THE REFERENTS OF *CENDANA* IN MEDIA DISCOURSE
A Study of Metonymic Use of Place Name

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Abstract

Since the resignation of Indonesian second president-Soeharto twenty one years ago, his private residence's address is still used by media till today to refer to him, to his family, to political party affiliates to him and everything associates to him. This research looks into the metonymic use of cendana, the street address of the second Indonesian president - Soeharto's residence, Cendana Street No.8-Menteng, Central Jakarta. The aims of the research are to study the metonymic use of cendana in Indonesian media discourse to analyze the collocation of cendana in metonymic use, and to identify the exact referents. The method is descriptive qualitative, the source of data are from thirty news article from two mainstream Indonesian online media, Detik and Tempo. The results show that there are in total five collocations of cendana in metonymic use exclude the use of only the word cendana and the referents of the metonymic use is extended not only to Soeharto's off springs but also to his brother, and other relatives. The contexts of discourse mostly used in political discourse, and some others are in law, economy and entertainment discourse. The metonymic use of cendana by Indonesian media implies that the family still holds a big influence in Indonesian political landscape. The result also shows that Tommy Soeharto is the most dominant referent for the metonymic use of cendana and its collocation, whereas *keluarga cendana* (cendana family) is the most dominant collocation.

Keywords: *metonymy, media discourse, cendana family, referent, online media*

A. BACKGROUND

Studies on metonymy in corpus linguistics within cognitive framework have been increasingly extensive in a corpus based study in various discourses. Media discourse has its own characteristics in writing headlines and news report since it needs to attract readers' attention. One of the linguistics tools that is widely used in media discourse is the use of trope, one of them is metonymy. The common metonymic used is by using a common place name that associated with institution or a person to refer to particular institution or a person.

Example in picture 1 and picture 2 below show how the use of address name refers to the government or institution.

Home / UK News /

No Brexit deal by June 30, no May? Downing Street refuses to rule out UK PM quitting

Published time: 20 Mar, 2019 16:34
Edited time: 21 Mar, 2019 09:39

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THIS WAY UP

Picture 1: The Metonymic use of Downing Street

In this headline, Downing Street is used metonymically to refer to the office of British Prime Minister, where the office address is on Downing Street No.10. In British Media the use of Downing Street to refer to PM's office is common.

White House probably the most famous metonymic use of place name, even if it is translated to other language in other media, the readers will still understand what it refers to. White House is the name of the official building of US President's office and house as seen from example in picture 2 below.

'Unprecedented and Extraordinarily Intrusive.' White House Refuses to Hand Over Documents on Security Clearance Process

Picture 2: The Metonymic use of White House.

In Indonesian media, one of the common place name used as metonymy is cendana that refers to the second Indonesian president's private residence (Cendana Street – Central Jakarta).

The use of cendana in media have different referents, whether to a particular individual, a group of people, the supporter, or even the political party affiliates to it. The researcher is interested to analyze the collocation of cendana and what it actually refers to on each context of news and discourse. The analysis is important to provide literary source to the extent of the metonymic usage of the place name in media discourse. It is also to see the various referents of the place names when they are used metonymically in Indonesian media discourse.

B. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

The use of place name and proper name as metonymy in everyday discourse particularly in media discourse has been put into more attention since the publication of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), who affirm that we don't speak metaphorically, but we think metaphorically, means that metaphor is not merely a linguistics expression but it is the conceptual way of thought. If metaphor works in a cross mapping of one domain to another domain, thus metonymy is also a mapping, but in a same, closer and related domain. Radden and Kovecses (1999) define metonymy as "a cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another

