Pragmatics Meaning of Javanese Women Behaviors *Gugon Tuhon*

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**ABSTRACT**

*Gugon tuhon (GT)* is one of the Javanese sayings or oral traditions that contains *p iwulang* ‘knowledge’ as guidance in conducting polite behaviors that generally in the forms of orders and prohibitions. *GT* contains frightening elements so that they are not violated by those who believe them. *GT* has much guidance that relates to humans’ life, and one of them is *GT* for Javanese women to behave well in order to have good characters. *GT* data that are used in this research were taken from a text entitled Serat Gugontuhon Prawira Winarsa on www.sastra.org that focused on appropriate behaviors for Javanese women. In the Javanese community, *GT* is generally acquired through informal oral interaction. Therefore, understanding the pragmatic meaning is necessary. However, the data which were taken from written text raised a problem, namely what the pragmatic meanings of *GT* for Javanese women are. This research aims in explaining the meanings of *GT* for Javanese women that can promote character building.
Then, in order to obtain more detailed pragmatic meanings’ results, interviews with mothers and daughters were also conducted in Sambiresik Village, Kediri. This research used the qualitative method and Austin’s speech action theory (1984) which consisted of locutions, illocutions, and perlocutions acts meaning. The results showed that the meaning of locutions and illocutions are in the form of guidance to avoid prohibitions. So the Javanese women would perform well-mannered behaviors that according with the common norm. The perlocutions’ meanings were more as a suggestion act in order to avoid the prohibitions. Although the meanings of GT are still understood by mothers and some daughters, yet they believed that some of the guidance is not relatable to the present condition due to the enhancement of technology. GT which are not in accordance with present times are no longer heard in the community. It leads to a threat of the GT extinction in the future. Therefore, this research is expected to be an effort in preserving Javanese language and culture through GT because GT is known as Javanese local wisdom that is not simply as a belief but also has elements of truth that are useful to human’s life.

**Keywords:** Javanese language, gugon tuhon, pragmatic, women’s characters

**INTRODUCTION**

Language cannot be separated from humans lives because humans created their culture through language. Chaer (1994) states that language is a system of arbitrary sound symbols that is used as a means of communication and gradually becomes part of human life. Moreover, language is a form of cultural work. It means that through language, humans can express what they think and learn to produce a new culture to meet the needs of life that keep changing from time to time (Rahyono 2015). Humans in their lives use different languages, one of the languages that is widespread in Indonesia is the Javanese language that is used by more than 95 million Javanese people (Ethnologue, 2020). One of the products of Javanese culture that is known in the community is gugon tuhon (GT).

Etymologically, the terminology of gugon tuhon comes from the words gugon ‘to believe in the peoples’ utterances’, and tuhon which means ‘seriously obeying’ (Poerwadarminta, 1939, and Kurniawati and Widhyasmaramurti, 2019). From the etymological structure, GT can be interpreted as a speech that must be obeyed or simply a belief that most people believe in
GT is generally in the form of propositions or sentences that contains messages in the form of order and prohibition for not doing a particular action. Subalidinata (1968) in *Sarining Kasusastran Djawa* explained that GT basically contains a sublime teaching disguised as the phrase "ora ilok" or ‘not appropriate to be applied’. Those who have listened to the word will usually stay away from the stated prohibitions for fear of violating them. The parties who play a major role in introducing GT are parents, specially mothers, as primary educators at home who are tasked with forming good character in children’s life from an early age. Moreover, GT is considered as a teaching that is known among Javanese society that covers the life cycle knowledge and be used as a guideline for Javanese people behaviors in life. This life cycle begins before birth until they passed away, such as during pregnancy, giving birth, children and adulthood moment, marriage life, and death. There are previous researches on GT based on humans’ life cycle. First is GT of pregnancy guidance which was written by Ismatul Maula and Widhyasmaramurti in 2019 entitled “Analisis Tindak Tutur Gugon Tuhon Kehamilan di Desa Gegunung, Kabupaten Cirebon”. This paper examines the meaning of pregnancy which is known by pregnant women in Gegunung Village and analyzed by using Searle's (1987) speech act theory.

