

## Iconicity in the Sundanese Traditional Naming of Diseases in West Java Indonesia: A Study in Morphology and Semantics

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### ABSTRACT

The present paper explores the TQM application in universities libraries. For the purposes, researcher has taken seven university libraries and for the purpose two questionnaires prepared. First questionnaire circulated to librarian of each university and 100% returned back. Second questionnaire circulated to users 560 user of the concerned libraries and returned back 510 (91.07%). After analysis the data of concerned libraries, it is revealed that TQM application is not up to the mark and none of the library is ISO certified. At the end of the study some suggestions for application of TQM are also provided by the researcher on the basis of data analysis. Focusing on the naming of human diseases recognized in the Sundanese culture, this study attempts to identify which names of diseases are iconic and the relation between the linguistic forms of the names and the reality of the diseases to which they refer. This synchronic study adopts a qualitative method. The data are taken from two sources, namely Kamus Basa Sunda (Danadibrata, 2009) and the book Peperenian Urang Sunda (Hidayat, 2013). The study concludes that the phenomenon of iconicity is present in the traditional Sundanese naming of diseases. In terms of construction, iconic names of diseases in Sundanese take the form of affixed words or phrases. The iconicity between the linguistic forms used and the reality referred to can be categorized as follows: (a) similarity of form, (b) similarity of symptom/condition, (c) similarity of sound, (d) similarity of color, and (e) causality.

**Keywords:** arbitrary, iconicity, linguistic form, reality

### INTRODUCTION

Studies in linguistics generally underline the arbitrary nature of languages. Studies that raise the iconicity of languages are insignificant in number. The semantic study about verbs indicating the meaning 'to hurt' in Banjarese and the meaning components of the verbs is done by Suryatin (2014). The study of Baehaqie (2017) describes the semiotic meanings of food names in a Javanese ritual. Such studies are in fact important because they can reveal linguistic proofs to support the claim that language is not always arbitrary.

Based on the relation with their object, signs, according to Peirce (1985, 7-23), can be distinguished into three types, namely (1) icon, (2) index, and (3) symbol. Icon is a sign whose signifier has a relation of similarity or likeness with the reality it refers to. Index is a sign whose signifier has a relation of proximity with the specific nature of the reality it refers to. Lastly, symbol, is a sign whose signifier has a relation of convention with the reality it refers to.

Language is a system of symbols. In other words, the three types of symbols above also exist in language. Language is not entirely about icons, indices, or symbols for they all occur in language. However, in every language, there may be a type that is more significant or that occurs more frequently than the others (Seiler in Baryadi (2007: 18)). The study of icons of women based on Peirce's semiotic is also conducted in literature (Kadir and Palilati 2017).

The word 'icon' comes from the Latin word *icon*, which means an idol, statue, or image that bears likeness to an object. Peirce uses the word 'icon' as a semiotic term to denote a type of sign whose signifier is related to the object referred to by virtue of similarity (Baryadi, 2007, p. 1). To designate the characteristic of icon, the terms 'iconic' or 'transparent' are used (Kridalaksana, 1988) and the quality of being iconic is termed 'iconicity' (Baryadi, 2007: 9).

With regard to icon, the words 'resemble' or 'imitate' do not necessarily mean that the linguistic form and the reality referred to should be totally identical. An icon tends to reduce and

simplify the reality it denotes. For language, in fact, is the result of the user's creativity in portraying a reality; language is not mere copy of reality (Simone in Baryadi (2007: 7)).

The term 'iconic' is often opposed to 'non-iconic'. Based on certain perspectives, there are five pairs of terms that are also used to describe this opposition. First, from the perspective of sign types (icon, index, and symbol), language is iconic, that is, it has a relation of likeness with reality. If a language is non-iconic, it is symbolic. In other words, it has a relation of conventionality with reality. Second, from the perspective of the autonomy of language, when a language is iconic, it is non-arbitrary. Or, it has certain relation with reality. Thus, when it is non-iconic, it must be arbitrary. In other words, it does not have any particular relation with reality. Third, from the perspective of form, when a language is iconic, it is transparent, reflecting reality. Conversely, an iconic language is an opaque language (Kridalaksana, 1988). Or, it does not reflect reality. Fourth, based on the reality referred to, a language is iconic if it is motivated, that is, its form is motivated by reality. A non-iconic language is thus an unmotivated language; the form is not motivated by reality. Fifth, based on the perspective of formation, a language is said to be iconic if it is natural, that is, it is formed naturally, replicating reality. Furthermore, a language is non-iconic if it is conventional. That is, the relation between the linguistic form and the reality referred to is based on unwritten or tacit agreement among its users (Baryadi, 2007: 9-10).

