

## **METAPHORIC EXPRESSIONS IN *BETANDAK*: A PRAGMATIC PERSPECTIVE**

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### **Abstract**

Every society has unique traditions that are different from one another. They could be oral, acts, or artifacts. The traditions they have depends on typology of the people; how they live their daily life, what value they believe in, how they react to the environment, and what they inherit from their ancestors. People of *Pujut* have *betandak* as their unique oral tradition since it is only found in *Pujut* and not in other areas. In some parts of its lyrics, *tandak* is expressed in metaphoric words. It was intentionally managed to make puns and made it even more sarcastic even though the pun was meant to be a smooth innuendo that one found it hard to understand. To make it easier to understand, it is urgent to seek for the answers of *betandak*'s forms, meanings and significances to the people. Concerning the social phenomenon of *betandak*, this research will employ the qualitative research. It involves a set of interpretive, material practices which is making the world perceptible. These practices turn the world into a sequence of representations including field notes, interviews, discussion, pictures, recordings and memos. The nomenclature of *tandak* has never been the concern of *Pujut* people. However, the absence of concept of nomenclature gives a way for all people to come with the concept of their own and create names for it. The nomenclature, so far, is classified into three categories: Seasonal, Spatial, and Occasional.

**Keywords:** *Betandak*, Metaphors, Forms, Meanings, Significances

## Abstrak

Setiap kelompok masyarakat memiliki tradisi unik yang berbeda dari tradisi yang ada dalam kelompok masyarakat yang lain. Tradisi tersebut bisa berbentuk lisan, aksi, atau artefak. Hal itu tergantung pada tipologi masyarakat; sikap hidup, kepercayaan, reaksi terhadap lingkungan dan warisan leluhur. Masyarakat *Pujut* memiliki tradisi lisan *betandak* yang unik karena hanya ada di *Pujut* dan tidak ditemukan di daerah lain. Dalam beberapa bagian dari liriknya, *tandak* diungkapkan secara metaforik. Kata yang digunakan berbentuk sindiran sehingga terkadang sulit dimengerti. Untuk menangkap pesannya, sangat diperlukan adanya penelitian untuk mencari jawaban tentang bentuk, makna dan signifikansinya bagi masyarakat. Dalam kaitannya dengan fenomena sosial dari *betandak*, penelitian ini menggunakan pendekatan kualitatif yang melibatkan praktik interpretatif untuk membuat fenomena itu mudah dimengerti. Praktik tersebut mengubah fenomena di dalamnya menjadi representatif yang mencakup catatan lapangan, wawancara, diskusi, gambar, rekaman dan memo. Nomenklatur *tandak* tidak pernah menjadi perhatian masyarakat *Pujut*. Ketiadaan konsep nomenklatur menyediakan jalan bagi masyarakat untuk menciptakan nama yang sejauh ini dikelompokkan menjadi tiga kategori; Musiman, Ruang, dan peristiwa.

**Kata Kunci:** *Betandak*, Metafora, Bentuk, Makna, Signifikansi

## INTRODUCTION

Every society has unique traditions that are different from one another. They could be oral, acts, or artifacts. The traditions they have depends on typology of the people; how they live their daily life, what value they believe in, how they react to the environment, and what they inherit from their ancestors. *Pujut* people is not an exception.

People of *Pujut* have *betandak* as their unique oral tradition since it is only found in *Pujut* and not in other areas. So far, no one knows exactly what it is, when people started to practice it, how they created it at the beginning, why they made it, and why they call it so.

The event of *Bau Nyalé* which is celebrated every year with the legend of *Putri Mandalika* as its central figure is believed to be the starting point of the civilization including the oral tradition of *betandak*.

*Betandaq* has no rhyme nor standardized form of lyrics and quantity of words and sentences. It really depends on the skill and wish of the performers, whether they imitate other rhyme and rhythm or make up their own, whether it is a single line or many, it is up to them.

