PRAGMATIC MEANING OF BABY CARE
GUGON TUHON IN JAVANESE¹

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ABSTRACT

Gugon Tuhon (GT) is a Javanese proposition found in the community as a learning tool. This study explains baby care GT in the village of Bulurejo, Kediri, East Java. Currently, GT is poorly understood and obsolete. Therefore, the research problem of this paper is how can the meaning of GT be understood by mothers in the village of Bulurejo and what does the effect of understanding GT? This study used 8 GT from www.sastra.org, and an interview was conducted with a dhukun (traditional healer) to get in-depth data. This study uses qualitative method and Speech Act theory by Austin (1984) on locutionary act, illocutionary act, and perlocutionary act to identify the meanings of GT understood by mothers, and the theory of language attitudes by Triandis (1971) and Knops (1987) to explain the effects. The hypothesis of this paper is that the understanding of baby care GT as an illocutionary act is less understood, compared to the meaning of locution and perlocution. GT is understood and done by mothers as means of self-defense of fear and gaining knowledge of parents who convey GT. This research is expected to provide knowledge about GT baby care for mothers and support GT preservation.

KEYWORDS: meaning, pragmatics, Bulurejo village, gugon tuhon, baby care.

INTRODUCTION

One crucial instrument found in people's lives is language; in addition to being a tool for communication, language is able to identify oneself and form social relationships between members of the language community (Rahyono, 2011). Koentjaraningrat (2009) states that language is one important element in the formation of culture. The relationship between culture and language is so close that a culture cannot survive without a language. It is because language

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is a marker of culture (Rahyono, 2012). One of the languages that has the value of modesty is Javanese. Its use recognizes some language registers namely ngoko, karma madya, and karma inggil of which the utterance considers: who is speaking; to whom it is spoken; by whom it is spoken; and under what conditions the language is spoken (Koentjaraningrat, 1984). One of Javanese culture that has a noble value is gugon tuhon.

Based on the words that form it, the gugon tuhon comes from 2 syllables namely gugon and tuhon. According to the Javanese Bausastra (Poerwadarminta, 1939), gugon is derived from the word gugu + suffix -an which means 'believe in people's words', 'obedient to advice', while tuhon comes from the word tuhu + suffix -an which means 'sincerely', 'obedient'. Therefore, gugon tuhon means 'a word that really must be obeyed'. Padmosoekotjo in Ngrengrengan Kasusastraan Jawa (1953), stated that the gugon tuhon is "Gunem utawa dedongengan kang dening wong dianggip nguweni daya; menawa nganti ora digugu lan ora ditindakake, bakal nandhang ora keepenak uripe", so the gugon tuhon are "words or fairy tales that are considered by people to have a power; if it is not obeyed and people acted on will, it causes misfortune in life". Gugon tuhon is a teaching that is commonly conveyed by parents to children, aiming to teach good morals and ethics in accordance with the norms and manners that apply in the community. One of the Javanese gugon tuhon in the community is the baby care gugon tuhon.

Gugon tuhon of baby care in Javanese culture was created by the ancestors based on the knowledge of titen which is a knowledge obtained from the process of natural observation and experience that was done repeatedly (Achmad, 2014). According to Jannah, Yacob, & Julianto (2017) the age of infant development is divided into 2 namely 0-2 months of birth called infancy stages and 2 months-2 years is called infant stages. Babies at this stage are still learning to adapt to the new environment, so they are vulnerable to disease and require special care. Therefore, baby care gugon tuhon is usually conveyed by the mother to her child when taking care of the baby as an action to prevent bad things from happening to the baby which is closely related to the baby's health and growth and development. While conveying it, the meanings and intentions of the gugon tuhon are not conveyed directly because the characteristics of Javanese tend not to be frank when speaking, so that in conveying something, such as gugon tuhon, the Javanese use pasemon (parable) (Bratawidjaja, 2000).

This raises a research problem: how do Javanese speakers understand the meaning of the baby care gugon tuhon and what is the effect of understanding that meaning? This research was conducted in the Village of Bulurejo, Kediri, East Java. The village of Bulurejo is located 8 km (45 minutes) from the centre of Kediri city. The people of Bulurejo Village mostly work as rice farmers, sugar cane, and sulak craftsmen. Community contact with urban areas occurs at any time because the position of the city is not too far away, so that people can easily carry out economic activities such as selling crops and handicrafts.

