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Metaphor and Symbol in Madurese Proverb: A Study of Madurese Characters

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Abstract

The pervasive meaning and the representative symbol of metaphors have led different views among scholars. Contemporary view has claimed that metaphor is basically symbolic in nature and is pervasive in human language, mind, and culture that goes beyond the scope of a language rather than just as language ornament conceived by the traditional view. The present study is close to the first view that metaphor and symbol in Madurese proverbs are not only matters of language but they mostly take into account with human way of thinking. Moreover, this study also takes a stand that metaphors and symbols can affect social thought and characters. In these regards, constructing the abstract meaning of metaphors - grounded in human mind and culture - has made visible need for this study to use Socio-Cognitive Linguistic approach. It is worth to use such integrated approach to see metaphoric and symbolic meaning about the nature of interpretation reflected in Madurese proverbs to reveal Madurese characters. The study showed that Madurese proverbs have reflected the courageous, religious, humorous, self-reliant, persistent and hard work, direct, and innocent characters of Madurese through their proverbial or metaphorical expressions. The study concluded that metaphors and symbols have played significant roles to reflect social markers due to the symbolic function and abstract meaning of metaphor is bond with human mind, experience, and culture structured through symbolic and metaphoric use.

Keywords: Local community, Madurese, metaphor, proverb, symbol.

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Introduction

This study attempts to examine metaphor and symbol as an analytical tool to understand Madurese characters through their proverbs. It is considered insightful to perceive characters through the use metaphor and symbols in Madurese proverbs since they are often perceived as individual and communal ethnic in behaving and living (Jonge and Nooteboom, 2006; Siddig, 2018). The notion has been based on the idea that metaphors and symbols are conceived to have significant relationship with characters, such as anxiety, depression, anger, emotion, insecurity, impulsivity, rebelliousness, changeability, restlessness and embarrass-



ment (Lee and Yoon, 2005). Accordingly, human intentions and emotional state consistently seize the relations within the use of language and the personality aspects (see, for example, Hart, 1984; Foltz 1996; Gottschalk, Stein and Shapiro, 1997).

In spite of multifaceted instruments to understand people character, our concern in metaphor and symbol of Madurese proverbs is to take the stand that metaphor and symbol in proverbs are considered helpful to understand Madurese social characters. Through metaphors and symbols, people can transform understanding to the structure and action as the tools to solve the cognitive problem. These, however, may pose problems of overlapping function between abstract meaning of metaphor and symbol in representing experiences and meaning. Traditional views believe a metaphor doesn't reflect social characters but the modern view have encompassed possible difference that metaphor is essential to language, mind, and experience (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Gibbs, 1994). Metaphor as a language is conceived as part of human cognition (Bosman, 2019). Metaphor forms an important part of our conceptual system and that metaphor, in particular, forms part of cognition. Symbols, on the other, serve as the vehicle of thought where people transform their knowledge into cognitive models. These allowed people to give structure, meaning, and continuity by conceptualizing and symbolizing their experiences in different ways through their expressions. We consider that understanding Madurese character through metaphoric and symbolic use of Madurese proverbs may provide valuable insights for the readers. In fact, Madurese studies have been discussed by many researchers (see, for example, Lesmana, 2016; Bawono, 2023; and Alim, 2024) to name a few. The studies, however, tend to discuss Madurese language and culture instead of its metaphor and symbol.

As a cognitive tool, metaphor and symbol become the essential factor to play a significant role in revealing meaning which is embodied in one's experience conceptualization and social context or cultural background' (Iberretxe-Antunano, 2013, p. 316). According to Peirce (as cited in Anderson, 1984) 'metaphors in its basic nature are symbol and index, but the functions are dominated; some symbols begin as metaphors' (p.456). This suggests that a metaphor in its basic nature is coherent to what Peirce calls a new conventionalization and innovations in language. The idea is in line with Fauconnier's (1997) view that metaphors as symbols are diagrammatically structured even though they are motivated as icons of resemblance.

Metaphor as language is rich with meaning and symbols in the sense that a metaphor is actually a symbol. The idea seems to be relevant with Lee's and Yoon's (2005) opinion that metaphors and symbols are considered to have relevant connection with characters. In the context of Madurese proverbs, for example, *Jhe'lo'ngalo'macan tedung* 'don't bother a sleeping tiger.' Here, the authors can create social linguistic forms and courageous characters. The proverb has shown that different expressions through metaphors and symbols are usually integrated within their unique patterns of language use. These notions become the ground for this study to combine social aspect to cognitive linguistic (socio-cognitive linguistic approach) as multiple approach to understanding Madurese characters through the use of metaphor and symbol found in Madurese proverbs.