Second is a baby care GT research which was conducted by Devi Kurniawati and Widhyasmaramurti in 2019 entitled "Pragmatics Meaning of Baby Care Gugon Tuhon in Javanese". Devi and Widhyasmaramurti examine the meaning of GT as an effort to assist new mothers in Bulurejo Village, Kediri in taking care for their newborns. Beside using Austin (1984) speech acts theory, this baby care GT research used the Language Attitude Theory by Triandis (1971) and Knops (1987). Third is a research related to table manners GT which was conducted using a qualitative approach by Rr. Ratna Budi Andari and Widhyasmaramurti (2020) entitled “Gugon Tuhon Table Manners as A Medium of Cross-Generation Cultural Transfer”. This study examines the understanding of GT and its application in society using Austin's speech act theory (1984) and Van Peursen’s theory of cultural development (1976). The results of this study shows that GT which were trusted, understood, and implemented by the local community and mothers have a major impact in delivering a culture to the next generation. There are three more studies on GT and eating habits, however, these researches used a quantitative method. The fourth is Ida Erviana and Dwi Puspitorini (2017) entitled “Pengaruh Usia terhadap Pemahaman Anak tentang Gugon Tuhon Adab Makan: Studi Kasus
Siswa Sekolah Dasar di Kota Kediri”. The fifth, a research by Khoirunnisa Kusuma and B. Kushartanti (2017) entitled “Gugon Tuhon dalam Pandangan Anak Usia Sekolah di Jombang”, and the sixth, is a research by Perkasa Mega Dwiguna and Widhyasmaramurti (2017) with a title Pengaruh Usia pada Pemahaman Anak terhadap Larangan dalam Gugon Tuhon”. The fourth, fifth, and sixth researches have the same data, but applied the data into different objects, at different regions or locations, and different research theories.

Based on these six previous studies, it can be said that GT has many themes. However, a theme that was used as the focus of this research has never been studied before because it is particularly for Javanese women to promote them in having well-mannered behaviors or characters. In a family life, women are known as figures who have a major role in married life. It is because women are known to have a gentle, graceful, patient, obedient, supportive, supportive and accompanying attitude for men (Yuliawati, 2018). This is in accordance with the character of a Javanese woman. Levinson (1998) explains that from a gender perspective in society, women are known as individuals with a domestic scope, to be precise as a mother who takes care of the household. This view also applies to Javanese women, the image of women who are created as gentle, obedient, as a good figure and the main educator in the family is clearly a guide in society (Raharjo, 1995). In the aspect of children's education (in this case, young women), the figure of the mother plays the biggest role because the bond between mother and daughter is much stronger than to the father (Yamagata, et.al., 2016). Based on this fact, it is only natural that daughters imitate their mother more than the father.

In order to form the character of a good Javanese woman, of course, rules that contain good teaching or guidance related to shaping Javanese women behaviors are required. Therefore, in Javanese culture, there is the text of GT which is deliberately intended for young women with a good aim in preparing them to become good personalities when involved in society before they got married. Ironically, the belief in GT is starting to fade as time goes by. Many of Javanese younger generations have begun to leave the teachings of their ancestors that are still considered traditional and begin to adopt more to modern teachings. Technology development, the same life style and ways of thinking that are much influenced by local environments are supporting factors of GT disappearance. It is because GT is considered as a belief that no longer relevant to present era. This assumption is also supported by the lack of parents’ knowledge (especially mothers as the main educator in the family) regarding the
meaning of the GT itself. Moreover, Mungmachon (2012) states that local culture, such as GT, can continue if the transmission from generation to generation runs smoothly. Mulyana (2004) also explains that the continuity of a cultural transmission occurs when important values have been internalized in a person. Therefore, mothers have important role in GT as cultural transmitters in order to shape their children behaviors.

