



## ASSOCIATIVE MEANING FOUND IN PROVERBS IN BAJAWA LANGUAGE USED BY PEOPLE IN DOKA VILLAGE

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**ABSTRAK:** Tujuan dari penelitian ini adalah untuk mengetahui jenis-jenis makna asosiatif peribahasa dalam bahasa Bajawa yang digunakan oleh masyarakat di desa Doka. Ada lima jenis makna asosiatif, yakni makna stilistika atau sosial, makna efektif, makna reflektif, dan makna kolokatif (Leech, 1981). Penelitian ini menggunakan metode kualitatif untuk menganalisis data. Instrumen penelitian dalam pengumpulan data adalah penulis sendiri menyusun daftar peribahasa dalam bahasa Bajawa yang digunakan oleh masyarakat Desa Doka, kemudian memilih beberapa penutur asli untuk melengkapi data. Analisis data dilakukan dengan mengklasifikasikan peribahasa ke dalam lima jenis makna asosiatif. Analisis menunjukkan bahwa ada empat jenis makna asosiatif yang dapat ditemukan pada peribahasa dalam konteks yang berbeda, yakni konteks kelahiran, pernikahan, reba, membangun rumah adat, kematian, dan makna afektif yang ditemukan dalam peribahasa konteks pernikahan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan bahwa ada 103 peribahasa yang digunakan oleh masyarakat di desa Doka. Penulis menemukan ada 65 peribahasa dalam makna konotatif, 8 peribahasa dalam makna stilistik atau sosial, 25 peribahasa dalam makna afektif dan 5 peribahasa dalam makna reflektif. Peribahasa tersebut digunakan dalam konteks yang berbeda.

**Kata Kunci:** *asosiasi, makna, peribahasa*

**ABSTRACT:** The aim of this study was to find out the types of associative meaning in proverbs in Bajawa language used by people in Doka village. There were five types of associative meaning, stylistic or social meaning, effective meaning, reflective meaning, and collocative meaning as stated by Leech (1981). This study used qualitative method to analyze the data. Collecting data adopted was that the writer is the main instrument by preparing the list of proverbs in Bajawa language used by people in Doka village, then, choosing some native speakers to complete the data. Data analysis was by classifying proverbs into five types of associative meaning. The analysis shows that there are four types associative meaning can be found on proverbs. Proverbs are used in different context. They are in birth context, wedding context, *reba* context, process of building the traditional house and death context, affective meaning found in proverbs of wedding context. The result shows that there are 103 proverbs used by people in Doka village. The writer found there are 65 proverbs in connotative meaning, 8 proverbs in stylistic or social, 25 proverbs in affective meaning and 5 proverbs in reflective meaning. Those proverbs are used in different context.

**Key Words:** *associative, meaning, proverb*

## INTRODUCTION

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Language express meaning by relating a sign form to a meaning, or its content. Sign forms must be something that can be perceived. For example, in sounds, images, or gestures, and then related to a specific meaning by social convention. The linguistic sign consists of *significant* (form) and *signifie* (meaning) (Beedham, 2005:1). The relationship between form and meaning cannot be separated. Yule (1985:18) argued that there is no natural connection between a linguistic form and its meaning or arbitrary. In example, the form *horse* refers to the meaning *an animal which has four feet and can be used as vehicle*. The form *horse* has no natural connection with its meaning. Although it's arbitrary but the language is also conventional. It means that the member of community that uses the language accepts the form and its meaning. The word *horse* in English is accepted by people that refer to an animal that has four legged and can be used as a vehicle.

The best-know elaboration about the meaning also made by Ogden and Richard (1923), which developed a theory about meaning. They made a semiotic triangle that consists of symbol, concept, and referent to explain the interpretation about the meaning of word. The left corner of the triangle is marked 'symbol', or 'word' etc. The top of the triangle is marked concept of thought or mental/psychological process of referencing, and the right corner of the triangle is marked 'thing that is symbolized', or 'referent'. 'There is a direct relation between symbol and concepts and concepts to the referent. Nevertheless, the base of the triangle is marked by broken lines, representing an indirect connection in the sides of the triangle. Indirect connection means an arbitrary relationship created by someone who wishes the symbol to represent the referent. For example when we interpret the word *horse* in our concept we will think about a four-legged animal that can run fast and can be ridden and the referent of *horse* is horse in the real world.

Riemer (2010:14) says that at the top of triangle is what Ogden and Richards called 'thought' is reflect the fact language come from human being, and is therefore ultimately a product of processes in the mind or brain. Nevertheless, 'thought' can be a misleading label for these processes, for two reasons. First, these mental processes need not be conscious. Since it is the brain that produces language, we know that some such preliminary stage must have taken place, but since this stage is so often unconscious, the label 'thought' is not the most appropriate. The second reason that 'thought' is an unfortunate label for the mental processes at the origin of speech is that it excludes the non-rational, emotional side of our inner life. The processes leading to speech should not be limited to what we would class simply as 'thinking', but extend to include our emotions and volition as well. This is most obviously true with exclamations: exclamations of pain, surprise, or happiness often do not reflect anything we would describe as a 'thought', but rather reflect a particular feeling. The same is true for many other types of words, like diminutives, which may correspond to feelings of control, superiority, pride, etc.