conceptual entity, the target, within the same domain Idealized Cognitive Model". The view that metonymy works in the same domain also given by Barcelona (2003) who defines metonymy as a conceptual projection or mapping in a single, asymmetric mapping, with no counterpart matching. Whereas Littlemore (2015) defines metonymy as a cognitive and linguistics process which we use one thing to refer to another. Example given is when using "Hollywood" to refer to mainstream American films.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) approach to classifying metonymy is to provide more or less complex lists of its types, such as PART FOR WHOLE (e.g. Many hands make light work.), WHOLE FOR PART (e.g. Australia beat Canada at cricket.), PLACE FOR INSTITUTION (e.g. The White House isn't saying anything.), PRODUCER FOR PRODUCTS (e.g. I like Shakespeare most.).OBJECT USED FOR USERS (The buses are on strike) CONTROLLER FOR CONTROLLED (Nixon Bombed Hanoi) INSTITUTION FOR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE (The senate thinks abortion is immoral) THE PLACE FOR THE EVENT (Pearl Harbor still has an effect in our foreign policy), The category which is then developed by Radden and Kovecses (1999) with Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) and proposes a taxonomy and put the metonymy of PLACE FOR INHABITANTS under location ICM:

As this research studies the place name metonymy, it falls into Location ICM which further elaborated by Littlemore (2015) that PLACE FOR INSTITUTION is closely related to PLACE FOR INHABITANTS ICM.

The use of metonymy in media is part of the linguistics characteristics of media discourse, as found by Solikhah (2017) who studies the use of rhetoric in national online news and concludes that there are four types of rhetorical tropes utilized in online news, they are: hyperbole, metonym, metaphor, and neologism and emphasizes on three strategies: providing information that also has an attitudinal and emotional dimension, building strong relational structure for facts, and emphasizing the factual nature of events

Zibin (2018) analyzes the metaphors and metonymy used to describe economy concept in Jordanian economic discourse from Jordanian news articles and concludes that the majority of the source

domains utilized in Jordanian economic discourse are found in other languages, with the exception of some source domains which could be culture-specific, e.g. supernatural creature and kitchen. Given the number of metaphors used to describe various economic concepts, Zibin (2018) views that it is a sign that metaphor is a significant device in constructing the discourse itself, rather than being used to merely convey economic news. Whereas Halverson. S and Engene, J. (2010) investigate the use of the placenames Schengen and Maastricht in Norwegian newspaper corpora and concludes that language-external, communicative needs also impact metonymic development.

Another study of metonymy in media discourse is by Guth (2008) who measures the different editorial approaches Maryland-area newspapers had to the opening of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge in 1952 finds that Newspapers on both sides of the bay saw the bridge as a metonym for man's supremacy over nature. To a lesser degree, they also viewed it as triumph of capitalism. The bridge also became a metonym of redemption for former Governor William Preston Lane, Jr., who had championed the bridge and other road improvements— as well as budget and tax increases to pay for them—at the cost of his political career. Whereas Zashchitina (2014) who studies the communicative aspect, stylistics and pragmatics of lexical tropes in mass media discourse, primarily in the press concludes that the cognitive aspect of tropes in modern non-literary discourse is not merely expressive means of the language but complex cognitive structures which can either affirm our schematic knowledge or bring substantial changes to it, and they can change the role that mass media audience take in interpreting texts thus giving mass media tropes a chance to influence and mold social practice.

This research is focusing on the metonymy of place name i.e. Cendana as institution and or as a person trough the analysis of media news in Indonesian media online, the aims of this research is to to analyze the metonymic use of Cendana in Indonesian media discourse to analyze the collocation of Cendana in metonymic use, and to identify the referents.

C. RESEARCH METHOD

This research is qualitative descriptive and the metonymic use of cendana is the data of this research. Stefanowitsch (2006) affirms that one of the challenges in corpus-based study of metaphor and metonymy is that of identifying and extracting the relevant data from the corpus, in this case of this research is of the media articles. One method for identification is to investigate the collocates of the particular word or expression under investigation, in order to find out what words tend to co-occur and if these are used literally or metaphorically. Semino (2008) also agree that the combination of different methods can be used but that the suitability of the method depends on the aims of the particular research, and as this research is to study the metonymic use of cendana, therefore the researcher closely examine the use of cendana and its collocations to identify the metonymic use. Thirty news articles from Detik online and Tempo Online are analyzed. Researcher will focus on cendana word and its collocation. When it is used metonymically, it will be collected as relevant data. The collected data will then be displayed and categorized based on; (1) Collocation of Cendana (2) The exact referents of each context and (3) the field of discourse (i.e politic, law, and others); After data collection and categorization, researcher will analyze and interpret them to identify the collocation, referent of the metonymic use of those words, and the field of discourse. In most of the data, the anaphoric and cataphoric use of cendana help researcher to identify the referents of cendana, since the referent is mentioned in the same text, in cataphoric reference, the referent is mentioned later in the text, whereas in anaphoric reference, the referent is mentioned earlier in the text before the metonymy.

D. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

There is a different case of the metonymic use of cendana in Indonesian media discourse with the use of Downing Street in UK or White House in US. Downing Street and White House is an official address of Prime Minister and President, means that

whoever stays in charge of the position, he or she and the government institution will be the referent of those metonym. In Cendana context, it is a private residence address of second Indonesian President in Cendana Street, Central Jakarta, the word is full of historical context. The referent will not change to any other people or other family other than Soeharto's family and all things associated with him.

The result shows that the cendana metonymic use in thirty articles collected has various collocations beside also using Cendana only. The variations include: *keluarga cendana* (cendana family), *pangeran cendana* (Cendana prince), *lingkaran cendana* (cendana circle), *trah cendana* (cendana descendants), and *kerabat cendana* (cendana relatives).

The highest number of cendana collocations is *keluarga cendana* (cendana family) with 18 data, it shows that the closest word to collocate with cendana in metonymic use is "family" and will be refer to not only a single individual but might also refer to the family collectively. The summary of cendana collocations can be seen in chart below:
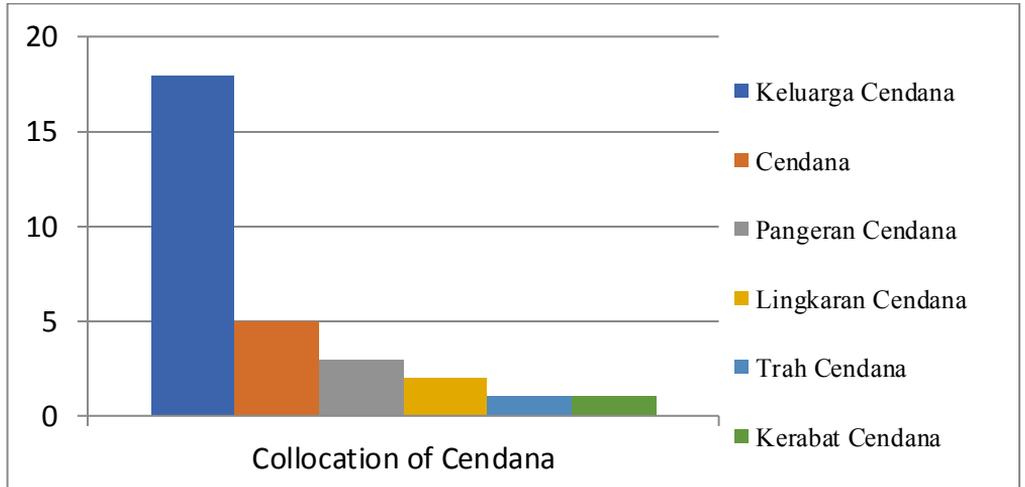

Chart 1 – Cendana and its collocation

The use of cendana only without its collocation as metonymic expression implies that media believe how strong the associative referents of cendana and that the word still has a persuasive impact to its readers, as seen from data below:

"*Cendana Ingin Kembali*"

(Cendana wants to return)

The context refers to the intention of the family to involve in Indonesian political competition by establishing a political party which almost all off-springs of Soeharto and his family involve in that political party. The use of only cendana in sentence above relies heavily on the readers' knowledge of the metonym of cendana to be able to interpret the intended persuasive message.

From another finding, there are two collocations that associate cendana with the "royal family" concept, i.e: *trah cendana* (cendana descendants) and *pangeran cendana* (Cendana's prince) where both two words commonly associate with royal family concept. This metonymic use implied how the family is viewed as an influential family where the influence is also spread to the next generation.