In delivering the GT, mothers will tell it directly and sometimes spontaneously. She also received the knowledge of GT's utterances from her mother. Although GT is generally spoken of, in this study, the GT that were used as data were written GT which were taken from the Javanese text entitled *Serat Gugontuhan Prawira Winarsa* on the website www.sastra.org. This raises a research question, what are the pragmatic meanings contained in GT for Javanese women in order to promote them in having well-mannered behaviors? This study aims to explain the meaning of Javanese women behaviors GT as understood by the Javanese women. The data in this research deals with the acts of decency that Javanese women must obey. There are 5 GT data that have been collected before they were followed up by an in-depth interview to be able to grasp the meaning both the lexical meaning and also the utterances meaning from women in Javanese community.

In the midst of the rapid advancement of times and technology, knowledge of GT is decreasing because it is not widely found and actively used in the middle of Javanese society. Therefore, conducting the research of Javanese women behaviors GT is expected to increase people's knowledge of Javanese local wisdom and be an effort in documenting Javanese language and culture.

**RESEARCH METHOD**

In finding the pragmatic meanings of the Javanese text GT, this study used qualitative method that is suitable for comprehensive research (Muri Yusuf, 2014). The research was carried out by using observing notes from the written text and followed by interviews technique that related to understanding the pragmatic meanings of GT data by using Austin's Speech Act theory (1984).
Austin's speech acts explain that a speech is accompanied by an intention and action, in other words, in a speech there are two meanings, namely semantics and pragmatics. The meaning of pragmatics can influence the actions of the interlocutor (Rahyono: 2012), and since GT is mostly spoken of as a guidance to be carried out by interlocutors, it is important to understand its pragmatic meaning. Austin divides speech acts into three parts, namely, locution, illocution and perlocution where those three speech acts occur during the speech. The locution act refers to a speech that is uttered to the speech partner, the illocution act refers to the meaning of speech conveyed to express a certain attitude, while the perlocution act refers to the expected act as the meaning conveyed in the illocution.

Moreover, in order to be able to understand the meaning in Javanese women behaviors GT based on three speech acts in more detail, in-depth interviews were conducted to mothers and their daughters who were over 17 years of age in Sambiresik Village, Kediri, East Java. Sambiresik is a village with a large population, namely 3,764 spread across 23 RT and 3 RW. The main residents of the village are Javanese, the majority of whom work as farmers and factory employees. The reason for choosing Javanese women in Sambiresik as research sources is that there has not been any research on the GT in general that has been carried out in Sambiresik Village up to present. Furthermore, the residents of Sambiresik village are still considered closely related to Javanese culture and beliefs. This can be proven by the existence of belief in traditional Javanese knowledge in Sambiresik, such as weton ‘days of birth’; and they also still applied Javanese traditions such as tingkeban ‘pregnancy ceremony (usually during the 3rd trimester or the 7th month of pregnancy duration)’, brokohan ‘child naming ceremony’, panggih ‘a meeting between bride and groom for the first time after finishing their wedding vow’, merti desa ‘village cleaning ceremony’, and petangan ‘calculation study in Javanese culture’ (Widodo and Saddhono, 2012). The selection of sources focused on mothers and daughters who are Javanese native speakers. Following is the data of mothers and their daughters who become research sources.

Table 1. Research Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Mothers’ Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Daughters’ Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sukani</td>
<td>45 y.o.</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Mila</td>
<td>21 y.o.</td>
<td>university student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Rubiyati</td>
<td>43 y.o.</td>
<td>entrepreneur</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dyah</td>
<td>21 y.o.</td>
<td>university student</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ririn</td>
<td>45 y.o.</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Ferine</td>
<td>21 y.o.</td>
<td>university student</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 8 mothers who become research sources, all of them have daughters who were over 17 years old. The age of 17 years old and above were specifically chosen because they are considered able to think rationally, including the values taught by their mothers since childhood. Therefore, the selection of mothers and daughters source is expected to provide insight into the understanding of the pragmatic meaning of Javanese women GT which is well adjusted to the values that have been internalized within them.