According to Poole (2010: 33), different people having been subjected to different experiences in life, have different mental images when they hear a lexeme. When different people hear a lexeme rose with has the concepts a plant and another concept of a rose might be associated with love, passion, and beauty. Meaning of lexeme must be completed with context in accordance with the time and space in which an expression is applied because similar expression may have different meaning if it is used in different condition or context (Finch, 2003: 131). Interpretation of meaning consists of our ability to interpret the meaning itself. In addition of explanation above, Plamer (1976:31) says that the most naive answer to the questions of concepts is the psychological one, that we think of symbol, we think of concepts and vice versa.

In studying about meaning in language, Leech (1981: 9) made a distinction meaning into conceptual meaning and associative meaning. Conceptual meaning is the original meaning. It refer<sup>69</sup>



to the logical sense of the utterance and is recognizable as a basic component of grammatical competence. Conceptual meaning is alternatively described as the cognitive or the denotative meaning. White associative meaning is the symbol that is used by a speech community to tell other concepts which have the same characteristic, condition or characters with source of its word or the lexeme. The associative meaning of an expression has to do with individual mental understanding of the speaker. In example, the word *needle*, in conceptual meaning: "thin, sharp, steel instrument mostly used for sawing. Nevertheless, in associative meaning, the word *needle* can have the meaning as "pain, blood, drugs, hard to find." The word *needle* has different associative meaning because of the individual experience of the speaker or hearer to interpret the meaning. Leech (1981) noted that the associative meaning have at least five types of meaning. They are Connotative meaning, Stylistic meaning, Affective meaning, Reflected meaning and Collocative meaning. Each of them, represent part of the associative meaning and have something for common. They all are affected by the culture and the human experience.

In our communication, people tend to use language with many variations. In daily life, when people speak to others he/she usually use associative meaning to avoid using had words that depend on the situations or to give a good effect to the society. Associative meaning can be found in poetry, songs, novels, advertisement etc. Yule (2010:113) states that poets, song-writers, novelist, literary critics, advertisers and lovers may all be interested in how words can evoke certain aspect of associative meaning. The sort popular saying or wise words that are called proverbs also use associative meaning. The words or sentence in proverbs are used to manage people's attitude. Thus, Associative meaning consist of several functions will give the feelings or good effect in using proverbs. The functions of associative are to reduce taboo language, to deliver the stylistic style which appears in language since it concerns with the social circumstance of the use of linguistic expression, to express or communicate emotion or feeling of the speaker about something happened to him/her, to convey the associate words which tend to occur in the environment (Hidayati,2010). An example of connotative meaning in a proverb, *standing too long in the sun* that has the meaning intoxicated with alcohol.

In Bajawa Language especially in Doka Village, the native people use the proverbs that are called *po gege* or the advice or statement to other people, from parents to their children or the head of the tribes to their clan or tribes. Djawanai (cited by Watu, 2010:12) says that *po gege* in Bajawa language is the power of word or language (*wae sezu*) from their ancestor. *Pata po gege* is used by the local people as a proverb that have the function to manage the people's attitude or behaviors in an good manner life.

An example of proverbs in Bajawa Language, *bo moe tewu taba*, *bhuka moe muku wae*. In conceptual meaning, *bo moe tewu taba* means growing up like sugar cane and *bhuka moe muku wae* means growing up like bananas which are fertile. In associative meaning this proverb means that a new family will have the children as their new generation. Based on phenomenon, this study aims to find out the types of associative meaning found in proverbs in Bajawa Language used by people in Doka Village.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Language is considered to be the tool of communication system. It is essential part of human being. People also use language as medium to deliver message one to another. S90





misunderstanding can be reduced when they are communicating and talking in language. Meanwhile language can be divided into two, oral and written. Essentially, language intense can be delivered communicator to communicant successfully. Language in communication will fail without knowing the meaning of the communicator. Language and meaning cannot be separated. Sound in language conveys the meaning to make the communication goes well. As started by Poole (2010:8) language produces sound and conveys the meaning. Meaning is the core in human communication (Mayer, 2009).

Besides, study of meaning is one of the major areas of linguistic study. Linguistics have approached it in a variety of ways. The study of meaning is known as the study of semantic study of structures of language independent of their conditions of use. In contrast, the advocates of generative semantics insist that the meaning of sentences is a function of their use. Still another group maintains that semantics will not advance until theorists take into account the psychological question of how people from concepts and how these relate to word meanings.

