

論 文

Silence in an Indonesian Film: Aspects of Language Use in *Seputih Hatinya, Semerah Bibirnya* (1980)⁽¹⁾

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Abstract: Silence, far from being merely lack of sound, serves several functions. As simple lack of sound it separates lexemes and utterances, but silence also cues turn-taking, expresses social meaning, expresses acceptance or refusal, and is used by participants and observers in other culturally defined and interpreted ways.

Previous studies on colonial Indonesia have explored the meanings of activities and fictional writings of the leftist nationalist Abdoe'lxarim M.s., and his semantic and discursive silence on political subjects during the Dutch colonial period (1930s-1942), but silences in speech or individual utterances were not addressed. The 1940s present substantial challenges for studies of language use, and thus examination of later language use may be constructive.

This limited study examines the uses of silence in three scenes from the classic Indonesian movie "Seputih Hatinya, Semerah Bibirnya" [Her Lips as Red as her Heart is White] (1980) to gain a better linguistic understanding of prosodic use of silence in Indonesian language and culture. Saville-Troike's etic grid (1985) provides an effective framework for initial examination of silence in this context. The role of uncovered silences in turn-taking seems to be context dependent in Indonesian but requires further study.

Key Words: silence, speech, prosody, film, Indonesian language

0. Introduction

Silence, far from being merely lack of sound serves a number of different functions. As simple lack of sound it is used to separate lexemes, separate utterances, etc. However, silence can also be used to cue turn-taking, express social meaning, express acceptance or refusal, make up or be a part of a whole event, or any one of many other uses. These uses are defined and interpreted culturally by both participants and observers. When a noticeable silence does not correspond to a change in turn-taking, it is often labeled as a pause rather than silence, a largely descriptive distinction. However, even in separating lexemes and utterances, silence conveys social information regarding the relative status of the participants, the role each is playing, the topic of conversation, the personality of the speaker, perhaps even reservations about the truthfulness of a statement. Even more clearly, this prosodic use of silence is dictated by the social information transmitted. Considering the

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variety of uses of silence, greater attention to its use is critical for both language learners and scholars seeking to understand events, practices, and people in the particular culture under consideration.

1. Theoretical Background

There have been numerous anthropological studies which contribute to understanding such cases of speech and lack of verbal communication. Edward Hall, in a pioneering study on intercultural communication, explored non-verbal modes of communication (Hall 1959). Rather differently, Michael Taussig (1984) wrote on discursive silences, physical violence and spaces of terror in a South American colonial context. Somewhat in the vein of these studies, Horton explored the apparent meanings of the activities and fiction writings of the Indonesian leftist nationalist Abdoe'lxarim M.s., and in particular his semantic and discursive silence on political subjects during the late Dutch colonial period (1930s-1942), Japanese occupation period (1942-1945) and the early revolutionary period (1945-1946) (Horton 2012, 2016).

Sporadically studied by anthropologists and specialists in other fields (e.g. Basso 1972, Bauman 1974) during the early 1970s and 1980s, silence has gradually become a focus of linguistic study, and while hardly mainstream today, has provided interesting contributions to efforts to understand a range of important social phenomena, for example sexual harassment at universities (Clair 1998). With the increased interest in the study of silence in both anthropology and linguistics, Saville-Troike (1985) attempted to form an etic grid for the uses of silence. Saville-Troike breaks silence into three basic divisions: institutionally-determined silence, group-determined silence, and individually-determined or negotiated silence. These she breaks down further into smaller divisions. Although this grid may not be as complete as needed, it does provide a convenient starting point for analysis.

2. Historical Background of the Study

The aforementioned study on the silence in political discourse during a critical period in the cultural and political history of Indonesia (Horton 2012) did not address silences in speech or on a micro-level in individual utterances or the meaning of particular instances of silence. While this was outside the scope of that study, it also demonstrates again that our understanding of this period of Indonesian history is relatively weak (Horton 2016), a problem which needs to be remedied in light of ongoing conflict over the history of World War II in Asia. In fact, virtually all visual, audio, and print materials from the Japanese period have been ignored, relegated to the dustbin of history through the dual (false) beliefs that everything was simply Japanese propaganda or that nothing was preserved at the end of the war. While simple, surface-level examination of story themes (for example) may be suspect due to the use of the medium for wartime propaganda, other less conscious levels may not be so influenced, and could present a novel approach. Explorations of Indonesian language prosody in the

1930s-1940s, particularly during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia (March 1942-August 1945), may shed significant new light on the thoughts and intentions of Indonesians during that critical period, but unfortunately there is a very limited range of recorded speech from that period available today.