RESULTS & DISCUSSION

Following are the results of GT meanings analysis based on Austin's speech act theory (1984) that consists of the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. The results of the pragmatic perspective come from the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts as partly pragmatic meanings since cultural knowledge of Javanese people is also necessary in understanding the GT meanings completely.

(1) Bocah wédok aja sok mènèk pêlêm, besuk pêlêmé mundhak padha mlêthèk. Botên namung mènèk wit pêlêm kemawon, sênajan wit sanèsipun inggih dipunawiši

‘Young women should not climb mango trees for it causes the tree bark to peel. Not only does this apply to mango trees but also, other trees’

The locutionary act of GT (1) is the utterance that shows as a prohibition because there is a word aja 'do not'.

The illocutionary act of GT (1) intends to convey the well mannered behavior that Javanese women must have, namely not climbing trees since the tree bark will break when they climbed. Sukani (45 y.o) stated that Javanese women must be well mannered in their behavior. Climbing is an activity that considered only appropriate by men because they are considered more agile and strong than women. She also said that Javanese women's clothing in ancient times was identical to kebaya and jarik ‘long cloth’ which made Javanese women cannot move
freely so that climbing activities were not possible. Moreover, climbing a tree for women was considered violating common rules of behavior within Javanese society. From a health perspective, men and women have different anatomical structures and testosterone levels that caused different strength between them (Giriwijoyo, 2007). With a lower strength than men, the prohibition of women from climbing trees also aims to avoid misfortunes such as falling from a tree due to a lack of grip and causing injury. There is actually no link between a woman climbing a tree, and then the bark of the tree will break; however, the wisdom of Javanese society in the past often gave an implicit meaning and contained a frightening meaning so that the teaching was carried out by the speakers.

The perlocutionary act of GT (1) shows the relation between both mothers and daughters understanding. Mothers convey the GT to their daughters with the aim that the daughters will not climb any trees because this is not a well-mannered behavior for a Javanese girl. Based on the interview, the perlocutionary act is understood by daughters as prohibition stated by their mothers. Daughters will try another way, e.g. using wooden or bamboo stairs to take something hanging on trees.

(2) *Yèn nutu aja kérëp-kérëp kothèkan, besuk maratuwané mundhak rèwèl*

"If you are pounding rice, don't make the sound of the mortar often, or later your in-laws will be fussier (lots of requests)"

The locutionary act of GT (2) shows as the form of a prohibition as well due to the presence of the word *aja* 'do not'.

The illocutionary act of GT (2) is meant to advise Javanese women to be careful when doing *nutu* 'pounding the rice' activities. *Nutu* is an activity carried out by farmers in processing rice into rice grains by pounding it to remove rice husks. This activity requires a tool called *ani-ani* and a mortar. *Nutu* is done by putting the rice grains into a mortar and then gently pounding it using a pestle. After making a comparison between the written text data and in-depth interview result, it shows that the reason women were not allowed to speak too loudly when *nutu* because the friction between the pestle and the mortar that was too hard would cause air pollution that can be deafening to those around the location since both tools were made of wood. Moreover, loud voices certainly require more effort and strength, while Javanese women are very well known for their tenderness and subtlety behavior so that excessive *nutu* action is considered inappropriate. Rice that is pounded too hard is also not good because it can crush the grains of rice that should have been released so that the rice will not become good quality
rice. Harnani (47 y.o) also stated that the noise from the collision of rice could disturb neighbors who did not own rice yet could only hear the sound of the collision, it could cause sadness and jealousy among neighbors.

The perlocutionary act of GT (2) aims in giving advice to Javanese women for nutu or pounding the rice in the right way so it will not cause a scene and disturb others around them. The daughters expected action was paying more attention to the attitude when nutu and doing it slowly. However, since nutu is not a productive action nowadays, daughters in Sambiresik never heard of it.

(3) Yên nyapu ajà ngêndhêgaké uwuh ana ing dalan. Mundhak jodhangé bali ing dalan, tumrapipun dhatêng laré jalêr: mundhak siyal olêhé golêk bojo.