Etymologically, semantic comes from the ancient Greek word *sematikos* and adjective meaning 'relating sign' based on the noun *semeion* 'sign'. This derivation highlights the close relation between the study of linguistic sign-words, phrases, sentences and utterances and the study of sign in general (Riemer, 2004:4). Clearly, semantics is the sub field of linguistic, which is study of how meaning is conveyed though signs in language. It is one of the branch of micro linguistic is concern in the study meaning of words and sentence in language (Saeed, 2003:3).

There some theories of semantics that have been made by some linguistics experts. According to Lyons (1995:3) semantics is traditionally defined as the study of meaning. It is the study of toolkit for meaning: knowledge encoded in the vocabulary of the language and its patterns for building more elaborate meanings, up to level of sentence meaning (Griffiths, 2006:1). Whereas, Yule (2010) state that semantics is the study of meaning of words, phrases, and sentences. Leech (1981) says that semantics as the study meaning in language is central to the study of communication. Linguistic is concerned with the language system the people have in common that makes them able to communicate with one another study of meaning, one of the major areas of linguistic study. Linguists have approached it in a variety of ways. Semantics will not advance until theorists take into account the psychological question of how people from concepts and how these relate to word meaning. In relation with previous statement, Palmer (1981:31) makes a distinction between two kinds of semantics. One that deals with semantics structure and the other that semantics is the systematic study of meaning and study of how a language organizes and expresses meaning.

In linguistics, meaning is what the source or sender expresses, communicates, or conveys in there message to the observer or receiver, and what the receiver infers from the current context. Bloomfield (1969: 139) states that the linguistic meaning forms the situation in which the speaker utters it and the responses which its calls forth in the hearer. Sign that we usually use will explain or tell something in terms of the stimulus of the speaker. Meaning in language to conveyed through signs. The best-know version of theory concept is the sign theory bought by Saussure and semiotic triangle brought by Ogden and Richards (Palmer, 1981). According to Saussure, the linguistic sign consists of a signifier and a signified. The signifier is the word or sound and the signified is the thing indicated by the signifier. The signified should not be a real object, but at the very least something to referent to. Saussure explains that there is a relation between sound image and a concept. The thing we say mirrored in some way by the conceptual entities. Ogden and Richards saw the relationship as a triangle. The symbol is the sound-image, the sentence, or a word. The referent is



the object that is meant to. To thought is the concept that relate to the referent and the symbol. The thought is the concept in which it been in all human mind (Palmer, 1981).

Philosophically the question "What is meaning" can be answered by using the meaning theories: first, the reverential or denotation theory describes that the meaning of an utterance is what it shows to, for example "Herman" means "Hermans," "birds" means ether the general class of birds or the essential property that they all share. Second, the ideational or mutualistic theory describes that the meaning of an expression is the idea or concept related to it in the mind of anyone who knows and understand the expression. Third, the behaviorist theory describes that the meaning of expression is either the stimulus that causes it or the response it cause, or combination of both, in particular occasions or utterance. Fourth, the meaning-is-use-theory describes that the meaning of expression is determined by, of not identical with, its use in the language. Fifth, the verifications theory describes that the meaning of a statement is determined by the verifiability of the sentences which contain it. Sixth, the truth conditional theory describes that the meaning of an expression is its contribution to the truth conditions of the sentences which have it (Lyons, 1995:40). Kleidler (1998:59) makes a distinction in dimension of meaning. It consists of reference and denotation, connotation, sense relation, lexical and grammatical meaning, morphemes, homonym and polysemy, lexical ambiguity, sentence meaning. In one view, meaning is the relationship between language and the external world (referential or denotative meaning), between a word and the concept it stands for. In another, it involves the mental state of the speaker, as reflected in a range of personal, emotive overtones (affective or connotative meaning). Finch (2003) says that semantics meaning tends to rely more heavily on terms which are already heavily used in everyday language. Nonetheless, if we consider 'sense' more closely we can see that it has various layers. The two most important of these are conceptual sense and associative sense. This is probably what most people understand by sense. In fact, a good many linguistics tend to limit the term to this level of meaning. Conceptual sense denotes the stable semantic features of a word. If, for example, you had to say what the words *woman* and *man* meant, one answer would be to say that a woman was a 'human, adult, female' and, correspondingly, a man would be a 'human, adult, male'. Conceptual sense only gets us so far in trying to understand how words mean. They are very rarely simply carries of neutral cognitive meaning. As well as their denotative meaning, words also acquire considerable associative meanings from the social and cultural contexts n which they are used.