From some preliminary interviews with those who are seen by the people as

the ones who are in charge of the local customs of *Sasak* like *dalang* (puppets master), *pembasaq* and the elders who has experienced it, there are some versions of *Betandak* in the frame of tentative notion. *Betandak* derives from the noun *tandak*. Some say that it is ‘tanda’ in Bahasa Indonesia which means ‘sign’, but another says that it is originally the *Sasaknese* word which means ‘expression’. Even, another assumption comes with the statement that this noun has something to do with *tanduq* which people understand as ‘indication’. The most accommodative meaning of all is ‘expression’ since the practice shows how people express their feelings impulsively. This expression is the sign indicating that one who perform *tandak* is undergoing a certain situation and from the contents, others know what kind of circumstance that situated the doers that drive them to do so, whether it is joyful, sorrowful, or just killing time.

According to a respondent, there are types of *betandak* based on the season when it is chanted; *tandak nyantung* (when lonely before or after the work in rice fields and nothing to do instead), *tandak nyalé* (at the event of *Bau Nyalé*), *tandak ngujang* (when helping by working at the girl’s rice fields), *tandak ngume* (when getting rid of weeds in the rice fields), and *tandak mataq* (harvest time). These kinds

of *betandak* are denied by another respondent. He said that there is no such a thing like those. When people want to *betandak*, they can do it anytime. But a senior puppet master has a different opinion. He said that *betandak* is done in three places; *balé* (home), *bangket* (ricefields) and *gawah* (woods). These places are used to name the kinds of *betandak*. *Tandak Balé* is usually chanted by mothers who tries to put a baby into sleep. *Tandak Bangket* is commonly performed when someone feels lonely in the rice fields. *Tandak Gawah* is normally hummed when a person feels lost or confused in the woods.

It is essential to know that *betandak* is not like poetry but sometimes it takes the form of poetry with the rhyme of *abab*, but sometimes it does not. When it is rhymed, it goes the way a poetry goes. It contains the *sampiran* (couplet) and followed by *isi* (content). The couplet does not have to interconnect with the content but in some case it does. The lyrics must be chanted whether it is rhymed or not, otherwise, it is not *betandak*.

The analysis of words used in *betandak* remains untouched so far. It is vital to know the level of creativity of *Pujut* people in expressing their artistic passion to respond the hurt they experience instead of doing the destructive acts. Not

only *betandak*, there are labels stuck on people based on their residential areas. This labelling is not applied for *Pujut* only but also other areas: *Belok Pujut*, *Pagah Praye*, *Wanén Ketare*, *Ajum Penujak*, etc. At a glance, some of the labels are sensed negative. The impression they give is misunderstood and caught negatively. This is the urgency of the analytical description of the words. The explanation of why a word is used will enlighten the misperception and later on will make up the good understanding of the society; how the structure of society is built, how they behave and what they think. This research is important to restore the understanding on the words in *betandak*. By understanding the words and features, the value in them will also be regained.

If someone fails to see the context, then he/she will also fail to get the information that is actually expressed by the speaker. To see the context means to see who, why, when, where, and in what way a speech is spoken. In other words, one needs to analyze the speech to get the comprehensive understanding. He/She has to observe the details involved by expounding the components.

*Betandak* once played a vital and significant role among the society practiced by almost all members of the community in their own versions inherited

from their ancestors. Today, it is not as viral as in the past due to the absence of information of its value and meaning it brought to social life. This study is trying to show those values by introducing the metaphoric expressions; the forms, meaning and significances contained in *betandak*.

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

In a study held by Jensen (2006): “Metaphor is a Bridge to Understanding Educational and Social Context”, it indicates that the research discussed two different things that needed to be united. They are as if two things that literally gapped and will not allied without the ‘bridge’.

Education covers formal and informal contexts and both of them are social context. The only difference between them is that the formal context is academically tested and the informal one is not. But the formal academic world, which is nowadays called school, itself is a result of a social interaction that, in a certain stage, tries to find the formula that is collectively agreed as the standard of truth based on the process that is also collectively considered as the full-fledged standard by the society. So, to say ‘educational and social context’ is basically applying two words on the same item at the same time, wasteful. But it is

the fact now that someone would be called ‘educated’ if he/she went through the academic process of education even though such a process did not make him/her competent in his/her field. No matter how good someone in a certain field but he/she never got through the educational process, he/she is not ‘educated’ but simply ‘experienced’. It is then merely the matter of elitism.

