

## LANGUAGE FORMS INDICATING THE DANI CULTURE AS DESCRIBED IN THE NOVEL SALI, KISAH SEORANG WANITA SUKU DANI

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**Abstrack :** There have been several studies discussing the novel Sali: The Story of a Dani Woman. These studies generally use sociological literature, feminist literary criticism, and gender perspectives. This paper comes with a different perspective, namely the ethnolinguistic approach. This paper describes the linguistic forms in the novel that represent the Dani culture and reveals the cultural meaning of the linguistic forms in the novel. The linguistic data is taken entirely from the novel and the meanings obtained apart from the novel are also from other sources as listed in the references. The results of data analysis show that linguistic forms indicating the Dani culture include the level of words, phrases, clauses, or sentences. Furthermore, the cultural meaning of language forms in terms of words indicating Dani culture, namely: (1) Abambuk which means tribal chief, Dani tribal leader. (2) Pig which means a dowry given to a girl or a widow to marry. (3) Hunting which means the dominant male activity to show his self-esteem. (4) Ebeai which means a house that a wife/woman, children and husband/men may enter to gather. (5) Fugima which means a place to end life/everything for a woman/wife who has given up on her fate. (6) Honai which means a traditional house located in silimo. (7) Koteka which means penis genital cover has many meanings. The variation indicates that the more varied the koteka, the higher the class of men who wear it. (8) Noken which means a replacement for the ballot box which means a form of appreciation for the cultural values and local wisdom of the Dani community. (9) Pilamo which means a place to limit women's movement. This was a house that only men could enter to ensure that they and the war equipment were free from the dirty blood of women. (10) Sali which means wife indexer. (11) Silimo which means a family residence consisting of honai, ebeai, and pilamo, the three of which are far from each other in a certain area. Furthermore, the linguistic forms in the form of phrases are (1) Chewing greedily which means eating food in an unethical way.

(2) Tribal war which means the implementation of a war caused by a member of the Dani community who was being killed. (3) Polygamous marriage which means the family of the prospective wife. (4) Cutting a child's finger which means a meaningful representation of emotional pain which is important for the process of grieving the death of the child's parents.

It is a symbol of grief at the loss of a family member. (5) The cry of mourning which means that family members have to cry for a long time as hard as possible to mark the mourning of being left dead by a member of a communal system 6) Cremation, or the burning of a corpse which means an attempt to take the white ashes of the corpse. (7) Relative-exchange marriage which means marry to the wife's sister in order to get a replacement from the pig keeper, the caretaker of his children and himself. Finally, the forms of clauses/sentences indicating Dani culture are: (1) Keeping the younger sister away from her twin means avoiding bad things. The younger sister in the twins is believed to be the daughter of the devil, so she must be exiled, otherwise a disaster will come that will harm the family. (2) Leaving sali on the rocks in Fugima which means the owner has died as a form of surrendering to the problems of life that surround her so that in a very tragic way her life is ended.

**Keywords:** Language form, Dani culture, Sali, Dani tribe.

**Abstrak :** Ada beberapa penelitian yang membahas tentang novel *Sali: Kisah Wanita Suku Dani*. Kajian-kajian tersebut umumnya menggunakan kajian sosiologi sastra, kritik sastra feminis, dan perspektif gender. Tulisan ini hadir dengan sudut pandang yang berbeda, yaitu pendekatan etnolinguistik. Makalah ini mendeskripsikan bentuk-bentuk linguistik dalam novel yang mewakili budaya suku Dani dan mengungkap makna budaya dari bentuk-bentuk linguistik dalam novel tersebut. Data kebahasaan diambil seluruhnya dari novel dan makna-makna yang diperoleh selain novel juga dari sumber-sumber lain sebagaimana tercantum dalam daftar pustaka. Hasil analisis data menunjukkan bahwa bentuk-bentuk kebahasaan menunjukkan budaya Suku Dani meliputi tataran kata, frasa, klausa, atau kalimat. Selanjutnya, makna budaya bahasa terbentuk dari segi kata yang menunjukkan budaya suku Dani, yaitu: (1) *Abambuk* yang berarti kepala suku, pemimpin suku Dani. (2) *Babi* yang berarti mahar yang diberikan kepada seorang gadis atau janda untuk dinikahi. (3) *Berburu* yang berarti aktivitas laki-laki yang dominan untuk menunjukkan harga dirinya. (4) *Ebeai* artinya rumah yang boleh dimasuki istri/perempuan, anak-anak dan suami/laki-laki untuk berkumpul. (5) *Fugima* yang berarti tempat mengakhiri hidup/segalanya bagi seorang wanita/istri yang telah menyerah pada nasibnya. (6) *Honai* yang berarti rumah adat yang terletak di silimo. (7) *Koteka* yang artinya penutup kemaluan memiliki banyak arti. Variasi tersebut menunjukkan bahwa semakin bervariasi koteka, semakin tinggi pula kelas pria yang memakainya. (8) *Noken* yang berarti pengganti kotak suara yang berarti bentuk apresiasi terhadap nilai-nilai budaya dan kearifan lokal masyarakat suku Dani. (9) *Pilamo* yang artinya tempat membatasi gerak perempuan. Ini adalah rumah yang hanya bisa dimasuki laki-laki untuk memastikan bahwa mereka dan peralatan perang bebas dari darah kotor perempuan. (10) *Sali* yang artinya pengindeks istri. (11) *Silimo* yang berarti tempat tinggal keluarga yang terdiri dari honai, ebeai, dan pilamo, ketiganya saling berjauhan dalam suatu wilayah tertentu. Selanjutnya bentuk linguistik berupa frase adalah (1) *Mengunyah dengan rakus* yang berarti memakan makanan dengan cara yang tidak etis. (2) *Perang suku* artinya pelaksanaan perang yang disebabkan oleh terbunuhnya salah satu anggota masyarakat suku Dani. (3) *Perkawinan poligami* yang berarti keluarga calon istri. (4) *Pemotongan jari anak* yang bermakna representasi rasa sakit emosional yang penting untuk proses berduka atas kematian orang tua anak. Itu adalah simbol kesedihan karena kehilangan anggota keluarga. (5) *Tangisan duka* yang artinya anggota keluarga harus menangis dalam waktu yang lama sekeras-kerasnya untuk menandai duka cita karena ditinggal mati oleh seorang anggota sistem komunal 6) *Kremasi*, atau pembakaran jenazah yang artinya upaya untuk mengambil abu putih dari mayat. (7) *Perkawinan tukar-kerabat* yang berarti kawin dengan saudara perempuan isteri untuk mendapat pengganti dari pemelihara babi, pemelihara anak-anaknya dan dirinya sendiri. Terakhir, bentuk klausa/kalimat yang menunjukkan budaya suku Dani adalah: (1) *Menjauhkan adik dari saudara kembarnya* berarti menghindari hal-hal yang buruk. Adik perempuan si kembar diyakini sebagai putri iblis, sehingga dia harus diasingkan, jika tidak, bencana akan datang yang akan merugikan keluarga. (2) *Meninggalkan sali di bebatuan di Fugima* yang berarti pemiliknya telah meninggal dunia sebagai bentuk kepasrahan terhadap