Whereas for the referents, The finding shows that the referents of the metonymic use of cendana and all of its collocation is not only to refer to son and daughter of Indonesian second president, but also extends to grandchildren, brother and even to extended relatives, from all referents of cendana as metonymy, Tommy Soeharto as an individual and also as a part of Soeharto's offspring appear as the highest referent, then all the Soeharto's off spring collectively is also common to referred to, and there are also few names out of the main family of Soeharto as referent, include : Probosutedjo (brother) , Eno Sigit and Dani Bimo H (Grand children) , Prabowo Subianto (ex-son in law) , and Begug Purnomosidi (only relatives).

Tommy Soeharto as the most dominant referent of the metonymic use of cendana, where he will be a referent either individually or collectively, media seems to associate him very close to the metonymic use of cendana as one of them seen from sentence below:

"Jejak Bisnis dan Politik Pangeran Cendana"
(Business and Political tracks of Cendana's Prince)

In sentence above, the use of cendana's Prince can be interpreted to refer to Tommy Soeharto after reading the news contents. In this metonymic use of cendana, it discusses the significant involvement of one of Soeharto's son Tommy Soeharto

in Indonesian economic as well as in political field. There are also other sentences where Tommy Soeharto is the referent of the same collocation, and it shows that media consider him as the perfect representation of the family as seen in sentence below, where media refer him using cendana's prince even the context of the news is only asking for an opinion which is not related to his family.

> *Saat Pangeran Cendana Bicara Film G30S/PKI*
> (When cendana's prince discusses about G30S/PKI movie)

Whereas one of uncommon referent from the finding is the use of kerabat cendana (cendana's relatives) to refer to Begug Purnomosidi as seen from sentence below:

> *"Kerabat Cendana tersebut tidak mendapat suara signifikan dalam Pemilu kali ini"*
> (That Cendana's relatives did not receive significant vote in this election)