Method

This study utilizes socio-cognitive linguistic approach to undertaking the analysis of metaphor and symbol in Madurese proverbs. To these regards, the socio-cognitive approach (see, for example, Bandura, Caprara, Barbaranelli, Gerbino, & Pastorelli, 2003; Atkinson, 2002; Boden, Fergusson and Horwood, 2006) is combined with cognitive linguistic approach (see, for example, Langacker, 2008, Lakoff, 1987, Talmy, 2000, to name a few) to analysing metaphors and symbols of proverbs in revealing the Madurese characters. These can be envisaged to the Socio-Cognitive Linguistic approach in analysing metaphors and symbols as follows: 1) Mind is a thing that can be found

through people expressions and actions; 2) Abstract, logic-like thought is the fundamental type of cognition that reflect people characters; 3) Minds operate the logical ordering and manipulation; 4) Language is considered to have significant effect in revealing social characters; 5) Abstract meaning and concept of languages are bond with culture and experience.

For these reasons, the scope of the research was not restricted to just one type of metaphor (for example, orientational metaphors or personification or one-shot metaphors) or any particular metaphorical domain. Instead, all metaphors in the proverbs were observed. Identifying metaphor and symbol is a matter of cognitive mechanism and not only on a linguistic device. As a consequence, a metaphor has no consistent syntactic form, and its focus can be of any part of speech. Second, classifying the Madurese proverbs based on Madurese supporting sources, such as articles, books, songs of Madurese to accomplish and to support the analysis. The supporting sources is needed due to there are not many research and literatures that classify Madurese proverbs. Third, matching the identified metaphorical expressions with the corresponding symbolic function in the proverbs. The data were collected from several sources, such as Madurese proverbs, Madurese songs, and the book of *Manusia Madura* by Rifai (2007) as the main source. The data are presented in presentative method which mean only the main selected data are presented and analysed in a qualitative manner, such as analysing the metaphorical expressions, synthesizing the metaphorical and symbolic meaning. In this process, we analysed the metaphor and symbol of Madurese proverbs by utilizing the socio-cognitive approach.

Result and Discussion

Metaphors and symbols as the cognitive tools are not only words issues, but it is a problem of thought that can represent social characters. Studies in this field often depend on classical personal quantity (see, for example, measures of self-report, measure of attitude result) and have shown that different class of language express reliable connection with such measure of personality, presenting that language can provide a unique mode of studying characters (Caplan et al., 2020). These become the basis for this study to classify the Madurese characters through the use of metaphors and symbols found in their proverbs. Here, the study interprets social characters as a possible way of analysing social meaning.

Courageous proverbs

- a. *Jhe' lo' ngalo' macan tedung*
Don't bother tiger sleep
'Don't bother sleeping lion'
- b. *Abhental ombhe' asapo' angin*
To have-pillow wave blanket wind
'Wave as the pillow and the wind as the blanket'
- c. *Leke ta' nampek ka be'e*
A man not afraid to deluge
'A man with outward courage dares to die'

The Madurese proverb (1. a) is very popular in Madura where its meaning is related to animal that reflects the characteristic of courage. The metaphor of sleeping tiger or lion is used as a tool of making analogy to human. Tiger in this proverb has two functions, first as metaphor and second as symbol. The metaphor is transmitted into symbol through the process of social internalization. Such process is necessarily estimation, since there is no straight link between dissimilar behavioral personal representations, and transference must be conciliated by several types of general expression of the behaviour. The metaphor transmits through a process which a metaphor is passed between individual Madurese into symbol of community. They use the symbol can connect their tradition and culture, and the

knowledge construction. 'Symbols, as metaphor, stand for something other than their literal form and can express abstract qualities such as truth, strength, wisdom and courage' (Crick and Grushka, 2009, p. 448). This can obviously be shown by the Madurese proverbs (3.1.b) in which it occurs in two different forms as perseverance, internal language representations kept in personal mind which then turn into symbolic function as Madurese dignity.