Furthermore, Leech (1981) identifies seven types of meaning. They are conceptual/denotative, emotional/connotative, collocative reflective, affective, stylistic, and thematic. Denotative meaning is the literal, basic, plain, or central meaning of a word. It is relatively stable and its scope is not open-ended indeterminate. Connotative meaning on the other hand, is the meaning people associate with words. It is the personal or cultural meaning which is open[ended and indeterminate. While stylistics meaning concerns the relation of the linguistic form to social or situational circumstances like geographical location, subject matter, medium, sex, age, etc. Affective meaning arises when language is used to reflect the personal feelings or attitudes of the speaker to the audience. This type of meaning features at the levels of politeness, indignation, and rudeness. Reflective meaning arises when one of the several meaning of a word becomes directly associated with the word to the extent that we tend to forget the other uses of the word. Reflective meaning is the sense a word or sentence evokes in a multiple conceptual situation. While collocative (from collocation or "placing together" of words or phrases) meaning is the meaning of a linguistic form in relation t the other forms expressed with it in a given context. Thematic meaning refers to the manner of organizing messages in terms of ordering, focus, and emphasis.





Besides, proverbs comes from the latin term *proverbium* with the meaning of an “old saying” “adage” or “proverb” (Jabbar, 2008). It is a short pithy saying in frequent and widespread use, expressing a well-known truth and fact. Proverbs express wisdom, general truth, morals, traditional views, experiences, observations, social norms, human nature, and behavior accepted by majority in society (Cane, 2011). They are essentially concerned with morally with evaluating and shaping course of action and thus are frequently used in context of legal and moral argumentation. An example of a proverb for evaluation implication *you cannot judge the book by its cover*, in this saying a prior evaluation either *good* or *bad*. The function proverb in communication is general wisdom and it gives aesthetic value to manage behavior or attitude for human being. Mieder (2004) says that proverb contain everyday experiences and common observation in succinct and formulaic language, making them easy to remember and ready to be used instantly as effective rhetoric in oral or written language. Its most basic level, rhetoric refers in the least to any form persuasion, and at the most written or oral communication.

The purpose of this proverb is also to teach people wisdom and discipline, and to help them understand wise sayings. People will receive instruction indiscipline, good conduct, and doing what is right, just and fair. The significant role of proverbs in language and communication is the aesthetic value and the wisdom they may provide the society with. Almajian (2010:387) states the proverbs are traditional saying having a fixed general sentential form, alluding to a common thrust or general wisdom, with some literary value, used to guide action, explain the situation or induce feeling or attitude. Whereas Alimi (2012:122) explain the one of such thing functions of proverbs is to help users to say unpleasant things in an ameliorated way. They are able to do this because proverbs are often associated with common or traditional wisdom or attitude. Thus, associative meaning in connotative meaning form is important to give the euphemism or ameliorated way in proverb to reduce taboo language.

Naoum (2007:162) noted that proverbs, which do not require any transference of meaning or any rhetorical style; rhetorical lies in the meaning of simple words used and the second is proverbs with metaphorical quality where there is transference of meaning of literal to figurative. A proverb in this sense is an embellished way of expressing wisdom, advice, etc. The effectiveness of proverbs lays on the aptness of their usage in particular context. Proverbs are a significant rhetorical force in various modes of communication from friendly chats, powerful political speeches, and religious sermons to lyrical poetry, best-seller novels, and the influential mass media (Mieder, 2004:1). Every language has her their own ways in their expressing the advice or wise word. Bajawa language used by people in Ngada regency also express their advice into form the proverbs. Bajawa language is a local language used by the majority of people residing in Ngada regency (Bustan in Bhoki, 2010:3). The well known saying, advise words or proverbs in Bajawa language is called *po gege*. *Po gege* means advice or statement to other people, from parent to their children or the head of the tribes to their clan or tribes. Djawanai (cited by Watu, 2010:12) says the *pata po pera po gege* in Bajawa language is the power of word or language (*wae sezu*) from their ancestor.

## METHODS

There are two methods of the study are used in research. Quantitative and qualitative methods are based on the result of the research. To know the kids of those quantitative and non-numerical is qualitative method. Quantitative research is basedon the measurement of quality or amount. While, qualitative method uses words data rather than number or non-numerical data. According to Dornyei (2007:24), qualitative research involves data collection procedures that result primarily in open



ended, non-numerical data which were then analyzed primarily by non-statistical methods. In order to answer the problem of study, the qualitative method is used. The data taken were proverbs. It was non-numerical data. This study was conducted by the writer in Ngada Regency, Golewa sub-district, particularly in Doka Village. The writer was native speaker of Doka Village. The writer was the subject of the source of data and made the list of proverbs to interview some native speaker to complete the data. According to Nida (quoted in Bhoki, 2010), the qualification of those people are based on the following criteria support the validity of research (1) They must be native speaker, (2) They are normal and ready to be informants, (3) They have good attitude, patient and friendly, (4) They are able to speak and writer in Bahasa Indonesia, (5) They must be over thirty years old. Four people are taken as the information to complete the data of proverbs. The informants come from different background such as leader of tribes or *mosalaki* (Damianus Tuba, 60 years old), teacher (Kristoforus Dhulo, 58 years old), farmer (Benediktus Radho, 48 years old), marigoa or people who manage the Reba ceremony (Zakarias Wilu, 75 years old). The reason of choosing the information is they can fulfill the criteria as started above. The data which are taken by the writer is proverbs. The forms of data of this research are phrases, clauses, and sentences. In collecting the data, some steps were adopted, namely by preparing the list of proverbs, interviewing the informants to complete the proverbs, and write down the proverbs based on the interview. While in analyzing the data, It will be done by classifying the proverbs into each types of associative meaning, discussing classified proverbs, and drawing the conclusion based on the data analysis

