

Acknowledgments

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Sigrid Spangenberg

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Abstract

By Sigrid Spangenberg, master student at Leiden University
Abstract of Master's Thesis, Submitted 3rd of December 2014:
The function of *pantun* in Malay speech

A *pantun* is a poem of four very short lines, consisting of four word clusters that have only two or three syllables. Most *pantun* have ABAB as their rhyme scheme. Research on *pantun* has traditionally focused on the structure and meaning of these poems. However, there has not been a lot of research on how the *pantun* is used in everyday language. The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the function of *pantun* in Malay speech. For this study, I have used a *pantun*-database called 'Melayu Online' to collect *pantun*. From this database, I have selected two *pantun* for analysis. For the analysis the following methods were used:

- ethno pragmatics: based on the assumption that there are cultural keywords, these are explained using Wierzbicka's Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM); ethno pragmatics is focused on the cultural part
- meaning space theory: models of mental space by Turner and Brandt & Brandt are used in a cognitive-semiotic framework to reconstruct meaning from a phenomenological perspective; meaning space theory focuses on the utterance and what this means

This thesis is a first step to further research into the function of *pantun* in Malay speech and how the *pantun* is used in everyday language. On the basis of the this pilot study, it can be assumed that Malay people express themselves with a *pantun* in a way that is respectful of their cultural values and avoids any kind of friction. This assumption can be confirmed by extensive research through fieldwork. That is why I recommend participant observation in Malaysia in order to properly analyse the function of the *pantun*.

1. Introduction

1.1 Pantun

According to Winstedt (1958, 7), '*Literature strictly came into being with the art of writing, but long before letters were shaped, there existed the material of literature, words spoken in verse to wake emotion by beauty of sound and words spoken in prose to appeal to reason by beauty of sense*'. *Pantun* is a form of oral literature. Oral literature include different genres, like: myths, fables, legends, folk tales, romances, epics, proverbs and poetry. Among the Malays, *pantun* is one of the most popular literary expressions. This poem features four very short lines, consisting of four word clusters that only have two or three syllables. Most *pantun* have ABAB as their rhyme scheme. Sim (1987, 12) described the *pantun* as a poetic form that is crisp, passionate and sometimes very cynical.

Pantun have been recorded on paper. The oldest known recordings of *pantun* stem from the 15th century; they are included in the Malay Annals (a history of the rulers in Malay in the 15th century) and in the Hikayat Hang Tuah 'the history of Hang Tuah' (the traditional Malay epic about the well-known Muslim warrior Hang Tuah who is a role model of Malay loyalty to the ruler) (Sim, 1987, 13).

The *pantun* refer to typical elements of Malay life: animals, clothing, fruits, God, love, paddy fields, traditions and wisdom. The *pantun* can say a lot in only short sentences due to the use of metaphors and sayings. In the following poem, the stinking plum refers to an old love and the sweet berry refers to the new love (Wilkinson and Winstedt, 1914, 16).

<i>Buah mengkudu 'ku sangka kandis</i>	<i>For berry sweet a dainty offering</i>
<i>Kandis terletak dalam puan</i>	<i>The stinking plum awhile I took</i>
<i>Gula madu 'ku sangka manis</i>	<i>Ah! Sweeter far then yesterday's honey</i>
<i>Manis lagi senyum-mu tuan</i>	<i>Is your sweet smile and dear look</i>
(Wilkinson and Winstedt, 1914, 16)	(Wilkinson and Winstedt, 1914, 16)

Wilkinson and Winstedt's translation of the *pantun* is not a literal one. This translation ensures that the English words rhyme. The Latin (or scientific) names of *buah mengkudu* and *kandis* are *Morinda citrifolia* and *Garcinia xanthochymus*, respectively. Common English names for *buah mengkudu* are *cheese fruit* or *great Morinda*.

Pantun can be found in many everyday situations in Malay life, both formal and informal. It has diverse functions, varying from entertainment and storytelling to the formalization of a marriage proposal and other social situations.

There has been a lot of research on *pantun* in relation to the structure and meanings of this type of poem. However, there is not a lot of research done on how the *pantun* is used in everyday language. That is why Daillie (1988, 151) suggests that it is interesting to study the *pantun* as an expression of thoughts and feelings. In this thesis, I want to study the function of *pantun* in Malay speech. Therefore, the main research question this thesis poses is '**What is the function of pantun in Malay speech?**'.

The main research question and the following sub questions: ‘What does a *pantun* look like?’ and ‘What does the metaphor in *pantun* mean and which meanings are conveyed through *pantun*?’ will be discussed in chapter 2.7.

In chapter 2, I will explain my theoretical framework which consists of:

- the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) of Wierzbicka and Goddard
- different theories to analyse metaphors
- Turner’s projection theory
- the meaning space theory of Brandt & Brandt to analyse how meaning is constructed from a phenomenological perspective

Chapter 2 will end with a formulation of the research questions and hypothesis.

Chapter 3 describes the results of the analysis of two *pantun* using ethno pragmatics and cultural keywords. The keywords are analysed with Natural Semantic Metalanguage. The following keywords, based on Goddard 2001, 2005, will be analysed in this thesis: *malu, sabar, hormat, merendah diri* and *ikhlas*. I have added the cultural keyword: *budi* to this list because it appears frequently in the selected *pantun*.

In chapter 4, I will analyse what a *pantun* looks like. In my *pantun* collection, another 28 *pantun* which I read, but did not analyse, the following elements are reflected: cooked rice, paddy fields, food, (local) fruits, vegetables and animals. About the structure of a *pantun*, I can conclude that the *pantun* has a fixed form which represents all possible combinations of affixed forms. As a consequence, the words can vary in meaning depending on the context.

In chapter 5, I will study the meaning of *pantun* to understand the function of *pantun* in Malay speech. I will try to figure out how meaning is constructed in *pantun*. I have extended the figures of meaning space theory to a methodology which links stories, parabolic links and generic spaces to reconstruct meaning, of which the terminology is explained in chapter 2.

In chapter 6, the discussion, I will suggest improvements on explications. I will also comment on Mahyudin’s question whether the *pantun* is only used for entertainment or not.

In chapter 7, I shall confirm the hypothesis which is formulated in chapter 2. This leads to the conclusion that for Malay people the function of a *pantun* is to express thoughts and feelings in a manner that is respectful of their cultural values and avoids any kind of friction.

1.2 Malay and Islam

Malaysia is located in the South eastern part of the Asian continent. Malaysia consists of two parts separated by the South China sea: Peninsular Malaysia, between Thailand and Singapore and the two provinces of Sabah and Sarawak, located on the island of Borneo. Therefore, it is also called Peninsula Malaysia and Borneo Malaysia. The peninsula of Malaysia is located just above the equator, while Borneo lies underneath it.

Traditionally, the Malays were village people. At one time, the Malay Archipelago became a trading area well-known for its spices. People in Malaysia came into contact with Islam and embraced it. Nowadays, Malay and Islam are inseparable entities. The Malay constitution states that '*a Malay is someone who leads the Malay life, speaks the Malay language and is a Muslim*' (Asmah, 2005, 13). They have to practice those things before they can call themselves Malay.

It is important to know that Malay culture has taken shape through Islamic values and norms. These cultural norms are always in peoples' minds as a framework for making sense of the world and are used while carefully considering a situation or other peoples' behaviour in order to make a judgement. Furthermore, Malay culture spread a wide range of indigenous peoples into the Muslim, Malay-speaking polities of Maritime Southeast Asia.

1.3 Existing academic debate on *pantun*

In general, a *pantun* consists of two couplets. The first couplet, called *sampiran* 'approach', describes a natural phenomenon. The second couplet, called *isi* 'content', describes the purpose or the intention of the *pantun* (Tiwon, 1999, 56). This second part conveys a message. The next *pantun* is divided in the subdivision *sampiran* and *isi*.

<i>Sampiran</i>	<i>Buah mengkudu 'ku sangka kandis</i>	<i>For berry sweet a dainty offering</i>
<i>Sampiran</i>	<i>Kandis terletak dalam puan</i>	<i>The stinking plum awhile I took</i>
<i>Isi</i>	<i>Gula madu 'ku sangka manis</i>	<i>Ah! Sweeter far then yesterday's honey</i>
<i>Isi</i>	<i>Manis lagi senyum-mu tuan</i>	<i>Is your sweet smile and dear look</i>

(Wilkinson and Winstedt, 1914, 16)

(Wilkinson and Winstedt, 1914, 16)

The academic debate is about these two couplets:

- Is there a possible link between the two couplets?
- Why do people pay more attention to the second couplet?
- Is the first couplet necessary?

Taib Osman (in Daillie, 1988, 150) leaves it up to everyone's imagination to conclude whether there is a link between the two couplets or not. To him, it is not a matter of logic. Instead, poetry is not always made for the rational use of a language. One either feels it or one does not feel it.

Daillie offers a different perspective about the possible link between the two couplets:

'It [sampiran] prepares us, some way or other, to the hearing or reading of what follows, the idea, the intention, the feeling, which can be more or less imprecise, uncertain or wavering, usually abstract, but set up against a very clear, precise, even realistic background' (Daillie, 1988, 151).

According to Daillie, a *pantun* has a fixed pattern, which is the main reason there are two couplets for a rhythmic relationship. Winstedt holds the same opinion: '*all those quatrains that have no other connection at all between the couplets except the compulsion of rhyme*' (Winstedt, 1958, 166). Furthermore, Daillie believes that they also serve to make a complete picture. In sum, there is a minority view on the perspective that there is a connection of meaning between the two couplets.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1 Indirectness in Malay communication

To analyse the *pantun* in Malay speech, I need to discuss Malay communication. However, this topic is too broad to elaborate in this thesis. To limit my corpus, I will focus on one striking element of Malay communication: the phenomenon of *indirectness*. The assumption that there is a certain level of indirectness in Malay communication is based on earlier research, mostly by Ahmad (2011) and Asmah (2005). According to Ahmad (2011, 67), directness in language is viewed as unrefined and impolite in Malaysia. Asmah describes another reason why Malay people use indirect language:

'a person would be embarrassed to be asked "straight in his face", i.e. using 'plain words'. The thing to do is therefore to use an ostensibly 'round about' expression. On the other hand, the meaning of the acceptable expression is perfectly clear in context' (Asmah, 2005, 54).

According to Goddard (2005, 106), the cultural imperative to avoid friction, not to do or say anything which would clash with or interfere with the other person's feelings, creates an obvious problem when you do not want to do something your interlocutor wants you to do. That is why Malays do not say it outright, but express themselves in a roundabout manner. The other person will understand and not press the matter.

Lim (2003, 88) believes that *budi* influences the thinking of Malay people. *Budi* is a broad concept and has several meanings. In many translations, *budi* is translated as 'mind', 'moral', 'wisdom', 'character'. Lim (2003, 88) says that *'The whole communication process, however, is determined and controlled by the rules of budi to minimise the chances of both parties being hurt by the message'*. This implicates that *budi* takes a central place in the way Malay people think.

2.2 Ethno pragmatics and Natural Semantic Metalanguage

Ethno pragmatics questions cultural keywords which possess the society's experiences (Ahmad, 2011, 70). Cultural keywords are highly salient and deeply culture-laden words which act as focal points around which whole cultural domains are organized. Usually, cultural keywords are common words that can be found in sayings, in popular songs, in book titles and so on (Goddard, 2000, 78). In order to understand *pantun*, one need to understand the cultural context. To analyse the cultural keywords and the metaphors, I used the Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) approach, first used by Anna Wierzbicka. According to Wierzbicka (1996, 23), *'the Natural Semantic Metalanguage is carved out of natural language, can be understood without further explanations (which would necessitate the use of some other metalanguage), and thus offers a firm basis for a genuine elucidation of meaning'*. Those universal meanings are known as semantic primes. Goddard (2005, 291) defines semantic primes as *'words in any language whose meanings are so simple and clear that they cannot be defined or explained any further, e.g. 'SOMEONE', 'DO', 'SAY,' 'THINK', 'THIS', 'ONE'*'. This method of semantic analysis is called 'reductive paraphrase' and the products are called 'explications' (Griffith University, 2013). On the next page I give an example of an explication.

1. I feel sad.=

- (a) sometimes a person thinks something like this:
- (b) something bad happened
- (c) if I didn't know that it happened I would say: I don't want it to happen
- (d) I don't say this now
- (e) because I know: I can't do anything
- (f) because of this, this person feels something bad
- (g) I feel something like this

As one can see, the explication uses spacing for emphasis. According to Wierzbicka (1996, 147), this different spacing indicate: *'a distinct semantic component, and a group of such components identically indented under a component including the element THIS (e.g. (b), (c), (d), and (e) in the explication above) form a larger unit'*. In other words, this explication is one unit, consisting of seven sentences which are divided in distinct semantic components.

2.3 Metaphors

According to Punter (2007, 13), a metaphor constitutes a continuing process of 'translation'. Where a concept, an idea or an emotion may be hard to grasp in language, a metaphor, an offering of perceived resemblances, may enable us to better 'come to grips with' the issue at hand. People use a metaphor to express themselves. Kintsch (2008, 141) states that people use metaphors when they are simply unwilling to be silent. Cameron's (2008, 197) opinion is related to Kintsch's argument. He argues that people use metaphors as a communication tool for their attitudes and values. It is a natural way to emphasize what is important.

What does a metaphor mean? Does it literally mean what the metaphor says, or does a metaphor mean more than what it at first sight appears to be saying, and is this difference important, or does it make no difference at all? Stern (2008, 274) claims that metaphors do not have meanings: *'meanings (or characters) are meanings (or characters) of expressions; but metaphor is a kind of use or interpretation of arbitrary expressions, and uses (interpretations) don't have meanings'*. Others have explored ways in which a metaphor can make us see some things differently, in a way we would normally not see them, that cannot be conveyed in a simple expression (Black, 1993). Some people see metaphors as a creative use of language, as people can interpret metaphors by using their own imagination. The greater the freedom of interpretation left to the readers or hearers, the more likely it is that everyone translates the metaphor differently.

However, according to Sperber and Wilson (2008, 103), it is too difficult to give a clear definition of a metaphor. They say: *'When you compare metaphors to other uses of words, you find a bit more of this and a bit less of that'*. Punter (2007, 106) describes that this statement has words with no fixed meanings. In his opinion, meanings are always fluid. The meanings of words change simultaneously with changes in historical and cultural context. Therefore, it is almost impossible to pin down the exact meaning of a particular metaphor.

Glucksberg (2008, 80) points out an additional angle: there is no need to understand the literal meaning of a metaphor. When we read a metaphor and the metaphorical meaning is available in our minds, we cannot refuse to understand it. It is a process which happens naturally, even when we are not aware of it. Some metaphors are so obvious, when the meaning is clear to everyone, we do not recognize the metaphor as a metaphor.

How then, can we recognize a metaphor, and more specifically, how do we recognize a metaphor in another language? Goddard explains that the reader or hearer will recognize certain words that do not 'fit' in a sentence. There is a difference between what is being said and the intention of the speaker. This awareness is referred to by Goddard as 'metalexical awareness' (2004, 3). This awareness can be found in the *pantun*, which I will discuss in chapter 4.

2.4 Turner's projection theory

Cognitive poetics is a relatively new approach in literature, which involves applying cognitive linguistics and psychology to literary texts. In cognitive poetics, the focus is not on trying to understand the meaning of a text, but on the effect of a text. I cite:

'When I ask what does the poem mean, I am really asking what the poem does, which is another way of asking what it is being used for. Meaning then, is what literature does. Meaning is use' (Stockwell, 2002, 4).

According to Stockwell, there is an interaction between reader and text. Cognitive poetics seriously considers the context. Therefore, this method will give the researcher a tool to analyse the *pantun* as a whole text, even though this can at times be very complicated.