These proverbs (1. a, b, and c) are recognized by most of Madurese who live in four regencies, for example, Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep. Even though the proverbs might be expressed differently among regencies, for instance in Bangkalan (1.c) since its dialect is slightly different with the other regencies in Madura (Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep will say *tak* 'not' rather than *lo*') in terms of its lexical choices and dialect. Needless to say, metaphor and symbol can become clues to understand Madurese proverbs and characters. These proverbial metaphors of courage then bring internal linguistic representations denoted in an individual mind of Madurese which then turn into symbol of bravery (Wiyata, 2006). This is what Frank (2008, p. 1) defined as 'the ways in which individual minds and cognitive processes are shaped by their interaction with sociocultural structures and practices'. The idea is parallel to Yamaguchi's, Tay's and Blount's (2014) that through the use of metaphor and symbol there happens a relationship between the mind (or the brain) and the external environment in cognitive processes. In other words, the metaphor and symbol of Madurese proverbs can play a significant role to reflect social markers.

Religious proverbs

- a. *Abhental syahedet asapo' iman apajung Islam*
To have-pillow shahadah to have blanket iman umbrella Islam
'Syahadah is the pillow and Islam is the umbrella'
- b. *Bing-rambingah Kor'an*
The outfit is Koran
'The holy Qur'an is the outfit'
- c. *Jeiseh Alla tak ekenneng tendeh*
Probability Allah not can imitate
'Nothing compares to Allah'
- d. *Se tak asokkor olle ontong sakoni' bhekal nemmoah karogien rajeh*
Who not thank get benefit little will find lose big
'The grateful person will live in happiness and the ungrateful person will live in misery'
- e. *Angoan soghi elmoh thembheng soghi dhunyah*
Better rich knowledge than rich material
'Knowledge is more important than money or Wisdom is better than jewels'
- f. *Iman ta'kerah tao petteng*
Iman not will know dark
'Iman/faith will lead you to the light or Faith will move mountains'
- g. *Ta'pgghe'lemang bektonah*
Not break five time
'Never forget to do your five times prayer'

The Madurese religious metaphors (2. a) are related to the devotion of believing in God or superbeings. This religious believe is doctrinally associated with religious aspects.

The metaphor *syahedet* ‘witness’ is the fundamental faith in Islam. It is religious significant in Islam or for Muslims to show the devotion to their holy or sacred by committing syahedet. The syahedet and Islam represent light and devotedness in life. Syahedet is not only representing veneration but also represent the five pillars of Islam, the essential elements of the Muslim faith. The proverb can construct abstract religious concepts, belief, in terms of content that is kept in the heart. The metaphors become image scheme (Sharifian 2017), which signally relate to mutual relationships between the human and the God. Such metaphor is believed as the representation of the social and linguistic behaviour of their own culture since they believe about the nature and reality of daily language (El-Sharif, 2012). As has been widely known, the Madurese are a religious ethnicity, often affiliated with Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), a moderate Indonesian Muslim organization. Pesantren has a pivotal role in Madurese life. The majority of Madurese practice Sunni Islam. Characteristically, unlike a significant part of their fellow religious Indonesian, Madurese people enjoy the reputation of very avid adherents of Islam. Muslim theologians play an important role in their spiritual and social life. A significant part of the Madurese people is trained in traditional Pesantren Muslim schools, which play an important role in their spiritual and social life.

The Madurese religious proverbs (2.a, b, c, d, e, f, and g) represent the way Madurese sanctitude their God in pray through faith, through the God as Holy Spirit. This suggests that Madurese have strong relationships with their God or the belief between human and God. Through the use of the metaphor, we can understand human attributes to the divine entity of God attributes, as in Madurese proverbs have a wide range of religious expressions. The religious value in Madurese metaphors then gradually turn into symbols in which they believe to have religious values, such as prayer, reciting holly Koran, madrasah, and Pesantren.

