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The Positioning of *Banyumasan* and Its Ideology 'Cablaka' as Reflected in Linguistic Features

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Banyumas dialect is one of many variants of Javanese language. *Banyumas* dialect or *Banyumasan* is a variant which is found along the flow of Serayu river. The river flows from Sindoro-Sumbing Mountains (Koentjaraningrat, 1984:23). *Banyumasan* has some differences compared to standard Javanese spoken in Jogjakarta, Surakarta and Semarang. Those differences due to phonological and lexical features. This fact is then reflected in the positioning of this variant towards the standard. *Banyumasan* is considered as 'the other' while standard Javanese is 'the self'. It is in line with Hall, who states that "Cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture. Not an essence but a positioning". This positioning is caused by several factors. Meanwhile the use of *Banyumasan* also carries the ideology of *cablaka*. *Cablaka* is a tendency to speak frankly in accordance with social and cultural background. *Cablaka* is a little bit different from *Blakasuta* which means saying something as it is without considering anything. The ideology of *cablaka* is reflected in linguistic features used in *Banyumasan*.

Key words: dialect, Banyumasan, standard Javanese, positioning, self, other, ideology.

1. Introduction

Language as a means of communication may vary from one place to another. The variation is caused by some factors, such as geographical barrier and social factors. The variation caused by geographical barrier is also known as dialect. Chambers and Trudgill (1994: 3) mention that:

..... dialect is a substandard, low status, often rustic form of language, generally associated with the peasantry, the working class, or other group of lacking in prestige. Dialect is also a term which is often applied to form of language, particularly those spoken in more isolated parts of the world, which have no written form. And dialects are also often regarded as some kind of (often erroneous) deviation from a norm-as aberrations of a correct or standard form of language.

From the definition above, it can be concluded that dialect is caused by geographical barrier and it is a form of substandard language which is commonly used in low prestige situation.

This paper is intended to know the positioning of *Banyumas* dialect (BD) and its ideology 'cablaka' as reflected in the linguistic features. Hence, distinguishing between dialect and language will give beneficial understanding along the discussion in this paper. Again Chambers and Trudgill mention as follows:

.....we are faced with the problem of how we can distinguish between a language and a dialect, and the related problem of how we can decide what a language is. One way of looking at this has often been to say that 'a language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects'. This definition has the benefit of characterizing dialects as subparts of a language and of providing a criterion for distinguishing between one language and another (1994:3).

It can be seen from the above definition that the characteristic to differentiate between a language and a dialect is mutual intelligibility. A variation may be classified as a dialect of a language as far as mutual intelligibility is concerned.

2. Discussion

Banyumas Dialect (BD) is one of many variants of Javanese language. *Banyumas* dialect or *Banyumasan* is a variant which is found along the flow of Serayu river. The river flows from Sindoro-Sumbing Mountains (Koentjaraningrat, 1984:23). *Banyumasan* is mainly spoken in Banjarnegara regency, Purbalingga regency, Banyumas regency, Cilacap regency and Kebumen regency (*Barlingmascakeb*).

Javanese language is grouped into Proto Austronesian language. Proto Austronesian is divided into two groups: west and east. The west proto austronesian consists of: Malay language, Sundanese, Javanese, Balinese, Maduranese, Bugis, and languages in North Sulawesi and Philippines archipelago (Wedhawati et al, 2006:9).

Banyumasan is said as a dialect of standard Javanese. Standard Javanese is mainly spoken in Yogyakarta and Surakarta. Compared to standard Javanese spoken in Yogyakarta, Surakarta, Banyumasan has some different features. Those differences due to phonological dan lexical features. The lexical features can be found in some lexical item as shown by below table:

Tabel 1 : The lexical features of Standard Javanese and Banyumasan

| No | Lexical Features | Standard Javanese | Banyumasan |
|----|------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| 1 | cassava | <i>Tela</i> | <i>boled</i> |
| 2 | shopping | <i>Blonjo</i> | <i>becer</i> |
| 3 | go home | <i>Manthuk</i> | <i>bali</i> |

The above table displays some examples of different lexical features found and used in Standard Javanese and Banyumasan.