The sentence above is about how one of cendana's relatives fails in securing one position as legislator in election. Begug Purnomosidi is only mentioned as cendana's relatives but there is no further explanation of his relation with the family, thus, the author's decision to relate him with cendana is to create the persuasive impact to the readers as people will be more interested in reading the news if he is related to the family.
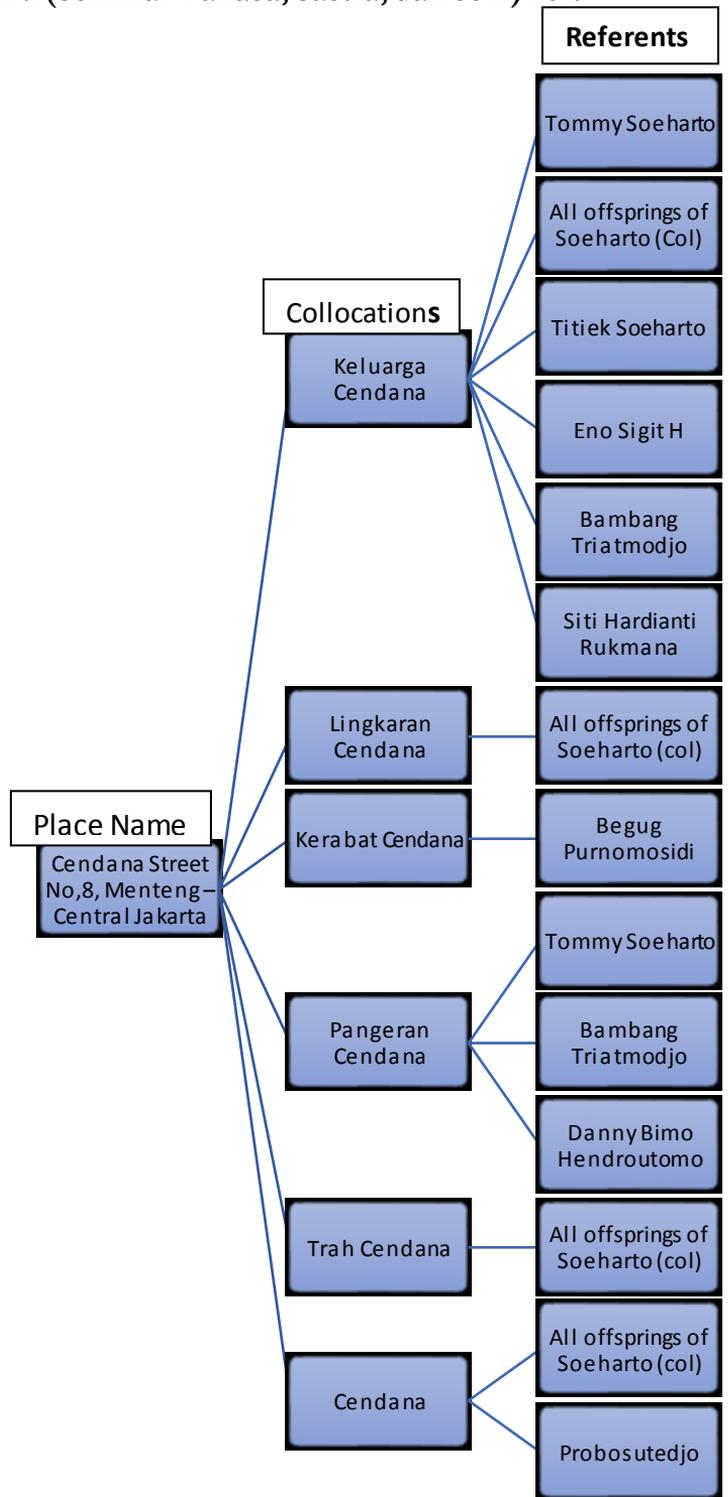
The extensive referents show that media still relies on the strong rhetorical impact and association of cendana in the news writing, and shows that referents are not only limited to a single institution or a single individual, but it extends to few associations to second Indonesian president's including to his main family, business associated with the family, the political parties affiliated to him and his family, and to his relatives. Sentence below shows the metonymic use of cendana to refer to political involvement associated with the family:

> *"Munculnya Keluarga Cendana di panggung politik tentu tak dilarang. Hanya, perlu diingat bahwa Soehartoisme yang otoriter, paternalistis, dan serba sentralistis itu adalah masa lalu"*
> (The emergence of cendana family in political stage is of course not an illegal thing, but it is important to remember

that authoritarian, paternalistic, and centralistic Soehartoism
is the past time)

The sentence above, does not refer cendana to only one single
off spring of Soeharto, but it infers and refers to all family of
Soeharto include extended family that are involve in Indonesian
political stage. What interesting also from the sentence is the use of
the coinage Soehartoism that is used in the article as something that
has three characteristics: authoritarian, paternalistic, and centralistic.

Below is the taxonomy of cendana's referents as metonymy
from the finding:

Referents

Collocations	Tommy Soeharto
	All offsprings of Soeharto (Col)
Keluarga Cendana	Titiek Soeharto
	Eno Sigit H
	Bambang Triatmodjo
	Siti Hardianti Rukmana
Lingkaran Cendana	All offsprings of Soeharto (col)
Kerabat Cendana	Begug Purnomosidi
Place Name	Tommy Soeharto
Cendana Street No,8, Menteng–Central Jakarta	
Pangeran Cendana	Bambang Triatmodjo
	Danny Bimo Hendroutomo
Trah Cendana	All offsprings of Soeharto (col)
Cendana	All offsprings of Soeharto (col)
	Probosutedjo

Picture 3: Taxonomy of referents of Metonimic Use of Cendana

The Taxonomy of the metonymic use of Cendana above shows the extensive usage in media, with the most collocation "keluarga Cendana" that can use to refer to any of Soeharto's off spring individually and or collectively and even to refer to grandchildren, and other relatives including Probosutedjo (Soeharto's Brother), Prabowo Subianto (Ex-son in law) and Begug Purnomosidi (Extended relatives). Media still relies on the influence of Soeharto and his family therefore still using cendana with all of its collocations to provide both rhetoric function and at the same time to connect with reader's cognitive scheme and previous knowledge with cendana place name.