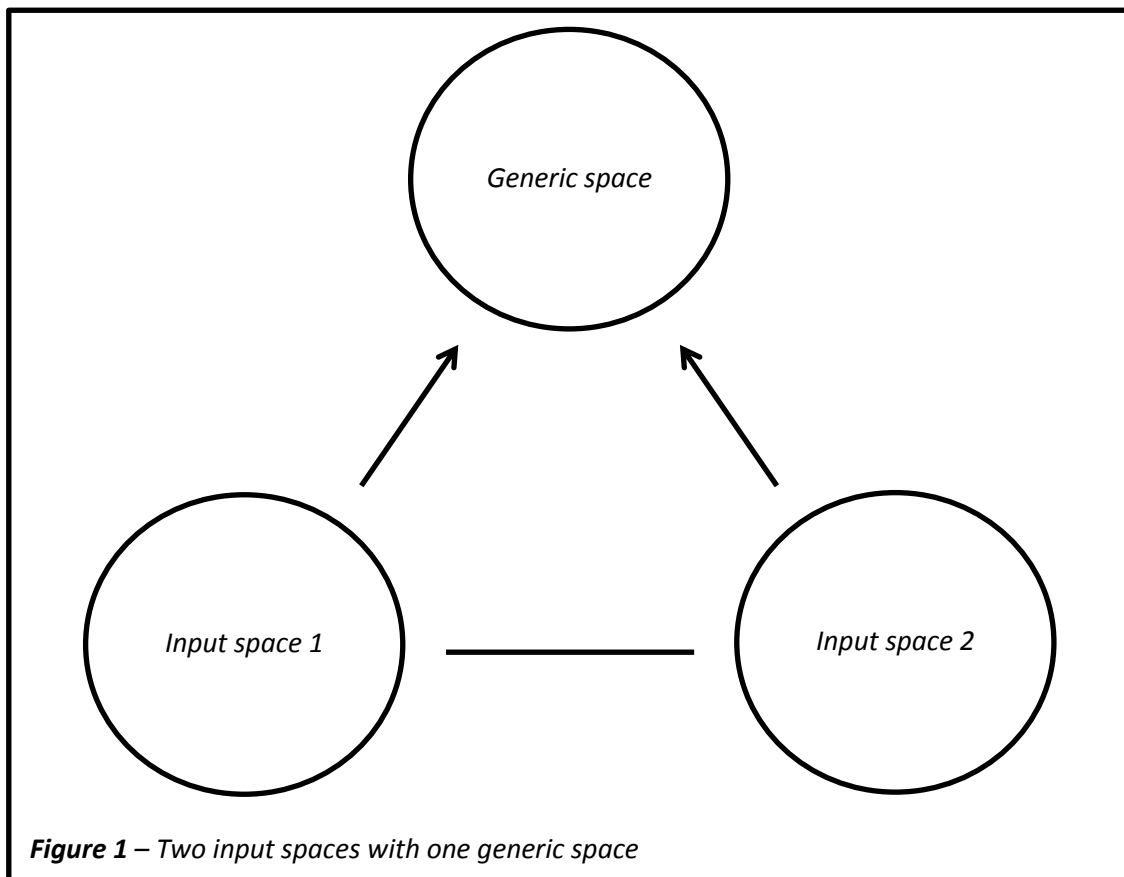
In the cognitive linguistic view, a metaphor is described as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain. According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), a conceptual metaphor connects two conceptual domains. One domain, the source domain, is understood in terms of another domain, the target. The target domain has been written in the metaphor and the source domain tells something about the target. Features and characteristics are transferred from the source domain to the target domain in a process called 'mapping'. This process is asymmetric. The target domain says something about the source domain, but not the other way around. Projection is a story from one domain projected onto a story from another domain. For instance, the story of the ox and the donkey that is projected onto the story of Shahrazad. This story will be described in the next paragraph.

Turner's book 'The literary mind' (1996) starts with an episode from the tale 'The thousand and one nights'. The father of Shahrazad used a story to warn his daughter after she had told him her plan that she wanted to change the behaviour of the murderous King Shahriyar. Her father told Shahrazad a story about a comfortable donkey who got interested in the problems of his friend, the ox. One day, the ox complained to the donkey about his work. The donkey gave the ox the following advice: *'When you go out into the field and the ploughman places the yoke on your neck, pretend to be ill and drop down on your belly. Do not rise even if they beat you, and refuse food for days'* (Turner, 1996, 3). The ox followed his friend's advice, but the farmer had overheard their conversation. The consequence of this was that the farmer told the ploughman, *'Take the donkey and use him to pull the plough'* (1996, 3).

The meaning of the father's story-within-a-story is clear to Shahrazad. Shahrazad, and also the readers of 'The Thousand and one nights', can project the story onto her situation and see the parallel, namely Shahrazad as the donkey. On the contrary, one can also disclaim this parallel because one can think that the father does not give Shahrazad good advice and underestimates her.

Turner (1996, 5) says: '*Parable begins with narrative imagining- the understanding of a complex of objects, events, and actors as organized by our knowledge of story. It then combines story with projection*'. Therefore, one story is projected onto another, as we can see in the story above.

According to Turner, we can make this parabolic link because there is a generic space. For clarification, he uses the term space instead of domain. Turner says that '*there is a frame structure shared by the two input spaces, and it provides counterpart relations between them*' (1996, 86). This is what he calls a generic space. The difficulty is finding common features because there are often more options that might link these two input spaces together. The generic space is represented in the conceptual model below and is used in chapter 5 to explain the relation between input space 1 and input space 2.



Turner describes small spatial stories like, '*getting a glass of juice from the refrigerator*' (Turner, 1996, 19). These stories are used to build larger stories. According to Turner, we use these stories to make sense of the unfamiliar by projecting a story we already know. Further, Turner claims that we do this to try to understand the complexity of the universe.

Turner describes how stories involve prediction, evaluation, planning and explanation. With these elements, we try to understand the world we live in. With prediction we recognize the first part of a story. With this recognition, we can imagine the whole story and anticipate the situation. We are able to evaluate and learn from the stories. That is why stories help us to move from one situation to a more desired one. In the case of Shahrazad, the story is the plan, but also the explanation. The essential elements of stories are actors, objects, and events. Through such stories, Turner lets us see the connection between objects and events.

2.5 Brandt & Brandt: meaning space theory

Brandt & Brandt (2005, 229) created a five-space network for reconstructing meaning for an utterance. This five-space network consists of a semiotic base, presentation, reference, blending and a meaning space. I will explain this network on the basis of an example.

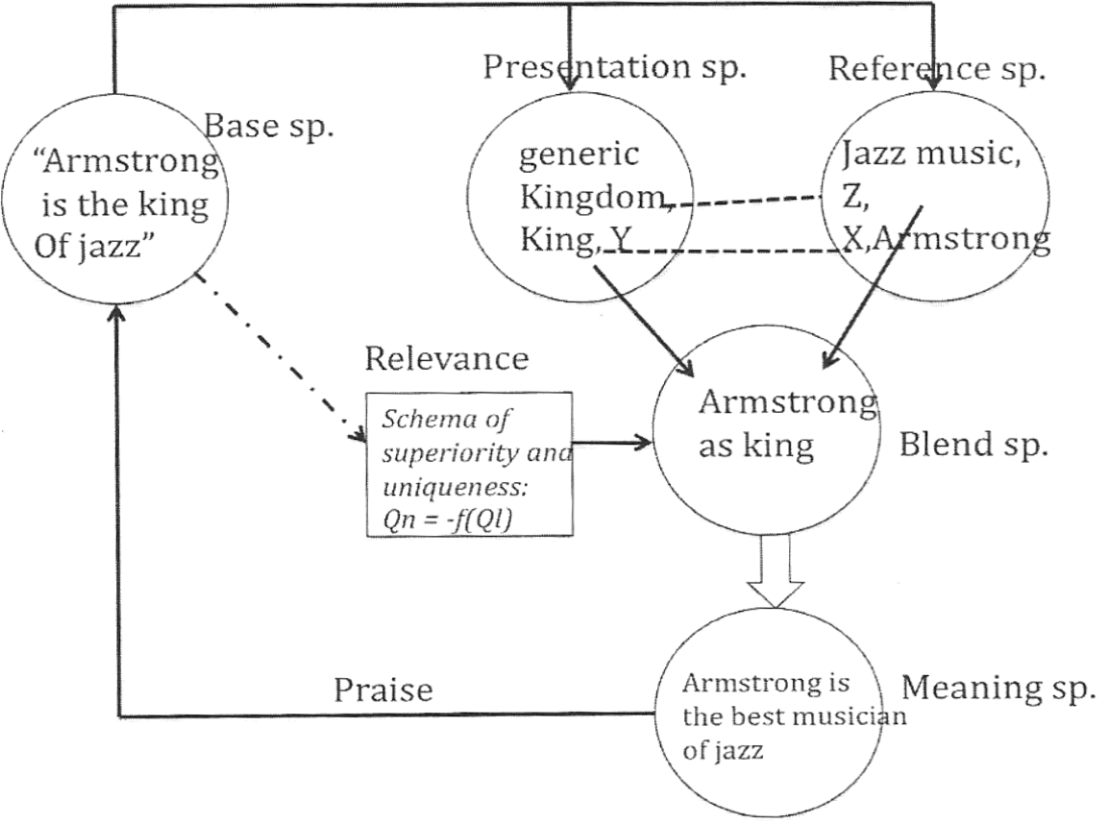


Figure 2 - Louis Armstrong is the king of jazz! (Brandt & Brandt, 2005, 15)

The saying 'Louis Armstrong is the king of jazz' shows us that X (Louis Armstrong) is Y (the king). The semiotic base space is that which has been said. Above, I have described that in projection, features and characteristics are transferred from one domain to another domain. In this network, Brandt & Brandt use the term space instead of domain. In this example, 'king and monarchy' is the presentation space, which is a figurative space, while 'Armstrong and jazz' is the reference scheme, which is related to actuality. In this case, we see 'mapping' between the presentation and reference space: king and Armstrong and between kingdom and jazz music.

In the blending space, these features are combined together: Armstrong 'rules' in the land of jazz. This five-space network has also one 'relevance' component. Brandt & Brandt do not define this component as a space. They explain that the content does not always appear in someone's mind and thoughts (2005, 13). With this component, Brandt & Brandt explain that the king implies to superiority and uniqueness. This explains why the meaning space implies why Armstrong is the best musician of jazz.

Based on this network theory, I contrived my own scheme for reconstructing the meaning of a *pantun*. In this thesis, I use the semiotic base space and the meaning space. The meaning space will show us that the metaphors say something, but their figurative meaning is different from the literal meaning. The semiotic base space will contribute to the understanding of meaning in *pantun*. This understanding begins with the realisation of the existence of our phenomenal world (also called: *pheno-world*).

According to Brandt & Brandt, the *pheno-world* is the starting point to make sense of things. They define the *pheno-world* as:

'Pheno-world and specifiable situations encompassed in it offer an infinite supply of possible spaces to the cognizers in the semiotic space. That is, any feature of the situation or the humanly accessible world at large can potentially become relevant to cognition' (Brandt & Brandt, 2005, 226).

In other words, the *pheno-world* is the world we live in. Brandt & Brandt explain that our *pheno-world* consists of situations and semiosis. They (2005, 226) describe that *'a situation consists in the relevant aspects of the immediate environment and whatever aspects of the past and future are of consequence to the presentation of the present'*. Semiosis is both what is being said/written and the meaning of what is said/written. Therefore, semiosis is always dependent on the situation (Ibid, 2005, 224). In this case, semiosis occurs when someone cites or writes a *pantun*, but also when someone else hears, reads and interprets the *pantun*. Naturally, meanings assigned to the *pantun* can vary from person to person.

In sum, I analyse the cultural keywords and the metaphors with Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) to understand the context where the *pantun* take place. Furthermore, I use the projection theory from Turner, and I use the semiotic base space, the meaning space and the idea of a *pheno-world* from Brandt & Brandt to reconstruct meaning in *pantun*.

2.7 Research questions and hypothesis

Based on existing literature it is possible to formulate my research questions and hypothesis. The main question of this research is: ***'What is the function of the pantun in Malay speech?'***

In order to find the answer to this question I need to answer the following questions:

- 1) What does a *pantun* look like?
- 2) What does the metaphor in *pantun* mean and which meanings are conveyed through *pantun*?

Previous studies have shown that there is a certain level of indirectness in Malay communication (Ahmad, 2011; Asmah, 2005; Goddard, 2005). I assume that Malay people use a *pantun* as a way to make their feelings known, without causing friction and without saying or doing anything which would clash with or interfere with the other person's feelings.

I furthermore assume, there is a link between indirectness and metaphors of images from Malay daily life. Through making creative use of language, people can express themselves more easily. Since people can interpret the metaphors by using their own imagination, there is a chance other people will not get the point of your message. Based on earlier research that the *pantun* consist of images of the Malay life (Lim, 2003), I expect that cultural keywords in *pantun* reflect the experiences of a society. I will take into account that *budi* might play a bigger role than these cultural keywords. Combining these assumptions leads to the following hypothesis: *'The pantun is a way which Malay people feel comfortable with to show their thoughts and feelings while preventing friction'*.

3. Methodology

3.1 Literature search

My thesis is based on literature research. I used different databases, namely: Google, Google scholar, JSTOR and library books. I did not limit myself to any period. Therefore, I found sources from the period 1914 till 2014. In these databases, I searched with the following keywords: 'Brandt & Brandt', '*budi*', 'cognitive poetics', 'cultural keywords Goddard', 'function of *pantun*', '*isi*', 'Malay and indirectness', 'Malay and Islam', 'Malay and *pantun*', 'Malay literature', 'metaphors theories', 'Natural Semantic Metalanguage', '*pantun*', '*pantun* and communication', '*pantun* as communication tool', '*pantun* Melayu', '*sampiran*', '*semiosis*', 'the literary mind', 'Turner' and 'Wierzbicka'.

I also googled different *pantun* to find out what people write about *pantun*. Besides research in English, I also used keywords in the Indonesian language because a lot has been written about *pantun* in this area. I used the following keywords: '*budi*', '*informasi tentang pantun*', '*isi dan sampiran*', '*mengapa pantun*', '*pantun dan fungsi*', '*pantun dan komunikasi*' and '*pantun dan orang Melayu*'.

For this study, I used a *pantun*-database called 'Melayu Online' to collect *pantun*. There are 13 different categories of *pantun* which are divided in subcategories on 'Melayu Online'. I researched a lot of *pantun* on this website, in books and articles in which *pantun* are analysed. I translated a couple of *pantun* to get a better understanding of *pantun*. I chose two *pantun* to analyse in this thesis. One *pantun*, from the category *pantun nasehat* (*pantun* with an advice), that fits perfectly in my methodology and one *pantun*, from the category *pantun kerendahan hati pada ilmu pengetahuan* (*pantun* about modesty towards science), that does not fit perfectly in my methodology. This selection will show the differences in the structure of the *pantun*.

With the cultural keywords in mind, I will analyse the *pantun* and study them from an ethno pragmatic point of view. To limit myself, I will analyse two *pantun* and I will study the cultural keywords, one by one, if they apply to the *pantun*.

In my opinion, fieldwork is necessary in order to properly analyse the function of *pantun*. The different situations and contexts in which *pantun* are recited can only be grasped when one actually visits Malaysia. When *pantun* are being analysed in their original context in Malaysia, it might be easier to make a connection to the parabolic link. Because I did not have the opportunity to travel to Malaysia to conduct field work, I can only conjecture the parabolic link. I will, therefore, explain my ideas, but I cannot test my ideas through field research.

For the analysis of the *pantun*, the following methods were used: ethno pragmatics and meaning space theory. These methods are not commonly used together in one analysis, but I want to show that these methods complement each other: where ethno pragmatics tries to grasp the cultural meaning, meaning space theory tries to grasp the literal meaning, but also tries to construct meaning.

3.2 Cultural keywords

In this section, I will begin to examine a few cultural keywords in the Malay language. Naturally, there are more keywords than I will be able to discuss here. To make a selection, I chose keywords that I know from my own experience and from my professors in class. These keywords are important and they repeatedly appear in the works of Goddard. These keywords are: *malu*, *sabar*, *hormat*, *merendah diri* and *ikhlas* (Goddard, 2001 and 2005). I noticed the following cultural keyword in the *pantun* I have collected: *budi*. Therefore, I added this keyword to my selection.