What needs to be clarified here is that the metaphor is used to bridge two things that are essentially the same. Didn’t one say that education begins at home? As to the common knowledge, home is not formal. On page 13, Jensen (2006) said that metaphor has embarked the new ways to see the world of education. Metaphor had never gone anywhere. It had been there since the human had been able to make an expression. It is the education as an institution that should be addressed as the new one since it emerged as also one kind of expression.

Through the educational institution, man prompts the ‘tested idea’ of the way things should be or the way to perform something that may be socially improper to other man with the different background and culture. It is seen as a legitimation to force a formulated theory to be applied in the whole parts of what so called modern day world. Let’s say the learning and

teaching process in today's world is conducted by maximizing the use of classrooms, grades system, bench and desk, etc. Without those instruments, it is not the proper process. What has been practiced until now in most of traditional boarding school is untouched by them but still the process considered proper because there are many things better left unchanged. Metaphor had been already introduced to that world, long before Jensen claimed its novelty of ways to explore the educational world.

What was presented by Devatine (2009) in her research of Written Tradition, Oral Tradition, Oral Literature, and Literature, it is true that oral tradition is dynamic. It keeps on changing as time goes by. It is shaped by the context of life which people live by that changes all the time. Let's say '*orero*', as exemplified by the writer, is an oral text used to open or close some ceremonies like wedding, meeting, baptism, or prayer.

But this dynamic change, like what happened to '*orero*', generally used in limited occasion, not the core of the oral tradition which is being performed. The core remained untouched and unchanged. Just like *Sasaknese's* traditional stories like *Te Godék-Godék*, *Putri Nyalé*, *Te Melak Mangan*, and *Cupak Gurantang*.

What changed in them is the way they are told. Some story tellers prefer the shortcut to immediately get the message, some enjoy every details of the plot and find the messages in every part of the story, some use the original metaphors, some try to find the alternative metaphors. The change depends on the interest and the capability of the tellers.

## RESEARCH METHOD

Qualitative research is an approach for investigating and understanding the meaning individuals or groups attribute to a social or human problem (Creswell, 2014). Ritchie and Lewis (2003: 3) asserted that it is simply a situated activity that put the researcher in the world. It involves a set of interpretive, material practices which is making the world perceptible. These practices turn the world into a sequence of representations including field notes, interviews, discussion, pictures, recordings and memos. At this level, qualitative research requires an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This indicates that qualitative researchers study things in their real settings, trying to make sense of, or to construe, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

### Findings

Metaphors, which is the main course of this study, consists of 7 (seven) forms; analogy, translation, exchange, contradiction, synecdoche, metonymy, and metaphor proper according to Miller (1982) in Ritchie (2013: 14). Those forms are found *tandak* that are already recorded for the interviewees or participants.

### Discussions

In finding and analyzing metaphors in *betandak*, it is essential to experience it by listening to the real tone of it and record it to get a comprehensive understanding. Here are some examples of *betandak* summoned from some interviewees who actually practiced it in the past. They are named after seasons, places, and contents. There is no firm concept to name a certain *tandak*. It is up to the performer. Sometimes it has unnamed, just simply *tandak* like the following ones:

*Subahnale mun rampak jari sikil*

(O Lord, if *rampak* becomes *sikil*)

*Mi bansu jari sengaréq*

(The spoiled rice will become *sengaréq*)

*Apek ét antih aringkh saq laeq laloqn?*

(What are we waiting for so long, my baby?)

*Embus atingkh sik perangenm*

(My heart decayed for thinking of you)

This *tandak* is analogy. The focus on these two lines is the time. In the third line, it is directly emphasized that the waiting time is too long. It is as long as the time needed for *rampak* to turn into *sikil* and for the rice to be spoiled and turn into *sengaréq*. The time taken made them change into something else. As if the performer said, "I do not want to wait any longer, it has been too long, it is time for you to make up your mind". That is what can be implied from those implicit expressions and what is really meant is explicitly expressed in the third line.

The fourth line uses *embus* that means putrefied. The putrefaction itself is the result of a series of process that takes time to occur. Again, it deals with some period of time that correspond with all the lines above.