## DISCUSSION

In this section, the writer finds four types of associative meaning. They are connotative meaning, stylistic or social meaning, affective meaning, and reflective meaning. The types of associative meaning are used in the different contexts. The connotative meaning is mostly found in proverbs of wedding context and *reba* context, stylistic meaning found in the proverbs of the birth context, in process of building the traditional house and death context, affective meaning found in proverbs of wedding context and *reba* context, reflective meaning found in proverbs of wedding context. This wise words or a proverb in Doka Village is known as *pota po gege* proverbs by local people is used to manage people's attitudes and responsibilities in doing their activities. *Pota po gege* is used in different context of activities such as birth context, traditional wedding, *reba* or new year celebration, process of building the traditional house in death context, for the leadership motivation, and in motivation education context. In the birth context, *pota po gege* is given to parents to keep their baby or children and also given to children as the new generation to follow the rules of life. The wise words wedding context of Doka Village are given to manage attitude or behaviors for a couple of new family in wedding ceremony. A man and woman who are going to marry have to follow all the rules from their parents before leave the house. An example *go besi bodha da mawu mema pege pu'u da nola wonga*, in conceptual meaning a pumkin fruit has to be soft when it coming into flower. Local people consume basic or pumkin as food. It it a kind of soft friut and delicious to eat. In associative meaning, the characteristic of it fruit is taken by people to a man who as to break his laziness and more diligent firstly before he live with his wife after married in context of wedding. There are wise words are used in *reba* context. *Reba* is new year celebration by people in Doka Village. *Pota po gege* or proverbs in *reba* context have the aims to evaluate the works of *ana sa'o* or members of a traditional house during a year and prepare to the next year. The proverbs in this context are in the *o uwi*, *soro mazi*, *kusu* bu'e ceremony.



Traditional house in Doka village is called *sa'o*. *Sa'o* is a symbol of ancestor. People believed that *sa'o* is the communication place for family and their ancestors. The carefulness is needed by the member in building process of a *sa'o*. The mistake in process of build *sa'o* can use the disasters and even the death to member of its *sa'o*. Thus, people always give the proverbial as warnings or guides to follow the rules in process of build *sa'o*. In the death context, people make process of bury in traditional ceremony. The death context in Doka Village is divided into *mata ade* and *mata golo*. *Mata ade* is a people who dies caused by diseases and *Mata golo* for people who dies caused by accident. The ceremony in *mata golo* is held in sacred way. The aims of this ceremony are to limit the accident and to find out the causes or the mistakes that they have made. The proverbs in this context are used to pray for dead people, to memorize the dead people, to pray for them.

#### Connotative Meaning

Connotative meaning refers to what is communicated by virtue of what language refers to, over and above its purely conceptual content it is something more than the dictionary meaning which embraces putative properties of reference due to the view point of the personal, social, or communities. This meaning is relatively unstable from age to age, society to society, and personal experience. It is more open-ended, and indeterminate rather than conceptual meaning. For examples connotative meaning in proverbs:

<i>Wi</i>	<i>pegi</i>	<i>kage,</i>	<i>suli</i>	<i>ngi'i</i>
in order to	resent	jawabone	replant	teeth
Conceptual meaning	: to resort the jawbone and to replant the new teeth			
Connotative meaning	: A child is a new generation			

The proverb above is used in the birth context. *Kage* or *jawbone* and *ngi'i* or *teeth* are symbol of new generation. *Pegi* and *suli* means to replace with the new one. A new child who is born will be the new generation to their parents.

<i>go</i>	<i>besi</i>	<i>bodha</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>mawumema</i>	<i>pu'u</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>nola</i>	<i>wonga</i>
the	pumkin	must	that	be softly	when	that	begin	to flower
conceptual meaning	: the yam fruit has to be soft when it coming into flower							
connotative meaning	: a man has to be diligent before getting married							

*Besi* in this proverb is not only has one meaning but it has more meaning by local people. Local people consume *besi* or pumkin as food. It is a kind of soft fruit and delicious. The pumkin is soft even when it coming into flower. The meaning of pumkin is not only a kind of plant or food but also it is taken by local people as the message to a man to work hard and more diligent in his home before getting married. *Besi* has more meaning namely to break his laziness and more diligent firstly before he going to live with his wife after married. This proverb is used by people in the wedding context for a man who will marry.