The research problem arises because of lack of understanding of Javanese language and culture within the local community so that the gugon tuhon is increasingly difficult to understand and abandoned. Javanese as a mother tongue is taught before the Indonesian. Teaching mother tongue is conducted in the first three years of the child's life, because at that age children will experience a decline in speech development and social relations unless accompanied by the mother's role (Hellbrügge, Theodor and J.H. von Wimppfen, 1989).

Aside from language understanding, another factor that leads the gugon tuhon to be
increasingly abandoned is the low understanding of Javanese culture. As time goes by, technology and information ease humans to access the foreign world. The influence of foreign culture also enters easily, so it slowly erodes Javanese culture that have already existed in the community. Therefore, the role of mothers in understanding and conserving the gugon tuhon is very important. Gugon tuhon which is not inherited or taught to later generations will become extinct over time, which will automatically eliminate the noble meaning and culture embedded in it. Concerns about the existence of gugon tuhon that are increasingly left behind by Javanese people, especially mothers are due to the lack of understanding of the gugon tuhon. This research focuses on the meaning of gugon tuhon and the effects that follow. Moreover, a written article on the subject of infant care in particular has not been found, making this paper expected to have benefit to the preservation of the gugon tuhon in the future. This paper is also expected to increase the public's knowledge that the gugon tuhon is a belief that can be proven logically and it is not a "superstition".

PRIOR RESEARCHES

An article about mothers and babies was written by Khairunnisa Noor Arifah in 2011 with the title "Gugon Tuhon in Javanese Communities in Pregnant Women and Toddlers in Tingkir District, Salatiga City: An Ethnolinguistic Review". Another gugon tuhon study in East Java was conducted by Ida Ervina (2017), entitled "The Effect of Age on Children's Understanding of Eating Manner Gugon Tuhon: Case Study of Elementary School Students in Kediri City" and Khoirunnisa Kusuma (2017) "Gugon tuhon in the View of School-Age Children in Jombang". However, Ida Ervina and Khoirunnisa Kusuma's researches have 3 differences, namely: (1) focusing on the eating manner gugon tuhon, (2) using quantitative methods, and (3) focusing on children at primary school age as their informants. Only a research by Khairunnisa (2011) has similarities to this paper because it is related to baby care. However, the theory and location of the research used in the study are different. Therefore, this study complements the emptiness in the article written by Khairunnisa (2011), because she only explains the meaning of gugon tuhon. This research does not only explain the meaning, but also the effects or impacts that arise from understanding the meaning. The research impact was in the form of advice to mothers about what should be done based on their understanding of the meaning of gugon tuhon. Based on the previous explanation, the novelty of this study is the findings. Baby care gugon tuhon is not only considered as a belief that contains teachings for mothers while taking care of their babies, but it contains information on baby care that is linked to health. Therefore, understanding the meaning of the gugon tuhon in babysitting is expected to be an appropriate guide to take care of a baby because mothers believe that those who do not obey the gugon tuhon can face fatal consequences.

METHODS

The method used is a qualitative method. Data collection was carried out using a literature study on the page www.sastra.org and an interview with Ibu Zaenab (68) as a local baby dukun (traditional healer). The data obtained are 8 groups of gugun tuhon baby care used as a source of written data. The data obtained will then become samples shown to respondents in the field research conducted in the Village of Bulurejo. Fourteen mothers were chosen as respondents, who
fulfilled 3 conditions, namely: (1) had or was having a baby, (2) could communicate in Javanese, and (3) was staying in Bulurejo Village. Bulurejo village was chosen as the writing area because of 2 considerations, namely: 1) the absence of writing related to baby care *gugon tuhon* in the village of Bulurejo; 2) Bulurejo Village is the author's hometown, making it easier to access sample data collection and interviews during field research. Field research was conducted using direct interview techniques with respondents; conducted for 1 week starting on March 16-21, 2019. Interviews were conducted to find out how respondents understood the meaning of the *gugon tuhon*. Questions of interview were prepared before the fieldwork. The results of the interview are then transcribed and arranged in a narrative, then summarized in tabular form for analysis. Although writing uses qualitative methods, the discussion is aided by simple tables and numbers as supporting analysis. The analysis process uses the Austin Speech Theory (1984) to see the pragmatic meaning of the *gugon tuhon* through acts of locution, illocution, and perlocution.