3.2.1 Indirectness

Before I will examine the cultural keywords, I will give an explication of indirectness because in this thesis, I assume that there is a phenomenon of indirectness in Malay communication. Goddard (2001, 13) explains indirectness with the following explication:

2. Everyone knows:

often when a person wants to say something

this person says it with particular words, not other words, because this person thinks:

I don't want to say the words for some things

because if I say these words, someone might feel something bad

I don't have to say these words

if I say words for some other things, people will know what I want to say

it is good if a person does this

This explication shows why someone can prefer to avoid a direct way of speaking.

3.2.2 *Malu*

According to Goddard, anthropologists and native speakers alike agree on the salience and importance of the feeling designated by the word *malu*. It is difficult to translate *malu* into English, but words like *ashamed*, *embarrassed* or *shy*, can be used. However, none of these words accurately fit the moral or social dimension of the concept of *malu* (Goddard 2005, 80). For example, Swift (1965, 76) describes this word as '*a very broad and very important concept*'. Swift (1965, 110) describes the phenomenon *malu* with '*hypersensitiveness to what other people are thinking about one*'.

To describe this word better, I will give some situations where *malu* is common in Malay. For example, when a boy gives a compliment to a girl, the girl can feel *malu*. One can also feel *malu* when one wears clothes that do not fit with the dress code, when one forgets an appointment, or when one does not know an answer in class.

Goddard (2005, 82) describes *malu* with the following explication:

3. X (me)rasa *malu* (X feels *malu*)

X feels something bad because X thinks like this:

people can know something about me

people can think something bad about me because of this

people can say something bad about me because of this

I don't want this

because X feels like this, X doesn't want to be near other people

it is good if people can feel something like this

Goddard believes that *malu* is part of the way in which Malay people think. Other people might be having good or bad ideas about someone, which according to Goddard the person in question does not want. Malay people see *malu* as an important factor in social interaction. Because of this feeling, people try to prevent actions that could lead to negative situations or comments and opinions.

3.2.3 Sabar

In many translations, *sabar* is rendered as patient. The *Teeuw* dictionary (2009, 666) provides additional meanings: 'moderate', 'calm' and 'tolerant'. *Sabar* can be used in the expression *sabar menunggu* 'waiting patiently', but also in the English context 'take it easy'. Goddard (2001, 661) gives the following example: '*Janganlah marah! Sabar! Sabar!* 'Do not be mad! Calm down! Calm down!'.

Goddard (2001, 662) describes that sometimes '*the meaning of sabar involves having the self-control to stay calm in the face of suffering or affliction*'. Goddard (2005, 82) gives an example from the Koranic saying *Allah sentiasa bersama dengan orang-orang yang sabar* 'Allah is always with people who are patient'. In accordance with the guidelines of the Koran, Muslims need to be *sabar* to be able to adhere to those Islamic values and standards. Here, we see that Islam plays a big role in Malay culture. Goddard (2001, 82) also points out that staying calm in troubling situations is recognizable in the traditional Malay culture. He exemplifies this with a Malay saying where the point is to stay calm: *Fikir dulu* 'think first', *Fikir panjang* 'think long' (Goddard, 2001, 662). Goddard (2001, 664) describes *sabar* in the following explication:

4. X is *sabar* [at this time]=

at this time, X felt something bad

because of this, X could have thought:

I don't want this, I do want to do something now

X did not think like this, because X did not want to think anything like this

it is good if a person can be like this

Goddard explains with this explication that *sabar* is a state of mind. For Malay people it is important to stay calm which is understandable from an Islamic point of view.

3.2.4 Menghormati

The translation of *hormat* is to respect or to show respect. In Malay culture, there is a distinction between high and low levels in society (Kessler 1992, 147). This social division enforces respectful behaviour by people. They behave respectfully towards the higher level of the society, but also towards parents and the elderly. In addition, *menghormati* can also be used for other activities, like respecting the rules. Goddard's (2005, 235) explication of *menghormati* is as follows:

5. *X menghormati* person-Y

X thinks good things about Y

X thinks things like this about Y:

Y is someone above me

I don't want Y to think anything bad about me

X wants Y to know this

because of this, when X is with Y

X does some things, X doesn't do some other things

X says some things, X doesn't say some other things

X says some words, X doesn't say some other words

For Malay people it is important to recognize that one person has a higher standing than another. To show respect, the Malay person needs to think well of him. Showing respect includes speaking in a soft voice, not speaking too much and especially not showing any disagreement (Goddard, 2005, 236).

3.2.5 Merindah diri

Another traditional cultural keyword is *merindah diri*, literally 'lower oneself'. This is often translated, in a western view, as submissive. For example, an employee *merindah diri* to his boss and a teenager *merindah diri* to his parents. This keyword reflects form of respect and, therefore, closely connects to the previously discussed keyword *menghormati*. From childhood onwards, Malay people learn to respect each other and to avoid the feeling that they are better than the other. This results in *merindah diri*. Goddard (2005, 236) describes the following explication:

6. [people think like this:]

when I am with other people

it is good if these other people think like this about me:

this person thinks good things about other people

this person thinks like this:

I am someone below these other people

I don't want these people to think anything bad about me

The explication of *merindah diri* shows that Malays see this as an important value in social interaction. It is good to show respect for other people, which will prevent disagreement. In this explication we do not see that *merindah diri* is the 'one way street' which it is. Younger people will *merindah diri* to older people and lower placed people will *merindah diri* to higher placed people, not the other way around.

3.2.6 Ikhlas

Teeuw's Dictionary (2009, 283) translates *ikhlas* as 'sincere', 'honest', 'well-intentioned' and with full dedication. As we can see, *ikhlas* is a broad concept. Goddard (2001, 666) explicitly points out that where the English can use 'sincere', it is not always possible to use the Malay *ikhlas*. I cite: '*in English one can speak of sincerely believing something, sincerely admiring someone, or sincerely wanting something. None of these uses are possible with the Malay ikhlas*'. Goddard continues on page 667 that '*ikhlas* is often linked to verbs like *beri* 'give' and *tolong* 'help'. For example: '*Saya beri dengan ikhlas, terimalah* (I'm giving (it) with *ikhlas*, accept it)'. In another context, *ikhlas* can be used to do something good, but without expecting to get something in return. The explication is as follows:

7. X did (said) something *dengan ikhlas*=

X did (said) something, because X wanted to do (say) it

X wanted to do (say) it, because X thought:

it will be good if I do (say) this

not because of anything else

Here becomes clear that *ikhlas* is about sincere or honest intentions. Malay people give attention because they want to do so and not because of any other reason.

3.2.7 Budi

It is difficult to translate the word *budi* because this word has many different meanings. *Kamus Dewan* (1986, 152 in Lim 2003, 88) provides a variety of the meanings of *budi*. Lim translates these words as follows:

1. *akal, kebijaksanaan* 'mind, idea, wisdom', 2. *budi pekerti perangai, akhlak, tingkah laku* 'conduct, character, moral, behaviour', 3. *sifat baik, perbuatan baik, kebajikan* 'kindness, virtue, good deed', 4. *bicara, daya upaya* 'opinion, ability'.

Lim (2003, 28) uses the term *budi and its networks* in her book '*Budi as the Malay mind: a philosophical study of Malay ways of reasoning and emotion in peribahasa*'. Lim refers with this term to *akal budi* 'common-sense', *hati budi* 'emotion', *budi bahasa/ budi pekerti* 'conduct/moral', *budi bicara* 'opinion/judgement' and *budidaya* 'pragmatic as a package'. As one can see, *budi* is used in a lot of different word combinations. *Budi* can mean moral shown by the words *budi pekerti*, but the word combination *akal budi* refers to common-sense.

Mustafa (1995, 1) says that *berbudi* 'the act of *budi*' is considered a duty of every member of Malay society. For example, one can *berbudi* by contributing money and energy, giving advice, guidance or suggestions and showing sympathy when the situations calls for it. Mustafa believes that when someone lacks *budi*, Malay people see this as discourteous and improper.

I would like to emphasize that an explication of *budi* did not previously exist. For this reason, I suggest the following explication:

8. X does (says) something *dengan budi* to Y
X does (says) something because X can do (say) it
X wants to do (say) it because X thinks:
 it will be good if I do (say) something good
X does (say) something good to Y because of this

This explication shows us that *budi* is a way that someone wants to do or say something good. This goodness can be found in people's their character. Behaviour, wisdom, kindness and good deeds are very different words in English, but *budi* includes all of them. That is why it is difficult to make an explication for this keyword. This implies that one can question the method of Natural Semantic Metalanguage for the use of this analysis.

3.3 Analysis of two *pantun*

The analysis of *pantun* begins in chapter 4 with the question: 'How does a *pantun* look like?'. I analyse the metaphors and structure in *pantun*, based on the *pantun* collection (appendix 1) and my own interpretations from my observations in the *pantun*. In chapter 5, I define stories in *pantun*, based on the theory of Turner that we use stories to make sense of the unfamiliar by projecting a story we already know. By dividing the *pantun* in these stories, I attempt to understand what Malay people try to say. I continue with the meaning space theory of Brandt & Brandt to get a closer look of the meaning in *pantun*. The answers of both methods should lead to test the hypothesis.

4. What does a *pantun* look like?

4.1 Subjects of the *pantun*

The *pantun* contains images from Malay daily life of local flowers, food, animals or other features of nature. I will use *pantun* from my *pantun* collection to exemplify how the Malays use local images in their *pantun*. Noticeable is that these local images are especially present in the first two lines (*sampiran*) of the *pantun*. According to Winstedt, this makes sense because ‘before coming to the real object of the poem, in one or two lines a peculiar natural phenomenon, a well-known event or occurrence is mentioned as an introduction, not unlike a clever arabesque, in order to prepare reflection, sensation and the state of mind for that which follows’ (Winstedt, 1958, 106). According to Lim (2003, 66), rice is the favourite subject in Malay proverbs. This can logically be explained, because traditionally the Malay were village people, for whom rice is their main food and their main source of income. Cooked rice (*nasi*) and paddy fields (*sawah*) can be found in my collection of *pantun*, for instance:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| I. | <i>Dari mana punai melayang</i>
<i>Dari sawah turun ke kali</i>
(http://melayuonline.com) | <i>From where do the pigeons fly</i>
<i>From the field into the river</i>
(Spangenberg) |
| II. | <i>Nasi kunyit panggang ayam</i>
<i>Tupai melompat menghalau pari</i>
(Wilkinson and Winstedt, 1914, no. 183) | <i>Turmeric rice and grilled chicken</i>
<i>A squirrel leaps and scares off a sting-ray</i>
(Wilkinson and Winstedt, 1914, no. 183) |

Local images in *pantun* often consist of food. Noteworthy is the presence of a lot of different local fruits and vegetables in *pantun*, like:

- | | | |
|------|---|--|
| III. | <i>Sebesar-besar mayang pinang</i>
<i>Takkan sama mayang kelapa</i>
(http://melayuonline.com) | <i>As big as a cluster of nuts</i>
<i>Is still not as clusters of coconuts</i>
(Spangenberg) |
| IV. | <i>Asam kandis mari dihiris</i>
<i>Manis sekali rasa isinya</i>
(Sekalung, 2013, no. 9) | <i>Peel a pear and cut it into pieces</i>
<i>It's very sweet inside</i>
(Spangenberg) |

Also mackerel, shrimps and other kinds of seafood are often mentioned in my collection of *pantun*. This can be related to the lifestyle of village people who catch their own fish.

Images of animals are a common phenomenon in *pantun*, for instance:

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| V. | <i>Ayam rintik di pinggir hutan</i>
<i>Nampak dari tepi telaga</i>
(Sekalung, 2013, no. 11) | <i>A speck of chicken on the edge of the forest,</i>
<i>Visible from the side of a lake</i>
(Spangenberg) |
| VI. | <i>Dari mana punai melayang?</i>
<i>Dari paya turun ke padi</i>
(Hamilton, 1959, no. 18) | <i>From where sails the dove?</i>
<i>From swamp down to the rice-field</i>
(Hamilton, 1959, no. 18) |

Further, Lim (2003, 67) explains that ‘*Malay proverbs sometimes also exploit the behaviour of animals to represent the meaning of life or situation*’. In other words, she states that metaphors represent the Malay life. In my collection, I found *pantun* based on images of chickens and chicks, for example:

VII. <i>Ayam hutan terbang ke hutan</i>	<i>The forest chicken flies to the forest</i>
<i>Tali tersangkut pagar berduri</i>	<i>A rope stuck to the thorny fence</i>
(Sekalung, 2013, no. 11)	(Spangenberg)

The images used in *pantun* reflect the daily life of Malay people. With those images Malay people express themselves. Because the *pantun* belongs to all Malay, everyone who speaks Malay can identify with these beautiful, but simple images. All the values Malay people believe in are ingrained in *pantun*. These images are a reflection of the way they view the world. With these images, Malay people create meaning in a way they are familiar and comfortable with.

4.2 Structure of *pantun*

Pantun consist from two lines up to twelve lines. The four line variety is by far the most frequent (Thomas, 1985, 51). The *pantun* consists of four word clusters that only have two or three syllables. *Pantun* (mostly) have ABAB as their rhyme scheme, like in this *pantun*:

<i>Pisang emas bawa belayar</i>	<i>Banana of gold is carried sailing</i>
<i>Masak sebiji di atas peti</i>	<i>Bananas are cooked on the box</i>
<i>Hutang emas dapat dibayar</i>	<i>Debts of gold can be repaid</i>
<i>Hutang budi dibawa mati</i>	<i>Debts of mind carried till death</i>
(Thomas, 1985, no. 89)	(Thomas, 1985, no. 89)

Thomas translates *masak sebiji* as ‘bananas are cooked’, but the literal translation is ‘a ripe one’. This detail is essential because, I assume, the *pheno*-world of a Malay person is probably not the same and therefore one interprets differently when one sees a cooked banana (which is black) or a banana which will grow ripe (which is green or yellow).

Thomas (1985, 89) believes that ‘*pantun prosody by counting word clusters of four or more syllables as filling two cluster positions creates a special pantun morphology*’. Malay words often consist of prefixes and suffixes. The *pantun* morphology results in all the unaffixed words in the *pantun* representing all possible combinations of affixed forms. Thomas (1985, 89) gives an example of *bawa*, (carry), may be an imperative (carry!), the passive for a first or second person agent (is being carried), the causative (have something carried: *bawakan*), the person who carries (*pembawa*), the thing carried (*bawaan*), or a number of other possibilities, many of which can be excluded immediately by surrounding context.

Thomas continues on page 90 with a subdivision of the word clusters. These word clusters are marked by '/' and the caesuras with '//'. He divided the *pantun* as follows:

Pisang / emas // bawa / belayar

Masak / sebiji // di atas / peti

Hutang / emas // dapat / dibayar

Hutang / budi // dibawa / mati

Thomas believes (1985, 89) that there are five codes for *pantun*: '1) the scheme of final rhyme; 2) vowel sequences; 3) the arrangement of initial and final sounds of word clusters; 4) stress sequences; and 5) the system of semantic transfer'. As a consequence, the structure of the *pantun* words must (be made to) fit in. Not all the words can be written down as one would like. Also, word clusters of four or more syllables expand to fill two clusters. There is much more to tell about the linguistic part, but in this thesis, I will not further elaborate on this part.

5. What does the metaphor in *pantun* mean and which meanings are conveyed through *pantun*?

5.1 Stories

As mentioned before, a *pantun* consists of four lines. These lines typically refer to individual stories. In other words, a *pantun* consists of four different stories. Sometimes two lines may refer to one story, depending on the *pantun*. I will now demonstrate this and analyse *pantun* A.