The metaphoric expressions in *tandak* #1 reveals the intimacy of people and their culture. It is shown in the way they perform *betandak*. Its content is not separated from the culture they are close with and live by, especially in this case, how they earn food to make a living. In all societies, the food is the first concern before other needs. This intimacy is significant since it acts as the mean of introduction. It obviously introduces the people to the world with the core aspect that determine how they live, how they

think, what target they pursue, and what they do to gain the target.

The second form found is translation and synecdoche:

*Bingkh musm gamaq aring*

(Give me your smile, my baby)

*Jari sangungkh tempuh malem*

(To keep me up through the night)

*Sempalahm tekirim langan ipic, aring*

(I hope you will come in my dream, my baby)

*Jari balungkh tempuh irup*

(To keep me strong through my life)

Let us go back to the ideal reason of smiling which is the feeling of joy. If the boy assumes that the girl who is smiling to him feels happy to see his presence, then the smile that is mentioned in the *tandak* above is believed to have the power of encouragement. The courage makes the boy survive through the night. It means that the smiling is like the food that gives the nutrition to be able to live by. The ‘translation’ of smiling has the same effect when it is applied to the image of the girl that the boy wishes to see in his dream that will make him able to survive through the life ahead.

These two things (smile and imaginary picture as stated in the third and the fourth lines) are analogous since they share a common pattern of relationships among their constituent elements, even

though the elements themselves differ across the two situations (Holyoak, 2012: 234).

The metaphoric expressions in *tandak* #2 shows that the awareness of artistic literature and the ability to express it have been existing among the society since long. Were they natural or had they been specifically taught by their ancestors to do so? Both of those two possibilities indicate that they have been significantly a sophisticated community. Whether it was natural or it was the result of the teaching, both show the success of education run in their own native society. If the awareness and the ability were natural, it means that they had been already in their blood. They were naturally absorbed from the everyday activities and the specific treatment and instruction were not needed. If they were specifically taught, it means that the system of education had successfully produced the excellent output with the zero failure.

But the most possible way that tended to occur is that the awareness and the ability were natural. There is no fact showing that an institution had been built to conduct a system of education of it. The most undeniable truth of its naturalness is the reality that there was no nomenclature of it at all. The names that appeared were



made up occasionally and were not prepared systematically.

The third one is metonymy:

*Besénter angen mélé bedait*

(The feeling is a flashlight just to see you)

The line insists that there is a relation between the feeling (heart) and the *sénter* (flashlight). From any angles, the heart and the flashlight have no resemblance in physical properties and appearance.

So, what did the boy have mind when using the heart and expecting the function of the flashlight? Is it possible for the heart to do what the flashlight can do? How does the heart can give the light in the darkness like the way the flashlight does? It appears that analogically they serve the same function which is to give light. What is supposed to be lighten up? And this last question is the core. Light is needed when one needs to see something in the dark and the darkness, understood as a lack of illumination or an absence of visible light and the polar opposite of brightness, can come in many faces. It may refer to night, misery, ignorance, mortality, decease, loss, end, extinction, downfall, sadness, gloomy, and other fatalities. It depends on the context where it is put. These contextual words lead us to an

understanding that this is where the heart and the flashlight meet and fit each other.

The metaphoric expressions in *tandak* #3 shows the significance of diction. They were able to choose the right word on the right place to get the right meaning. This is very crucial since some misunderstanding that led to chaotic situation often emerged because of the improper placement of the word. The metonymy that synergizes words linking to the exact meaning shared by the both words (source-language and target-language) although they are in different areas. In this case, the feeling and the flashlight play the same role and deliver the same meaning.

The diction among the Sasak society is essential since people know that a person is an honored one or a disgrace from his/her words when speaking.