The 1940s, however, also present substantial challenges for studies which seek to perceive meaning in particular instances of language use, as this was a formative period in the language, with the Indonesian Language Commission (1943-45) actively attempting to develop Indonesian into a language capable of functioning in all aspects of life and work. For the study of most forms of silence, this is particularly difficult, as speech acts are rarely preserved in a manner allowing analysis of silence. Brief examination of existing film clips produced on Java during the occupation (by the Nippon Eigasha di Djawa) as part of the military administration's propaganda efforts suggest that linguistic judgements based on early 21st century language sense are likely to be unreliable. Further studies of silence and political discourse in this period thus require additional preparations.

An examination of language use in a later, more familiar, better preserved and more stable period may be of use, to test frameworks and methodologies, to provide a point of comparison and thus to enable analysis of more obviously "staged" language found in wartime "propaganda" films produced by Indonesians under Japanese supervision. Falling half-way between the present (2018) and the wartime years, the early 1980s is a good point for initial examination.⁽²⁾ For readers interested in exploring language use in other more contemporary contexts, this case can still serve as an illustrative example.

3. *Seputih Hatinya, Semerah Bibirnya*

For this limited exploration of language use in the early 1980s, a selection of conversations from the classic Indonesian movie "Seputih Hatinya, Semerah Bibirnya" [Her Lips as Red as her Heart is White] will be examined as the film-making techniques utilized preserved relatively long recordings of speech acts and interactions, and as it seems to provide interesting examples of the use of silence in language. This movie, produced in 1980, was directed by the highly respected Slamet Rahardjo, and starred Christine Hakim and Frans Tumbuan. Nominated for one film award, this film is considered a rather "artsy" film, one in which the director toyed with creative camera work. More than the common slapstick comedy films, horror films, or superficial tear-jerkers, conversations are often allowed to play out, perhaps precisely because this film attempts to portray human activity and feelings, offering researchers a set of examples of possibly "natural" language use. The relatively long camera shots in this film are critical, as one function of short takes (much beloved by contemporary Hollywood film-makers) is to cut out silences and intensify action. Thus, in examining this movie, I will attempt to observe some of the more salient uses of silence in Indonesian culture in around 1980 (at least as represented in this film).

(2) The fact that the author first began to study Indonesian in 1984 while living in Jogjakarta is an additional reason to choose this period for an initial study, as language sense is potentially significant in examining language use.



Illustration 1: Poster for the movie release of *Seputih Hatinya, Semerah Bibirnya* (1980), not surprisingly showing the main character, Bunga, silently smiling. Thanks to Chris Woodrich for use of his original copy.

This story is about a large family and the feelings of the mother as she sees her children marrying and living separate lives. Within this general theme, the film portrays the daily chaos of life, interpersonal problems of varying importance, different life trajectories, as well as siblings talking over each other and multiple conversations when the family gets together. From the start of the film, one recurrent problem is that the youngest son, Binsar, failed to attend family gatherings. Binsar's girlfriend had become pregnant and they married quickly; subsequently his wife was afraid to face her mother-in-law, even running away when the mother came to visit them. In this, and all the other various problems, the only daughter, Bungalan (Bunga), plays the role of mediator. Bunga was secretly in a relationship with Radityo, but her mother had set her heart on Bunga's previous boyfriend, Anton, who according to *adat*,⁽³⁾ was the appropriate fiancée for Bunga. Not realizing the mother's expectations, Anton further builds up her expectations. Bunga herself was not immune from jealousy, but was always patient to the end. The various problems are only resolved after a trip to the family's Batak homeland and honest discussions, when the mother remembers that only 5 people participated in her own engagement ceremony, and explicitly states that adults have to make their own decisions about who to marry, allowing the reuniting of the large family, including Anton and his future wife, Binsar and his wife, as well as Bunga's fiancée.

4. Silence in an Indonesian film

There were no unambiguous cases of institutionally determined silences in the film scenes selected for analysis. This grouping of silences is commonly represented with the examples of ritual use of silence in religious events, required silence in libraries, use of silence between people having relationships that proscribe communication, etc. It would also likely include the legally mandated silences of Abdoe'lxarim mentioned earlier (Horton 2012, 2016).⁽⁴⁾ It is almost certain that some institutionally determined silences appeared in this film, but both because institutionally determined silence seemed not prominently displayed and because it was

(3) *Adat* refers to customs and customary law, in this case of one of the Batak ethnic groups or villages of North Sumatra.