‘If you sweep, do not leave any dirt on the side walk. That will cause difficulties in planning a marriage. As for young men, it will bring a bad luck in finding a wife’

The locutionary act of GT (3) also shows as a prohibition because there is a word aja 'do not’

The illocutionary act of GT (3) intends to convey good teachings to girls as a guidance for them in completing their sweeping activities. Unlike western culture where sweeping is only conducted at home, Javanese people tend to sweep all over their house, not only the inner part of the house, but also the outer part of the house that consists of the front yard and the road in front of it. So, Javanese women who sweep their house and the surrounding areas are not allowed to stop or halt the garbage in a place that is not supposed to be, in this case at the side walk of the road where people are walking through it. According to Karjuniah (45 y.o), this prohibition was created with a clear reason. She said that jodhang that can be reffered to ‘a wedding gifts or dowry’ that represent a wedding proposal can be cancelled if the future husband to be and his family see that the girl’s house condition is dirty and untidy. Seeing a dirty house certainly creates bad thoughts for prospective applicants that the person they are proposing to is unable to keep the house clean. When viewed from a health point of view, dust stuck to the house is dangerous for health because it can fly in the air and interfere with breathing so that diseases such as eye irritation, coughing, sneezing, rhinitis and asthma attacks can arise (Djaenudin et.al., 2009). If the owner of the house has babies and the elderly, the dust that accumulates in the house will certainly affect their health because of their weak immune
system (Fatmah, 2006). Therefore, this GT (3) can be said as a mean of preventing health problems that may occur and teaching Javanese women to always keep the house clean. Moreover, Karjuniah also explained that it applies to young men also. There is no woman who wants to have a husband who does not take a good care of his personal and environmental hygiene.

The perlocutionary act of GT (3) aims in introducing the importance of hygiene to daughters. This GT will be uttered by mothers when they see that their daughters do not sweeping the floor or the house properly. Through interview, it was found that almost all mothers and daughters still heard and understood the meaning of this GT (3). The expected action of this GT is that daughters who understand the meaning of this GT will clean the house. However, daughters indeed do the sweeping properly as a respect to their mothers who give the advice. The daughters also afraid that their prospective husband to be will return home if their house is dirty. This GT is believed by daughters in Sambriesik because they are not married yet so any matters concerning the rules of matchmaking will be obeyed.

(4) Aja lungguh, ngadêg, andhodhok ana têngah lawang, mundhak jodhangé bali ing dalan. Tumrapipun dhatêng lare jalêr: mundhak siyal olêhé golèk bojo.

‘Do not sit, stand nor squat in the middle of a door for it will cause the dowry to never arrive. block the doorway. As for young men, it will bring a bad luck in finding a wife’

The locutionary act of GT (4) also shows similarity to other previous GT, which is a prohibition.

The illocutionary act of GT (4) is meant to convey a teaching of conducting an action on the right place. The three acts of either sitting, standing and squating are considered as blocking the doorway. The act of blocking a doorway is considered inappropriate to perform, because it prevents others from doing inter-rooms activities. When viewed from the perspective of traditional philosophy, a door is a point of contact between regular world to irregular world outside the walls, thus passing one another requires a permission of the door owner to open it (Kustedja, 2013). According to Karjuniah, the act of sitting, standing and squating in the middle of a door, particularly by the house owner, will prevent guests or people from entering and leaving the house. It will also discourage the guests because they will feel unwelcome by the house owner. Therefore, a jodhang that represents a wedding dowry cannot be received by the bride to be family because the family of the groom to be felt unwelcome by the bride family. Moreover, the habit of sitting in the middle of a doorway for Javanese women is considered a
form of politeness deviation related to the 'proper self-positioning'. Thus, Javanese women proper behavior should be sat on a chair inside a room or a house, and not sat in the middle of a doorway (Samingin and Asmara, 2016). When it is viewed from a health perspective, sitting in the middle of the doorway can cause colds as well (Triratnawati, 2011). Moreover, the cold can decrease their working productivity due to illness thus sitting in the middle of a doorway should be avoidable. Karjuniah also explained that this GT is also applied to Javanese young men. She said that Javanese women will not want to have a husband who is not njawani ‘not living in accordance with the values and teachings of their ancestors’ because men will become head of the family so his manners and behaviors are important for their future wife and children.