*permasalahan hidup yang melingkupinya sehingga dengan cara yang sangat tragis nyawanya berakhir.*

**Kata kunci:** Bentuk bahasa, budaya Dani, Sali, suku Dani.

## I. Introduction

The novel *Sali: Kisah Seorang Wanita Suku Dani* (The Story of a Dani tribe Woman) is a novel written based on the results of ethnographic research. Dewi Linggasari as the author of the novel narrates the traditions, knowledge, beliefs and customs of the Dani tribe in the Baliem valley, Wamena as it is. Even though it seems like an absurd story, in fact it is not, because It's really happened in Wamena. It is the things that seem absurd and at the same time very terrible that make the writers of this paper interested in researching them. In addition, the Dani tribe which is classified as a very unique way of dressing, way of life, how to respond to death, patriarchal system, how to face the backwardness, etc. arouses the attention of the writers.

The novel *Sali* has also been discussed by several authors in their articles using various approaches or perspectives such as sociological literature, feminist literary criticism, and gender perspectives. The followings are the articles: the first one is the article written by Devita entitled *Citra Perempuan dalam Sali: Kisah Seorang Wanita Suku Dani*. The writer used Ruthven's feminist literary criticism in analyzing the Dani woman image. According to Devita, Dani women live in a patriarchal system in which she tried to criticize the Dani woman characters with their life background. She found that contra-feminist and pro-feminist characters are in the midst of patriarchal system. She also found that from the aspect of language usage, language is said to show gender differences, refers to feminine and masculine symbols, and as a form of women's criticism of men in the midst of a patriarchal system. Regarding her study, the concept image of women is applied to disclose the nature of the stereotypical representation of the Dani women in the novel *Sali*. Analysis of women's image shows that Dani women have an image in both domestic and public sectors. Therefore, the issue of novel *Sali* is claimed as the raising of woman's life in the midst of patriarchal system. Finally, Devita stated that the woman's characters in the novel must protest the gender inequality they get, not just an idea or discourse of feminism.

The second one is the article entitled *Citra Perempuan dalam Novel Sali, Kisah Seorang Wanita Suku Dani Karya Dewi Linggasari: Tinjauan Sosiologi Sastra* written by Aic (2009). Aic states that the main protagonist characters in the novel was Liwa, and the antagonist character was Ibarak. The additional characters were Gayatri, Aburah, Lapina, Kugara, Wibawa Ardana, Sekar Nilasari, Anton, Hera, Trimas, and Lopes. The social setting was woman social background of Dani's tribe with an absolute traditional rule. According to Aic, the Dani woman social images were domestic and public. The social image in terms of domestic was the Dani woman must do all the household chores and keep their children. In public term, The Dani woman must fulfil all the household needs economically. Whereas, the analyses result of Dani Woman was depend on the rule played in the tribe. All woman must obey the rule, including interdict woman approach house of custom that consist of equipment's war for blood that turn out to be body every month can disappear magic power of the equipment. Women must be born alone in out of village due to the same reason as mentioned before. Once a girl get marriedshe must totally responsible in the household because she's already been expensively paid bythe man with pigs which consists of 20 heads.

The third, Sarina, et al. (2019) in her article entitled '*Representasi Gender Melalui Bahasa dalam Novel Sali: Kisah Seorang Wanita Suku Dani, Karya Dewi Linggasari*' said that the gender representation through words for male are *perang* 'war', *pemburu* 'hunter', *rokok* 'cigarette', *koteka* 'penis genital cover', and *babi* 'pig as a dowry', while for woman are *budak* 'slave', *melahirkan* 'giving birth/ partus', *sali* 'woven skirt', and *babi* 'pig as a family assets'. Next, the gender representation through phrases for male are *memainkan asap* 'playing cigarette smoke', *tipu daya* 'trickery', *tuntutan adat* 'customary demands', *seorang duda* 'a widower', while for woman are *bunga liar* 'sweet seven teen girl', *tubuh berlemak* 'fat bodies', *bukit kembar* 'twin hills', *harga mahal* 'expensive price'. Finally, the forms of gender injustices was represented by the language in the novel of which five types of violence set only three was found. They are discrimination, double burden, and violence.