In Sundanese community, the traditional names of diseases generally refer to diseases related to skin, eye, throat, and stomach. More complicated diseases such as cardiac disease, hypertension, cancer, dengue fever, are referred to in their Indonesian names. Not all names of diseases in Sundanese are iconic. Names of diseases such as *kesrek* 'eczema', *rieut* 'headache', *sakalor* 'epilepsy', and *bongrot* 'pox', are all arbitrary. These names bear no relationship with the reality they refer to, hence arbitrary, but they are based on convention among speakers of the language. The case is different, however, with diseases called *hileudeun*, *kotokeun*, *batuk bangkong*, or *balas bogoin* Sundanese. These diseases are iconic.

*Hileudeun*, for example, is iconic because it is a

disease marked by the swelling of the fingers or toes. The fingers or toes of a person suffering from this disease become so large that they look like caterpillars '*hileud*'. Thus, the name '*hileudeun*' is not arbitrary but iconic because there is a relation of likeness between the name of the disease and the reality it refers to. *Kotokeun* is also an iconic name of disease because a person suffering from it loses his/her visual ability, a symptom that reminds one of *kotok* 'chickens', which lose their vision at night or in a dark environment. Furthermore, the disease called *batuk banking* is suffered by a person showing a symptom of dry cough without mucus excretion. The sound of dry cough is to Sundanese people similar to the croak of a frog and therefore, the name *batuk bangkong* is iconic.

It can be concluded from the examples above that names of diseases in Sundanese are either arbitrary or iconic. This is an interesting linguistic phenomenon to observe. The study therefore aims to identify which names of diseases are iconic and what relation exists between the linguistic form of the names and the reality they refer to. The study also hopes to give a contribution to the studies in linguistics, particularly macro linguistics, by arguing that language is not always arbitrary.

## **RESEARCH METHOD**

This synchronic study adopts a qualitative method, which aims to present a systematic, factual, and accurate description and illustration of the data, characteristics, and the phenomena studied (Djajasudarma, 1993: 8). This method requires that a study be conducted based on only the existing facts or the empirical phenomenon found among language users and that the results be described faithfully as they are (Sudaryanto, 1992: 62).

The study followed the following procedure. (1) Library review: in this stage, theories related to the study were reviewed; (2) data gathering: this was the stage in which the data from the sources were sought and identified for analysis; (3) data classification: in this stage, the data gathered were categorized based on their characteristics; (4) data analysis: the data were analyzed based on the theories used and the aims of the study; and (5) conclusion drawing, in which the results of the analysis were concluded.

The data for the study were taken from *Kamus Basa Sunda* (Danadibrata, 2009) and the book *Peperenian Urang Sunda* (Hidayat, 2013). These two sources were used because they both mention a significant number of names of diseases in Sundanese.

As Baryadi (2007: 1) explains, the word 'icon' comes from the Latin word 'icon', which means an idol, statue, or image that bears likeness to an object. Peirce uses the word as a semiotic term to denote a type of sign whose signifier bears a relation of likeness to the object it refers to. The adjective 'iconic' or 'transparent' (Kridalaksana, 1988) is used to refer to describe the characteristic of what is considered an icon and to denote the quality of being iconic, the term 'iconicity' is used (Baryadi, 2007: 9).

The term 'iconic' is usually opposed to the term 'non-iconic'. There are at least five pairs of terms to denote this opposition based on certain perspectives. First, in terms of types of signs (icon, index, and symbol), language is iconic. That is, it bears resemblance to the reality it refers to. Thus, a language is non-iconic if it is symbolic; the form and the reality it refers to are related by virtue of conventionality.

The second perspective is based on the autonomy of language. According to this perspective, a language is iconic because it is non-arbitrary. In other words, it has a certain relation with reality. Thus, if a language is iconic, it is arbitrary. It does not have any relation with reality. Third, based on its form, a language is iconic if it is transparent. The form reflects the reality referred to. Viewed in this light, a non-iconic language is an opaque language (Kridalaksana, 1988). In other words, it does not reflect the reality it refers to. The fourth perspective considers the reality itself. In this perspective, a language is motivated or motivated by the reality it refers to. Language is non-iconic it is unmotivated by reality. The fifth perspective sees language in terms of its formation. A language is iconic if it is natural; the form naturally resembles the reality referred to. Thus, a language is non-iconic if the relation between its form and reality is merely conventional, based on tacit agreement among its users (Baryadi, 2007: 9-10).