The perlocutionary act of this GT aims at Javanese women characters. They are supposed to be sitting and standing at the right place, and not conducting those actions in the middle of a doorway. This GT is spontaneously uttered by mothers when they see their daughters were blocking a doorway, and giving orders for their daughters to move to a chair or other more appropriate place to sit on. Beside GT (3), this GT (4) has been heard as well by most of mothers and daughters in Sambiresik. The daughters will obey the teaching because they respect their mothers and afraid of the effect to their matchmaking in the future.

(5) Yèn dikandhani wong tuwa aja sok ngêmprêti, mundhak ditapuk malaékat.

'If your parents advise you do not look down on them, you will be slapped by an angel'

The locutionary act of GT (5) shows a teaching for not looking down to parents. The word aja ‘do not’ occurs more as a prohibition statement for not underestimate the parents’ advice.

The illocutionary act of GT (5) intends to teach children to respect their parents by not underestimating and maintaining good speech when talking to parents. This is in accordance with the Javanese principle of ngajeni wong liya 'respecting others' in any case. The principle of ngajeni is one of the important principles that Javanese people must have to create and maintain harmony in their environment (Magnis-Suseno, 1996). The principle of ngajeni is taught and instilled since childhood, one of which is the delivered from GT. The presence of malaékat ‘angel’ as a supernatural thing is in accordance with the opinion of Magnis-Suseno (1996) which explains that the children will learn about the feel of thread from outside elements such as spirits and foreigners instead of the nuclear family. The presence of GT (5) is considered
by parents as a way in internalizing the form of courtesy and respect to children that will prepare them to be a part of society. Geertz (1996) describes that educating the principle of ngajeni can be achieved through the three attitudes, namely wedi 'fear', isin 'shame' and sungkan ‘hesitate’. This GT (5) teaches children to “fear” their parents through threats that if they dare to disobey, they will be slapped by an angel, this fear will shape the children’s way in respecting their parents.

**Perlocutionary act** of GT (5) has a meaning as a teaching to respecting parents. The daughters are expected to respect their parents as the actual action. However, from the interview, there are differences in teaching this GT from mothers to daughters. Mothers in Sambiresik who only focus as housewives (Sukani (45 y.o.), Ririn (45 y.o.), Suparti (56 y.o.)) taught their daughters the original version GT because they only socialize with their surrounding environment so they tend to accept and teach GT as the original. However, other sources (Rubiyati (43 y.o.), Sarni (42 y.o), Karjuniah (45 y.o), Winarsih (46 y.o.), and Harnani (47 y.o.)) who work and get a lot of influence from outside their environment such as co-worker, clients, etc., have a broader insight into the logical meaning behind GT. Therefore, some mothers that still informing this teaching from the original version GT without any additional information, while some others uttered this GT by adding a more logical reason. They did not involve spirit (in this case malaekat) in their utterances because they believe that their daughters will logically accepted it. The difference between these types of utterances lies in the difference of mothers’ social environment. Their knowledge affects mothers understanding of GT pragmatic meaning to be passed to their daughters.

The following is respondents’ information related to their understanding of pragmatics meanings of Javanese women behaviors GT.