From the above mentioned articles we can conclude that no one discusses the Dani culture even though very unique and very interesting to deal with (because of their life which is very dangerous and very terrible). It is only natural that the writers of this paper also discuss the Dani tribe from an ethnolinguistic perspective.

## II. Dani Tribe Community (DTC)

The Dani tribe or Parim tribe, also usually called Ndani tribe is said to be the largest tribe inhabiting the entire Jaya wijaya Regency and parts of Puncak Jaya Regency in Baliem Valley (usually called Grand Valley), Central Mountains, Papua. This tribe respects their ancestors so much that they usually pay their respects through pig feasts. The existence of the Dani community began to be known as an indigenous Papuan tribe. The Dani community settlement in which all *honai* (residences) were established between Grasberg Hills and Ersberg Hills that are rich in gold, silver and copper. Dani tribe community are known as skilled farmers and have started using tools, such as stone axes, hundreds of years ago. Due to the main activity of this tribe is farming, apart from being used as residences, some *honais* is also specifically used as the storage for agricultural products.

In the Baliem valley which can only be reached by plane, women live very traditional and backward lives. As a result of their backwardness, all the burdens of family life are borne by women. The men are free from the responsibilities of the household need. The husband's orders for all burdens and responsibilities are carried out by wives with maximum effort even though life is at stake. The customary law of the Dani tribe has given maximum leeway to men as husbands to be free from the responsibility of providing for the family.

For the DTC, pigs are very important pets as they always color the DT traditional ceremonies, especially during the pigs feast (*Wam Mawe*). In this pig feast, various events such as mass marriages, reciprocation events, initiation for children who are starting to grow up, marriages are held which the main elements are the pig party itself. The feast of the pig must be lively, so that long before the feast of the pig, people are not allowed to kill the pig, even if there is death. Heaven is described by the Dani as a state of being full of large pigs and fertile gardens,

### III. Ethnolinguistics

Language and culture have a very close relationship. The relationship can be in the form of a subordinate relationship, namely culture as the main stream and language as a subordinate one (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). In addition, language and culture are also said to have a coordinating relationship, in the means of both are equals and are systems inherent in human. Here, culture is said to be a system that regulates human interaction, while language is a means for that interaction to take place. Even Silzer stated that the coordinating relationship is like two sides of a coin (in Chaer 2014) where one side can only be valuable if it is supported by the other side, so language and culture can only be distinguished, but cannot be separated. Language is the principal means whereby we conduct our social lives. When it is used in contexts of communication, it is bound up with culture in multiple and complex way (Kramsch, 1998).

This paper comes with a different perspective, namely the ethnolinguistic approach in which the writers tried to relate language used in the novel *Sali* to the Dani culture and ethnicity (Underhill (2012). Ethnolinguistics is described as a subject, discussing how abstract concepts such as love, hate, truth, war, etc. are expressed both across cultures and ethnicities. It is also said as the study about the relationship between a language and the non-linguistic cultural behavior of the people who speak that language. Therefore, ethnolinguistics is sometimes called cultural linguistics which is an area of [anthropological linguistics](#). In other words, **ethnolinguistics** concerned with the study of the interrelation between a language and the cultural behaviour of those who speak it.

Regarding the ethnolinguistic approach used in this study, here all the language data were taken entirely from the novel. Whereas the cultural meanings were obtained apart from the novel are also from other sources as listed in the references.

### IV. The forms of language indicating the Dani culture

According to Samovar and Porter (1994), culture refers to the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving

Culture refers to the way of life of members of the community as a whole, which can include how to dress, wedding customs, work patterns, religious ceremonies, and other activities that will ultimately be meaningful to members of the community (Giddens 1991: ).

As mentioned before that this paper aims to explain the forms of language in the novel that represent the culture of the Dani tribe, besides to reveal the cultural meaning of the language forms in the novel. The followings are the explanation about the first aim, language forms that represent the Dani culture which not only covers word level, but also phrase, clause or sentence levels. They are presented in alphabetical order as follows

#### A. The words indicating the Dani culture

1. *Abambok* 'tribal chief'
2. *Babi* 'pig'
3. *Berburu* 'hunting'
4. *Ebeai* 'house for woman'
5. *Fugima* 'a place name'
6. *Honai* 'custome home'
7. *Koteka* 'penis genital cover'
8. *Noken* 'woven Papuan storage'
9. *Pilamo* 'house for woman'

10. *Sali* 'woven skirt'
11. *Silimo* 'community area'

#### B. Phrases indicating the Dani culture

1. *Mengunyah dengan rakus* 'eat greedily'
2. *Perang suku* 'traditional war'
3. *Perkawinan poligami* 'polygamous marriage'
4. *Pemotongan jari tangan anak* 'cutting off the child's finger'
5. *Jerit kedukaan* 'the cry of mourning'
6. *Pembakaran jenazah, kremasi* 'cremation'
7. *Bakar batu* 'stones burning'
8. *Perkawinan ganti dengan adik mendiang istri.* 'Marriage-related exchange'

#### C. Clauses or sentences indicating the Dani culture

1. *Menjauhkan adik dari kakak kembarnya.* 'Keeping the younger brother away from his twin brother'.
2. *Meninggalkan Sali di atas bebatuan bukit Fugima.* 'Leaving sali on the rocks in Fugima'.