- | | |
|--|---|
| A. <i>Banyak orang memaku lantai</i> | <i>Many people hammer the floors</i> |
| <i>Kita memaku pelupuh juga</i> | <i>We also hammer nails</i> |
| <i>Banyak orang mengaku pandai</i> | <i>Many people admit they are smart</i> |
| <i>Kita mengaku bodoh juga</i> | <i>We also admit when we are stupid</i> |
| (www.melayuonline.com) | (Spangenberg) |

Pantun A shows that there are four stories, namely: 1. Hammering the floor, 2. Hammering on nails, 3. Admitting to be smart, 4. Admitting to be stupid.

See the difference with *pantun* B:

- | | |
|--|---|
| B. <i>Terbang di awan si burung camar,</i> | <i>The seagull flying through the cloud</i> |
| <i>Terlihat indah di pelabuhan ratu</i> | <i>Looks pretty above the Royal port</i> |
| <i>Bila adinda mau kulamar,</i> | <i>You want me to propose to you,</i> |
| <i>Tunggulah kanda di depan pintu</i> | <i>Await me then before your door</i> |
| (www.melayuonline.com) | (Spangenberg) |

In this *pantun*, the first two lines refer to one single story, because they both describe a seagull flying above the Royal port. The third line reflects one story of proposing and the fourth line reflects a different story about waiting in front of a door. In other words, in this *pantun* there are only three stories: one scene in the first and second line, one story in the third line and another story in the fourth line.

5.3 Analysis of *pantun* A

In section 2.4, I already gave a broader definition of parable. In short, parable is one story projected onto another (Turner, 1996). The metaphors/sayings in *pantun* are linked to situations in our *pheno*-world. That is why one can understand metaphors/sayings as they are used in *pantun*.

5.3.1 Analysis of *pantun* A with meaning space theory

The figures 3 through 6 show that the stories from the *pantun* are parabolic with a situation. Story 1 is parabolic with situation X, story 2 is parabolic with situation Y, story 3 is parabolic with situation Z and story 4 is parabolic with situation A.

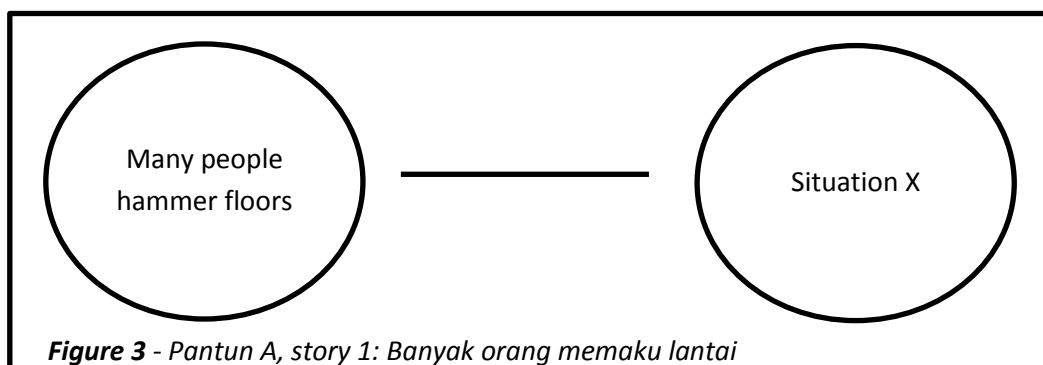
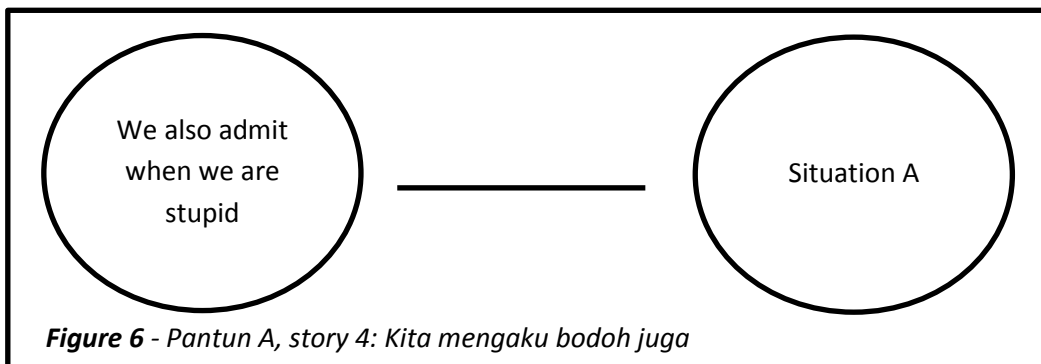
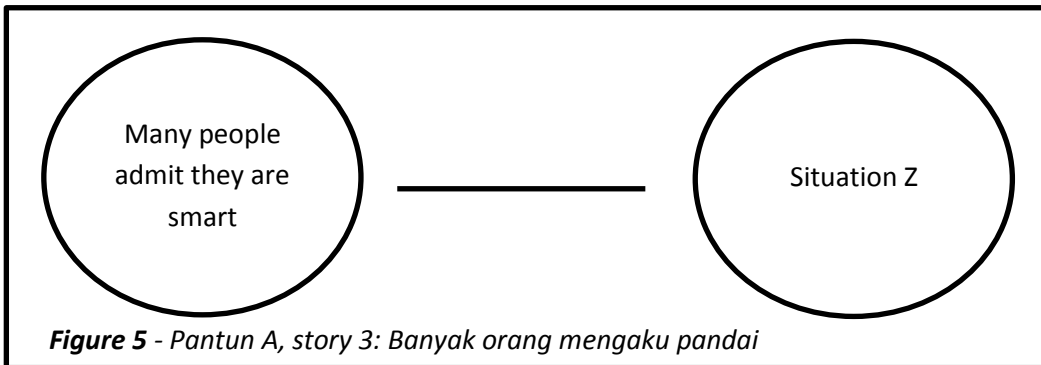
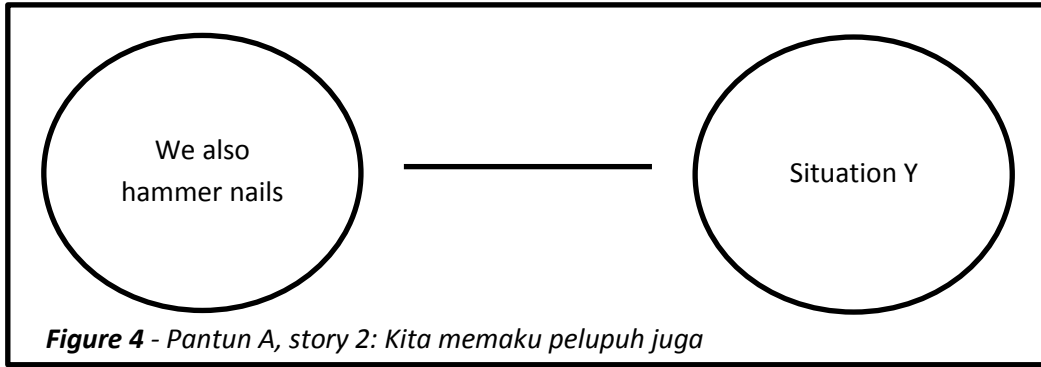
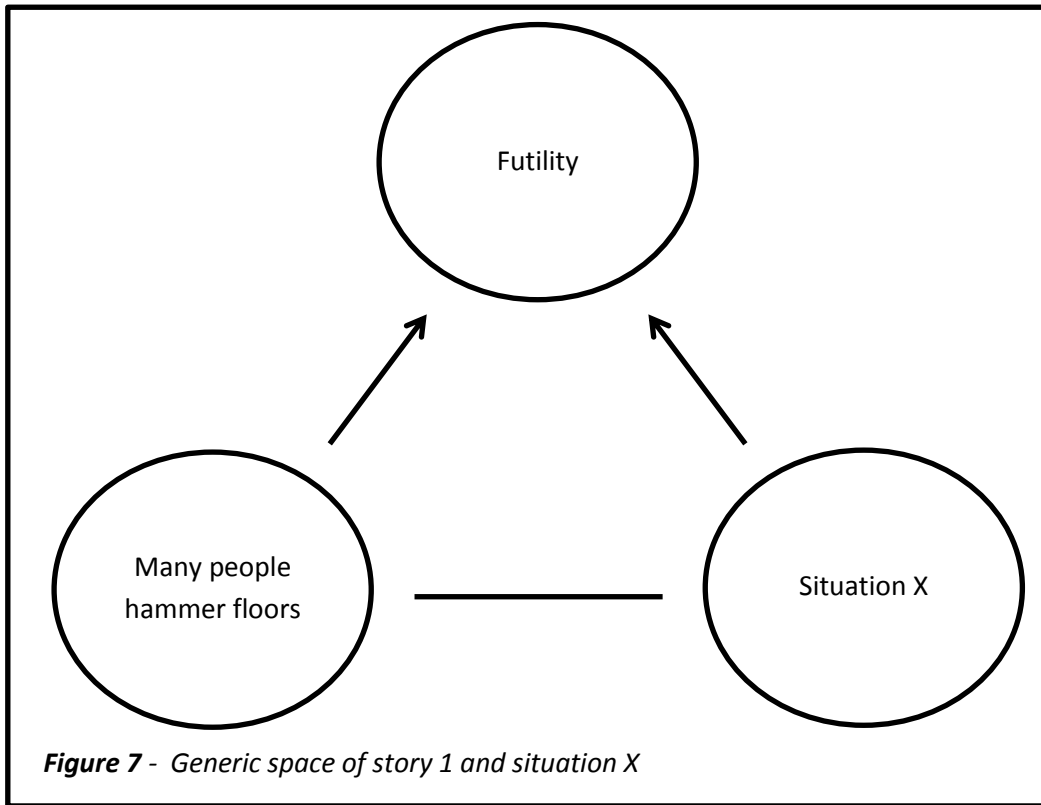


Figure 3 - *Pantun* A, story 1: *Banyak orang memaku lantai*



In *pantun A*, all the stories are projected onto different situations. This is related to Brandt & Brandt's (2005) reference scheme. There is a reason why one recites a *pantun*. The situation makes clear what that reason is.

Projection is possible because the story from the *pantun* and the situation have something in common. This is the generic space. The generic space of story 1 in *pantun A* is illustrated in figure 7 on the next page:



This figure shows that the story from the *pantun* refers to a situation with which it has something in common. This commonality enables the parabolic link. In this figure, one can see the first story and situation X sharing the features of futility in their generic space.

Figure 8 is based on story 2 from *pantun* A. This figure shows that the second story and situation Y share the feature of *budi* 'moral', 'wisdom' in their generic space.

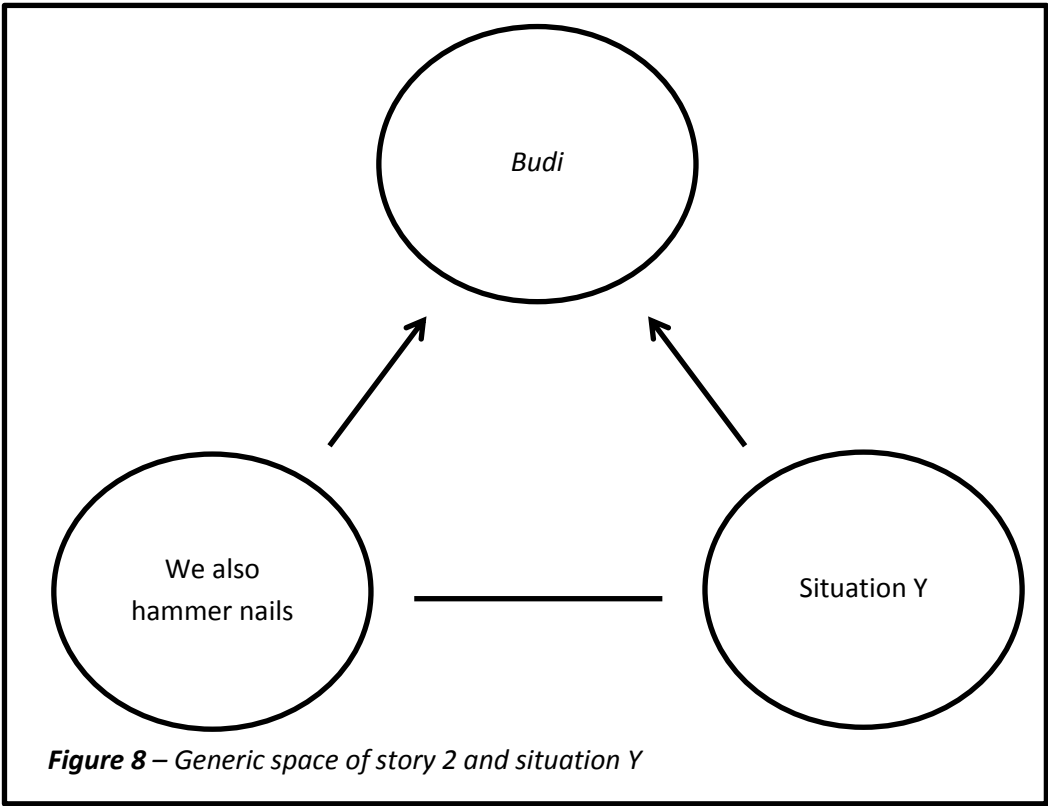
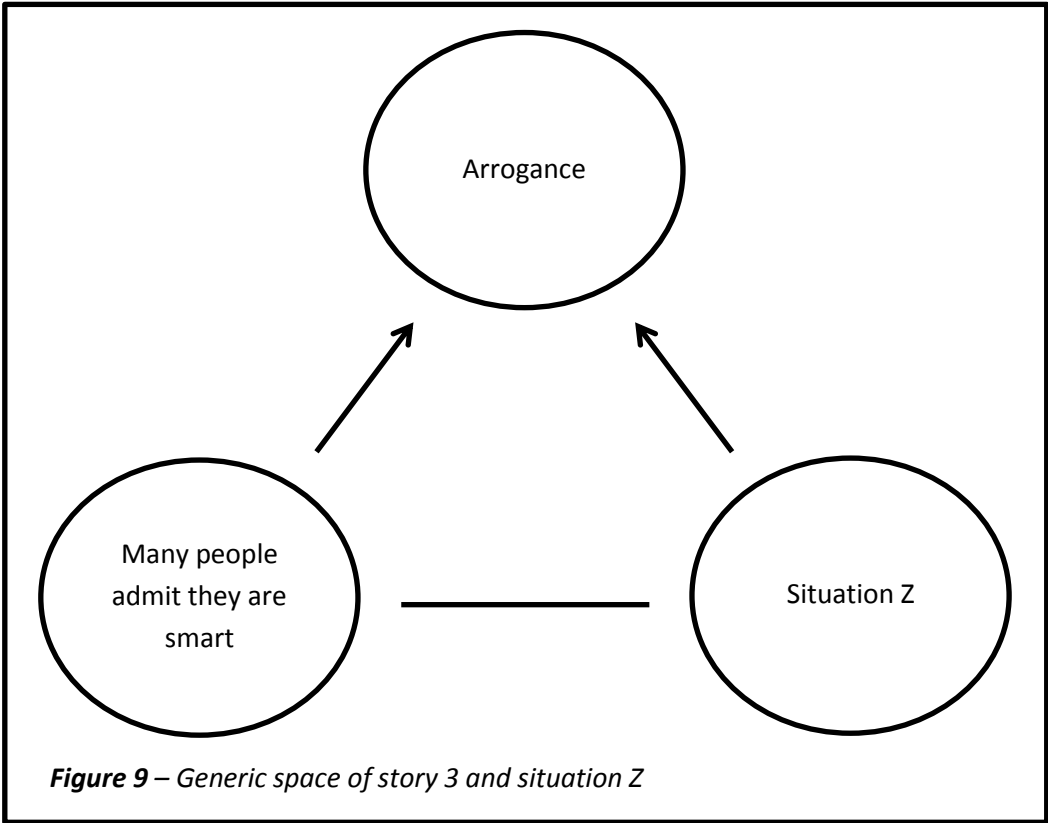


Figure 9 shows story 3 and situation Z, sharing the feature of arrogance in their generic space.