(4) Arguably this applies for the silences about wartime period literature and interracial harmony discussed in Horton 2013, 2016, 2017 and Javanese women's wartime pasts discussed in Horton 2010, 2016. This seems less than critical here.

less critical for the types of communication I was exploring, ultimately it fell outside of my focus.⁽⁵⁾

For most normal conversations, Saville-Troike's individually-determined or negotiated silence are most relevant. Most of the observations made were confined to types included in the Saville-Troike individually determined or negotiated silence. More interesting though were the clear differences in actual turn-taking behavior, i.e. the tolerance for, or requirement of, "silence" or pauses between utterances, speaking-turns, etc. This also may be determined by some of the very same factors that determine the use of silence in Saville-Troike's framework. I will try to show below several instances of silences, then briefly discuss the instances of turn-taking in the film, utilizing Indonesian language transcripts of portions of the three conversations taken from that movie.⁽⁶⁾ These examples will be referred to in the text as Conversations 1, 2, and 3. As needed, important features of the context and conversation will be described.

"Group-determined" silence can be observed in Conversation 1. This conversation was a formal discussion involving various local government officials and was intended to eliminate a problem that was developing in the village. Pak Dit (Radityo), an unmarried man (and boyfriend of Bunga [Bu]), and Warni, an unmarried female servant, were staying in the same house. This is viewed as improper in Indonesian culture. In this case one person, the village leader (Beh) clearly had the responsibility to ensure a successful outcome of the discussion, i.e. a peaceful, friendly settlement insuring that the two would not live together in the same house until they were married (a result which was not desired by either party).⁽⁷⁾ Therefore, the task of beginning the discussion fell on his shoulders. Once all concerned parties were present and seated, there was a period of silence (line 6) until the village leader chose to begin the discussion, and only a very limited number of participants spoke until after the problem was settled (lines 12-13). Each participant obeyed this group decision to be silent until the leader spoke, and even then (initially) only speaking if designated as a speaker (e.g. lines 7-8, 9-10). This is clearly following group-determined silence rules, although perhaps they even could be considered institutionally determined silences for formal meetings.

In the following three transcripts, the original Indonesian language is presented with annotations of silences/pauses. "Silence" in these transcripts refers primarily to the gaps in speech, including pauses in individual speech acts. "Silence" secondarily refers to the lack of sound; the relative lack of sound and its disruption (sounds) are noted. Importantly, even more than in real life, pure silence is rarely extant in this film. Speakers are identified at the beginning of each line; there the name of the speaker is not known, they are labelled as "S1", "S2", etc. Where the speaker is unclear, they are labeled as "?" or "??". Below the Indonesian

(5) A reexamination of the film and a selection of new scenes would be necessary to confirm and analyze the institutionally determined silences.

(6) While of greatest use to Indonesian speakers, these transcripts should be of interest to other readers in illustrating concrete details.

(7) In fact, Warni had been raped, and was given shelter by Pak Dit. Awareness of this fact did not stop Bunga from giving her fiancée a piece of her mind in private.

- S5 Ya Pak
[right? / that's right, that's right, heh / Mang sit on this bench / Yes Pak /]
7. Beh Begini Pak Dit . , buat saya bisa paham begitu juga buat Pak Komandan barangkali .
[It's like this, Pak Dit, I can understand, perhaps the commander can as well]
8. Beh tapi . bagaimana sama tetangga . ,
PK Soalnya antara perempuan dan laki-laki
?? heh
[but what about the neighbors / heh / because between men and women]
9. PK tinggal dalam satu rumah ini yang sulit betul nggak Lin
Beh betul
[staying in one house / right / this is the difficult part, right Lin?]
10. Lin Betul memang ini yang sulit uh-uh.
?? Biar genah urusane
Bu Begini Pak
[right, indeed this is the difficult part / so things are straightened out / uh huh / It's like this Pak]
11. Bu saya minta maaf atas kecerobohan tunangan saya bagaimana kalau
? Catat
[I apologize for the carelessness of my fiancée / take notes! / how about if]
12. Bu saya usulkan , Warni tinggal dalam rumah saya . Warni mau kan . . ,
[I suggest that Warni stays in my house, Warni is willing, right? /]
13. PK Kalau yang bersangkutan setuju sih . apa boleh buat Ya nggak Beh
Beh Betul, Ya . .
[If the people involved agree, what can we say, right Beh? / Right, yeah]
14. Beh Alhamdulillah , legak [lega] rasa hati saya . Memang berat jadi Bapak masyarakat . ,
[Thank God, I am relieved, it is very hard to be the father of the community /]