By emphasizing faith, love and trust in God, these metaphors express that the right way to God is something emotional rather than something they can do. Madurese believe that the key to the righteous living emphasises that the way to God is a way of living. Such metaphor symbolizes power to give or deny freedom (Biedermann, 1993). In this context, the key to the righteous living seems to express an ability to choose to follow the way to God. The proverbs are considered to be indicators of believing in God and show that Madurese are religious. Such proverbs also indicate defencelessness. The metaphors emphasis the Madurese devote their life to the divine nature and holiness of God by suggesting that their pillow is *syahedet*, their blanket is Iman, and their umbrella is Islam. Even though the idea that God is omnipotent and sees and hears everything is familiar to us, they think of God as a human with a body, such as *eseller Alla Taala* ‘chosen by God’. That way the metaphors suggest that devotion is a mystical experience; God is not physical; God is analogized as something material but actually it is not human or abstract. In general, Madurese has strong Islamic tradition and hold firmly in Koran (see Wiyata, 2006).

The proverbial religious metaphor (3.2.g) suggests that God is something that is put inside of Madurese heart and that nurtures them. The mystical impression is strengthened by the fact that these metaphors are not similes that makes the result more dramatic. Thus, these metaphors suggest that God is a spirit that must be kept in their heart. These uses of religious metaphors create new mental space among Madurese and becomes the foundation for making inferences, and ideas elaboration. The metaphorical inputs spaces are transformed into religious symbols of Madurese proverbs *abhental syahhedet*; *eseller Alla Taala*, to elucidate the celestial poles of existence coming into being, light and darkness, good and evil. These religious symbols guide the mind symbolically to something higher; every sherd indicates to the whole and characterize eternal symbol in Madurese. The proverbs are recognized by most of Madurese who live in four regencies, Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumanep. Even though the proverbs might be expressed differently among regencies, for instance

in Bangkalan, people will say *lo* ' since Bangkalan dialect is slightly different with the other regencies in Madura (Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep will say *tak* rather than *lo* ') in terms of its lexical choices and dialect but it doesn't distrust the metaphoric and symbolic meaning and function.

Humorous proverbs

- a. *Rajeh pakebenah rajeh pacarrenah*
Big bathroom big ditch
'The bigger the bathroom, the bigger the ditch'
- b. *Raje lencageh rajeh bhrumanah*
Big couch big space underneath
'The bigger the wooden couch, the bigger the space underneath'
- c. *Yeb-kleyebhen mara dhemar kaanginan*
Flickering like lantern blown by wind
'Flickering like a lantern lamp blown by the wind'
- d. *Matoro 'ah dheging sakerra'*
To have something left with someone meat a piece
'Entrusting a piece of meat/ It is not the quantity of the meat, but the cheerfulness of the guests, which makes the feast'
- e. *Mara dhindhedhin anyar*
Like ghost new
'Like a new ghost/The beautiful has but one type, the ugly has a thousand'
- f. *Mara anggghu' ta' epece'*
Like tweezer not pressed
'Like unpressed tweezers'

Unlike other language, Madurese language has various metaphors of *pakeben* 'bathroom' with meaning variation in it (3.a). A *pakeben* is a source for many metaphors in Madurese language, including referring to things typically near the bathroom, such as *pacarren* 'the ditch of a bathroom', things physically similar to the way a *lencak* 'a wooden/bamboo couch' (3.b) is arranged spatially to a *bhruma* 'spatial underneath the couch', metaphorically represent some characteristics that associate with the size of human body. such proverb is used humorously to turn the situation into a joke. It is important in Madurese to make an occasion to pun about the state and condition through metaphors. This in line with Lauhakan-gas' (2004) idea that when someone uses a proverb in an actual situation, it is frequently a channel for personal's internal spiritual tension. Feeling of joy or need to laugh does not require any joke or even any comical situation. In Madurese, for example, *gherre ngatak kanta pekolan ta'erao* 'like a walking corpse' and *gherre montengah* 'clumsy movement' are also recognized as humor and bring effect to laughing on personal Madurese culture and emotions.

The similar metaphors of humorous proverb are *kakat ngondhu nanggher* 'flying lizard shakes silk-cotton tree,' *rajeh jhuko'nah raje keya ghulinah* 'the bigger the fish, the harder the movement,' *ngajherin bhibhik alangoy* 'teaching a duck to swim,' *tako' ka dhindhedhin tagheppo' ben jerengkong* 'it was a real case of out of the frying pan into the

fire,' *lanjheng mara landeur* 'tall like a tree,' *ghei' bintang ghegger bulen* 'what you expect but not what you get.' Such metaphors suggest peculiar, witty, ironic, paradoxical, and in some cases, emotionally disorientating metaphors (Oring, 2003; Muller, 2007; Dore, 2015). Accordingly, a metaphor with a split-focus highlights the inharmonious and dissonant elements between source and target concepts. These proverbs may not be considered funny for non-Madurese due to the cultural differences.