### DISCUSSION

As mentioned earlier, not all names of diseases in Sundanese are iconic. Names of diseases such

as *belek* 'an eye disease marked by rheum or mucopurulent discharge'; *borok* 'a skin disease caused by wound and infection'; *budug* 'scabies', 'a skin disease marked by intense itching and appearance of papules'; *bunghak* 'gaseous stomach or flatulence'; *burung* 'mental illness'; *burung (gelo)* 'mental disorder'; *rieut* 'headache'; or *sakalor* 'epilepsy', are all non-iconic. These are all convention-based and thus arbitrary namings. By contrast, the names of the diseases to be discussed in the following sections have certain characteristics of iconicity.

### Iconic Traditional Names of Diseases in Sundanese

Based on their construction, iconic names of diseases in Sundanese are either affixed words or phrases.

#### Names of Diseases with Affixed Word Construction

Affixed words are words that have undergone a process of affixation. The affixes attached are generally suffixes. The following section lists names of diseases in Sundanese with affixed word construction and their analysis of iconicity.

#### *Botoleun is A Condition Where the So Diseases*

*Botoleunis* a condition where a part of the sole of a foot protrudes in such a way that it looks like a *botol* 'bottle'. The word *botoleun* consists of two morphemes, *botol* as the basic morpheme and the suffix *-eun*. The suffix *-eun* in the word means 'like or resembling a bottle'. The term is used by Sundanese people to denote a physical deformity where the foot sole of a person protrudes outward, making it look like a bottle. Because of the resemblance between the expression used and the reality it represents, the name *botoleun* is iconic.

#### *Hileudeun*

*Hileudeun* or paronychia is finger or toe nail infection. *Hileudeun* is marked by the swelling on a finger or toe. A swollen finger or toe looks like a big *hileud* 'caterpillar'. The word *hileudeun* consists of two morphemes, namely *hileud* as a stem word and the suffix *-eun*, which in this context means 'looking like' or 'resembling'. Thus, *hileudeun* means 'looking like or resembling a caterpillar'. The word is used by Sundanese people to refer to a disease marked by the above condition. Due to the relation of likeness between the word used and the reality it refers to, the name '*hileudeun*' is

iconic.

### *Jingjingeun*

*Jingjingeun* refers to pain in the wrist, which commonly occurs after one has lifted or carried a heavy object with his or her hand. The word *jinjingeun* is formed by the basic morpheme *jingjing* ‘to carry’ and the suffix *-eun*. The suffix *-eun* here means ‘like’. Thus, *jingjingeun* for Sundanese people means the pain like that which one feels in the wrist after lifting or carrying a heavy object. Such naming is obviously non-arbitrary, hence iconic, because there is a semblance between the word used and the reality referred to.

### *Keongeun*

*Keongeun* is Sundanese for a condition known as ingrown toenail. It occurs when the nail cuts into the flesh around it (paronychia) or beneath it (nail bed) and causes the toe to swell and look like a snail. The word *keongeun* consists of two morphemes, namely *keong* as the basic morpheme and the suffix *-eun*, which again means ‘looking like’ or ‘resembling’. Sundanese people use the term to denote a condition where a toe swells so bad that it looks like a snail. Because of the relation of resemblance between the name of the disease and the reality it refers to, the term *keongeun* is iconic.

### *Keueuseun*

*Keueuseun* is a dental disease. One is suffering from *keueuseun* when the color of his or her teeth turns black. This black color is likened to the color of *keueus* (unripe banana) sap. The word *keueuseun* is composed of two morphemes, namely *keueus* as the basic morpheme and the suffix *-eun*. The suffix *-eun* in *keueuseun* means ‘looking like’ or ‘resembling’. Thus, *keueuseun* means ‘looking like or resembling the sap of unripe banana’. This name is iconic because the term bears a relation of resemblance with the reality referred to.

### *Kotokeun*

*Kotokeun* refers to a state where a person’s vision deteriorates during night time. In a poorly illuminated environment, a person suffering from *kotokeun* is unable to see clearly and runs a risk of stumbling into an object when he or she walks. This condition is also typical of chickens, which lose their sight as it gets darker in the

evening. The word *kotokeun* is a combination of two morphemes, *kotok* as the basic morpheme and the suffix *-eun*, meaning ‘resembling’. Sundanese people use the word *kotokeun* to name an eye disease marked by inability to see clearly in low light, a condition common to chickens. Because of this similarity, the name *kotokeun* is thus iconic.