To answer the research problem, the pragmatic meaning of *gugon tuhon* is obtained through Austin Speech Act theory (1984) to find out the understanding of the meaning of *gugon tuhon*. Rahyono (2012) states, when delivering a speech, it is also accompanied by certain actions or intentions. Thus, in speech act theory, it is explained that an utterance or statement has a semantic meaning and a pragmatic meaning (intention). Speech spoken by a speaker can influence the actions of the interlocutor. Speech acts according to Austin are divided into 3 groups namely, 1) locutionary act or act of uttering speech; 2) illocutionary acts or speech intention; and 3) perlocutionary act or the effect of utterances on the speech partner. Furthermore, to see how the *gugon tuhon* is still believed and still has an effect in the middle of Javanese society – seen from the theory of language attitudes by Triandis (1971) and Knops (1987). Triandis (1971) states that language attitude is an act or a person's assumption in viewing language that influences how language is selected and used. Knops (1987) in *Andermans en Eigentaal* (in Suhardi, 1996) states that language attitudes have 2 attitude functions namely cognitive functions and identity protectors. Therefore, by understanding the pragmatic meaning of *gugon tuhon*, it is also expected to know the reasons for the effects that follow.

ANALYSIS

A. Analysis of the Meaning of *Gugon Tuhon*

Data from the 8 baby care *gugon tuhon* were first analysed using Austin Speech Theory (1984) as follows:

1. *Aja sok ngliling bayi saka dhuwur èndhas, mundhak pangling sing momong*  
   ‘Don't keep talking to the baby from the top of your head, then he will forget who look after it’  
   (locutionary act)

The illocutionary act of the *gugon tuhon*: (1) is the intention to convey a prohibition that parents should not to talk to the baby from the top of the head; the reason is that it can cause the baby forget the guardian. The results of the interview with Ms. Zaenab (baby *dukun*) derived information that in Javanese culture babies have an invisible *batur* "friend" as the baby's keeper.
Suwardi (2016) in the Mystery of Kejawen also explained that humans have four siblings called *sedulur papa lima pancer* which consist of *kawah* – crater 'amniotic'; *getih* 'blood'; *puser* 'navel'; *ari-ari* 'placenta'; and *pancer* 'the man himself'. The four siblings of *kawah*, *getih*, *puser* and the *ari-ari* are given tasks to oversee the behaviour of the *pancer*. Sing Momong (guardians) in the baby is believed to be a twin sister of *sedulur papat* who will walk around the baby to keep the baby from disease. Then, seeing the baby from above is believed to cause the baby forget and cannot identify the guardian. Babies cannot distinguish who is looking after them, whether the mother or the baby's twin sister. However, when viewed from a health standpoint, babies still have weak eyesight, so they still cannot distinguish shapes and colours (dr. Kevin Andrian, 2019). Therefore, looking at the baby from the front is highly recommended to train the baby's vision to develop properly, so the baby will not get confused.

Perlocutionary act of the *gugon tuhon*: (1) is a possible action that needs to be done: not to look at the baby from the head, but it is better to look at the baby from the front because it is feared that it will disturb the baby's eye development.

2. *Bocah sing lagi umur pitung sasi iku aja sok didolani kêmbang, mundhak ora ilok.*
   ‘Children who are 7 months old should not be given flower to play, it will be inappropriate action’ (Locutionary act)

   The illocutionary action of *gugon tuhon* (2) is intended to prohibit giving flower to children who are only 7 months old because it is inappropriate to do. The results of the interview stated that giving flowers to the child is inappropriate because the flower is identical to the dead person, so it is like bringing the child closer to death. However, William and Martha Sears (2003) in The Baby Book explain that the development of a 7 month old baby is the stage when a baby starts to have hand skills and ability to help himself. It will be dangerous to give flowers to 7-month old infants because they are prone to being eaten by babies, and it is feared that they can poison the baby due to unknown flower content. In addition, the flowers played by the baby can be threatening if there are insects that can bite or thorn in the flower that can hurt the baby.

   Perlocutionary act of *gugon tuhon* (2) urges mothers not to give flowers as toys for babies, so it is better to give toys that are appropriate for their age and the need for parental supervision when the baby is playing.