15. ?? Dimana-mana
 Bu Ya Pak kami mengerti
 [everywhere / Yes Pak, we understand]
16. Beh Baiklah kalau begitu , saya minta permisi dulu . , mari Bu . . .
 ?? 'yo
 Bu Maaf Pak ngrepotin
 [OK then, if so please excuse me, excuse me Bu / I'm sorry Pak to inconvenience you]
17. ?? Kalau tugas mbak hukumnya kuduk.
 Dit Terima Kasih Pak
 Beh Sama-sama . .
 [When it is [our] job, the law is blind / thank you Pak / you're welcome]
18. PK Yang penting sih buat kita orang-orang kuno ngati-ngati aje . ,
 ?? uh-uh
 [What's important for old-fashioned people like us / uh huh / be careful]
19. PK antara lelaki dan perempuan dilarang 'tu . , tinggal dalam satu rumah
 [it's not allowed for men and women to stay in a house]
20. PK sebelum nikah . , Ade hukume . . Maapin ya . , Bu . , Pak . .
 heh heh
 [before marriage There are laws Please forgive [us] Bu Pak]



Illustration 2: Still from the film *Seputih Hatinya, Semerah Bibirnya* (1980): Beh, Pak Komandan and Lin are relieved that the problem is solved: "Alhamdulillah!"

Individually determined and negotiated silence was clearly present in conversation 1, and indeed in all three conversations examined in detail for this article. The most common length of pauses before a new utterance required in this particular conversation, whether by the same speaker or his/her interlocutors, was generally between 1.5-2 seconds. Pauses of ½ or 1 seconds rarely resulted in turn-taking (for example, lines 18, 19, 20). In fact, turn-taking more frequently occurred with no pauses than with one second pauses.

Conversation 2 presents dramatically different interactive uses of silence, the most salient being the use of silence as a tactic or symbol to get one's way. The *Ibu*, or mother (mama), of the family in this movie decided one evening that she did not want to speak. This was an expression of displeasure at the conditions at that time, as well as a tactic to gain attention and to insure acceptance of later requests. This entire scene consists of the *bapak*, or father pleading with her not to go on a "speaking strike," but rather to go on "some other kind of strike." Although tactical, and expressing displeasure, this lack of speech was largely non-communicative according to the participants, for how could they "know her wishes" if the mother didn't speak? Meanwhile, nearly all family members arrived and gathered outside the room, having heard that Ibu's health had worsened.



Illustration 3: Still from the film *Seputih Hatinya, Semerah Bibirnya* (1980): Mama on strike.

Conversation #2 **Location: Jakarta** **50: 34-51: 41**

1. B Ngomong dong ma: .Jangan main bisu begitu: , manu ku tahu maumu: ,
[Speak, ma Don't pretend to be mute How can I tell what you want?]

2. B Ayo do:ng . . cari mogok yang la:in , jangan mogok bicara begitu . Aku bukan
[Come on find a different strike don't go on a speaking strike I'm not]

- (gesture)
3. B tukang ramal Ma: . . Bunga . . . Coba keluar sebentar . Bapak mau ngomong
[a fortune teller Bunga Go out for a minute I want to talk]

4. B pribadi sama mamamu . Tidak ada apa-apa kan
 Bu h (gets up, leaves) (door shuts)
 [privately with your mother Its OK, right....?]
5. B Apa maumu: Ma?/
 [What do you want, Ma?]

Note that in many utterances there is a lengthened extended vowel (lines 1, 2, 3, 5), but short silences (pauses) in between utterances. Tentatively, I hypothesize that they have redundant purposes and thus the extended vowel compensates for a limited silence. However, two second pauses seemed to indicate a fruitless wait for a verbal response (e.g. line 3).

Another type of silence found in the same conversation was assent to a request and answering of a question. The daughter (Bunga) was asked to leave (line 3), then asked "It doesn't matter, does it?" Both were answered by no vocal or other sign, besides the act of leaving. The affirmative response to the request and to the question were assumed by the father. Thus, the silence (combined with action) was a mutually agreed upon strategy for expressing agreement.