### *Reunghaseun*

*Reunghaseun* is a skin disease caused by the sap of *reunghas*, a type of wood. When the skin comes into contact with *reunghas* sap, it will be burnt. The word *reunghaseun* consists of two morphemes: the basic morpheme *reunghas*, and the suffix *-eun*, which in this word means ‘caused by’ or ‘because of’. In Sundanese culture, the name denotes the condition when the skin becomes burnt or cracked because of the sap of *reunghas*. Because of the relation between the form of the word and the reality it refers to, the name *reunghaseun* is iconic.

### *Jengkoleun*

*Jengkoleun* is Sundanese name for strangury, a condition characterized by painful urination. *Jengkoleun* sometimes occurs after one has eaten too much *jengkol* (*Archidendron pauciflorum* dog fruit).

The word *jengkoleun* is a combination of the basic morpheme *jengkol* and the suffix *-eun*, which, in this case, means ‘caused by’. *Jengkoleun* is a traditional Sundanese name of a disease of the urinary bladder. The disease is accompanied by the symptom of painful urination caused by too much consumption of *jengkol*. This name is also iconic because there is a relation between the form of the name used and the reality it refers to.

### *Peuteuyeun*

Like *jengkoleun*, *peuteuyeun* is also a urinary bladder disease. It refers to the condition when one feels pain during urination after he/she has eaten too much *peuteuy* (*Parkia speciosa* or stink bean).

The word *peuteuyeun* is formed by two morphemes, the basic morpheme *peuteuy* and the suffix *-eun*, which here means ‘caused by’. *Peuteuyeun* is known among Sundanese as a disease of the urinary bladder caused by too much consumption of stink bean. Because of this word-referent relation, *peuteuyeun* is an iconic name of disease.

### *Cacingeun*

*Cacingeun* is the name of stomach diseases caused by intestinal worm infection. The word *cacingeun* is composed of the basic morpheme *cacing*, meaning ‘worm’, and the *-eun* suffix, meaning ‘caused by’. Sundanese people use the name to refer to a stomach or intestinal tract disease caused by worm infection. The name is thus iconic because of the relation that exists between the name and the reality it refers to.

### *Useupeun*

*Useupeun* is a kind of throat disease marked with a sore throat that feels as if it were impaled or snagged by an *useup* ‘fish hook’. The word *useupeun* consists of two morphemes, namely *useup* as the basic morpheme and morpheme *-eun* as a suffix. The suffix *-eun* in *useupeun* means ‘feeling as if’. The word *useupeun* is used among Sundanese to denote a type of throat disease that is accompanied by such symptoms as sore throat and swallowing difficulty, which feels as if one’s throat were impaled or snagged by a fish hook. The relation of likeness between the expression and the reality referred to gives the word *useupeun* its iconicity.

Based on the analyses of a number of data above, it can be concluded that some traditional names of diseases in Sundanese are iconic. These iconic names are all affixed words and are characterized as follows:

- Each of the above names of diseases consists of two morphemes, namely a basic morpheme and the suffix *-eun*;
- The referent or reality is denoted by the basic morpheme;
- The suffix *-eun* means ‘like/resembling/feeling as if’ or ‘caused by’.

### *Names of Diseases with a Phrase Construction*

The phrases used in Sundanese names of diseases usually consist of two words. The following section lists a number of Sundanese names of diseases with a phrase construction and their analysis.

#### *Mata Iwakeun*

*Mata iwakeun* refers to a callus of dead skin that hardens occurs on foot sole. It looks like a pimple, but in the middle of *mata iwakeun*, there is usually a small clavus that is hard and looks

like a *mata iwak* (*mata* = eye; *iwak* = fish). *Mata iwakeun* is generally found on foot sole or a toe. The phrase *mata iwakeun* consists of two words, *mata* and *iwakeun*. The word *iwakeun* is composed of two morphemes, namely *iwak* ‘fish’ as the basic morpheme and the suffix *-eun*. The suffix *-eun* in *iwakeun* means ‘like’ or ‘similar to’. The phrase *mata iwakeun* is used by Sundanese people to name a hardened area on foot or toe of which center is a small but hard part that looks like a fish eye. Because of the relation of resemblance between the phrase and the reality it represents, the name is iconic.