### V. Cultural meanings of the forms of language indicating the Dani culture

#### A. Cultural meaning of words indicating the Dani culture:

1. *Abambok* means tribal chief, chieftain, the leader of Dani tribal.

As a backward tribe that strongly believes in their power of magic, the Dani tribe community rely on a respected figure, namely their ancestor and to the one who was crowned the chief of the tribe. The chief becomes the controller of events related to the customs and laws for the area. In other words the Dani tribe community who maintain their tribal customs has great respect for their tribal chief. The presence of the term *abambok* in the novel *Sali* can be seen on page 159.

*Mereka meliwati sebuah silimo, berpamitan pada seorang abambok-kepala suku- yang tak dapat berbicara bahasa Indonesia dan melepas kepergian itu dengan senyum bersahabat. Rombongan yang seluruhnya berjumlah 18 orang itu terus bergerak melewati jalan pengerasan. (Linggasari, 2007: 159).*

(They passed a silimo, said good bye to an *abambok*, a tribal chief, who could not speak Indonesian and left with a friendly smile. The group of 18 people in total continued to move through the hardening road.)

## 2. *Babi* 'pig'.

The Dani tribe community view pigs not just pets. Instead, they believe that human beings, pigs and cassowary trees are brothers. For every time a baby is born, a cassowary tree is planted so that at the time of his death there will be a supply of firewood that can be used to burn the corpse for cremation. According to local cosmology the cassowary tree is related to the pig because the piglet's fur is still rough and has stripes that resemble the leaves of a cassowary tree. It is this view that makes women in the Baliem Valley very familiar with pigs.

For the Dani, pigs are very important pets. Pigs always color the traditional parties, especially during the pigs party (*Wam Mawe*). In this pig feast, various events are held which are the main elements of the pig party itself, such as mass marriages, reciprocation events (if a person gets kindness from another person, especially when experiencing a disaster, he can repay the kindness at the pig feast), initiation for children who are starting to grow up. The feast of the pig must be lively, so that long before the feast of the pig, people are not allowed to kill the pig, even if there is death. Heaven is described by the Dani as a state full of large pigs and fertile garden.

Based on the Dani tradition these animals have a cultural function, namely as a dowry for a total of 20 pigs given either to a girl or a widow to marry. This can be seen in quotations as follow

*Kugara benar-benar merasa malang. Ia tak pernah menyadari bahwa kematian itu secara tidak langsung merupakan hasil dari kesewenangannya. Bahwa secara adat, ia memang berhak memerintah Aburah karena telah membayarnya dengan **babi-babi** pada hari perkawinannya itu. (Linggasari, 2007:11.)*

(Kugara really felt misfortune. He could not realize that the death was indirectly the result of his harsh treatment. Due to the Dani custom, he had the right to rule over Aburah, because he had paid for it with **pigs** on the day of the wedding).

*Sejak kapan ada seorang pemuda dapat menyentuh gadis tanpa terlebih dahulu membayarnya dengan **babi** dan memintanya secara adat kepada orang tuanya? (Linggasari, 2007: 65.)*

(Since when is a young man able to touch a girl without first paying for it with a pig and asking her traditionally to her parents?)

*Sudah kukatakan, jangan pernah ada seorang laki-laki pun yang menyentuhmu sebelum is meminta kepadaku secara adat dan membayarmu dengan **babi-babi**. (Linggasari, 2007: 69)*

(I've told you, don't ever let a man touch you before asking you traditionally and paying you with **pigs**.)

3. **Berburu** 'hunting' indicate The Dani man's activity. There are two main jobs for Dani men, namely hunting and fighting. For both jobs they needed arrows and bows. The both tools are the most distinctive traditional Dani weapons which are very useful for repelling enemies and for **hunting**. Gardening is not the duty of Dani men. Let's see the following sentence.

*Sehari-hari kaum laki-laki tak melakukan pekerjaan berarti, kecuali **berburu** atau memanah burung, sementara kaum wanita rutin berkebun. (Linggasari, 2007: 43).*

(Everyday the men do not do any meaningful work, except **hunting** or shooting birds, while the women routinely do gardening.)

*Ibarak menyandang busur dan anak panah di punggungnya kemudian berjalan dengan langkah tegap menuju ke hutan, ia hendak pergi **berburu**. (Linggasari, 2007: 212).*

(Ibarak was carrying a bow and arrows on his back then walked firmly towards the forest, he was about to go **hunting**.)

*Ibarak menghentikan lamunannya ketika tiba-tiba ia melihat seekor ayam hutan bertengger di atas dahan. Dengan hati-hati ia mencabut sebatang anak panah, merentang busur dan membidikkan sasaran. Sesaat kemudian anak panah itu melesat, lurus. Ayam hutan itupun terkulai di atas tanah dengan sebatang anak panah menancap di dadanya. Sekali lagi ia membuktikan kemahirannya sebagai seorang **pemburu**. (Linggasari, 2007: 213).*

(Ibarak stopped his thoughts when suddenly he saw a partridge perched on a branch. He drew the arrow carefully, stretched out the bow and aimed at the target. A moment later the arrow sped up, straight. The jungle fowl drooped on the ground with an arrow stuck in his chest. Once again he proved his skills as a **hunter**.)