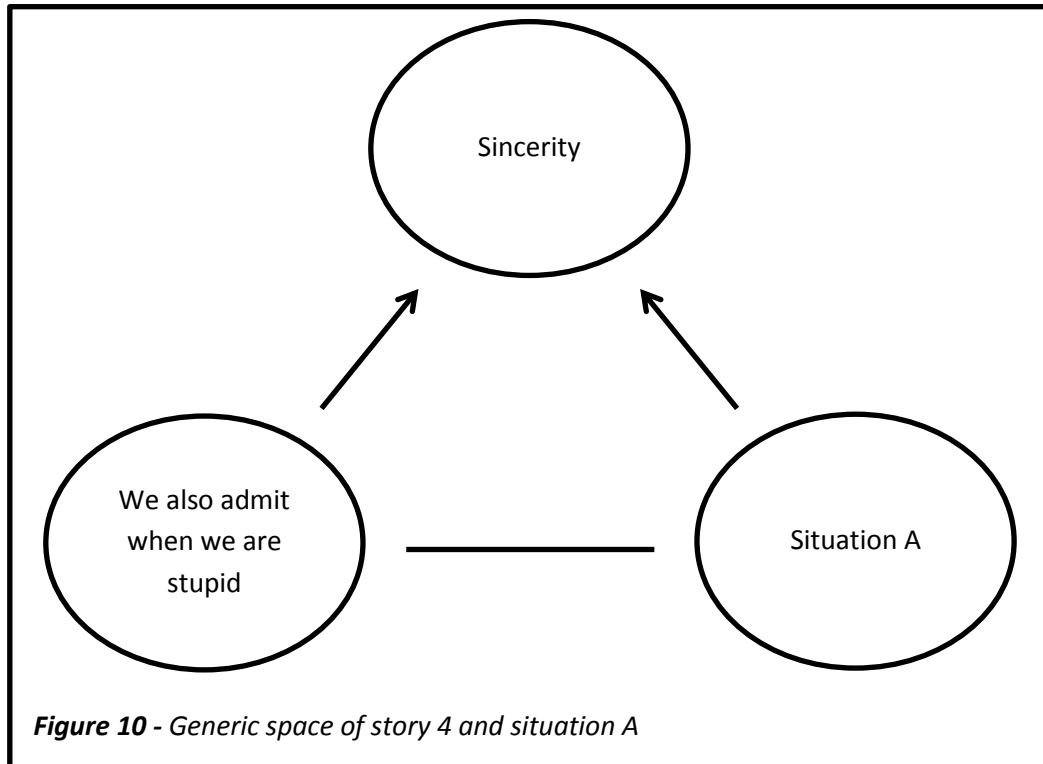


Figure 10 shows story 4 and situation A, sharing the feature of sincerity in their generic space. Story 4 implies sincerity because one is sincere when one admits one is stupid.

These figures above correspond with the theory of Brandt & Brandt: from our *pheno*-world one project stories onto situations. One does this for a reason, which refers to the relevance scheme. If there are parabolic links there is a generic space. This is possible, because there is a generic element which has something in common with the semiosis.

Brandt & Brandt apply their five space-network in their 2005 publications line by line, where each line has its own story. In the figures 3 through 6, Brandt & Brandt's method is applied in the same way. Namely, each figure is based on one line with one story from the *pantun*.

However, the *pantun* does not exist of four separate lines and stories. In the introduction, I mentioned the academic debate about the possible link between the two couplets. I would argue that such a link does exist and I want to demonstrate this link with the stories 1 -3 and 2-4 which correspond to each other and stories 1-2 and 3-4 which have an antithesis. I want to show this connection through a parabolic link between the generic spaces from these stories. Just like the stories in the *pantun*, the generic spaces have a parabolic link with the other generic space and this parabolic link has their own generic space. Schematically, it will look as follows:

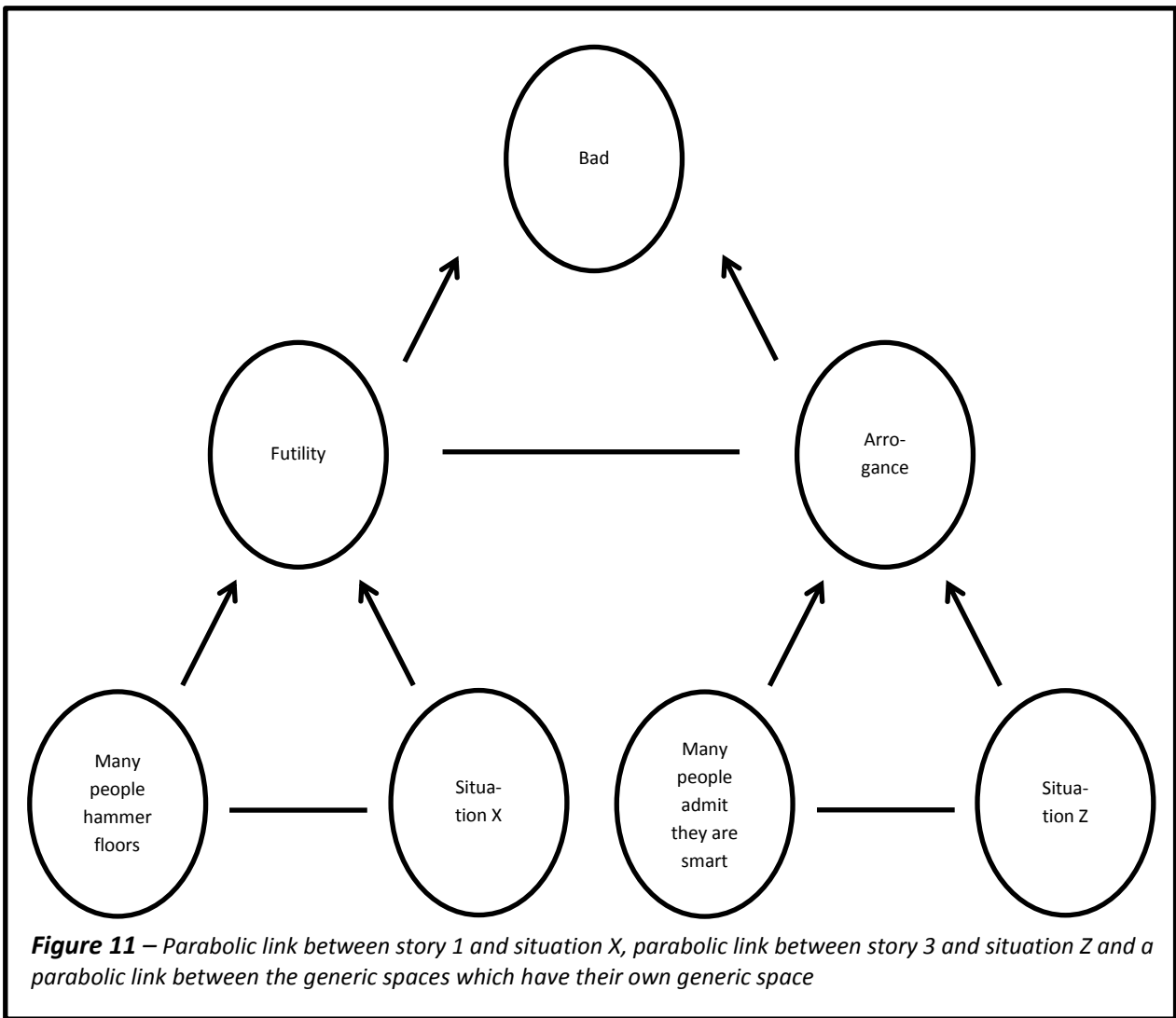


Figure 11 shows that story 1 and situation X, story 3 and situation Z and the two generic spaces have a parabolic link. These parabolic links and generic spaces are all connected to each other. This results in a figure which consists of ‘three levels’.

The first level is the projection from the story onto the situation. It is possible to understand this projection because the story and the situation have a common feature. The common feature they share is the second level in the figure. The most interesting level is the third level, which shows the parabolic link between the generic spaces. This level goes a step further than just linking the story and the situation: it shows the common feature between the generic spaces. Because this level is another step further, it is an abstract level. The keyword at this level is a semantic prime of which, according to Goddard (2005, 291), the meaning cannot be further explained. The meaning of this *pantun* is that hammering the floors and admitting to be smart is bad.

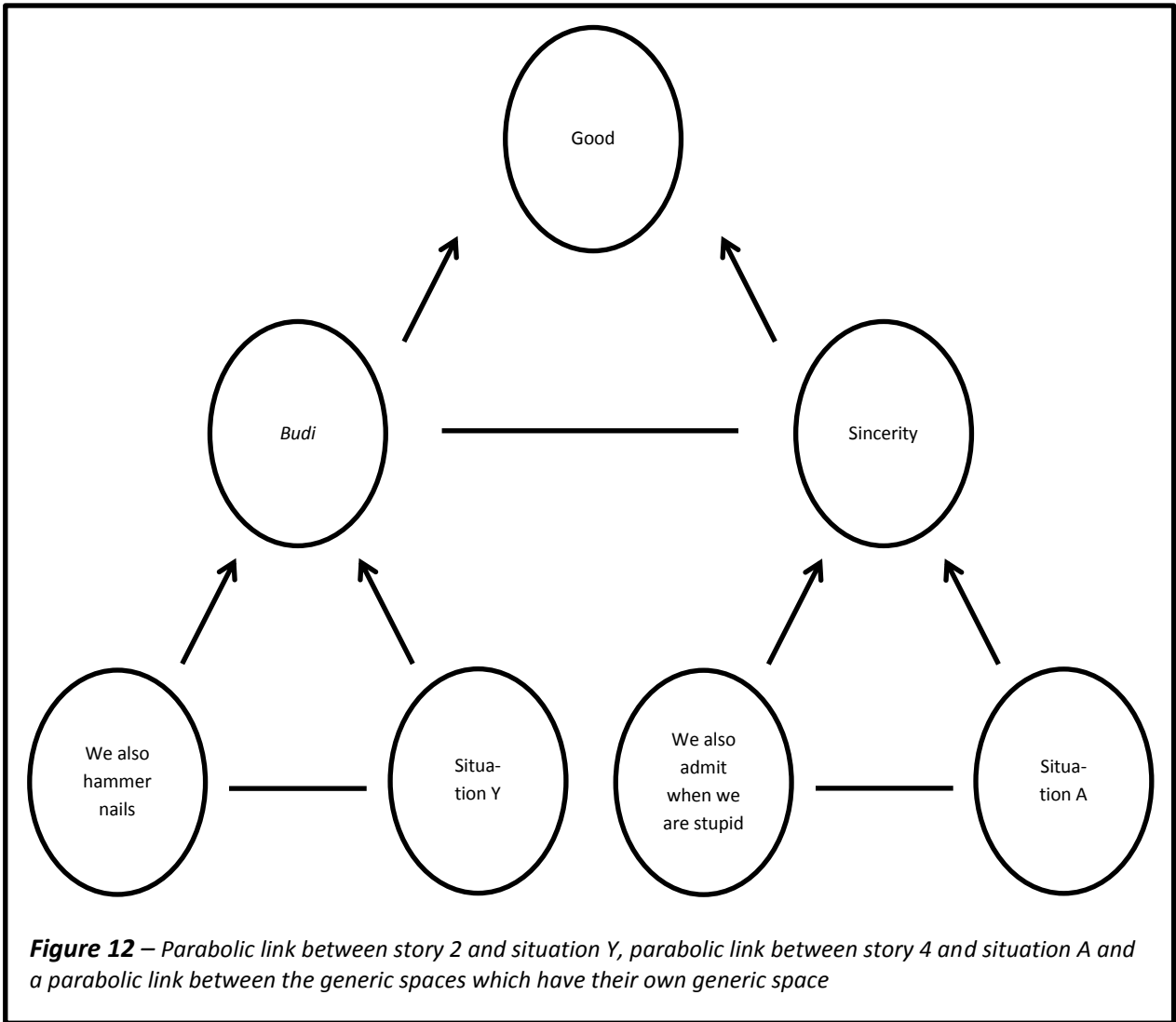


Figure 12 – Parabolic link between story 2 and situation Y, parabolic link between story 4 and situation A and a parabolic link between the generic spaces which have their own generic space

Figure 12 shows that story 2 and 4 correspond with each other’s generic space and that the parabolic link between the generic spaces has its own generic space: semantic prime ‘good’. The meaning of this *pantun* is that hammering nails and admitting that to be stupid is good.

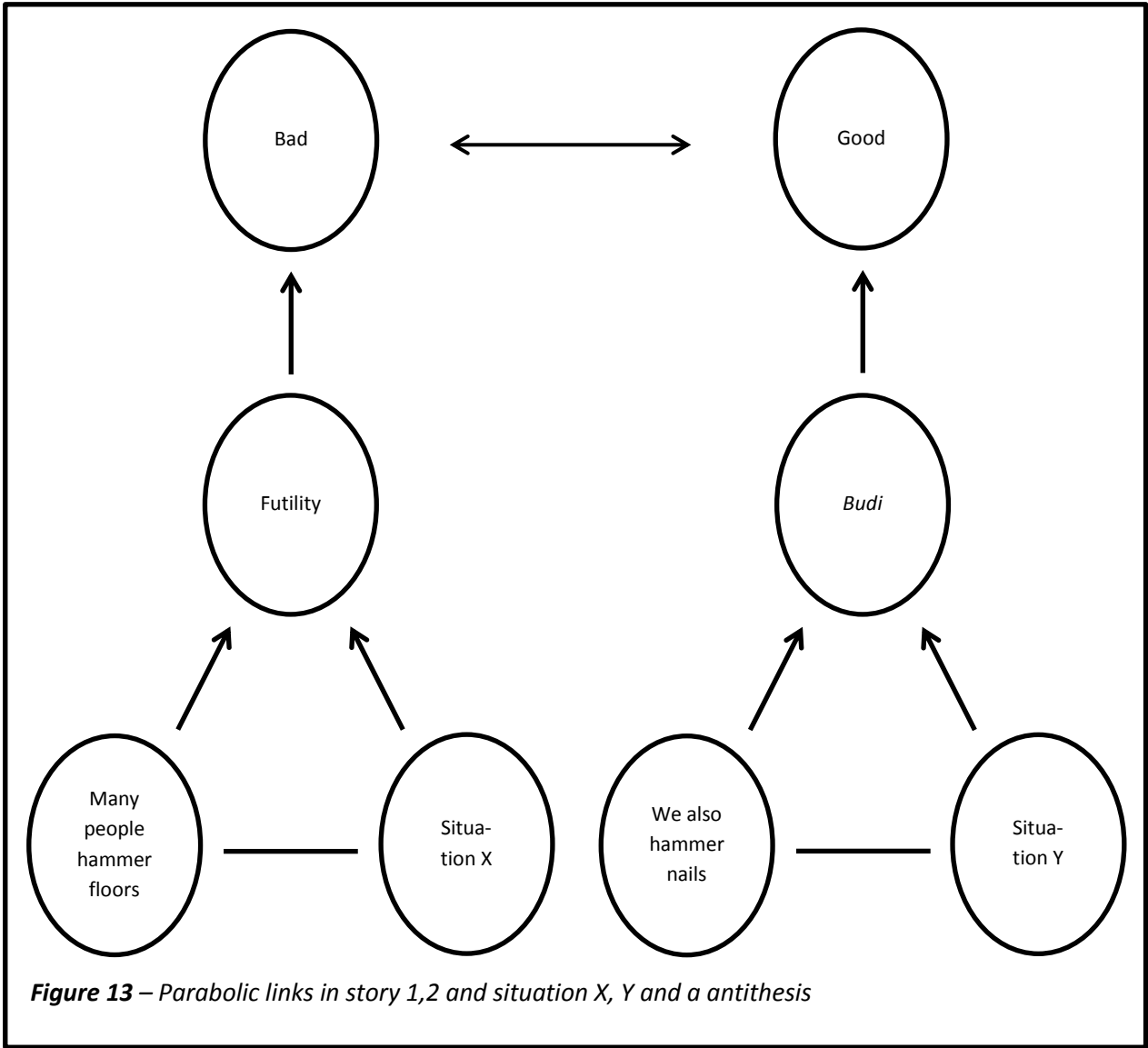


Figure 13 – Parabolic links in story 1,2 and situation X, Y and a antithesis

Turner does not say anything about a generic space between two anti-theoretical spaces . I assume, a generic space is only possible when they share the same features. In figure 13, the generic spaces on the second level do not share the same features and therefore they do not have their own generic space. The semantic primes 'good' and 'bad' show clearly the antithesis between these stories. The meaning of this antithesis is: hammering on the floor is bad, hammering on nails is good.