In Conversation 1 above, both the man and the woman involved in the violation of customs were silent during the entire discussion and solving of the problem. This was dictated primarily by the role that they played in the event. As the problems, or the violators of customs and laws, it is clear that they had to receive the criticism and await judgement or settlement on their behalf. This case could also plausibly be considered an institutionally determined silence. As mentioned earlier, other people were silent at certain times. That behavior was also influenced by the role each person played, not just the decision to limit vocal activity to one or two people.

In the third conversation, the beginning of the resolution of the main problems in the film, Bunga's mother's expectation that Anton would marry Bunga in accordance with *adat*, the different intentions of Bunga and Anton, along with the family's difficulty to accept her younger brother's marriage, displays both covered and uncovered silences which were not expressions of agreement or refusal to speak.

Conversation #3 Location: Medan 1: 42: 58-1: 46: 05

1. Ma , ... Duduklah (sits)
 Bpk Anton kau duduk di sana h h h
 [Anton, you sit there / Sit]
2. Ma Waktu kok . cepat sekali berlalu .. empat puluh tiga tahun yang lalu , . di

[Time, it passes so quickly 43 years ago, at]

3. Ma meja ini bapakmu melamar Mama , . . . , [se]sudah itu ,. si Baringi lahir .
 Bpk heh h
 [this table, your father asked to marry Mama [me]. After that, Baringi was born]
4. Ma ya pak? , Gurga juga disini
 Bpk ya h heh h Bapak kasi ini
 [right pak? / ya / Gurga also here / Bapak gave this]
5. Ma Abangmu Maludin di Jakarta , . . . , Semuanya laki-laki
 Bpk Aku kasi ini h h h
 [Your brother Maludin (was born in) in Jakarta / I gave this / All were boys]
 [pours tea]
6. Ma . . Mereka semua hanya bisa menemani bapakmu mancing . .
 Bu Hati-hati pa
 [Be careful pa / they all could just accompany your father fishing]
7. Ma Mama ingin sekali punya anak perempuan . . ,
 Bpk Bunga lahir ini Bapak kasi . m.
 [Mama really wanted a girl / When Bunga was born, I gave this /]
8. Ma Yang bisa mewarisi perasaan Mama . Yang bisa Mama ceritakan
 [who could inherit Mama's feelings. Which Mama can explain]
9. Ma seperti sekarang ini
 Bpk Si Bingsar lahir ini Bapak kasi . Kau tahu 'ton ,
 [Bingsar was born Bapak gave this You know 'ton]
10. Ma . lima
 Bpk berapa orang yang hadir dalam upacara pelamaran . , berapa Ma
 [how many people attended the engagement ceremony? How many ma? / 5 /]

11. Ma , .. . Pa .
 Bpk semua mereka tidak setuju persis seperti waktu si Bingsar kawin
 [they all didn't agree exactly like when Bingsar married / Pa]
12. Ma Apa perlu soal ini diceritakan juga ,
 Bpk Perlu. biar mereka semua bisa juga tahu
 [Is it necessary to tell about this too? / Yes! So they all can know]
13. Bpk pahitnya .. Betul 'ton? .. , ..
 Ant Ya . Memang hidup ini tidak selalu manis Om h
 [the bitterness Right 'ton? / Yes, indeed life is not always nice, Oom]
14. Ant Menurut kata orang syarat utama untuk menjadi seorang pemimpin adalah ,
 [According to what people say, the main requirement to become a leader is]
15. Ant orang itu harus betul-betul dapat . mentertawakan dirinya sendiri ., jadi
 [that that person must really be able to laugh at themselves, so]
16. Ant , tidak ada lagi yang harus ditutupi [ditutupi] .. Betul tidak Bunga
 [there is nothing which needs to be hidden, isn't that right Bunga?]
17. Ma ., Hm .
 Bu Ma Apa semua persahabatan harus diakhiri dalam perkawinan ...
 [Ma / hm / Do all friendships have to end in marriage?]
18. Ma Tidak .. Kalau tadi Mama cerita soal lamaran , soal perkawinan , itu
 [No If Mama was talking about engagement, about marriage, that]
19. Ma adalah cerita Mamamu sendiri , . Ya nggak pa . , ..
 Bpk Ya kalau dulu kami bisa
 [was your mother's story, isn't that right, Pa? / Yeah we used to be]
20. Bpk bebas kenapa kalian sekarang tidak , betul tidak 'ton?
 [free [to choose a spouse] why can you all now? Right 'ton?....]