4. **Ebeai** 'house for woman'.

Dani tribe community has a different concept with other ethnic community about house. A house that may be entered by wife/woman, children and husband/man for gathering is called *Ebeai*. The explanations are as follows

*Silimo itu berpagar kayu dengan humus yang berfungsi sebagai pelindung pada ujung-ujungnya.. Di dalamnya terdapat pilamo-honai laki-laki, **ebeai**-honai perempuan, honai adat yang terletak lurus dengan pintu masuk. (Linggasari, 2007: 4).*

(The silimo is fenced with wood with humus that functions as a protector at the ends. Inside there are male pilamo-honai, female **ebeai**-honai, traditional honai which are located straight from the entrance.)



*Di dalam silimo tak ada lagi yang bersuara. Kaum wanita telah kembali ke **ebeai** dan kaum laki-laki telah masuk ke *pilamo* untuk berkemas tidur. Ibarak tidur di dalam *pilamo* bersama anak laki-lakinya. Nyala perapian meredup perlahan dan akhirnya tinggal bara yang tersisa. (Linggasari, 2007: 208).*

(In the *silimo* no one talk anymore. The women have returned to the **ebeai** and the men have entered the *pilamo* to get ready for bed. Ibarak slept in a *pilamo* with his sons. The fire slowly dims and finally only the embers remain.)

5. **Fugima** ‘the name of a place in Wamena’ which means a place to end life/everything for a woman/wife who has given up on her fate.

*“Di **Fugima**, ada sebuah sungai yang amat dalam. Wanita yang sudah tidak mampu menanggung beban hidup akan datang ke tempat itu, meninggalkan Sali pada bebatuan, memberati tubuhnya dengan batu, kemudian menceburkan diri ke dalam sungai”. Sebuah cara bunuh diri yang penuh rahasia dan menyakitkan. (Linggasari, 2007: back cover).*

‘In **Fugima**, there was a very deep river. Women who are no longer able to burden life will come to that place, leave Sali on the rocks, stick her body with stones, then throw herself into the river. A secret and painful way of committing suicide’

6. **Honai** ‘custome house’. The Dani tribe custom house, *honai* is located in a *silimo*.

*Silimo itu berpagar kayu dengan humus yang berfungsi sebagai pelindung pada ujung-ujungnya. Di dalamnya terdapat *pilamo-honai* laki-laki, *ebeai-honai* perempuan, *honai adat* yang terletak lurus dengan pintu masuk. (Linggasari, 2007: 4).*

(The *silimo* is fenced with wood with humus that functions as a protector at the ends. Inside there are male *pilamo-honai*, female **ebeai-honai**, traditional *honai* which are located straight from the entrance.)

7. **Koteka** ‘penis genital cover’. The size is usually related to the user's activities at work or traditional ceremonies. The short **koteka** is generally worn at work, while the long **koteka** is used during traditional ceremonies. Those which has many variations indicates that the more vary of **koteka**, the higher the class of the man wear it.

*Kaum wanita hanya melilitkan Sali di seputar pinggang tanpa penutup dada. Sementara laki-laki semuanya menggunakan koteka kulit labu kering yang berwarna kemerah-merahan mencuat ke angkasa. (Linggasari, 2007: 12).*

(The women just wrapped Sali around her waist without covering the chest. While the boys are all wearing dry pumpkin skin **koteka** that are reddish in color sticking up.)

8. **Noken** ‘woven Papuan storage’. Until now it is not known with certainty about the history of *noken*. However, by looking at the various uses and functions of *noken* used in traditional ceremonies, it can be estimated that *noken* has been known to the Papuan people for a long time. Various information states that *noken* has also been used for various daily purposes since ancient times. The daily function of the large *noken* is to carry garden produce, seafood, wood, babies, small animals, groceries and to be hung in the house to store things. Whereas the small *noken* is used to carry personal items including money, betel, food, books, and others. In addition, *noken* can also be used as a head or body cover.

*Aburahlah yang menjaga sejak kecil, membaringkannya di dalam noken dan memikulnya kemana pun pergi (Linggasari, 2007: 8-9)*

(It was Aburah who took care of her since childhood, laying him in a **noken** and wherever he went.)

*Akhirnya Lapina berhasil mengisi noken dengan berbagai hasil kebun. Ia merasa sangat lelah dan segera duduk beristirahat di dekat Liwa. (Linggasari, 2007: 22)*

(Finally Lapina managed to fill the **noken** with various garden products. He felt very tired and immediately sat down to rest near Liwa.)

*Ayo, saya pun harus mencuci ubi manis ini, Lapina mengemasi isi noken, meletakkan tali noken di kepalanya sehingga seluruh bobot noken memberat di punggungnya. (Linggasari, 2007: 22)*

(Come on, I have to wash this sweet potato too. Lapina packed the contents of the **noken**, put the **noken** rope on her head so that the entire weight of the **noken** was heavy on her back.)

9. **Pilamo** ‘house for man only’. *Pilamo* is a residence or a place to limit the space for women to move. It is the house that only men can enter to ensure that they and the war equipments are free from women's dirty blood.

*Di dalam silimo tak ada lagi yang bersuara. Kaum wanita telah kembali ke ebeai dan kaum laki-laki telah masuk ke **pilamo** untuk berkemas tidur. (Linggasari, 2007: 208).*

(In the silimo no one talk anymore. The women have returned to the ebeai and the men have entered the **pilamo** to get ready for bed.)