3. *Bocah cilik aja sok diwènèhi dolanan pangilon, besuk mundhak kêcêmplung sumur.*
   Young children should not be given a mirror to play, for they will fall into the well later’ (Locutionary act)

   The illocutionary act of *gugon tuhon* (3) has the intention of prohibiting giving a mirror toy to a baby on the grounds because it can cause the child to fall into a well. Qonita (2018) in an article titled "History of Mirror that Appears 8,000 Silly Years" states that ancient people had to see puddles of water such as rivers or lakes to be able to see their reflection. So, it is prohibited to give a mirror toy to the baby since it can make the baby happy to look in the mirror to see himself. As a result, when the baby finds his reflection in a puddle of water, both in the river and well, the baby tries to reach the shadow in the water so that the baby falls into it. Mirror made of glass can also
be dangerous for the baby because it is prone to breaking if dropped, so it can hurt him.

Perlocutionary act of gugon tuhon (3) is encouraging parents, mothers in particular, not to give mirrors as toys to babies, but to provide safer toys such as handkerchiefs for playing with peek-a-boo (www.nutriclub.co.id).

4. Bayi ora olèh disunggi, yèn gédhé marakaké wani karo wong tuwa.
‘Babies should not be carried on the shoulder. If they grow, they will dare to fight the parents’ (locutionary act)

The illocutionary act of the gugon tuhon (4) intends to forbid the speech partner to carry the baby on the shoulder since that it will cause the child to be bold to his parents. Infants in the context of the gugon tuhon (4) are infants who have entered the age of 7 months and above, which in their development have the ability to sit or support their bodies independently due to their stronger muscular abilities (Hellbrügge, Theodor and JH von Wimpffen, 1989). According to the Javanese, carrying children on the shoulders will make children feel higher, flattered and become pride of his parents. Feelings that arise from these actions will make the child feel that his parents are very proud of him. Of course, it can be bad if the child becomes spoiled by thinking that what he wants will be given by his parents (the results of the interview with Ibu Zaenab, a traditional birth attendant). Carrying a small child on the shoulder also have risks of falling especially if the child is actively moving. In terms of infant body development, infants and toddlers have bones that are still soft, so caution is needed when carrying them because their soft bones often experience malformations (Hurlock B, 1978). Thus, carrying young children on the shoulders based on health could disturb the growth of the child's pelvis and legs.

Perlocutionary act of gugon tuhon (4) the possible action that must be taken is to advise parents not to carry a small child on the shoulders and prefer to hold in a good way, such as holding a small child in front, or side of the body because it will make the child more comfortable and safe.

5. Aja sok ngliling bayi saka ndhuwur éndhasé, mundhak marakaké kéro.
‘Don't often see a baby from the top of his head, it will cause squinting eyes’ (locutionary act)

The illocutionary act of the gugon tuhon (5) is a prohibition that is conveyed to the speech partner not to look at the baby from the top side of the baby's head. It can cause the baby's eyes to squint or become uneven eyes. This gugon tuhon (5) has similarities with the gugon tuhon (1) which both forbid seeing a baby from above, but the reasons are different. Gugon tuhon (5) has reasons related to the taken actions which will affect the health of the baby's eyes, while the reasons for gugon tuhon (1) relate to Javanese culture or belief in the 'guardian' of the baby. Dr. Marianti (2016) in her article entitled "Common Eye Problems of a Mother's Baby" explains that at the age of 1 year and under, the normal problems that occur in a baby's eyes are squinting, irritation, and obstruction of the tear ducts. This situation often occurs in infants under 1 year old and the baby's eye muscles are still weak and small, so it is difficult to see an object at one point. Therefore, training the baby's eyes should be done in the front side of the baby, so it will not burden the work of the baby's eye muscles.

Perlocutionary act of the gugon tuhon (5) that needs to be done is to urge parents and families not to look at the baby from the head because it is feared that it can interfere with the
‘It is not proper to carry babies without using cloth. If they have grown, they will be carried by others. (locutionary act)