The humorous metaphors (3.c) and (3.d) are usually used in negative way or in positive way, such as to show impression toward a girl who is reluctant to say something instead of smiling. Since the human face is the most uncovered, so the first sight for impression of the humanity. The humorous proverb (3.d) is usually used by Madurese when a groom has marriage ceremony by giving a present to the bride. Such tradition happened in Madura as something that is given to the bride family as a symbol of dowry submission and unification. In Madura, there is a tradition where a dowry is considered as compensation for bride's family (Atiqullah and Hadi, 2020).

The humorous proverb (3.e) is usually used to criticise a girl who has overly make-up on her face, so that her face swells up and turns white like a ghost of a new buried corpse. The pale face with fully make-up is like a ghost caught by the neck in the day light. What is more, humorous metaphor (3.f) *angghu* 'tweezers' is textured like a wide-open mouth from being astonished of incredible things. Madurese humorous metaphors are usually linked to the cultural material to create semiosis of sight, amazement, feeling and other emotional attachments to the Madurese artefacts. In other culture, to show the astonishment, they may use the eye metaphors that connote meanings related to the physiological observations of the eye when they astonish.

From the examples, the metaphors search for a coherent make sense frame to make the humorous effect, which likely fits the Madurese characters who like to use humorous expressions. Both metaphor and humor seem to have something to do with split reference; that is, to refer to two different but related images or ideas that take place in proximity to one another. In Madurese proverbs there are so many metaphors that are likely irony in their functions. So, the metaphors sometimes can be a frame of humor in using irony through the use of alternative metaphors with different entailments (Reddy, 1993; Schön, 1993). Humor and irony are distinct from other communicative conventions where they can contribute to meaning creation at cognitive and social as well as emotional levels and may do so in a unique way.

Kyratziz (2003) as cited in Schoos (2020) studied the relationship between metaphor and humor and more precisely the cognitive processes involved when one faces laughter in discourse. In this way, the function of in-group/out-group jokes expands the function of irony in preserving social solidarity (Gibbs, 1999). Consequently, the secondary impressions of conceptual integration and frame-shifting on common ground make a significant contribution of meaning in social and cultural level. In this way, arbitrary symbols arose from originally non-arbitrary iconic associations through the establishment of rich common ground allowing for gradual simplifications of form and gradual shifts in meaning. Similarly, schematic forms emerged where concatenation was interpreted as a communicative cue and was conventionalized in association with the meaning it helped to convey; metaphorical use in context would also allow for the shift of concrete meanings towards ever more functional meanings (Smith and Hoefler, 2017).

Self-reliance proverbs

- a. *Bhutak e alas*
Bald-headed at forest
'The head can be bold in the forest'
- b. *Tade' dheleng kakorangan lakon*
Nothing puppeteer lack of figure
'No puppeters lack of figures'
- c. *Ende odi kadhibi*
Willing to live alone
'Willing to live independently'
- d. *Ta' mintaah jhuma'*
Not ask to have something on the head
'Don't bother yourself because I can do it myself'
- e. *Abe' saabe' odi' kadhibi'*
Self alone lives alone
'You are on your own'

Madurese have tradition to migrate to big cities across countries. Such tradition plays an important role in shaping their characters, not only in improving individual capacity to migrate, but prompting migration to big cities may enhance their self-reliance. So, there is no wonder when we see so many people from Madura earn their living in Jakarta, Bali, Kalimantan, and other cities around Indonesia. From an early age, children are taught to "stand on their own two feet," and "to be independent." This is perhaps the best indication of how seriously Madurese take doing things for one's self. The proverb (4.c) is completely and terrifically unique, that is likely selfish but suggests self-reliance. The proverb could have other possible meaning, depending on the interlocutors' knowledge which conventionally associated with self-reliance and are therefore most likely to be being alluded to. It may also lead Madurese to an honest respect for other individuals and an insistence on human autonomous. One may find a much greater opinion with the absolute freedom to live themselves anywhere and anytime in this country. The search for metaphor and symbol in Madurese proverbs has strong symbolical connotations, that artistic discourses focusing on it may bring the effect to the personality traits through the transmission of metaphors into symbols. So, Madurese think they are more individualistic than, in fact, they actually are. If it does, it is likely to have a strongly negative connotation, suggesting loneliness or forced isolation from the group. Gradually, this transforms into symbol that construct knowledge from individual to their community as a culture and tradition. The Madurese self-reliance (4.d) then often being considered as self-selfish as most people have stereotype in them in negative way.