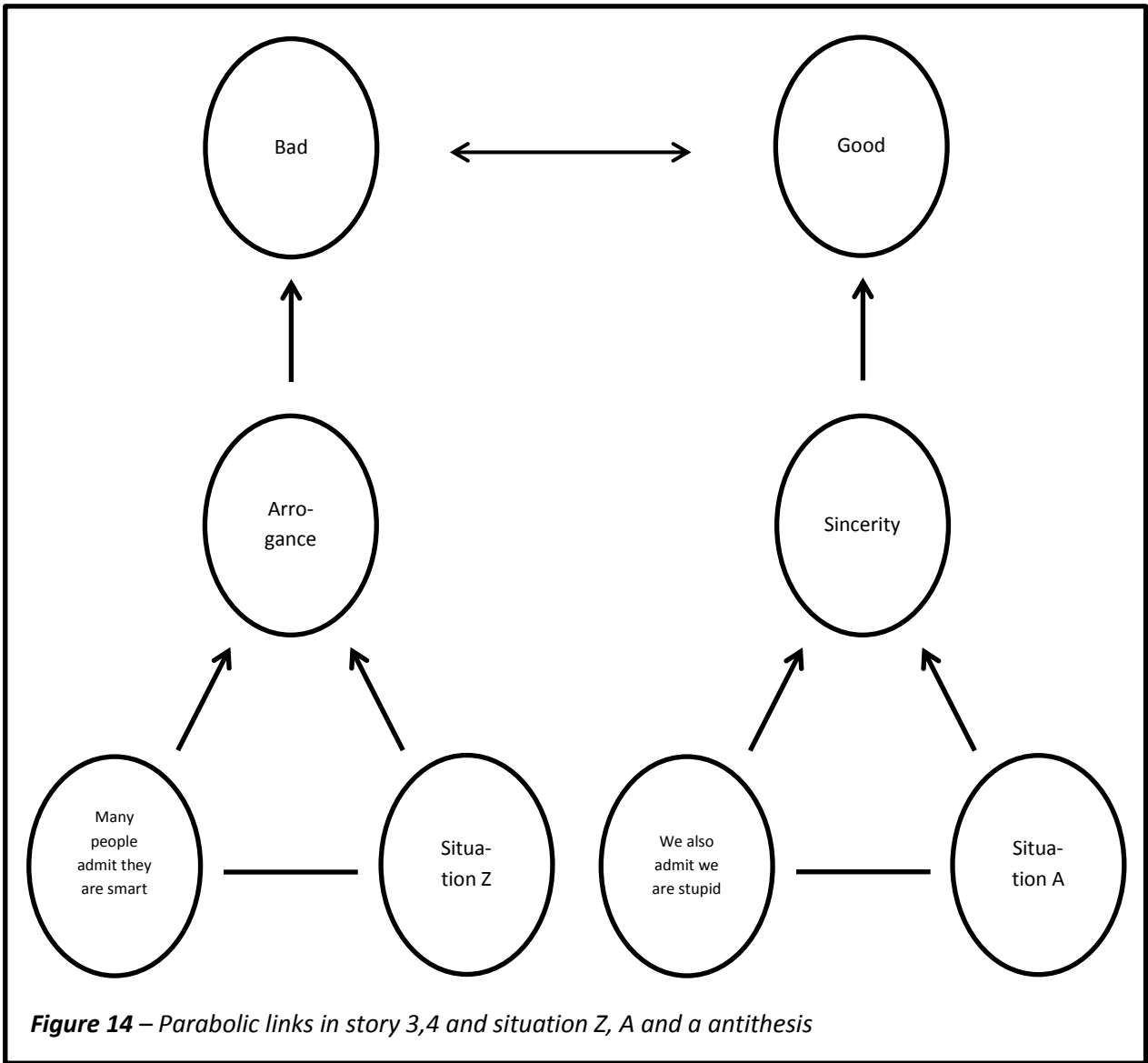


Figure 14 – Parabolic links in story 3,4 and situation Z, A and a antithesis

The second antithesis can be found in story 3 and 4 in figure 14, which implies that admitting to be stupid is good and that admitting to be smart is bad. In both cases, the semantic primes impose a clear distinction between what is good and what is bad.

I would argue that the link should not be found in the *pantun* itself, but in the meaning constructed of the *pantun*. Contrary to Winstedt (1958, 166), who says ‘*all those quatrains that have no other connection at all between the couplets except the compulsion of rhyme*’. I believe that the meaning of the *pantun* is underexposed. In fact, to understand the stories from the *pantun*, one has to understand the parabolic link. If one understands the parabolic link, one will grasp the meaning and therefore will be able to understand the message of the *pantun*.

5.3.2 Analysis of *pantun* A with Natural Semantic Metalanguage and ethno pragmatics

I will use another method based on ideas from Goddard to create a clear understanding of the *pantun*. I will illustrate this method with *pantun* A.

EVERYONE KNOWS

people do things in some ways, not other ways

I SAY

people do things in some ways, not other ways

because of this, if someone does this

something good is going to happen

THEREFORE

it is good that someone does this in this way and not the other way

This division in three parts describes the content of the *pantun*. The first part (EVERYONE KNOWS) shows common knowledge in relation to the metaphor. The second part (I SAY) describes the metaphor and the last part in Goddard's method (THIS IS LIKE) gives a comparison. In this thesis, I do not make a comparison. That is why I changed THIS IS LIKE into THEREFORE. In this example, we can see that the metaphors says something, but what they mean is different from what they express.

The *pantun* is not about the hammering, but about the noise (hammering makes a lot of noise). Hammering on nails is effective, but hammering on the floor is not. Hammering on the floor is 'Much ado about nothing'. This advice can be given when someone makes a lot of fuss about something (unimportant) and the other wants to say that that kind of behaviour is not *budi*. The second person wants to stay polite (*budi*) and therefore says this *pantun*.

In this *pantun*, I can identify the following cultural keywords: *malu*, *menghormati*, *merindah diri*, *ikhlas* and *budi* : it is argued that *malu* is always in the mind of Malay people when they recite a *pantun*, because Malay people try to prevent actions that could lead to negative situations, comments and opinions. In this *pantun*, for example, you do not want to say outright that someone is making a lot of fuss about something. According to Goddard, Malay people show respect to each other (*menghormati*) to avoid disagreement. Goddard uses the same argument for the cultural keyword *merindah diri*. Admitting a mistake implies to *ikhlas*. In this *pantun*, one wants to make a point, but one also wants to show respect and avoid disagreement. The above-mentioned cultural keywords are all connected to *budi*. This cultural keyword is about standards or ideas about behaviour. It can be assumed that the recitation of a *pantun* is closely connected to these cultural keywords: *pantun* are recited to others, whose feelings are always taken into account when reciting *pantun*. With a *pantun* one can make a point in a careful but beautiful way.

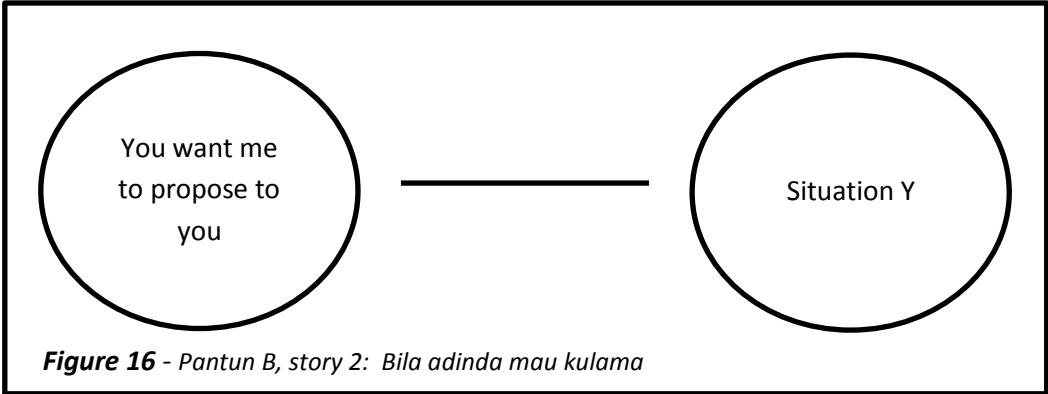
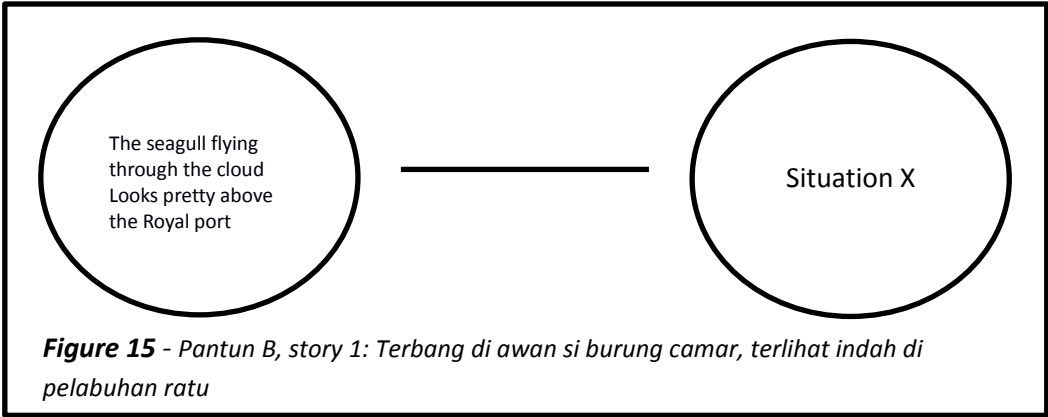
5.4 Analysis of pantun B

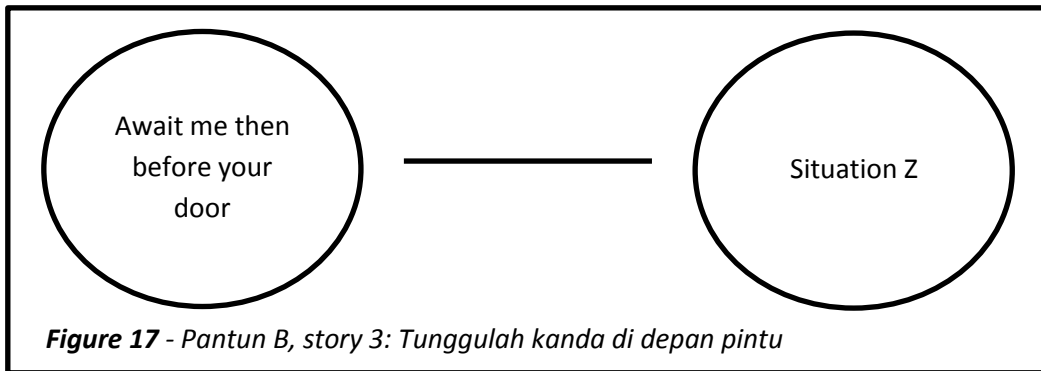
5.4.1 Analysis of pantun B with meaning space theory

Not every pantun has the same structure. I will now analyse pantun B.