The illocutionary act of gugon tuhon (6) must pay attention to the meaning of the lexical unit. The meaning of the word sawung in Poerwadarminta (1983) has the meaning of a 'rooster' and dibopong tanpa èmban-èmban tumrap bocah cilik 'carried out without cloth or sling for baby’ (p.549). So the referent referred by the gugon tuhon is a rooster (sawung) as a motif that is usually found in batik cloth to carry a small child. This illocutionary act has the intention that Javanese parents advise the speech partner not to carry the baby without using a cloth because the baby will be taken by someone else when he grows up. Based on interviews, it is believed that a grown-up will be taken forcefully by someone who wants it, for example by being used in black magic, or if a woman is impregnated first. However, in terms of health, William and Martha Sears (2003) in The Baby Book revealed that holding a baby using a cloth has good benefits for both mother and baby. Babies who are often carried with cloth will be trained to be organized and rarely cry. The benefits of holding a baby with a cloth can also facilitate the activities of parents who cannot leave their babies, because there is no one to help them. Carrying with a cloth also reduces the risk of the baby falling, especially if the baby is very active, and can strengthen the relationship between mother and child. So, you should carry fabric because you see many benefits compared to carrying without using cloth.

Perlocutionary act of gugon tuhon (6) the good is to encourage mothers to carry using a cloth because it provides good benefits for babies and mothers.

7. Klambi bayi sing dipépé yèn surup kudu diêntas, marakaké sawan
‘Baby clothes that are dried in the sun should be taken when the sun is going to set. It can cause babies to be disturbed spirits’ (Locus act)

The illocutionary act of gugon tuhon (7) intends to advise the speech partner to lift baby clothes that are dried in the sun when the sun will set because it can cause convulsions or disturbed by spirits. Sawan according to Bausastra (Poerwadarminta, 1939) has the meaning of lelarane bocah cilik "child illness" (p.548). According to Mrs. Zainab, seizures are characterized by babies who are fussy all night long, crying without tears, eye gazing upwards, eyes on the back and sometimes accompanied by seizures. People believe that seizures in infants can arise because babies are disturbed by spirits clinging to clothes that are dried in the sun at night. From the health side, drying clothes at night will make old clothes to dry because exposed to night air. This makes the clothes become cold and musty, so the baby will feel uncomfortable using these clothes and at risk of colds. Drying clothes at night also has risks exposed to rain and leads baby clothes infested by insects which are dangerous to the health of the baby.

Perlocutionary act of gugon tuhon (7) urges mothers to remove clothesline before the sun sets to avoid the risk of clothing becoming damp and uncomfortable for the baby.

8. Bayi ora olèh diambung tangané, marakaké délap.
‘Babies’ hands should not be kissed, it can cause them to love begging’ (Locutionary act)

The illocutionary act of *gugon tuhon* (8) has the intention of prohibiting the speech partner from kissing the baby's hand. If it grow up, it will be a child who likes to ask or wants to have other people's belongings. Kissing the baby in the hand should not be done for babies’ health. The danger of kissing a baby in general will increase the risk of a baby contracting the disease or being exposed to germs carried by an adult. Some viruses and diseases can be transmitted through physical contact with the baby either kissing or touching such as Herpes Simplex Virus (HSV) Type 1 that is transmitted through the skin, Kissing Disease (Mononucleosis) caused by Epstein Barr virus, and bacterial meningitis that is transmitted through saliva (dr. Marianti, 2016). Babies often play hands, so it can put a virus in his mouth. Therefore, it is feared that it will make it easier to spread the disease through saliva that sticks to the baby’s hand and then enters the baby’s body.

Perlocutionary act of the *gugon tuhon* (8) it is preferable to kiss baby in the area far from the baby’s mouth and face and do not kiss the baby when sick. This reduces the risk of spreading germs and viruses.

Based on the description of the meaning of the 8 *gugon tuhon* above, the following Table 1 shows the group of baby care *gugon tuhon* understood by mothers in the village of Bulurejo based on interview.