**Tabel 2. The Respondents who have understood the GT Meanings**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Gugon Tuhon</th>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Results</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mothers</td>
<td>Daughters</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bocah wédok aja sok mènèk pêlêm, besuk pêlêmé mundhak padha mlêthèk. Botên namung mênèk wit pêlêm kémawon, sênajan wit sanèsipun inggih dipunawisi.</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8</td>
<td>1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2 shows that from 5 GT, only 2 GT no (3 and 4) that were heard by almost all sources (16 people). However, when compared to mothers, resource persons for children were less than mothers. However, for GT (3) *Yèn nyapu aja ngêndhêgaké uwuh ana ing dalan. Mundhak jodhangé bali ing dalan, tumrapipun dhatêng laré jalêr: mundhak siyal olêhé golèk bojo* and no. (4) *Aja lungguh, ngadêg, andhodhok ana tênghaw lawang, mundhak jodhangé bali ing dalan. Tumrapipun dhatêng laré jalêr: mundhak siyal olêhé golèk bojo.* both the mother and the dominant child have heard of it. GT (2) *Yèn nutu aja kêrêp-kêrêp kothèkan, besuk maratuwané mundhak rèwêl* is the only GT that only mothers have ever heard of but their daughters have never heard of at all. This is because the *nutu* activity is barely conducted these days. The action of *nutu* is already replaced by technology to facilitate humans’ life, e.g. rice huller, rice separator and rice sifter (Waries, 2006).

Therefore, based on the results of interviews with 17 respondents, it can be seen that all of the guidance are in the form of prohibitions with the occurrence of the word *aja* ‘do not’. The messages convey in the GT can be understood from the meaning of locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. The locutionary and illocutionary is understood by mothers as an effort to convey teachings to children, while the meaning of perlocution is generally aimed at daughters as opposed interlocutors. Mothers who understand the meaning of locutionary and illocutionary well will convey their teachings to children in the form of guidance to be followed. However, the daughters understand through perlocutionary as an order to do an expected action as mentioned in the GT. From the results of the interview, there are two categories of mothers, namely (1) mothers who inform the original version of GT and (2)
mothers who are critical by adding information when they delivering the GT. The type (2) mothers will also eliminate information that considered out of date, such as nutu 'pounding rice' activity that is generally not uttered by all mothers in Sambiresik although some of them heard this GT before. As the result, it can be said that a mother's background knowledge (e.g. education, work) greatly influences the pragmatic meanings of GT for Javanese women since the GT and their meanings will be absorbed by her daughter and shape her personality as she grows up.

CONCLUSIONS

The well-mannered behaviors and characters for Javanese women are very important in order to be able to adjust to common norms. For Javanese women, there are GT that are used as a guidance for them in promoting character building. The GT were taken from written text but also have been heard and understood verbally by them. This shows that Javanese women behaviors GT, which originated from an oral tradition, has undergone documentation, one of which is through the manuscript "Serat Gugontuhon Prawira Winarsa". The pragmatic meanings of GT for Javanese women are generally obtained through the sentences lexical meaning as well as speech act meaning of mothers and daughters in Sambriesik. The pragmatic meanings of GT is dominantly as a direct meaning which generally forbids them in conducting the prohibitions that are considered inappropriate for Javanese women. Mothers and daughters have different roles in finding the pragmatic meanings of GT. The meaning of locutionary and illocutionary is the mother's domain, while perlocutionary is the daughters’ domain. The pragmatic meanings of mothers differ from their daughters because mothers’ have more knowledge since their generation still often hears from their parents. On the contrary, the daughters’ knowledge of the GT meaning is less than mothers due to the fact that mothers eliminated a GT that does not accordance at present times, such as GT of nutu which is considered unimportant to be conveyed. This shows that the threat of losing GT occurs because it is presumed not applicable nowadays. Although the GT pragmatic meanings have elements of truth that can promote characters’ building towards Javanese women.

A suggestion for GT sustainability is by giving an understanding to mothers that they have a bigger role in forming children’s characters and behaviors. Moreover, delivering GT in
their children daily life is also one of ways in shaping the children’s behaviors since early childhood. GT that are deemed inapplicable can still be used by adopting it to present context. For example, they can replace *nutu* with a gadget, e.g. do not play gadget loudly or do not use gadget for long hours because it can cause hazard to their health. Although it may not becertained that all mothers would do it, however, by introducing GT to their children, mothers will be a major role in the language and cultural preservation process which can still go on over time.

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