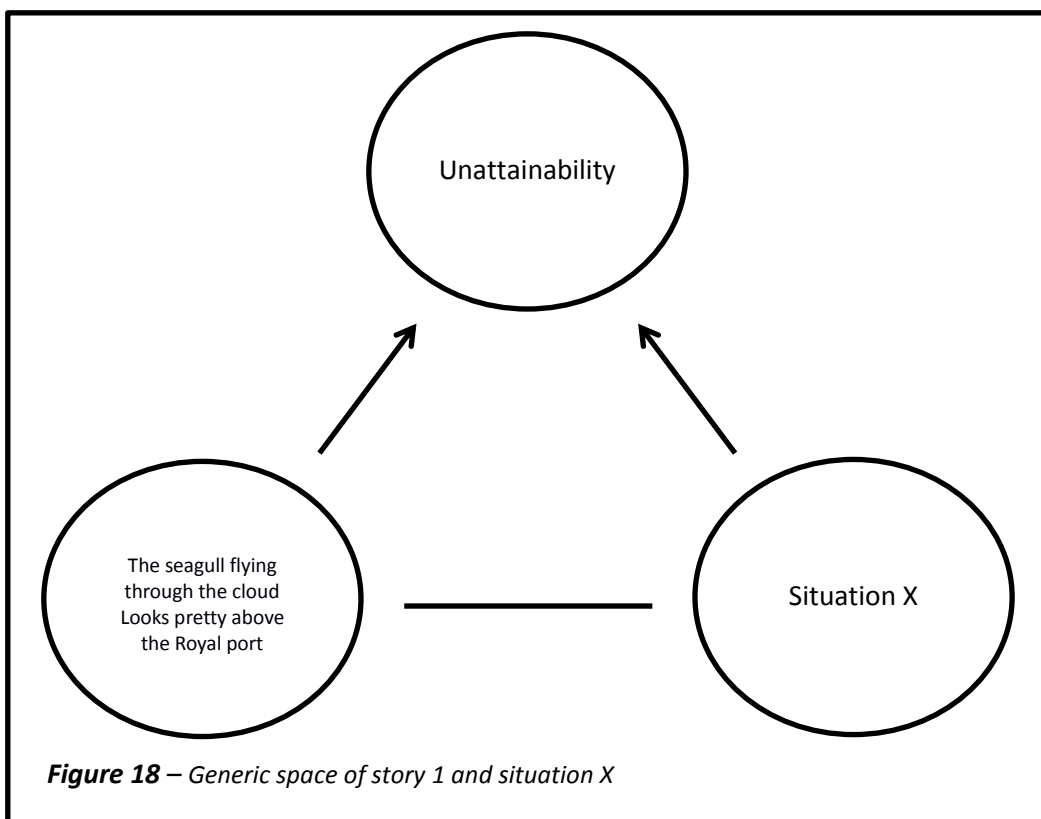
<p><i>Terbang di awan si burung camar, Terlihat indah di pelabuhan ratu. Bila adinda mau kulamar, Tunggulah kanda di depan pintu</i> (www.melayuonline.com)</p>	<p><i>The seagull flying through the cloud Looks pretty above the Royal port. You want me to propose to you, Await me then before your door</i> (Spangenberg)</p>
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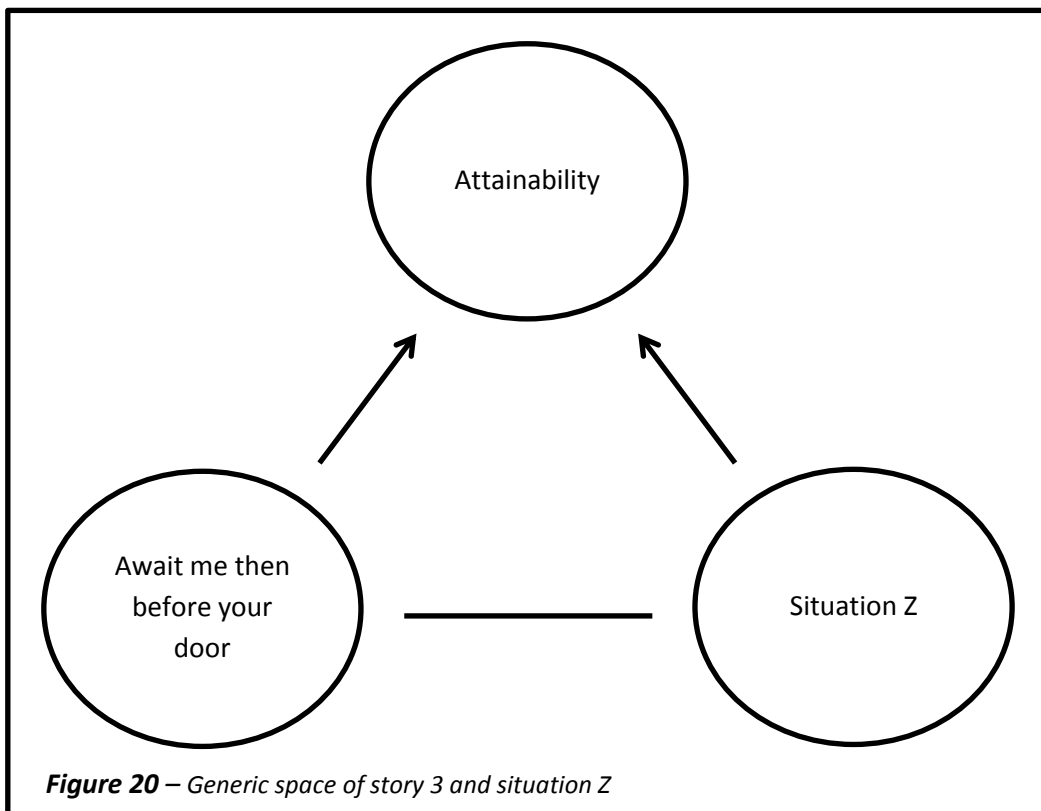
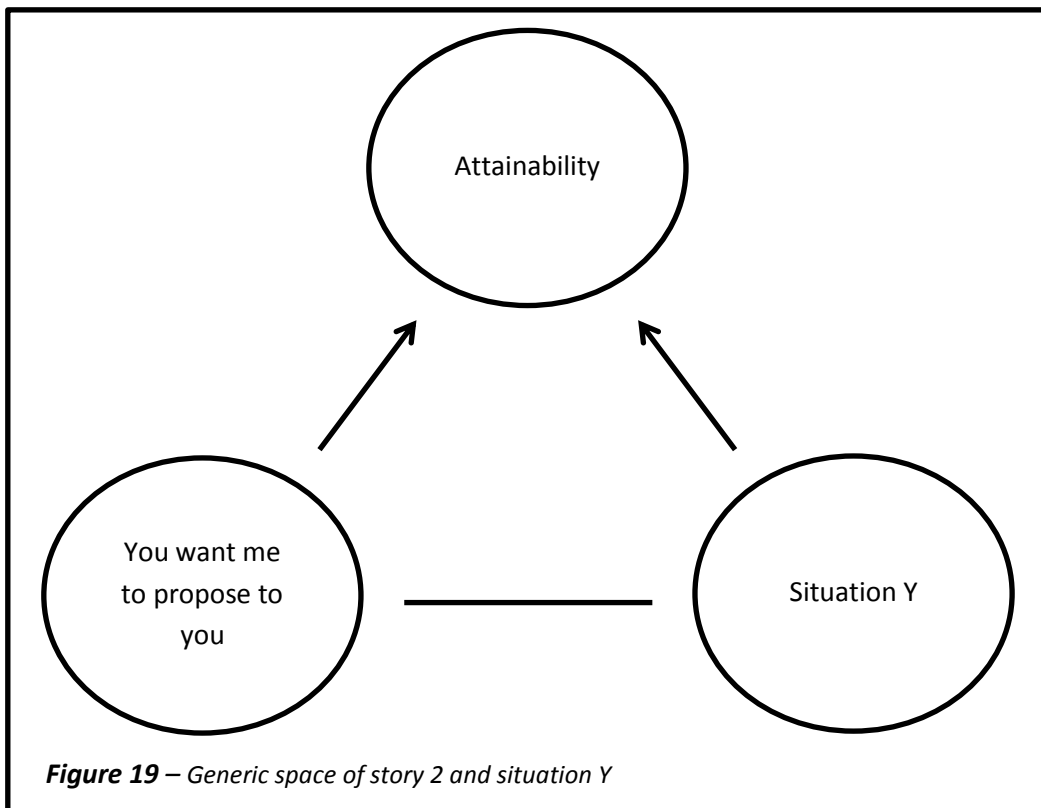
Pantun B has 3 stories: (1) the seagull high in the sky, (2) proposing and (3) waiting in front of a door. All these stories are parabolic, like in pantun A.





Story 1 is parabolic with situation X, story 2 is parabolic with situation Y and story 3 is parabolic with situation Z. Also, in *pantun* B one has to know what the image implies. If one understands the metaphor, then one can make a parabolic link. The generic space is illustrated in the following figures:





These figures show that the first story and situation X share the feature of unattainability in their generic space whereas the second story with situation Y and third story with situation Z share the feature of attainability in their generic space.

There is an interesting aspect in *pantun* B. There are two more stories hidden within its structure. *Bila* means *if* or *when*. First, I skipped this word in the translation to stay close to the rhyme scheme, but in this case the literal translation is more important. Words like 'if' or 'when', so-called space-builders (Fauconnier, 1994, 17), create a space, which refer to a situation that has already happened (this antecedent is the first hidden story) or a situation that might happen in the future. I believe that an if-clause refers to a situation in the future. There should be another situation, which refers to the present time, even though the current situation might not be explicitly mentioned in the *pantun*. There should be a situation that one wants to change. Otherwise the word 'if' is superfluous and does not make any sense. The situation which might occur in the future is hidden in story 2. Story 2 consists of two separate stories: 'if you want X' (in this case: me to propose to you), await me then for your door, only then I can propose to you.

In this case, there is someone who is unattainable for someone else. The reason to recite the *pantun* is that one wants to change something, i.e. the situation that is not mentioned in the *pantun*. This current situation corresponds with the first couplet of the *pantun* because this couplet indirectly refers to the situation one wants to change: to make reachable something unattainable.

The whole point made by story 2 and 3 is that one has to be attainable if one wants to be proposed to. Consequently, the generic space of story 2 and 3 is attainability which is the antithesis of unattainability, as we can see on the next page in figure 21.

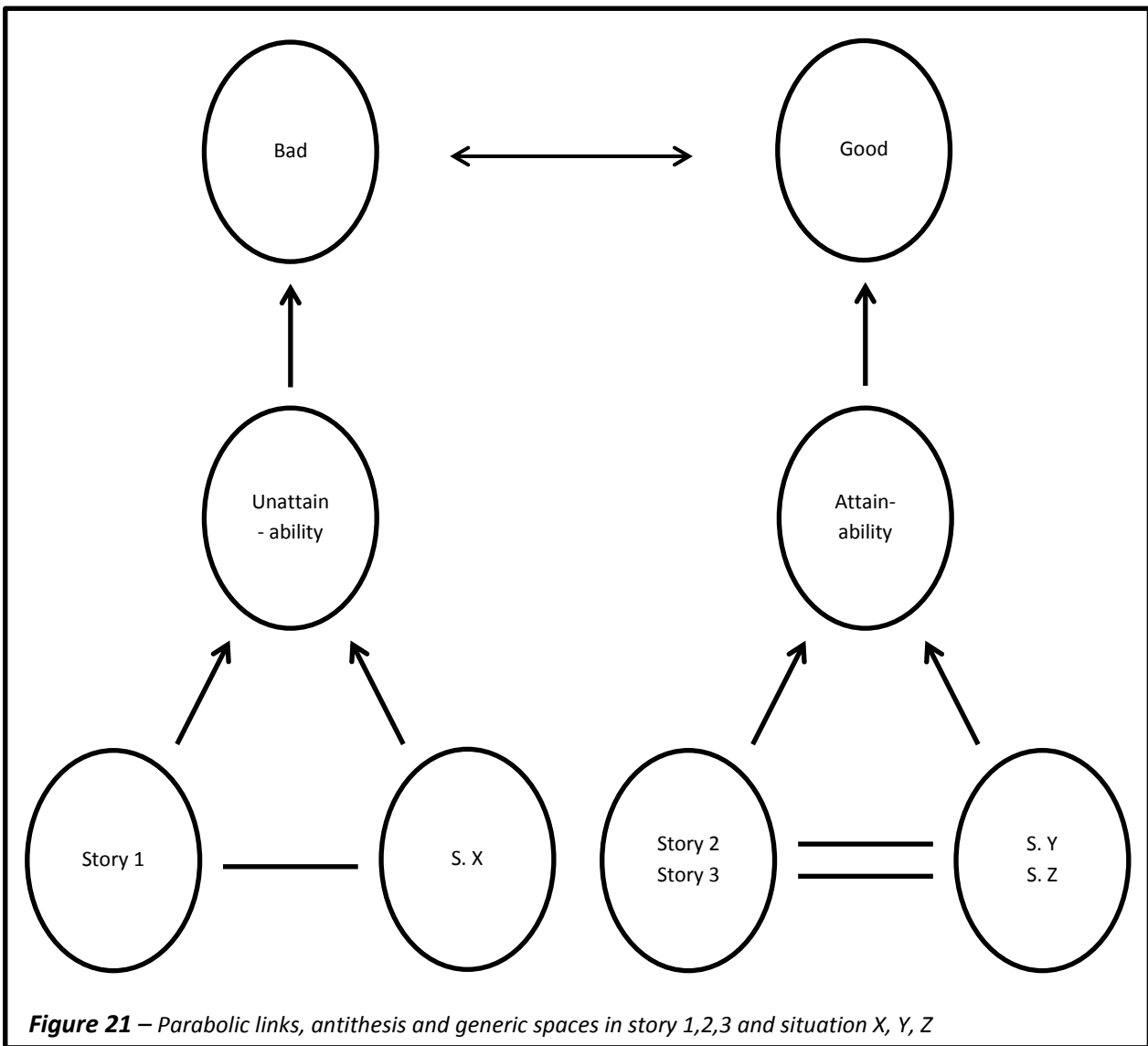


Figure 21 shows that story 2 and 3 have the same generic space. This makes it possible to combine them into one space in the figure. 'S. X' refers to situation X, 'S. Y' refers to situation Y and 'S. Z' refers to situation Z. The generic spaces on the second level do not share the same features and therefore they do not have their own generic space. The semantic primes 'good' and 'bad' show clearly the antithesis between these stories. The meaning of this antithesis is: it is good if someone is attainable and it is bad if someone is unattainable.

5.4.2 Analysis of *pantun* B with Natural Semantic Metalanguage and ethno pragmatics

In this *pantun*, there is a clear difference between what is being said and the intention of the speaker. This awareness is referred to by Goddard as *metalexical awareness*. For *pantun* B, I explain this *metalexical awareness* as:

EVERYONE KNOWS

if something (someone) is far, it (one) is not near

I SAY

if something (someone) is near, something can happen

THEREFORE

it is good if something (someone) is near

This overview shows us that the seagull refers to a girl, a girl who is unattainable. The meaning of the *pantun* is that one has to be reachable if one wants to be asked out.

Pantun B is a classic example of avoiding the feeling of *malu*. As mentioned before, the *pantun* is about a boy and a girl. The attention the girl gets might make her feel *malu*, but the boy who wants to ask her out can also feel *malu*. This *pantun* is about exposing feelings. The way in which Malay people transfer messages to each other is related to *menghormati*, because they avoid delivering their message directly out of mutual respect and also to avoid a situation where one can feel *malu*. This *pantun* can also be recited to give advice. For example, when a girl hides herself from someone she likes, one can be *berbudi* and recite this *pantun* to her, so that she knows that if she keeps hiding her feelings, there is no chance that the person she likes will ask her out.

5.5 Summary of the analyses of *pantun* A and *pantun* B

In this thesis, I have discussed two *pantun*. I described that *pantun* A has four stories and *pantun* B has only three stories, but *pantun* B contained two hidden stories: an extra story that is an antecedent to the story that is mentioned in the *pantun* and a story that actually consists of two separate stories. As a result, *pantun* B actually has five stories. In both *pantun* there is an antithesis. While *pantun* A has two cases of corresponding generic spaces (one antithesis in story 1 and 2 and another in story 3 in 4) which has also their own generic space, in *pantun* B there is only one antithesis. This implies that, whether there is an antithesis or a corresponding story, there is in both cases a link between the *sampiran* and *isi*.

In *pantun* A and *pantun* B there was no incidence of the cultural keyword *sabar*. Therefore, I show another *pantun*, that focuses on *sabar*.

C. <i>Hari minggu jalan ke pasar</i>	<i>Sundays she goes to the market</i>
<i>Disana belanja membeli udang</i>	<i>There she buys shrimps</i>
<i>Hatiku pilu rasa terbakar</i>	<i>My heart is hurt, I feel burned</i>
<i>Bunga kupuja dipetik orang</i>	<i>The flower that I adored is being picked by someone else</i>
(http://melayuonline.com)	(Spangenberg)

In this *pantun*, somebody is in love with someone else, but this other is already in a relation with someone else. This is a sad situation. This situation requires having self-control and staying calm to control your emotions. Also, the English saying 'take it easy' applies on this *pantun*. This saying refers to calm down and do not get stressed. It is good for a person to stay calm and think clearly.

6. What is the function of *pantun*?

In my opinion, *pantun* has several functions in Malay society, namely: 1. *pantun* as an expression of feelings and thoughts, 2. a way to teach and 3. a way to inspire others.

Originally, the *pantun* is a verse which is used to express and convey of feelings and thoughts based on religious, cultural and moral values. The *pantun* is very accessible to everyone speaking Malay because of the use of simple words used in everyday language. Therefore, the *pantun* belongs to all Malay people and, according to Mahyudin (2008), the *pantun* refers to the true identity of the Malay people. I am not sure what Mahyudin means by 'true identity', but I am certain that the *pantun* is a reflection of the way Malay people think.

A *pantun* can also be used as a tool to teach. For instance, the *pantun nasehat* is a *pantun* with a moral. According to Mahyudin (2008), a *pantun* can be helpful to 'understand and deal with nature'. The images of nature are not only inspiring, but it can also function as a 'mirror', which helps the Malay people to deal with, for instance, a broken heart. The messages which are hidden in *pantun* or the morals, which can be found in it, are tools to handle such situations.

7. Discussion

7.1 Explications

I believe, using explication is a good method to get to understand the Malay *pantun*. Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) is a way to analyse *metalexical awareness* which is fully present in *pantun*. One of the findings of this thesis is that Goddard fails to properly explain on how the explication should be read. Namely in his 1997, 1998, 2000, 2001, 2004, 2005 and 2009 publications there was no explanation how to interpret the explications. Besides that, I argue that Goddard's explications are not always correct, including the explication of indirectness, *malu* and *sabar*. In the explication of indirectness, I believe, Goddard does not explain what causes people to want to say something in an indirect way. That is why, I would suggest the following explication for indirectness (original explication on the left, my suggestion on the right):

Everyone knows:
often when a person wants to say something
this person says it with particular words, not other words, because this person thinks:
 I don't want to say the words for some things
 because if I say these words, someone might feel something bad
 I don't have to say these words
 if I say words for some other things, people will know what I want to say
it is good if a person does this
(Goddard, 2001, 13)

Everyone knows:
when something bad happens
people don't feel good
often when a person does want to say something
this person says it with particular words, not other words,
because this person thinks:
 I don't want to say the words for some things
 because if I say these words, something bad might happen
 I don't have to say these words
 if I say words for some other things, people will know what I want to say
it is good if a person does this
(Spangenberg)

In my opinion, the need to use an indirect way of speaking is based on a personal wish to avoid an unpleasant situation and on the experience that a direct of way speech may lead to such an unpleasant situation. These premises have been included in my version of the explication.