**Table 1. Respondents’ understanding of Gugon tuhon**

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<th>No</th>
<th>Gugon Tuhon</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
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<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td><em>Ngliling saka ndhuwur, pangling sing momong</em></td>
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<td><em>Ngliling saka ndhuwur, marakake kero</em></td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td><em>Aja disunggi</em></td>
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Table 1 shows that from 8 data of gugon tuhon, there are 3 gugon tuhon that are best understood by respondents. The gugon tuhon are ngliling bayi saka ndhuwur marakake kero, mepe klambi surup, and ngambung tangan with 14 respondents who understand. Furthermore, it was also found that there are 3 gugon tuhon that are not well understood by respondents. The gugon tuhon are ngliling saka ndhuwur pangling sing momong, aja menehi dolanan kembang, and aja menehi dolanan pangilon with only 4 out of 14 respondents who know. According to interviews, it was found that the 3 most understood gugon tuhon are often conveyed by mothers and traditional birth attendants. Based on the above findings, it is understood that the main mother and the dukun in the village of Bulurejo to help caring the infants and mothers after giving birth is still found in the village of Bulurejo. Generally, the dukun is asked to bath the baby for 35 days (selapan) and massage the baby and mother when needed. Furthermore, the herbal medicine is delivered by the dukun, so that after the dukun does not accompany the mother, the family can take care of their own baby well and carefully. In addition, Mother (grandmother) also plays a role in the delivery of gugon tuhon. Mother (grandmother) often conveys a gugon tuhon to her child who has become a mother based on the experience and knowledge of the gugon tuhon obtained from the generations. In contrast, 3 gugon tuhon that are not very well understood are rarely conveyed by mothers and traditional birth attendants. Based on the above findings, it is understood that the gugon tuhon that is often delivered will be better understood, so the role of the main mother and the dukun is important to introduce the gugon tuhon.

Subsequent findings indicate that the baby care gugon tuhon in Bulurejo Village was not fully understood even though gugon tuhon was known by respondents. Respondents' understanding of the 8 meanings of infant care subjects as locutionary act is still understood by the speakers as native speakers of Javanese. But the meaning of gugon tuhon as an illocutionary act is poorly understood as shown by the average answers found in the field is ora ngerti, jalaran wong ndhisik ora jelentrehna, mung muni ora oleh wae ‘we do not understand because the old people did not explain, they just said it should not'. The obtained gugon tuhon is not very well explained when conveyed due to lack of knowledge of the speaker or it is not delivered deliberately so that the gugon tuhon is feared. Gugon tuhon in the perlocutionary act as a prohibition is still understood by several sources, so that it causes an action to believe and carry out the gugon tuhon.

After knowing the meaning of 8 gugon tuhon, then it is analysed whether the respondents believe and carry out the gugon tuhon for baby care as an effect of understanding the gugon tuhon itself. Table 2 below will explain the type of gugon tuhon believed by mothers in Bulurejo Village.

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</table>

Table 2. Belief on Gugon Tuhon
Based on Table 2, it was found that 2 gugon tuhon are the most believed by respondents namely ngliling saka ndhuvur marakake kero and gugon tuhon terkait mepe klambi surup with the results of 10 out of 14 answers. Based on the respondent's testimony, gugon tuhon mepe klambi surup is believed because they have experienced bad things because of drying baby clothes at night; like a child crying all night or is known to have seizures (sawan). Sawan is a disease (usually comes with a sudden cause of seizures) (Indonesian Ministry of Education, 2008). Logically drying clothes at night will make clothes difficult to dry and make it uncomfortable to wear, then the baby will cry. Furthermore, gugon tuhon ngliling saka ndhuvur marakake kero is believed because the respondents' fear of the consequences conveyed by parents. If they break it, the baby's eyes will squint. In Table 2, it was also found that 1 gugon tuhon was the least believed with the results of the answers amounting to 3 out of 14 resource persons, namely aja menehi dolanan pangilon. Based on the information from several informants, the gugon tuhon is accompanied by a consequence which is unreasonable. It makes the gugon tuhon to be distrusted. In the gugon tuhon aja menehi dolanan pangilon, it has the effect of making a grown-up fall into a well. In the age where wells were rarely found, it was hard to believe. Based on the explanation, it was found that a gugon tuhon is believed to be due to the factor of experience and fear that if violated it would experience bad things. The experience here is either first-hand experience or heard or seen the experience of others who violate the gugon tuhon.

Next Table 3 below shows how respondents carry out the gugon tuhon while caring for babies. Implementation of the gugon tuhon in the table will be shown with the number of respondents who are still doing baby care.
Table 3. Implementation of gugon tuhon by Mother

Table 3 above found 1 of 8 gugon tuhon that was most implemented by respondents. The gugon tuhon is ngliling saka ndhuvur marakake kero which in its implementation forbids a person to look at a baby from above because of fear of making eyes squint. The gugon tuhon was carried out because it was often conveyed by their mother. Based on the results of interviews with informants, ngliling saka ndhuvur pangling sing momong, aja menehi dolanan kembang, aja menehi dolanan pangilon – these three gugon tuhon are rarely heard by respondents so they rarely implement them. The results of the study found that gugon tuhon were carried out by respondents due to respect or hesitation towards parents who conveyed the subjects. Parents who conveyed gugon tuhon certainly hoped to be obeyed by their children, so some informants stated that if they did not comply with the gugon tuhon, it was feared that it would be considered rude and disobedient. In addition, the gugon tuhon was implemented because of the beliefs believed by respondents.