<i>Moe</i>	<i>go</i>	<i>wea</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>lala</i>	<i>dhape</i>
Like	the	gold	that	melt	in unity

Conceptual Meaning: Just like the grain of gold that is melted, but still in unity; however, it is bringing to boil.  
Conotative Meaning : The relationship between man and woman cannot be separated.

The gold is the kind of thing that can be melted. It is still in unity when it is poured in a medium. The unity of gold is taken by people in Doka Village as another meaning couple of man and woman who will live together as family and cannot be separated. The gold is not only one meaning as the thing in literal meaning. But the meaning can be the relationship of a couple that is still closely related. The proverb is used in the wedding context.

<i>Lobo</i>	<i>tozo</i>	<i>tara</i>	<i>dhaga</i>
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Tip of leaves touch each other branches stuck together

Conceptual Meaning : The tips of leaves of two trees are touched each other with another tree and its branches id getting stuck with another tree.

Connotative Meaning : the relationship spouses should be more closely related.

The proverb above explains the two trees that connected each other. The tips of leaves of two trees are touched and its branches is getting stuck each other. The characteristic of those trees is the symbol of relationship of woman's family and man's family more closely related. People use the two trees as the symbol of two families. In this proverb, the local people explain the two tree that getting touch each other. This proverb is used to make a wedding ceremony becomes a unity moment for husband and wife and their family. It expresses friendliness to the family who are celebrating the wedding ceremony.

*Go fay haki moe go nio da dhoi pali*

the husband wife like the coconut that brought together

Conceptual Meaning : Wife and husband just like two coconuts that it brought together

Connotative Meaning : A couple should just like the fruits of coconuts that always be side by side

It is a kind of connotative meaning, the characteristic of coconut that is brought together is taken as the relationship of husband and wife. Coconut that it is brought together just likes the man and woman who always walk together and do all activities together. This is a proverb in wedding context. The proverb above explains that two coconuts that we bring together as the symbol of togetherness of husband and wife. The coconut is not only a kind of fruit but also take as the symbol of the relationship.

*Le padha meze aze lewa*

Be big bridge long rope

Conceptual Meaning : Be big bridge and be the long rope.

Connotative Meaning : Better relationship between man and woman.

*Padha meze* or big bridge is the good and strong street to across from one place to another especially in the river. *The* or *aze lewa* or long rope is good to tie-up. The characteristic of *padha meze* and *aze lewa* are taken is symbols of relationship between man and woman that will grow up like big bridge and long rope.

*Go tuka moe go ngaba da benu busa*

The stomach like the ravine that load cannot

Conceptual Meaning : The stomach just like the ravine that cannot be loaded.

Connotative Meaning : We have a lot of requirements in our life.

*Go tuka* or the stomach is the symbol of our desire and *go ngaba* or the ravine is the symbol of the requirements by local people. The ravine is the place that cannot be loaded. A ravine is the place or hole that cannot be loaded however we put everything in it. People use the ravine as another meaning of our requirements. We have many requirements in life and it is open ended. Thus, we have work hard to get all of our requirements. This proverb is used in *reba* context as the motivation to the people to be hard work.

#### Stylistic or Social Meaning

Stylistic meaning was defined as social meaning that it is a piece of language conveys about the social circumstance of language use (Leech, 1981:14). It occurs in certain languages, such as dialect (geography, language area, or social class). For example the use in the social class.

*Sisi-sisi ne'e tuka ghi ngira-ngira ne'e bonu pida*



Use a comb with stomach big, look with lineage

Conceptual Meaning : To filter her/his, stomach, looks her/his lineage.

Stylistic Meaning : Be selective in choosing wife or husband before getting married, we have to know her/his lineage.

The proverb is used by a high class and high social caste. The stomach means the position and the lineage is what is his/her class status is he/she in the high class or not. The proverb means a high class has to marry with the same class. This is also a kind of a proverb that is used by high class or caste in society to be selective to choose a couple.

*Bho koko molo, bura rura zi'a*

Give good phlegm, throw healing expectorate

Conceptual Meaning : Give good phlegm and good expectorate.

Stylistic Meaning : The good blessing from parents to their children to be good in their life.

The proverb *bho koko molo, bura rura zi'a* is also used to express blessings by old peoples or parents to their children in the birth and wedding ceremony context. The blessing as explain above is used in the stylistic meaning. It is in the ritual language.

*Dewa enga nitu da niu*

God calls spirit that calls

Conceptual Meaning : God calls ancestor call.

Stylistic Meaning : Person rest in peace.