*Ibarak tidur di dalam **pilamo** bersama anak laki-lakinya. Nyala perapian meredup perlahan dan akhirnya tinggal bara yang tersisa. (Linggasari, 2007: 208).*

(Ibarak slept in a **pilamo** with his sons. The fire slowly dims and finally only the embers remain.)

**10. Sali** ‘woven skirt’. It is the Dani tribe woman’s clothes which is used by wrapping it around the waist without covering the chest.

*Kaum wanita hanya melilitkan **Sali** di seputar pinggang tanpa penutup dada. (Linggasari, 2007: 12).*

(The women only wrapped **Sali** around the waist without covering the chest.)

*Sepasang bukit kembar yang mencuat dengan Sali melilit pada pinggangnya yang ramping dan pemandangan di balik **Sali** itu, Kugara menelan ludah. (Linggasari, 2007: 26).*

(A pair of twin hills sticking out with Sali wrapped around her slender waist and the view beyond that **Sali**, Kugara gulped.)

*Di seputar tempat itu tampak pula beberapa wanita Dani yang tengah melancong, ketika melihat kedatangan turis dan pembayaran bagi harga satu foto dalam keadaan bertelanjang dada, maka wanita itu segera melepaskan pakaian bagian atas dan hanya tinggal mengenakan **Sali**. (Linggasari, 2007: 211).*

(Around the place there were also several Dani women who were traveling, when they saw the arrival of tourists and payment for the price of one photo in a shirtless state, the woman immediately took off her upper clothes and only wore **Sali**.)

11. **Silimo** 'a family area' means an area in which some residences are built such as *honai*, *ebeai*, *pilamo*, kitchen, and pigsty. Those are built far from each other, but still in a **silimo**'.

*Perkampungan suku Dani adalah sekelompok silimo yang berjauhan satu sama lain. (Linggasari, 2007: 3).*

(The village of the Dani tribe is a group of **silimo** which are far from each other.)

*Liwa tampak bercakap-cakap dengan seorang pemuda yang mengenakan koteka. Lapina mengenal pemuda itu sebagai penghuni silimo di kampung sebelah. (Linggasari, 2007: 65).*

(Liwa seemed to be talking to a young man wearing a koteka. Lapina knew the young man as a resident of the **silimo** in the next village.)

*Langkah Liwa begitu ringan dan ceria. Gadis itu bermaksud menerobos pintu silimo dengan hati dipenuhi bunga. Tapi tiba-tiba langkahnya berhenti, ia melihat Lapina berhenti di depan pintu silimo dengan tatapan dingin tak bersahabat. (Linggasari, 2007: 65).*

(Liwa's steps are so light and cheerful. The girl intended to break through the **silimo** door with a very happy heart. But suddenly her steps stopped, she saw Lapina stop in front of the **silimo** door with a cold and unfriendly gaze.)

*Di dapur asap tungku telah mengepul, seluruh anggota silimo berkumpul. Liwa mengambil kuali untuk merebus ubi manis beserta daun dan buah merah. (Linggasari, 2007: 207).*

(In the kitchen the furnace was steaming, all members of **silimo** gathered. Liwa took a cauldron to boil sweet potatoes along with red leaves and fruit.)

*Di dalam silimo tak ada lagi yang bersuara. Kaum wanita telah kembali ke ebeai dan kaum laki-laki telah masuk ke pilamo untuk berkemas tidur. (Linggasari, 2007: 208).*

(In the **silimo** no one talk anymore. The women have returned to the ebeai and the men have entered the *pilamo* to get ready for bed.)

### B. Cultural meaning of phrases indicating the Dani culture:

1. **Mengunyah dengan rakus** ‘eat greedily’ means eating food in an unethical, unusual way. Semi-liquid food is eaten without using a spoon. The food is slurped straight from the plate. This can be seen in the following

*Semula Liwa menolak pemberian itu, tetapi Lapina terus membujuknya. Liwa menerima pemberian ubi itu dengan lemah. Tiba-tiba perutnya terasa amat lapar, ketika ia melihat lapina tengah memejamkan mata, maka Liwa segera **mengunyah** ubi manis itu **dengan rakus**. (Linggasari, 2007: 17-18).*

(At first Liwa refused the gift, but Lapina continued to persuade her. Liwa accepted the sweet potato gift weakly. Suddenly her stomach felt very hungry, when she saw Lapina was closing his eyes, Liwa immediately **chewed** the sweet potato **greedily**).

*Ubi manis telah masak dalam abu panas, Liwa tampak benar-benar **rakus** menyantapnya. Ia telah kenyang setelah meneguk air dari kantung labu, demikian pula dengan Lapina. (Linggasari, 2007: 22)*

(The sweet potato had been cooked in hot ashes, Liwa looked really **greedy** eating it. She was full after drinking water from the pumpkin bag, and so was Lapina).

2. **Perang suku** ‘traditional war’ indicate the Dani man’s activity. There are two main jobs for Dani men, namely hunting and **fighting**. For both jobs they needed arrows and bows. The both tools are the most distinctive traditional weapons which are very useful for repelling enemies and for hunting. Gardening is not the duty of Dani men. Let’s see the following sentence.

*Kini tugas laki-laki dihadapkan pada tugas maha berat, yang tak dapat terelakkan demi martabat puaknya, yaitu **perang** dengan resiko, mereka kembali atau tidak kembali. (Linggasari. 2007:43)*

(Now the task of men is faced with a very difficult one, which cannot be avoided for the sake of the dignity of their clan, namely **war** with the risk that they will return or not return).