**LANGUAGE ATTITUDE**

Based Table 1 – Table 3, it can be seen that only some mothers in Bulurejo Village understand the pragmatic meaning of gugon tuhon, believe and implement it. However, there are 2 gugon tuhon which is understood mostly and well, as well as believed by the people. Those two gugon tuhon are “Ngliling saka ndhuvur, marakake kero” and “Mepe klambi surup”.

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**Table 3. Implementation of gugon tuhon by Mother**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Gugon Tuhon</th>
<th>Respondents</th>
<th>Result</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Ngliling saka ndhuvur, pangling sing momong</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Aja menehi dolanan kembang</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Aja menehi dolanan pangilon</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Ngliling saka ndhuvur, marakake kero</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Aja disunggi</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Gendhong sawung</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mepe klambi surup</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Ngambung tangan</td>
<td>√</td>
<td>√</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Understanding and belief of *gugon tuhon* have resulted in the actions of not seeing the baby from above and not drying clothes in the sun. This effect appears as a form of language attitude of the mothers who do it. Triandis (1971) divides language attitudes into 4, namely:

a. Language as a means of adjustment
b. Language as a means of self-defense
c. Language as a means of conveying judgment.
d. Language as a means of gaining knowledge.

From the four functions above, the *gugon tuhon* is seen by mothers as a means of gaining knowledge and means of self-defence. The mothers in the village of Bulurejo looked at *gugon tuhon* as a Javanese idiom containing knowledge that can be used as a guide to act according to the embedded meaning. Therefore, mothers who understand and believe will take action according to the meaning conveyed because they regard it as a hereditary knowledge. However, mothers who do not understand, do not believe it, but still do it. They do it to defend themselves from the bad things that can happen if they do not.

Knops (1987) states that language attitudes have 2 attitude functions, namely cognitive functions and identity protectors. The cognitive nature of language enables humans to predict the effects that can be caused by the act of doing the meaning of the *gugon tuhon*. Moreover, based on the results of the interview, the baby care *gugon tuhon* is believed by the people in the village of Bulurejo because it fulfils the cognitive attitude of language which believes that nature is full of obscurity so that the *gugon tuhon* is believed because it can connect humans with nature. As a protector of identity, *gugon tuhon* is also believed to be an attitude of preserving the identity of Javanese people to inherit their culture. Therefore, the act of doing *gugon tuhon* is not only an effect of understanding, but also as effort to maintain Javanese culture in the community.

**CONCLUSION**

Based on the 8 *gugon tuhon* of infant care subjects that have been discussed, they are still understood, believed and carried out by mothers in the village of Bulurejo. The 8 data of the *gugon tuhon* are understood only as locutionary act because the respondents are speakers of Javanese in their daily life. Meanwhile, the *gugon tuhon* as an illocutionary act is poorly understood due to lack of knowledge although *gugon tuhon* as perlocutionary act is still understood as a form of a prohibition. The pragmatic meaning of *gugon tuhon* is still well-known by mothers in Bulurejo Village because it is still used in the community and is often conveyed by their parents even though only 2 of the *gugon tuhon* are understood, believed, and carried out by the majority of respondents. Belief and the act of carrying out as an effect of the pragmatic meaning of *gugon tuhon* are influenced by factors of fear, shyness, and having bad experiences because of violation; whereas the *gugon tuhon* is increasingly distrusted and implemented due to a lack of knowledge of Javanese language and culture, environmental factors, and educational factors. However, mothers who implement it are doing so because of their belief that the *gugon tuhon* is a means of self-defence, and a means of knowledge that needs to be preserved for generations.

The final results of the study showed that research on infant care was still rarely carried out so that further research related to infant care was needed. Therefore, related research on how mothers teach or pass on the *gugon tuhon* to the next generations is still welcomed to be carried
out in order to continue to preserve the gugon tuhon and explore knowledge or teachings that are good for life.

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