The proverb above is used to express condolence to someone who has dead. People of Doka Village believe in Dewa or God and *Nitu* or Spirit. The proverb *Dewa da enga nitu da niu* is used to a people who die that caused by diseases. This is used in the context.

*Tobo golo ra'a lala*

Body dies blood flows

Conception Meaning : The body dies and blood flows.

Stylistic Meaning : Person dies due to accident.

This proverb is used in the context of death as expressing of condolence, but only in the people who is *golo* or a die people caused by accident and need a ceremony to limit to the same accident for her/his family in the next time. Variations in the style are reflected in the way synonymous proverb. By local people, the meaning of those proverbs is people who have died but it is used in different context of the proverb. Finch (2003:138) says that the differences have to do with levels of formality. It is to be able to use the language effectively that is the ability to switch between the levels when it is socially appropriate to do so.

#### Affective Meaning

According to Leech (1981:15), it is a kind of language which reflects the personal feelings of the speaker or writer including has attitude to the listener or his attitude to something that is uttered. It expresses or communicates emotion or feeling of the speaker about something that happens according to its situation. Affective meaning is related to show the real meaning of the speaker indirectly.

*Ma'e dhoro kobe*

Do not go out in the night

Conceptual Meaning : Do not get out of the house at night.

Affective Meaning : Do not steal.

In conceptual meaning, *dhoro kobe* means go out in the night. By local people it is the hard prohibition to the people. The word *ma'e dhoro kobe* means do not go out in the night. It refers to



hard prohibition to people to do not go out in the night because it refers to stealing things of other people. The proverb is used in *reba* context to manage people's attitudes.

*Bela ma'e deke boku ma'e weo*

Bamboo do not put down, the hat do not shake

Conceptual Meaning : Do not put down the bamboo or place to pour water and do not shake a hat.

Affective Meaning : Do not talk people's badness.

In conceptual meaning, the proverb above means do not put down the bamboo water and do not shake a hat. Local people believe that those activities refer to talking about gossips or other people's reputations. This proverb is messages to local people do not make activities that hurt other people's feeling.

*Ma'e beke meze kasa kapa*

Do not big breast, hard shoulder

Conceptual Meaning : Do not wide breast and big shoulder.

Affective Meaning : Do not be arrogant or the snob person.

*Beke meze* and *kasa kapa* are not accepted in the leadership. The proverb pushes a leader to do not be arrogant in his/her leadership. It means to give the chances to other people for their opinions. In the other words, do not push other people to follow our own way or do not be arrogant in a leadership. This is the indirectly way to give the message for the leadership.

*Go wai laki ma'e papa bheka, ma'e logo dego*

The relative do not be separated, do not hard backbone

Conceptual Meaning : The family of wife and husband do not be separated and do not make hard the backbone.

Affective Meaning : A wife or husband must be proactive to help their parents and their parents-in-law.

This proverb is used in wedding context. It is a kind of warning to the couple of wife and husband to more proactive to help their family their parent-in-law. Do not make hard the backbone. Backbone hard means laziness. This proverb is indirectly message means they have to make soft the backbone or more diligent and proactive to help their parent in law. This proverb is used in the wedding context.

*Kami da dela medu wi kere ne'e go ulu da na'a mena tolo*

We the old cannot cut with the head, that to save there

Conceptual Meaning : We cannot cut our head to save there.

Affective Meaning : Parents cannot give advice all the time.

Cannot cut the head to save means all the advices cannot give every day or all time. The children have to know what they will do without their parents. This proverb is used in wedding context. The parents just give the wise words, but a couple of man and woman who will continue their life. The proverb is indirectly gives the message to the children to follow all the rules that are given by their parents.

*Haki ngabu semori, ma'e na haki*

Husband just one person, do not have many husbands

Conceptual Meaning : Just one husband and do not many husbands.

Affective Meaning : Be loyal or faithful to your spouse.

The proverb is the kind of hard prohibition for the woman to more respect with the value of wedding. The wedding to the people is held in one time in her life. The other meaning is to push a woman to do not have many husbands. It means that a woman must be monogamy.



:Kodo ma'e teo, su'a ma'e pe'i  
Chicken coop do not hang, hoe do not put  
Conceptual Meaning : Do not hang the chicken hoop and do not put the hoe.  
Affective Meaning : We have to work harder and more diligent.

Hang the chicken coop and put the hoe mean that they do not work. The proverb pushes the people to work hard. The people's live hood is breeder and agriculture. Thus, the people do not hang their chicken coop and hoe. The proverb is used by the feeling of the speaker to other people to be more diligent. This proverb is in the *reba* context as the evaluation from last year and prepare to next year.

*Neno ne'e debo, ghiri ne'e teke tenge, ma'e moe jai mani beki*  
Look with calf of legs, look with our arms do not as dance praise ourselves  
Conceptual Meaning : Look our calf of legs and see our own arms, do not praise our own dance.  
Affective Meaning : We need to have self-reflection before doing something.

