 1994: 1407)

This feature is a very special feature owned only by the Revolucionario. The volume control signifies the actual chaotic condition of strikes commonly happened in plantation or fields. The loud scream and the aspiration yelled by the Mexican protesters are tried to be represented by the fact that the Revolucionario is able to increase its volume into screaming just like what happened in demonstration or strikes. Moreover, another significant point is the words screamed by the Revolucionario. It keeps saying "Viva Villa" which literary means long live the

country. This is a very common utterance during Mexican revolution in 1910 to defend Mexico. Thus, it is obvious how the volume control feature actually represents the general condition in strikes and revolution.

Besides the bloody and brutal condition during the revolution, the mindset of people against Mexican immigrants who fought back was also bad. Take a look at the following quotation by Daniels and Kitano.

The Caucasian [and] especially the Anglo-Saxon, when engaged in fighting...resort[s] to fisticuffs...; but this Mexican element considers [good sportsmanship] to be a sign of weakness, and all he knows and feels is a desire to use a knife or some lethal weapon. In other words, his desire is to kill, or at least let blood (1985: 161).

It is obvious that the struggle of Mexican immigrants were regarded negative by American people. They believed that Mexicans were a savage and brutal people who loved to killed and shed blood. They believed that it was their nature to revolt and kill because the Mexican enjoyed it as sign of manhood. This mindset was particularly unfair for them. When they did not fight back, they were discriminated and excluded from the society, but when they actually struggled to achieve their right, they were regarded as savage and bloodthirsty people. They were always put as victim physically and mentally.

This mindset is also depicted through the Revolucionario. The model is depicted to be a special model which can rides horses, stays in mountains, crosses deserts, plains, rivers, leads revolutions, follow revolutions, kills, can be killed, serves as a martyr, hero (Valdez, 1994: 1407). Here, the model is simply said that it kills. This description tries to represent the unfair mindset as if by nature, Mexican loves to kill or as if only Mexican that kills people in strikes, not Americans.

The Third Period: The Acculturation

This part is particularly interesting because not only it is necessary to defined first what acculturation is and its parameters

to recognize the process, it is important also to examine the facts whether or not Mexican immigrants have done such process that made them into Mexican-Americans.

Therefore, as the process which involves culture and value adaptation of another ethnic, acculturation will involve in language mastery and culture and value attachment of Mexican immigrants to America. This is to reveal that Mexican-Americans have acculturated, and this is best represented by the Mexican-American model.

The first is language mastery. The process of acculturation happens when a person tries to be accepted by the mainstream through language mastery. It means that when Mexican-Americans learn English as their language, they wanted to be welcomed in the new society. Take a look at the following dialogue.

SECRETARY. *That's much better, but you didn't answer my question. Does he speak English?*
SANCHO. *Bueno...no, pero he has other—*
SECRETARY. *No.*
SANCHO. *Other features.*
SECRETARY. *NO! He just won't do!*
(Valdez, 1994: 1405)

Here, it is obvious that there is actually a demand from the Secretary to have a bilingual model, a model which understands English. The Farm Worker is rejected directly because it is not bilingual and the Secretary believes that it will not be suitable to work among Americans in the office. The demand of language as part of acculturation itself has been portrayed in the play; This was what really happened in America especially in the case of Mexican-American where they employed different language. The society demanded that in order to be accepted as part of the mainstream, the person needs to understand each other through language. Take a look at the following quotation.

In contrast, the norms and the values of some Hispanic Americans have been profoundly challenged by the need to interact with the pervasive Anglo world. One example can be seen in language.

Hispanics have had to make their way in a “foreign” society in which English is the language of workplace, the marketplace, the school, and the political arena (Light et al, 1989: 91).

Here, it is clear that mastering English is one of the way for Hispanics to “survive” in the foreign country. This is because it was the official language of the country and it was used anywhere such workplace and market. Therefore, they needed to learn English.