Conversation 3 shows a large amount of silence, in the sense that no one was speaking, although there was some non-verbal vocal activity. This silence was largely related to the happiness and closeness felt by the participants of the conversation. This was clearly not the only reason, as both the status, the role, and the embarrassment of the two younger ones (Bunga and Anton) caused more frequent use of silence, but none the less, silence between the Ibu and Bapak (e.g. lines 2-11), often filled or covered by heavy breathing or laughing by one of the interlocutors (Bapak), denoted phatic interaction.



Illustration 4: Still from the film *Seputih Hatinya, Semerah Bibirnya* (1980): Mama begins to tell her story, getting up, moving behind the silent Anton, towards “Pa”.

Last, the variance of the use of silence in turn-taking is very obvious to the listener. There were instances where there was no pause at all between speaking-turns, and other instances where several seconds of silence were apparently acceptable pauses. Even more interesting was the fact that the silences, if “too long,” were filled by filler sounds, so that the silence would be accepted perhaps as a more phatic silence, or just as a necessary pause for breathing. Excepting the beginning of the conversation, which apparently regularly requires a long silence with fewer fillers, there was no pure silence longer than 3 seconds in Conversation 3, which was the most relaxed conversation. There were however many silences of 3 or more seconds where audible sighs or laughter partially filled the space (lines 1, 3, 4, 5), in addition to the dramatic throwing of gold on the table each time Bapak said “I gave this!” (lines 4, 5, 7, 9). Where the silence was very long, sighs, pure silences, and laughter would alternate to fill the space with no more than 2 consecutive seconds purely silent. The longest pure silences were during an obvious action like reaching for something and dropping it, and during a tense speech by Anton (his nervousness and need for some cognitive effort in lines 13-16 was shown by his stuttering while pronouncing “ditutupi”). Apparently pure silence longer than 2 seconds is culturally salient as a break in conversation, at least in this context. Laughter, audible sighs, or any clear visible occupation intermixed with silences suffice to fill silence in this context.

On a second level, the film-maker filled silences with background sounds like dogs barking—sounds which did not involve the interlocutors or affect the conversation in any noticeable way. This was not unique to

this scene but was particularly apparent here.

Much more intolerance of both “filled” and “pure” silence was shown in Conversation 1. Again, excepting the partially filled silence beginning the serious discussion, there were very few silences of any kind, as care was taken to provide verbal cues like “right, Beh?” or to keep talking until interrupted at a logical point. The more obvious silence cues (e.g. silence for 2 seconds, etc.) for turn-taking were not used here. The non-existence of silence cues for turn-taking is attested by the fact that slight pauses were allowed in the middle of utterances without any interruption, but after any given utterance no pause of any length was allowed to go unfilled or interrupted. The few silences that were present were filled by laughter, even covering much of the tense conversation. Once the problem at hand had been dealt with there were some short silences, showing that in part the non-existence of turn-taking pauses was due to the emotionally very tense nature of the topic.

5. Conclusion

As can be seen from the discussion above, Saville-Troike in her “institutional,” “group,” and “individual” determined silences has touched upon many obvious types of silence use that carry social and referential meaning in *Seputih Hatinya*, *Semerah Bibirnya*. Turn-taking is also involved in carrying social meaning and is clearly determined by social factors, many of which are suggested by Saville-Troike. Her framework does thus serve as a useful tool for analysis of language use presented in Indonesian films.

The language use in films of the 1980s includes extended silences—pauses and other silences—but there seem to be limitations on the length of uncovered silences in this film. The precise role of silence in turn-taking does not seem to be uniform throughout the film; what might have produced a shift in speakers in one context does not function in another. These individual contexts may be further described and analyzed.

The possibility of determining turn-taking norms and acceptable silences, as well as some of the common uses of silence in this film may be useful in a comparative study with language usage in films of an earlier period. It is indeed possible that this kind of study may provide insights into meanings in early postwar films like Basuki Effendi’s *Pulang* (1952) or wartime films created under Japanese military administration sponsorship which seem to display unusually long, uncovered silences. Beyond simply determining linguistic usage, it seems conceivable that violations of linguistic norms in silence and turn-taking behavior, for example, may indicate to viewers of a film the artificiality of speech, undermining the urgency of the message. However, it is still possible that linguistic norms changed between 1945 and 1980. Like in *Seputih Hatinya*, *Semerah Bibirnya*, examination of the actual contexts and utterances in earlier periods will certainly provide surprises.

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