The differences between Standard Javanese and Banyumasan, in phonological features can be classified into vowel and consonant features. Wedhawati et.al mention the characteristic of Banyumasan vowels compared to Standard Javanese vowels are as follows (2006: 18):

1. Phoneme /i/
When /i/ occurs in a closed coda, it will be realized as [i] in Banyumasan, and [ɪ] in Standard Javanese.
2. Phonem /u/
When /u/ occurs in a closed coda, it will be realized as [u] in Banyumasan, and [ʊ] in Standard Javanese.
3. phoneme /a/
When /a/ occurs in an open coda, it will be realized as [a] in Banyumasan, and [ɔ] in Standard Javanese.

Table 2 shows give the examples of the above explanation.

Table 2: The realization of Standard Javanese and Banyumasan vowels

| No | Phoneme | Orthography | Standard Javanese | Banyumasan | Meaning |
|----|---------|-------------|-------------------|------------|---------|
| 1 | /i/ | pitik | [pitɪʔ] | [pitik] | Chicken |
| 2 | /u/ | abuh | [abʊh] | [abuh] | Abscess |
| 3 | /a/ | lara | [lɔrɔ] | [laraʔ] | Ill |

Regarding the differences in consonants between Standard Javanese and Banyumasan, Wedhawati, et.al (2006:18) further elaborate as follows: The characteristics of Banyumsan consonants are reflected in phonemes /b, d, g, k, and ?/. If there are compared to Standard Javanese, they will be realized as [p], [t], [k], [ʔ], and [Ø]. Table 3 display the examples of the above elaboration.

Table 3: The realization of Standard Javanese and Banyumasan consonants

| No | Phoneme | Orthography | Standard Javanese | Banyumasan | Meaning |
|----|---------|-------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1 | /g/ | endhog | [ɛnd ^h ɔ k] | [ɛnd ^h ɔg] | Egg |
| 2 | /b/ | ababe | [ab ^h ap ^h e] | [ab ^h ab ^h e] | Mouth smell |
| 3 | /d/ | babat | [b ^h ab ^h at] | [b ^h ab ^h ad] | Part of meat |
| 4 | /k/ | bapak | [b ^h apaʔ] | [b ^h apak] | Father |

| | | | | | |
|---|-----|-----|-------|--------|----|
| | | | | | |
| 5 | /?/ | ora | [ora] | [ora?] | No |

From those two table above, it can be seen that the major differences in vowel is that Banyumas vowels tend to be front vowels and standard Javanese are tend to be back. As far as consonants are concerned, Banyumas consonants tend to be voiced consonants.

The differences between Banyumasan and standard Javanese then reflect the positioning of Banyumasan among Javanese varieties. The positioning of Banyumasan as the other and standard Javanese as the self is a matter of positioning. It is in line with Hall in 'Cultural Identity and Diaspora' who mentions that cultural identities are the points of identification, the unstable points of identification or suture, which are made, within the discourses of history and culture. Not an essence but a positioning'. Hence, there is always a politics of identity, a politics of position, which has no absolute guarantee in an unproblematic, transcendental 'law of origin'. The process of identification of self and other between standard Javanese and Banyumasan will be a 'a continuous play of **history, power and culture**.

Priyadi, said that **historically** Banyumasan is older than Standard Javanese. It is in line with Esser research (1927-1929) which showed that there were some Banyumasan vocabularies adapted from Ancient Javanese and Sundanese. Further he mentioned that Banyumas is most west part of Majapahit kingdom which used Middle Javanese(XII Century) On the other hand, Standard Javanese was developed during the Mataram Islam (XIII-XVIII Century).