#### *Batuk bangkong*

*Batuk bangkong* is Sundanese name of a type of *batuk* ‘cough’ that is dry, empty, and unaccompanied by mucus secretion. Because of the nature of the cough, the sound it produces is imitated onomatopoeically as *kong*, which is also the second syllable of the word *bangkong* ‘frog’. Indeed to the ear of Sundanese people, the sound of such a cough is similar to that of a croaking frog. The phrase *batuk bangkong* consists of two words, namely *batuk* ‘cough’ and *bangkong* ‘frog’. Because of the relation of similarity between the phrase and the reality it represents, the name *batuk bangkong* is iconic.

#### *Batuk Gangsa*

Like *batuk bangkong*, *batuk gangsa* is also a type of dry cough that does not excrete mucus. The difference is that while *batuk bangkong* sounds loud, *batuk gangsa* sounds rather husky and muffled, like that which a *gangsa* ‘swan’ makes. Sundanese people use the term *batuk gangsa* to refer to a type of dry cough that is unaccompanied with mucus excretion and that produces a rather husky and muffled sound like that of a swan. The name is iconic because there is a relation of likeness between the name and the reality it represents.

#### *Suku Gajaheun*

The term *suku gajaheun* is used to describe a person whose feet are wider than average because he or she frequently walks up and down hills barefooted or a person who seldom wears footwear since a very early age. The phrase *suku gajaheun* is constructed of two words, namely *suku* ‘foot’ and *gajaheun*.

The word *gajaheun* itself is composed of two morphemes: *gajah* ‘elephant’ as the basic morpheme and the suffix *-eun*, which means

'like' or 'resembling'. Sundanese people use the term to name a condition where a person's feet become very wide like those of an elephant because he or she frequently walks up and down hills or very rarely wears any footwear since an early age. Although *suku gajaheun* does not cause any pain, Sundanese people consider it a disease because it is not a normal condition. The name is iconic because there is a relation of resemblance between the phrase and the reality it refers to.

#### *Leho Monyeteun*

*Leho monyeteun* is a name that denotes one of the symptoms of influenza, namely runny nose, a condition where thin mucus, like that of a monkey (*monyet*) flows out through the nose. The phrase *leho monyeteun* is constructed of two words: *leho* 'mucus' and *monyeteun*. The word *monyeteun* consists of two morphemes, namely the basic morpheme *leho* and the suffix *-eun*, which means 'like'. *Leho monyeteun* is the phrase used by Sundanese people to denote one of the symptoms of influenza, namely the excretion of thin mucus, which looks like that coming out of a monkey's nose, through the nose. The similarity between the meaning of the phrase used and the reality it represents gives the name its iconicity.

#### *Hapur Kembang*

*Hapur kembang* or tinea versicolor is a skin disease caused by fungus. It is characterized by the appearance on the skin of white patterns that look like *kembang* 'flowers'. The phrase *hapur kembang* consists of two words: *hapur* 'tinea versicolor' and *kembang* 'flower'. The name is used by Sundanese people to denote tinea versicolor, a skin disease that attacks the skin and causes white flower-like patterns to appear on it. The similarity between the phrase and the reality it refers to gives the name its iconicity.

#### *Hapur Beusi*

Like *hapur kembang*, *hapur beusi* is also a skin disease. The difference is in the color of skin eruption that appears. *Hapur kembang* is white, while *hapur beusi* has a dark, blackish color like that of iron (*beusi*).

Composed of two words, namely *hapur* 'tinea versicolor' and *beusi* 'iron', the phrase is used by Sundanese people to refer to tinea versicolor that is characterized by the appearance of dark spots on the skin. The name is iconic because it

has a relation of resemblance with the reality it refers to.

#### *Bisul Beunyeur*

*Bisul beunyeur* is a type of abscess that is characterized by the appearance of a small, red, and painful swelling on the skin. The disease is named so because the size of its core is small and looks like *beunyeur* 'a grain of ground rice'. *Beunyeur* means rice that has been ground into fine grains. The phrase *bisul beunyeur* consists of two words: *bisul* 'abscess' and *beunyeur* 'ground rice'. The phrase is used to denote a type of abscess of which core looks like a grain of finely ground rice. There is a relation of likeness between the phrase and the reality it represents. Thus, *bisul beunyeur* is an iconic name of disease.

It can be concluded from the analyses above that:

- Each of the names of diseases belonging to the second group consists of two words;
- The first and second word are related by virtue of likeness;
- The referent or reality referred to is expressed by the second word;
- Because the referent or reality is expressed by the second word, it can also be concluded that the second word modifies the first.