This is what Mexican-American model represents. Compared to the Farm Worker which is rejected because it is not bilingual, the Mexican-American model comes as the model which fulfills the Secretary demands because it is educated and bilingual.

SANCHO. *Well, we'll just write that down. Yes, señorita, this model represents the apex of American engineering! He is bilingual, college educated, ambitious! Say the word “acculturate” and he accelerates. He is intelligent, well-mannered, clean— did I say clean? (Snap. Mexican-American raises his arm.) Smell* (Valdez, 1994: 1409)

The model suits the Secretary because it can speak English fluently. Here, it is obvious that the Mexican-American model has follow what is demanded from it, the same language; therefore, the model has follow what the mainstream wants. This is where the process of acculturation existed that is when Mexican-Americans follow what happened in the society and mainstream, they have acculturated. Thus, it is obvious that how the model actually fulfills the Secretary's demand represents the process of acculturation through language.

The acculturation of Mexican-Americans through attachment or following the mainstream can also exist in the level of culture, value and belief. This is what Gordon referred as “Cultural Assimilation” where people started to assimilate another culture as their identity (1964). Take a look at the following quotations.

Racial ethnic groups have also gone through the same process, and some have successfully acculturated. They have learned English and the American way; They have fought and died for America and have subscribed to the tenets of patriotism and love of country (Kitano, 1985: 27).

It is clear that learning the language and believing the same way, that is the American way, are the acculturation itself. This is where Mexican-Americans tried to be similar with Americans in many ways like culture, ideology and value. These people were actually proud to part of America and their attachment had grown into patriotic action itself.

These facts are described vividly by Valdez through the Mexican-American's patriotic feature and its political speech. Take a look at the following speech.

MEXICAN-AMERICAN. *Mr. Congressman, Mr. Chairman, members of the board, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen. (Sancho and Secretary applaud.) Please, please. I come before you as a Mexican-American to tell you about the problems of the Mexican. The problems of the Mexican stem from one thing and one thing alone: He's stupid. He's uneducated. He needs to stay in school. He needs to be ambitious, forward-looking, harder-working. He needs to think American, American, American, AMERICAN, AMERICAN, AMERICAN. GOD BLESS AMERICA! GOD BLESS AMERICA! GOD BLESS AMERICA!! (He goes out of control.) (Sancho snaps frantically and the Mexican-American finally slumps forward, bending at the waist.)*
SECRETARY. *Oh my, he's patriotic too!*
(Valdez, 1994: 1409)

From the speech, the attachment to America can be seen clearly. The model feels proud to be American and he thinks Americans are the best because they are ambitious, forward-looking and hard-worker. The sense of patriotism is also obvious when the model yells ‘God Bless America’ over and over. He

tries to show his patriotic sense. Thus, it can be concluded that the way the model proud to be American and thinks like American is a representation of the true acculturation of Mexican-Americans.

Conclusion

Los Vendidos, in the basis of historical issue, does not only evaluate the cultural clashes between Mexican value and American culture such as prejudice, discrimination or struggles. More than that, the play tries to examine the whole life of Mexican-Americans in the New World as stranger through three sequential stages. These three stages which involves migration, revolution and acculturation period will eventually reveal the actual history of Mexican-Americans from the moment they lived in America to the end. Each stage would be the best trace of Mexican-Americans' life, culture, identity and value as whole.

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- Sakala, Carol. *The Evolution of Renaissance Utopian Literature*. Dissertation. Tampa: University of South Florida, 2002. Print.

Notes

Unpublished: title is written in quotation marks; **Published:** title written in italic. Write the descriptive label: Dissertation or Thesis.

7. An Article/Document from a Website

"Automatically Record Everything They Do Online!" *Netbus.org*. etbus.org. n.d. Web. 17

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Flynn, Nancy. "Internet Policies." *ePolicy Institute*. ePolicy Inst., n.d. Web. 15 February 2006.

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