In fact, standard Javanese is the self and Banyumasan is the other. There is another explanation for this positioning. Yogyakarta and Surakarta are the place where Javanese kingdoms are located. In a simple way, Yogyakarta and Surakarta are the center of administration, politic and **power**. The kings and queens are there. Their languages are considered as the highest standard of language. Banyumas is relatively far from those centers and it has more chances to develop more freely than those of nearer. The other factor that causes this positioning is culture. Language and culture are bound. Wardaugh (1994:218) mentions that 'one long standing claim concerning the relationship between language and culture is that the structure of a language determines the way in which speakers of that language view the world. A somewhat weaker version is that the structure does not determine the world-view but is still extremely influential in predisposing speakers of a language toward adopting a particular word-view. However, this claim is questioned by many linguists and anthropologist, who finally summarized that the culture of people finds reflection in the language they employ; because they value certain things and do them in a certain way, they come to use their language in ways that reflect what they value and what they do.

It seems that the second argumentation is more applicable in the discussion of Banyumasan dialect and its ideology 'cablaka'. *Cablaka* is a tendency to speak frankly in accordance with social and cultural background. *Cablaka* is a little bit different from *Blakasuta* which means saying something as it is without considering anything.

It is important to emphasize that people do not come to interactions as blank slates; their prior experiences, assumptions, and expectations influence the process of production as well as the process of interpretation of spoken and written text. The texts leave linguistic traces of the underlying discourse that they instantiate, discourse that are structured by ideology (Freeman &McElhinny in Mc Kay and Hornberger, 1996: 220-221). Although ideology is often talked as if it were a static thing, it can be better understood as a dynamic process of creating the patterns of menaing or commonsense assumption that guide people's behavior within a particular society (Fairclough, 1989)

From linguistic features described above, it can be assumed that Banyumasan tends to use front vowel compared to standard Javanese. It is then explained that Banyumas people tend to express what they have in their mind freely. They express it wholeheartedly, meanwhile standard Javanese seems to express it half way. Banyumasan is also known as Ngapak-ngapak and standard Javanese is recognized as Bandek/ Bandekan.

Bandek is derived from gandeK, GandeK is a degree for soldier who always guarded the king. They stayed near the king all the time, hence, they had to speak soft and whispered. From this phenomenon, the language they used also influenced. The expressed their idea using half-way pronunciation so that their language sounded more soft (Herusatoto, 2008: 136-137). Poerwadarminta also mentioned that '*Bandek adalah istilah yang dipakai untuk menyebut bahasa Jawa baku, yaitu bahasa yang pengucapan a dengan suara miring* (1939:28). In accordance with Poerwadarminta, it can be summed up that Bandek is a term for standard Javanese.

On the other hand, Banyumasan uses more front vowel and more voiced consonants may be assumed that they tend to be more expressive. From the way they express their language, they express it in hard voice or cablaka. Cablaka is somehow different from blakasuta. From the editorial of CABLAKEA journal, it stated that "Cablaka berarti bersahaja, dengan terus terang mengatakan apa adanya. Cablaka bukannya hanya asal mengeluarkan isi hati tetapi tetap dalam koridor dan paradigma 'bertanggung jawab' atas kenyataan (adanya fakta) dari apa yang diucapkannya. Beda dengan blakasuta yang berarti ngomong dengan terus terang, bertalaran atau tanpa tedeng aling-aling berkata dengan terus terang, tidak sembunyi-sembunyi tanpa mengingat koridor dan paradigma sosial-budaya atau bahkan sekedar wacana atau ucapan, percakapan, kuliah (Vol.1/No 1/2005/vi-vii). From this statement, cablaka as the ideology believed by Banyumas people reflect their culture that is being honest and responsible in line with socio-cultural background.

3. Conclusion

To sum up this discussion, there is one stand point that must be taken into account. Talking about the positioning of self and other is not as simple as it is. Again, as it has been stated that the positioning of Banyumasan dialect compare to standard Javanese as other and self will be a continuous play of history, power and culture. One final glance at French philosopher, Jacques Derrida who distinguish meaning into 'to differ' and 'to defer'. Meaning is dynamic and it is a process so it will be difference and deference.

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