The 32 years as president has left Soeharto's private residence address as the perfect metonymy of him and his family, even after twenty one years of quitting the position. This can be seen from the field of discourse that is extended from political discourse, law, economy and other entertainment discourse, with the highest number in political discourse with nineteen data. The dominant field of political discourse shows the Soeharto's family still hold a big influence in Indonesian political landscape, especially since the establishment of a party which Tommy Soeharto becomes the chairman and all of other siblings hold key position in the political party.

In terms of the context of discourse, Detik online uses this metonymy not only in political discourse but also in entertainment and general use, this is due to the various rubric that Detik Online has. As seen below, where the news is about one of member (in laws) Cendana family, Mayang Sari.

> *"Mayangsari tampil mewah dan elegan saat berkumpul bersama keluarga Cendana. Ia tampak membawa tas branded dari Italia dengan harga yang sangat fantastis."*
> "Mayangsari dresses elegant and luxurious when gathering with Cendana family. She appears to hold a branded Italian bag with fantastic price"

The appearance of this news in entertainment discourse, is because Mayang Sari who married with Bambang Triatmodjo used to be Indonesian pop singer. Most of news about her appears in a context where she is related with cendana family.

Whereas Tempo in using cendana as metonymy dominantly in political discourse and has many usage where cendana is used metonymically without any collocation, it implied that Tempo believes its readers will understand the reference without any collocation.

One important aspect from the finding is all of the metonymic uses of cendana and its collocations are not uttered by the family, and only used by media as one of the persuasive tool to its readers. It implied an important fact that the referents may not always agree by the usage of the metonymies as referring expression to them. It also may relate to the associative meaning of cendana usage, and it will need further investigation, whether the cendana association creates a positive or negative attitude to its readers when it is used in media. It is also found that the use of cendana in media discourse will mostly provide the referents in the same text, where it could appear before the metonymy or else, it might appear after the metonymy. This will help readers in guessing the referents of metonymic use of cendana.

E. CONCLUSION

From the result and discussions above, there are 5 collocations of cendana that are used metonymically: *keluarga cendana* (cendana family), *lingkaran cendana* (cendana circle), *kerabat cendana* (cendana's relatives), *pangeran cendana* (prince of cendana), *trah cendana* (cendana's descendant) and the metonymic use of only cendana with no collocation.

Whereas for the referents, there are various referents from metonymic use of cendana and its collocations, it can collectively refer to all Soeharto's off springs or individually, it can refer to grandchildren and also to other relatives that still associated with the family, this include Prabowo Subianto (ex-son in law) and Probosutedjo, but the most significant and the most common referents as individual is Tommy Soeharto. The context of field of

discourse is mostly in Politics, then in law, economics and entertainment. The various field of discourse of cendana place name as metonymic words to refer to Soeharto's family is still extensive in media discourse, it shows that although Soeharto stepped down twenty one years ago, media still consider that readers will still understand the use of Cendana to represent Soeharto family.

There are few suggestions for further study related to the metonymic use of cendana: First, further study should be carried out to examine whether the readers especially who were born after 1998 or at least still a child during 1998 event will still understand the referent of the metonymic use of Cendana and its collocations without its referent mentioned in the text. Second, the diachronic study of its usage is also important to investigate to see how the referents change over the years, and further study should also be conducted to see if the use of this metonymy is also common in foreign media, and the third recommendation is the study of metonymic use of cendana to measure the associative meaning attached to it is also important to carry out as it will provide an overlook to the critical analysis.

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Source of Picture 1:
https://www.rt.com/uk/454320-may-resignation-brexit-june/ (May 4-2019)

Source of Picture 2:
http://time.com/5545108/unprecedented-and-extraordinarily-intrusive-white-house-refuses-to-hand-over-documents-on-security-clearance-process/ (May 5-2019)