3. **Perkawinan lebih dari satu isteri** 'polygamous marriage'. In the Dani tribe community, a husband can have more than one wife as long as he can pay for each with 20 pigs.

*Liwa terdiam, tidak tahu persis bagaimana perasaan hatinya. Sudah menjadi hal yang lumrah di desa ini seorang suami bolehberistri lebih dari satu, dengan satu syarat ia mampu membayar dengan dua puluh ekor babi. (Linggasari, 2007: 217).*

(Liwa was speechless, does not know exactly how she feels. It is customary in this village for a husband to have more than one wife, on one condition that he is able to pay with twenty pigs).

4. **Pemenggalan ruas jari tangan anak** 'The beheading of finger'. The beheading of the fingers is carried out on the child of the deceased as a symbol of deep condolence. This very tragic and frightening experience applies to the Dani tribe. Worse yet in the novel *Sali*, those whose hands were beheaded were children whose implementation was inevitable. If a family member or close relative dies such as husband, wife, father, mother, children and younger siblings, the Dani are required to cut their fingers. Finger cutting can also be interpreted as an effort to prevent a 'repeat' of the calamity that has claimed the life of someone in a bereaved family.

*Lapina memejamkan matanya lebih erat saat mendengar jeritan dan lolongan Liwa. Jeritan dan lolongan terdengar berulang kali, membawa Lapina kembali ke saat-saat terakhirnya ketika dia harus merasakan sakit yang sama. Wanita itu menutup telinganya, hatinya tidak bisa berhenti mengutuk setan bernama adat yang **memotong jarinya**, dan sekarang jari Liwa. (Linggasari, 2007: 52).*

(Lapina closed her eyes tighter when she heard Liwa's screams and howls. Screams and howls sounded over and over again, bringing Lapina back to her last moments when she had to feel the same pain. The woman covered her ears, her heart couldn't stop cursing the demon named custom who **cut her finger** and now Liwa's finger turn.

5. **Jerit kedukaan** 'the cry of mourning' It is the tradition of Dani tribe that the family member of the dead will perform the crying of the mourning due to the loss of a relative. The mourning screams followed by a mud bath will take a long time

*Sementara suara meraung-raung Liwa telah memanggil seluruh anggota kerabat berdatangan untuk menyaksikan apa yang telah terjadi. Badan Aburah masih hangat, meski wajahnya kian memucat, napasnya berhenti. Liwa dicekam ketakutan yang tiada tara. Mamanya telah menutup mata untuk selama-lamanya. Ia masih terlalu kecil untuk kehilangan tempat berlindung. Anggota kerabat lain segera melakukan hal yang sama, meraung-raung. Kesunyian di kampung Dani itupun berubah menjadi **jerit kedukaan**. Kesunyian terpecah sudah. (Linggasari, 2007: 10).*

(Meanwhile, Liwa's wailing voice had called all her relatives to see what had happened. Aburah's body was still warm, although her face was turning paler, her breathing had stopped. Liwa was gripped by an incomparable fear. Her mother had closed her eyes forever. She's too young to lose her guard. The other kin members immediately did the same, wailing. The silence in Dani's village turned into a cry of sorrow. The silence was broken.)

*Kugara terus melolong dan berguling-guling melumuri seluruh wajah dan tubuhnya dengan lumpur hingga sulit dikenali sebagai pribadi yang asli. (Linggasari, 2007: 13).*

(Kugara continued to **howl and roll around and covered his entire face and body with mud** so he is very difficult to identify as the real person.)

6. **Pembakaran jenazah**, 'Kremasi' 'cremation'. Cremation or burning of bodies is carried out after the pile of firewood has been prepared. It was preceded by a discussion about everything including all the faults of the death during her life until a peaceful way and agreement was reached. If everything is done, then cremation will be carried out.

*Tumpukan kayu bakar telah disiapkan. Perdebatan mengenai segala kesalahan Aburah semasa hidup juga telah digelar, berjam-jam lamanya hingga diperoleh jalan damai dan kesepakatan, sehingga pembakaran jenazah dapat segera dilakukan. (Linggasari, 2007: 12).*

(The pile of firewood has been prepared. Debates about all of Aburah's mistakes during his life have also been held, for hours until a peaceful way and an agreement are reached, so that the **cremation** of the body can be carried out immediately.)

*Ketika jenazah Aburah dibaringkan di atas tumpukan kayu bakar, kemudian kayu dinyalakan, semakin lama semakin membesar, dan asap menjadi tebal. Gadis kecil itu pun menangis semakin keras, hingga ia merasakan sakit di tenggorokan dan kering suara. **Pembakaran jenazah** telah menghanguskan pula masa kanak-kanak dan nalar kebocahannya. (Linggasari, 2007: 13).*

When Aburah's body was laid on a pile of firewood, then the wood was lit, it grew bigger and bigger, and the smoke became thick. The little girl cried even harder, until she felt a pain in her throat and hoarseness. The burning of the corpse has also scorched his childhood and boyish reason

7. **Bakar batu** ‘stones burning’

This tradition is carried out after the mourning period for the death of a relative has ended. A farm produce feast was prepared after potatoes and the like were baked in a very hot pit covered with hot stones.

*Sudah lama ia tak pernah berkumpul bersama mereka yang telah menyebar ke silimo yang jauh. Hari ini setelah masa berkabung atas kematian Aburah selesai, ia mengundang kerabat-kerabatnya untuk berkumpul dalam adat **bakar batu**. (Linggasari, 2007: 24-25).*

It had been a long time since he had gathered with those who had spread to distant silimo. Today, after the mourning period for Aburah’s death, he invited his relatives to gether in the tradition of **burning stones**.