The fourth form is exchange:

*Mum bilin peresitkh édaq tam peroratkx*

(You left me alone and you do not care)

*Aku tu jelang nerake*

(I know that I am poor)

(The fifth *tandak* of the first table)

*Demak tedung lampaq ngaji*

(Grabbing the hijab going to congregation)

*Mut beréndang tame surge*

(If we learn, we shall go to heaven)

The focus here is the entailment based on the general assumption that sometimes not true. The girl left her boy was not always caused by materialistic reasons, and the girl who puts on hijab does not always go to congregation. It is just the assumption of the boy considering his poor economic condition that this happened to him must be the consequence of his poverty, and the girl who usually stays at home and one day she wears a hijab is assumed goes to the mosque where the congregation held. It is based on the logical relation of cause and effect like when someone goes to the doctor, people assume he must be ill. It is not always true but the logic deduction as people's background knowledge lead them to conclude so.

The metaphoric expressions in *tandak* #4 shows the interchangeable terms. The significance it brings is its universalistic aspect that the people accept it worldwide. The reasonable concept that has shaped the world and made it the way it is now makes it undeniable.

The last one is contradiction and metaphor proper:

*Endiq paran lakonan bekite*

(This is just the way it is)

*Pulih rahayu liq tatkale urip neng dunie*

(Hopefully we get blessing in this world)

(The third *tandak* of the second table)

*Bijen sai baruq liwat*

(Who was the girl just went by)

*Kodéq lambung saq béreng atén*

(Little and impolite)

The last two *tandak* indicate that there is a sort of contradiction. The first sentence of the first *tandak* above implies the submission which implies that there is nothing left to do anymore about the situation. But the following sentence shows a fight that it is not the way it is actually. There is something to be done and not give up at least not to the core of the problem, but to the other side of it. the submission contradicts the fight. The same impression is promoted by the second *tandak*. In this case, the sentence is upside down. The effect which is supposed to be the second sentence comes at the first preceding the cause. The performer is startled by the girl who shows an impolite manner by not bowing her body when as the sign of politeness when passing by the elders that contradicts the way she dresses. The dress is *lambung* which is, to many tradition enthusiasts, represents the *tindih* (respected) attitude. The contradiction is also stated at the last phrase of the second sentence *béreng atén* (blackened heart). The heart that handles the circulation of the blood is supposed to be red. But this statement does not have anything to do with the physical appearance. It imposes

the meaning represented by the color of black, mostly negative images.

The ideal condition to omit the bad response is that the girl who wears *lambung* should possess the knowledge of values behind the dress and show it in the behavioristic attitude to anyone. If the manner breaks the code of honor, the reaction will be unpleasantly different. As the blessing (in the first *tandak* above) implies hope among the bitterness of life. The blessing is supposed to go along with the good life, but here, the blessing is viewed as the fight against the bad.

The metaphoric expressions in *tandak* #5 shows the contradictions that unfortunately seem normal to all. It involves irony that is acceptable and considered natural.

Metaphor proper also has a significant aspect here that whatever it is; the customs, the place, the society, the atmosphere, etc. are the metaphors people should adjust with. One cannot do the disco in Hijab or sarung, or play basketball in the meeting room, or play loud music while others sleeping at midnight. Those are unwritten codes and delivered metaphorically.

## CONCLUSION

The nomenclature of *tandak* has never been the concern of *Pujut* people, even of those who are at the level

*pembasaq* and other enthusiasts. It was left to the people who perform it. They might name it as they were pleased based on some considerations; seasons, places, moods, situating environment, goals, etc.

However, the absence of concept of nomenclature gives a way for all people to come with the concept of their own and create names for it with the claim that those names are acknowledged by most of the enthusiasts even though the claim was not supported by any legal proves of documents. But since they are referred by many as the individuals who know more about the field, they worth quoting.

The nomenclature, so far, is classified into three categories: Seasonal nomenclature, Spatial nomenclature, and Occasional nomenclature.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

There are many aspects of *betandak* that are still waiting to be explored and exposed even about metaphors. This study is only a leak at the door for all to have a peek to see what lies inside the room. Some recommendations to follow up from this study are:

On *betandak*:

- a. To trace the history of *betandak*
- b. To reveal the exact tunes and rhythm of *betandak* when it is performed

- c. To revitalize *betandak* that is recently blurred between *bekayaq* and *belacaq*

On metaphors in *betandak*:

- a. To find the concepts of metaphors in *betandak*
- b. To find possibilities to maintain the use of metaphors

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