The second example is the explication of *malu*. Goddard uses only good and bad in semantic primes, there is nothing in between. I question if people always feel something bad when they feel *malu*. Earlier, in paragraph 3.1, I gave an example of a boy who gives a girl a compliment. In general, this does not give the girl a bad feeling, so what is it that makes this example *malu*? Goddard, in his explication, describes that people, against their wish, can know something about them. In this case, however, it is about the attention the girl gets and not about what is being said or what the boy thinks. In my opinion, the explication is more concrete when we leave out the following lines: '*People can think something bad about me because of this*' and '*People can say something bad about me because of this*'. I suggest the following explication:

X (me)rasa *malu* (X feels *malu*)
X feels something bad because X thinks like this:
 people can know something about me
 people can think something bad about me because of this
 people can say something bad about me because of this
 I don't want this
because X feels like this, X doesn't want to be near other people
it is good if people can feel something like this
(Goddard, 2005, 82)

X (me)rasa *malu* (X feels *malu*)
X feels something bad because X thinks like this:
 people can know something about me
 I don't want this
 because X feels like this, X doesn't want to be near other people
it is good if people can feel something like this
(Spangenberg)

As one can see, I made this explication shorter because they do not always fit the situation where people feel *malu*, as we can see in the example of the boy and the girl.

My last remark on the analyses of the explications is about *sabar*. As noted above, in semantic primes there is nothing between good and bad. As we look at the meanings of *sabar*, it does not necessarily have a negative meaning. The translation Goddard gave of ‘waiting patiently’, is, in my opinion, not correct because one can sit, relax, and maybe read something or play a game on your mobile phone. For me, those situations are fine, and I would not feel anything negative. Here, again, I question why Goddard used bad. In his article, Goddard explained *bad* as ‘a vague formulation compatible with anything from mild irritation to great suffering’ (Goddard, 2001, 663). I believe, however, that bad is a very broad and culturally dependent concept. A vague formulation is not useful in this method. There are different shades of meanings of bad in different countries, which makes this more difficult and therefore, I would not use the word bad, like in this explication. I suggest:

<p>X is <i>sabar</i> [at this time]= at this time, X felt something bad because of this, X could have thought: I don't want this I do want to do something now X did not think like this, because X didn't want to think anything like this it is good if a person can be like this (Goddard 2001, 664)</p>	<p>X is <i>sabar</i>= something happens because of this, X thinks something like this: I don't want this because of this, I would want to do something I can't do anything now because of this, this person feels something X feels something like this (Spangenberg)</p>
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I argue that it is better to leave out the word bad. Just as I described above, I cannot find myself using this word because I do not recognize this feeling when I think X is *sabar*. In addition to this, the line ‘I don't want this, I do want to do something now’ is, in my opinion, a very western thought. Malay people respect the saying ‘*Fikir dulu, Fikir panjang*’ (Goddard, 2001, 662) as I described in paragraph 3.2. They refer to stay calm and think about the situation again, instead of feeling that they do not want this, that they do want to do something now.

Another remark about Goddard's work is that there is no explication of *budi*. This is very noteworthy because *budi* is an important cultural keyword in Malay culture (Lim, 2003). In my opinion, *budi* is a concept too broad to explain in Natural Semantic Metalanguage. It is impossible to use one explication that encompasses all of the different meanings of this keyword. Therefore, this method cannot be used to show the exactly meaning of *budi*. As we have seen before, the explications were not always applicable, because several Malay words were too broad and complex to describe in one explication. Still, using explication is a good method to get to know other cultures. However, to pin down the exact meaning of a cultural concept remains difficult, also when using this method.

In addition, in the explication of indirectness Goddard uses the semantic prime someone. In the explication of indirectness he says: ‘I don't want to say the words for some things because if I say these words, someone might feel something bad’ (paragraph 3.1.1). It is questionable if indirectness is only for someone else, or mainly for their own benefit. Avoiding conflict is not only done for the benefit of others, but also because they do not like conflict.

Finally, the explications of the cultural keywords of Goddard are mostly all positive. It is good for a person when he is *sabar*, *ikhlas*, *menghormati* and *merindah diri*. The exception is the word *malu*, which can be negative. I assume, there are also cultural keywords which are negative. To make a complete picture, I believe, it is good to analyse these words as well.

7.2 Cultural keyword *budi*

The cultural keyword *budi* is, in my opinion, remarkably often found in *pantun*. I believe that this word represents more than a cultural keyword and refers to an ideology in Malay people's speech. I assume, that the cultural keywords and the way people conduct themselves are connected to *budi* which is a cultural keyword that reflect Malay culture in which Malay people think and act. This assumption can be an explanation why Malay people put *budi* into practice, like in *pantun*.

7.3 Function of *pantun*

Mahyudin (2008) says that the function of *pantun* is changing. He gave the following example in his article: a performance of sharing *pantun* occurred at a congress in 2004 in Malaysia. After this performance, someone from the audience asked a question about one of the *pantun*. According to Mahyudin, no one was able to respond to this question. The performers who recited the *pantun* admitted that they were able to chant the *pantun*, but that they did not know the actual meaning.

Mahyudin (2008) believes that: *'It is impossible to preserve the values of the pantun and furthermore to use it as tool to educate and to maintain the Malay identity, if it only is used for entertainment. The reciting of pantun is no longer to deliver the messages, it is to amuse. Consequently, pantun loses its function to pass their cultural messages. The fact that the pantun is only for amusement shows the obscurity of the Malayan identity among the Malays'*. A little further in his article Mahyudin continues with: *'The pantun is rooted in the life of a Malay. Pantun is inseparable from the life of each Malay by these processes of education, deviation, and institutionalization'*. This refers to the current state of the *pantun* in Malay society.

The statements which are made by Mahyudin sound contradictory to me. Mahyudin argues that *pantun* is used only for entertainment, but why does he say that the *pantun* is still inseparable from the life of all Malays? It might be argued that the *pantun* is very important and can be seen as inseparable, but I believe this is not the case if the *pantun* is only used for entertainment. There should be another use, otherwise it is idle to write an article about *pantun* if there is no point to make. Furthermore, Mahyudin explained that the performers who recited the *pantun* admitted that they were able to chant the *pantun*, but that they did not know the actual meaning. He does not say anything about the understanding of the message, which is interesting because the meaning and message from a *pantun* are not the same.

Another explication which is important in this thesis is a cultural script when Malay people say a *pantun*. I want to point out that I invented this scheme, based on ideas of Goddard.

When someone says a *pantun*.

people think like this:

someone wants me to do something

if I don't want to do it,

it is bad for me

it is good to say something else

because of this people say something else

This script shows us, that people think it is a good thing to say something else when they actually want to say 'no' to the person who asked you something. Because if they say 'no', both people are in a situation where they might feel uncomfortable. This also applies the other way around. If you want to ask someone else to do something, but you do not want to make the other feel uncomfortable, then you can say it with a *pantun* instead.

8. Conclusion

There are several functions of the *pantun* in Malay society, namely: 1. *pantun* as an expression of feelings and thoughts, 2. a way to teach and 3. a way to inspire others. Originally, the *pantun* is a verse which is used to express and convey feelings and thoughts based on religious, cultural and moral values. Also, a *pantun* can be used as a tool to teach. For instance the *pantun nasehat* is a *pantun* with a moral. According to Mahyudin, a *pantun* can be helpful to ‘understand and deal with nature’. The images of nature are not only inspiring, but they can also function as a ‘mirror’. The stories which are told in a *pantun* or the morals which can be found in a *pantun* are tools to handle such situations.

Through the use of figures, I tried to create a clear understanding of the *pantun*. The first research question in this study is: ‘What does a *pantun* look like?’. I explained that a *pantun* consist of four lines, which describe different stories. These stories are parabolic with situations Malay people recognize from their lives. Because they can make this link, Malay people are able to understand the message in *pantun*. The stories are defined by metaphors. Metaphors are more likely to be found in the first couplet, the *sampiran*, which makes sense because here the author creates an image. These images are based on Malay life, like: local flowers, food, animals or other features of nature.

The second research question is: ‘What does the metaphor in *pantun* mean and which meanings are conveyed through *pantun*?’. Some metaphors are transparent, like *pantun* A, whilst some metaphors require more local knowledge, like the seagull in *pantun* B. On the basis of metaphors, *pantun* tell a story that expresses what Malay people think or what they want to say, but in a way that is respective of cultural values. When looking at these findings, I continue with the hypothesis. The hypothesis is: ‘The *pantun* is a way in which Malay people feel comfortable with to show their thoughts and feelings while preventing friction’.

Malay people want to avoid disagreement and they need to have the self-control and patience to accomplish this. Islamic values reinforce those factors in Malay culture. Malay people show *hormat* and/or *merendah diri* when they come into contact with people who are ranked higher than themselves.

In the analysis of the *pantun*, the following cultural keywords *malu*, *sabar*, *hormat*, *merendah diri*, and *budi* are clearly present. Reciting a *pantun* implies that there is interaction with another person, and these words are connected to showing attentiveness to other people’s feelings. I would like to believe that Malay speech is determined by the concept of *budi*. Admittedly, *budi* refers not only to morality, but also to wisdom. Lim (2003, 93) points out that one should be *berbudi bahasa* ‘polite’ when one speaks to someone. Problems can be solved by using *budi bicara* ‘discretion’ under the direction of *akal budi* ‘intelligence’ in order to settle disagreement and not to hurt the other with what one is going to say. These findings confirm the hypothesis.

It may be clear that Malay *pantun* is full of *metalexical awareness* which asks for an ethno pragmatic perspective to analyse and understand culturally-shaped speech. Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) is a way to analyse this speech. The meaning space theory shows us that the metaphors say something and that their figurative meaning is different from the literal meaning. The *metalexical awareness* plays a major role in how Malay people make their thoughts and feelings known. Namely, they can express themselves with a *pantun* in a way that is respectful of their cultural values and therefore avoid any kind of friction.

I based this thesis only on a content analysis of several literary source and my own interpretations of this literature. I see this thesis as a first step for further research into the function of *pantun* in Malay speech and how the *pantun* is used in everyday language. Therefore, I recommend participant observation in Malaysia to look for more examples of *pantun* and to research other cultural manners to test the hypothesis.

In this thesis, I showed that one method does not exclude the other. I used different approaches and I would like to suggest that Natural Semantic Metalanguage (NSM) and meaning space theory are useful methods to analyse *pantun*. Clearly, to look at *pantun* from another perspective and to widen the scope of the knowledge about *pantun*.

In sum, the stories in *pantun* are defined by metaphors. On the basis of metaphors, *pantun* tell a story that expresses what Malay people think or what they want to say in a comfortable way, but also in a way that is respectful of cultural values and, especially, in order to prevent friction.

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Appendix 1: *Pantun* collection:

- 1) *Banyak orang memaku lantai
Kita memaku pelupuh juga
Banyak orang mengaku pandai
Kita mengaku bodoh juga*
(www.melayuonline.com)

- 2) *Terbang di awan si burung camar,
Terlihat indah di pelabuhan ratu
Bila adinda mau kulamar,
Tunggulah kanda di depan pintu*
(www.melayuonline.com)

- 3) *Dari mana punai melayang?
Dari paya turun ke padi
Dari mana datang sayang?
Dari mata turun ke hati*
(Hamilton, 1959, no 18)

- 4) *Apa lauk nasi rendam?
Sayor petola dinihari
Apa ubat hati yang dendam?
Gesek biola tarekkan nyanyi*
(Hamilton, 1959, no 38)

- 5) *Niat hati 'nak panching temenong
Sudah terpanching ikan setoka
Niat hati 'nak pelok gunung
Sudah terpelok biawak chelaka*
(Hamilton, 1959, no. 94)

- 6) *Anak ayam turun delapan
Mati satu tinggal lah tujuh
Hidup harus penuh harapan
Jadikan itu jalan yang dituju*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)

- 7) *Buah bacang setangkai lebat
Mari dikendong di dalam kain
Dipancing-pancing kalau tak dapat
Baik beralih ketempat lain*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)

- 8) *Buah jering dari Jawa,
Naik sigai ke atas atap,
Ikan kering lagi ketawa,
Dengar tupai baca kitab*
(www.melayuonline.com)
- 9) *Hilir lorong mudik lorong,
Bertongkat batang temberau,
Bukan saya berkata bohong,
Katak memikul paha kerbau*
(www.melayuonline.com)
- 10) *Banyak orang memaku lantai
Kita memaku pelupuh juga
Banyak orang mengaku pandai
Kita mengaku bodoh juga*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)
- 11) *Dari mana punai melayang
Dari sawah turun ke kali
Dari mana datangnya sayung
Dari mana turun ke hati*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)
- 12) *Hari minggu jalan ke pasar
Disana belanja membeli udang
Hatiku pilu rasa terbakar
Bunga kupuja dipetik orang*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)
- 13) *Hujan lebat di bukit beruang
Anak raja menudung kain
Lebih baik hidup membujang
Habis makan boleh bermain*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)
- 14) *Indah kuncup si bunga melur
Tapi tempayan si pokok kari
Biar hidup gelumang lumpur
Pengetahuan tetap dicari*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)
- 15) *Kalau taka ada sagu bertampin
Mengapa rumbia ditebang orang
Karena taka ada rindu ke lain
Mengapa lama abang tak datang*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)

- 16) *Kalau tuan pergi ke laut
Carikan saya ketam bertelur
Kalau tuan menjadi rambu
Saya menjadi bunga melur*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)
- 17) *Kapal berlayar menimbang arus
Patah kemudi menyusur pantai
Tuan laksana sutera yang halus
Sama padan maka dipakai*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)
- 18) *Pisang emas dimasak goyang
Jatuh sebiji dalam bakul
Tuan emas saya Loyang
Bila boleh bercampur gaul*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)
- 19) *Sebesar-besar mayang pinang
Takkan sama mayang kelapa
Sebesar-besar sayung orang
Tak sama sayung ibu bapa*
(<http://melayuonline.com>)
- 20) *Terbang burung dari selatan
Dipuput angin sangga bayu;
Bukalah surat dari lipatan,
Lihatlah pantun bahasa Melayu.*
(Sekalung, 2013, no. 2)
- 21) *Yang kurik kundi,
Yang merah saga;
Yang baik budi,
Yang indah bahasa*
(Sekalung, 2013, no.3)
- 22) *Akar keladi melilit selasih,
Selasih tumbuh di hujung taman;
Kalungan budi junjungan kasih,
Mesra kenangan sepanjang zaman.*
(Sekalung, 2013, no.7)
- 23) *Asam kandis mari dihiris,
Manis sekali rasa isinya;
Dilihat manis dipandang manis,
Lebih manis hati budinya.*
(Sekalung, 2013, no.9)

- 24) *Ayam hutan terbang ke hutan,
Tali tersangkut pagar berduri;
Adik bukan saudara bukan,
Hati tersangkut kerana budi.*
(Sekalung, 2013, no. 10)
- 25) *Ayam rintik di pinggir hutan,
Nampak dari tepi telaga;
Nama yang baik jadi ingatan,
Seribu tahun terkenang juga.*
(Sekalung, 2013, no. 11)
- 26) *Buah mengkudu 'ku sangka kandis
Kandis terletak dalam puan
Gula madu 'ku sangka manis
Manis lagi senyum-mu tuan*
(Wilkinson and Winstedt, 1914, 16)
- 27) *Nasi kunyit panggang ayam
Tupai melompat menghalau pari
Bumi senget dunia karam
Kaseh melenggang di-tengah negeri*
(Wilkinson and Winstedt 1914, no. 183)
- 28) *Sakit kaki ditikam tunggul
Tunggul kecil di tengah huma
Sakit hati pandangankan sanggul
Sanggul kecil berisi bunga*
(Wilkinson and Winstedt 1914, no. 421)
- 29) *Selasih alang gemilang
Kayu hidup dimakan api
Kalau kaseh alang kepalang
Dari hidup baik ku mati*
(Wilkinson and Winstedt 1914, no. 445)
- 30) *Sanggul lintang berlipat-lipat
Lipat ke dalam bubuh bunganya
Cantik sebagai kuntum selimpat
Bila kembang harum baunya*
(Wilkinson and Winstedt 1914, no. 776)