*Adat **bakar batu** itupun akhirnya selesai, masing-masing orang meninggalkan tempat sambil mengemasi sisa-sisa makanan. Hasil kebun yang telah masak oleh panas batu. itupun tandas sudah. (Linggasari, 2007: 24-28).*

The **stone-burning** custom was finally over, everyone left the place while packing up leftover food. The fruits, potatoes and other garden produce that has been cooked by the heat of the stone have run out.

8. **Perkawinan ganti dengan adik mendiang istri**. ‘Marriage-related exchange’. The custom of marrying the sister of a deceased wife applies not only to the Dani but also to several ethnic groups in Indonesia and perhaps other parts of the world. What is different is that the Dani tribe incorporates these rules into their customary law, so the girl must meet the customary requirements. If not fulfilled, then she will be excommunicated. Another more thing is that the girl was married with the gift of 20 pigs.

*Adat di kampung ini membenarkan seorang duda yang kehilangan istri, karena kematian, untuk **menikah dengan saudara perempuan almarhum istrinya**. (Linggasari, 2007: 8).*

The custom in this village justifies a widower who lost his wife, due to death, **to marry a wife who is the sister of the death**.

*Tidak usah kau bingung, kau harus tunduk pada adat. **Aku akan membayarmu dengan babi. Bila engkau menolak maka masyarakat yang tunduk pada adat akan mengucilkanmu.***

**You don't have to be confused, You have to obey custom. I'll pay you with 20 pigs. If you refuse, the people who are subject to custom will ostracize you.**



### C. Cultural meaning of the clauses or sentences indicating the Dani culture

#### 1. *Menjauhkan adik dari kakak kembarnya* ‘ Keeping the younger brother away from his twins.

Liwa's eighth child was born as twins. In other tribes the birth of twins is meant the symbol of lucky. The mother is so lucky that she is regarded *memmana 'ulaweng* which means giving birth as giving gold. A very contrasting thing happened to the Dani tribe, who considered twins born later to be believed to be the children of the devil, the bearer of disaster. Therefore, the younger brother had to be washed away in the river.

*“Dalam adat kami, bayi kembar yang lahir sebagai adik dianggap sebagai anak setan, Mereka harus berpisah, tak bisa dibesarkan bersama-sama. Bila tidak berpisah, maka salah satu diantara keduanya akan mati”*Liwa memejamkan mata . *“ Anak itu harus dihanyutkan di sungai, apabila ada yang mengambilnya, ia akan selamat. Bila tidak,ia akan kembali kepada alam.* (Linggasari, 2007: 175).

In our custom, **twins born as younger siblings are considered as children of the devil. They must be separated, they couldn't grow up together.** If they are not separated, one of them will die." Liwa closed her eyes. "The child must be washed away in the river, if someone takes him, he will be safe. If not, it will return to nature.

2. *Meninggalkan Sali di atas bebatuan bukit Fugima.* ‘**Leaving Sali on the rock at Fugima.** When attending the welcoming party of the regent of Wamena, Gayatri, a doctor who helped Liwa’s partus process, was told that “such is the situation of our society which is still very backward in life causes this backwardness to be borne by women”. Therefore, some women who could not stand the customs that imprisoned their lives anymore ended their lives very tragically as described as follows:

*“Di Fugima, ada sebuah sungai yang amat dalam. Wanita yang sudah tidak mampu menanggung beban hidup akan datang ke tempat itu, meninggalkan Sali pada bebatuan, memberati tubuhnya dengan batu, kemudian menceburkan diri ke dalam sungai”.* Sebuah cara bunuh diri yang penuh rahasia dan menyakitkan. (Linggasari, 2007: 1).

‘In Fugima, there was a very deep river. Women who are no longer able to burden life will come to that place, **leave Sali on the rocks**, stick her body with stones, then throw herself into the river. A secret and painful way of committing suicide’

*“Apa maksudnya? Herlambang menatap Sali dengan penuh tanda tanya. “Liwa telah mati di dasar sungai”, jawab Gayatri lirih, suaranya terputah-putah. Mati di dasar sungai”.* (Linggasari, 2007:back cover).

"What does it mean? Herlambang looked at Sali curiously. "Liwa has died at the bottom of the river", Gayatri replies quietly, her sound is intermittent. "She's dead at the bottom of the river".

## VI. Conclusion

From the above descriptions we can conclude that by the forms of language used in the novel *Sali*, the culture of the DTC can be revealed. Material culture in the form of *honai*, *ebeai*, *pilamo*, and *salimo*, all of which are related to the DTC residence. Beliefs one form of non-material cultures has outlined that the *pilamo* and custom containing weapons of war should not be entered by Dani women at all due to the reasons they believe can eliminate the magical power of the war tools. The consequences of violating this rule can be fatal. A husband who goes to war that he absolutely follows may lose and meet his death. The death of the DTC must follow some rituals such as the burning corpse, the cutting off finger, stones burning, and marriage-related exchange. Also, the DTC view pigs not just pets, but they are culturally function as a dowry for a total of 20 pigs either to a girl or a widow to marry. The woman who gives birth must face the struggle of bringing out her babies alone outside the village. If the babies are born as twins, those born later must be washed away traditionally in the river. Last but not least, those women who could not stand the customs that imprisoned their lives anymore could end their lives very tragically.

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