In the other countries, for example U.S., self-reliance and privacy is not only seen as a very positive condition, but it is also viewed as a requirement which all humans would find equally necessary, desirable and satisfying. It is not uncommon for non-Madurese to say (4.e) and to believe *abe' saabe' odi' kadhibi'* 'you are on your own.' Such proverb, as Madurese have given it a religious basis that they say all people have been created equally (4.b) as they believe that God views all humans alike without regard to intelligence, physical condition economic status or rank. Such self-reliance is a socially desirable trait that reflects an absence of excessive dependence on others, a sense of control over one's life, and personal initiative (Kalberg, 2015). Self-reliance is an interesting trait to study in the context

of leadership evaluations because it appears to be both characteristic and uncharacteristic of people's beliefs. People everywhere experience birth, death, love, sexual desire, and the need for food and shelter, and these powerful aspects of human life find expression in compelling symbols (Antonakis and House, 2004; Schaumberg and Flynn, 2016).

Persistence and hard worker proverbs

- a. *Jhureng ekaleh, ghunong etembhuk*
Valley is dug mountain is piled
'Going along a valley, climbing up a mountain'
- b. *Abhental ombhe' asapo' angin*
To have pillow wave blanket wind
'Wave is the pillow, wind is the blanket'
- c. *Merres pello koneng*
Squeeze sweat yellow
'No gain without pain'

Madura's geographical condition is known for its hilly soils, which contain a lot of clay and lime, and a long dry season. This situation affects the Madurese character who seems hard and more resilient to work (Wiyata 2006, p. 80, 150). Madurese persistent and hard worker can be seen in the proverb (5.a and 5.c). These become the inputs space to Madurese metaphors of persistent which then turn into symbols of Madurese character of hard worker. These hard worker symbols guide to a higher symbol that represents to the whole and characterize eternal symbol in Madurese. In Madurese view, lazy people are considered shameful and become social burden (Djulaeka 2020). Madura is known as coastal area just like other coastal area across Indonesia. The majority of the people's livelihoods throughout the Madura Strait coastline are fishermen and salt farmers. This condition brings the very popular saying among Madurese (5.b) *abhental ombhe' asapo' angin* 'wave as the pillow and wind as the blanket.' *Ombhe'* 'wave' and *angin* 'wind' are metaphors suggesting hard worker. The wave in the sea, with its daunting width and thunderous can represent persistent and hard worker. "The old man and the sea" may be the most famous novel that uses the sea as a central symbol for life itself. The point of course is its persistence to rumble and keep going, even if ultimately it doesn't give you what you worked so hard to achieve. Such metaphors are acknowledged by people in Madura as something that is given to their children as a symbol of persistence and hard worker. This process happened from individual to the group by their interaction and practice as the reflection of social markers.

Directness and openness proverbs

- a. *Konye' ghunong*
Turmeric mountain
'It's all we have/ Don't judge a book by its cover'
- b. *Biddheng bengalan*
Beverage bravery
'Don't look a gift horse in the mouth'
- c. *Dhek-bedheghen bheih*
Frankness just
'Straight to the point/Don't beat around the bush'

Some countries have subtle, sometimes highly ritualistic, ways of informing others in direct manner. According to Rifai (2007) the negative image of the Madurese is often exacerbated themselves by a number of less educated Madurese in a way that accentuates their deliberate negativity even more with the intention of frightening others. Madurese people consider anything other than the most direct and open approach will be considered manipulative and untrustworthy.

The proverb (6.a) should be understood metaphorically rather than literal meaning. Although the Madurese agree that directness requires aptitudes, the assessment of such skills can be difference. For Madurese, such skills are required for practical goals while, for the non-native Madurese, these skills are probably considered for pessimistic goals. The descriptions of directness by Madurese obviously show the ideology of languages of what presents forms of communication. Directness is described as explicit *blak-blakan* 'a direct approach' (Wiyata, 2006) and indirectness is seen as implicit. These two different traditions perceive directness and indirectness as being polite, impolite or both according to the context due to 'different cultures give precedence to different values, which, moreover, interpreted differently' (Sifianou, 1992, p. 94).