In conceptual means look our calf oo legs, our arms and do not praise own dance. We people dance they have to see other people move to make a good dance especially in ja'i dance. In the ja'i dance all dancer must follow the move together. This proverb is the indirectly express to the people to ask or follow other people firstly before doing something.

*Ma'e kolu go ko'u ba'i*  
Do not put the bitter thing  
Conceptual Meaning : Do not put the bitter thing in the water  
Affective Meaning : Do not break the final agreement.

*Ko'u ba'i* is the bitter thing that used by people to put in the alcohol. Actually, if we put bitter thing in the water we cannot drink it. The bitter thing means the trouble. In the building traditional house context, there is a agreement. If one person breaks the agreement so, house cannot be built. It means that do not give the statement that make a trouble. People make a warning with using this proverb.

*Medu go koro da la'i ro mema*  
If the chili that taste then hot  
Conceptual Meaning : The chili is hot when it is tasted.  
Affective Meaning : We will suffer in the future if we do not do our best today.

The chili is hot when we taste. This is the saying is used by people in the directly way. In fact, the chili is hot when we taste. It also uses by people to advice other people who are not following the rules in the process of building a traditional house will get suffer in the future. This is the kind warning to the member of a traditional house.

#### Reflective Meaning

According to Leech (1981:16), reflected meaning is a communicated through association with another sense of the same expression or the meaning which arises in case of multiple conceptual meaning when one sense of word forms part of our response to another sense. Reflective meaning is also used to replace taboo words with euphemism form.

*Uta benu bere, wae benu bela*  
Vegetables load in the basket, water full in the bamboo  
Conceptual Meaning : Vegetables load in the basket and the water full in the bamboo.  
Reflective Meaning : A woman who is pregnant.

Vegetables load in the basket and the water full in the bamboo. The using of phrase a pregnant woman seems not good and rude by people. They always use vegetables load in the basket and



water full in the bamboo. Vegetables always put in the basket and formerly people use bamboo to save water. It is less rude and more polite when people use vegetables in the basket and water in the bamboo refer to a pregnant woman. This is use in wedding context.

*Pul loka oja pe'i tangi lewa dewa wi dhoro dhenga*  
Sweep altar put long stair god in order to come down to play  
Conceptual Meaning : To sweep the altar to prepare god's coming.  
Reflective Meaning : To keep pure of virgin before marrying for the woman.

The ritual place or altar must be cleaned. The god will come down to the clean place. The clean altar is used as the euphemism for a woman that has to be virgin before marry. People take this proverb to advise the woman to keep the holy in marriage in wedding context. The proverb is used in the euphemism form.

*Beke sese papa pe, pa'a bhara papa dhaga*  
Breast yellow touch each other, white thigh at close quarters  
Conceptual Meaning : A man and woman touch each other their breast and thigh.  
Reflective Meaning : A man and woman make their relation like husband and wife.

The yellow breast and white thigh is used to explain that a man and woman have made sexual before marriage. In the wedding ceremony their family will use this proverb because their children have live together as wife and husband before wedding ceremony is held. The proverb replaced the words that straight to the point of the sentence they have make sexual.

*Ha'a keka ea ne'e go mori*  
Raven bird singing eagle bird singing, have their own  
Conceptual Meaning : Raven bird and eagle singing must be has a reason.  
Reflective Meaning : A woman who is pregnant needs responsibility of a man.

All the trouble or problems in life must have its reason. This proverb means that parent have to push their daughter to say who her husband is. It is done to ask the responsibility of her husband. This proverb is concluded in reflective meaning because people use raven bird singing and eagle singing as the euphemism form refer to a woman who has pregnant and must has the husband. The proverb above is used in the wedding context.

*Lani seli'e te'e setoko*  
Pillow one, mat one  
Conceptual Meaning : One pillow and one mat.  
Reflective Meaning : A man and woman have lived together/

This proverb is used the euphemism using words pillow and mat. Those words are used to replace the using word refers to sexual. This proverb is used to avoid taboo words in husband and wife. This proverb is used in wedding context.

## CONCLUSION

This study belongs to the theories of semantics that contain type of associative. Associative meaning is the new meaning which is produced by a community speech based on individual experiences or based on the same characteristic of its word. Associative meaning has five type's namely connotative meaning, stylistic or social meaning, affective meaning, reflective meaning and collocative meaning. There are 103 proverbs used by people in Doka Village. The analysis shows that there were four types of associative meaning can be found on proverbs. Proverbs are used in different context. They are in birth context, wedding context, *reba* context process of building





traditional house, and death context. The connotative meaning is mostly found in proverbs of wedding context and *reba* context, stylistic meaning found in proverbs of the birth context, in process of building the traditional house and death context, affective meaning found in proverbs of wedding context and *reba* context, reflective meaning found in proverbs of wedding context.

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