Nevertheless, even though such beliefs give important prospect into how directness and indirectness are assessed by both groups, they do not necessarily show the actual use of these forms. Within the duty of friendliness, the guest has the right to be offered hospitality, but must also respect the host/ess' right to show it (Grainger, Kerkam, Mansour and Mills, 2015). Such friendliness, according to (Kerkam, 2017), can be reflected through instruction and decreasing choices, but the host/ess can also use what can be shown as confrontational language in Madurese (6.b). If such assertive expressions were to be used in other situations, it might be seen as offensive. The metaphors of Madurese directness and openness were internalized and transformed into symbols through the process of social interaction and internalization, for example *remoh* 'a traditional ceremony.' This process is caused by personal experience adopted from their elders as a habit and then transferred as popular sayings or proverbs. These proverbial metaphors then bring internal linguistic representations deposited in an individual mind which then turn into symbol of directness and openness.

Innocent proverbs

- a. *Oreng jhujhur mate ngonjhur*
People honest die in outstretch leg
'Honest men will always bring luck/An honest man is not the worse because a dog barks at him'
- b. *Tebbhe moka*
Innocent face
'A nod of an honest man is enough'

The metaphors of honest and innocent play a pivotal role in Madurese proverbs. The proverb (7.a) reflects the honest and innocent characters for Madurese since they are considered to have direct and open role that effected into the other nature of Madurese characters. This view provides worthful outlooks into how honest and innocent are evaluated by the community. The proverb uses metaphor *ngonjhur* 'outstretching leg' as the analogy to human that it symbolizes honest and helplessness. Such proverbs become the typical cognition to Madurese to represent honest and innocent characteristic for Madurese. The metaphor (7.b) creates a new conventionalization and innovations in language as the accomplishment of metaphors associated with many things from creativity which turns into

symbols through the process of *remoh* ‘ceremony.’ The proverb (3.7.b) is mostly recognized by most of Madurese who live in Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep, for example, *saduhuna* ‘innocent demeanor’ is used by people who live in Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep but people who live in Bangkalan will use *saongghunah* ‘truthful.’ Even though the proverbs might be expressed differently among regencies but they will understand the meaning and function.

The uses of proverbs create new mental space among Madurese and becomes the foundation for making inferences, and ideas elaboration between metaphors and symbols. They guide the mind to the whole and characterize Madurese personal minds and the process of cognitive formed by their interconnection with sociocultural practices and structures, *remoh*, *to’oto’*, *slamatan*, *bhubuan*, etc. In this process, they use proverbial expressions to communicate and to link their culture and tradition. The metaphors and symbols play significant roles to infer speakers’ characters and behaviours from their proverbs. Such activity does not require preciseness, since there is no direct connection between different personal representations of the behaviour, and transmission must be moderated by some kind of general statement of the behaviour. Such analysis is basically advantageous to Madurese languages which are usually classified based on certain stereotypical presuppositions. The role of metaphor and symbol play a significant function as a social marker to understanding social characteristics. Although this study has shed light on the importance of taking such an element into consideration, metaphor and symbol still need to be extensively discussed, due to there are a lot of problematic issues related to them. This is reasonable that conducting further research in this field is considered valuable, as metaphors and symbols are considered to have significant role to reflect social markers or characters.

Conclusion

The metaphor and symbol of Madurese proverbs are recognized by Madurese (Bangkalan, Sampang, Pamekasan, and Sumenep) even though there are slightly differences in lexical and accent. It looks provable that metaphor and symbol of Madurese proverbial expressions help marking individual/social character for others. Metaphors and symbols also play important roles in defining the speaker’s character as a marker of social characters, maintaining social identities and as evaluative reactions to information about the speaker’s social behavior conveyed in their proverbs. Metaphor and symbol use play important role in verifying social characters since they are very depending on the social setting and the language styles of the speaker. This study suggests that behavior of stereotyped groups is more likely to be linguistically encoded in terms abstract qualities of group members through the use of metaphor and symbol. Moreover, the possibility to describe the characters of members of groups is not uniform across culture. This study may help explaining dispositional qualities of group members and to perceive individual character and in other groups through their proverbs.

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