#### **Relation between the Form of Language and The Reality Referred to**

As mentioned earlier, the names of diseases listed above are all iconic because a relation exists between the form of language used and the reality referred to. The types of relation can be classified as follows.

- Relation of resemblance of shape,
- Relation of resemblance of symptom/condition,
- Relation of resemblance of sound,
- Relation of resemblance of color, and
- Relation of causality.

These types of relation between the form of language and the reality referred to and their examples are elaborated below.

#### *Relation of Resemblance of Shape*

The names of diseases showing a relation of

resemblance of shape between the form of language and the reality referred to are (1) *botoleun*, (2) *hileudeun*, (3) *keongeun*, (4) *mata iwakeun*, (5) *suku gajaheun*, and (6) *bisul beunyeur*. The form of the names and the reality they each refer to are related by virtue of resemblance of shape. The physical appearance that characterizes each of these diseases is represented by the second word. *Botoleun* is marked by the protrusion of muscle on foot sole and the protruding muscle has a shape that resembles a *botol* 'bottle'. *Hileudeun* is a disease marked by the swelling of a toe or finger due an infection caused by nail. The swelling causes the finger or toe to become so large that it looks like a *hileud* 'caterpillar'. *Keongeun* is a condition where the big toe swells because the nail cuts into toe flesh, making the entire toe look like a *keong* 'snail'. *Mata iwakeun* is characterized by the hardening of foot sole skin and the hardened part of the skin looks like *mata iwak* or a fish eye. *Suku gajaheun* is a condition where the feet become wider than normal because a person frequently walks up and down hills or rarely wears footwear since childhood. The feet of a person with this condition are so wide that they look like those of a *gajah* 'elephant'. *Bisul beunyeur* refers to a small abscess of which core looks like *beunyeur* 'a grain of finely ground rice'.

#### Relation of Similarity of Symptom/Condition

The names of diseases that bear a relation between their form and the reality they refer to are (1) *jingjingeun*, (2) *useupeun*, (3) *kotokeun*, and (4) *leho monyeteun*. *Jingjingeun*, *useupeun*, *kotokeun*, and *leho monyeteun* are names of diseases whose form and reality represented are related by virtue of similarity of symptom/condition.

The symptom of each of these diseases are similar to the concept represented by the second word of the phrase. *Jingjingeun*, for example, is a disease characterized by pain that feels as if one had been carrying a heavy object with his or her hand. *Useupeun* is a throat disease. The throat of a person who is having *useupeun* feels as if it were impaled or snagged by a fish hook(*useup*). *Kotokeun* refers to an eye condition where a person loses sight in a dark environment like a chicken does. *Leho monyeteun* is characterized by continuous excretion through the nose of thin mucus that looks like *leho monyet* 'monkey's mucus'.

#### Relation of Similarity of Sound

Names of disease that are related to the reality represented by virtue of similarity of sound are (1) *batu bangkong* and (2) *batuk gangsa*. *Batu bangkong* is a type of dry, empty cough that is not accompanied by excretion of mucus. Its loud sound is similar to the croaking of a frog. *Batuk gangsa* is also characterized by empty and mucusless cough, however, the sound it produces is husky and muffled like the sound of a *gangsa* 'swan'.

#### Relation of Similarity of Color

The names of diseases which show a relation of similarity of color between the form and the reality represented are (1) *keuseun*, (2) *hapur kembang*, and (3) *hapur beusi*. The color suggested by the second word of each of these names of diseases is iconic to the color displayed by the physical appearance of the disease referred to. *Hapur kembang* means *tinea versicolor* in English. This skin disease is characterized by the appearance on the skin of white patterns that look like *kembang* 'flowers'. *Hapur beusi* also means *tinea versicolor*. However, unlike *hapur kembang*, the color is dark, like that of *beusi* 'iron'.

#### Relation of Causality

The names of diseases that have a relation of causality with the reality represented are (1) *reunghaseun*, (2) *jengkoleun*, (3) *peuteuyeun*, and (4) *cacingeun*. These diseases are caused by the object referred to by the basic morpheme of their name. *Reunghaseun* is a condition when the skin comes into contact with the sap of *reunghas* (a type of wood) and becomes becomes burnt or cracked because of it. *Jengkoleun* is a disease related to the urinary bladder. Characterized by pain during urination, *jengkoleun* is caused by consuming too much *jengkol* '*Archidendron pauciflorum*' or 'dog fruit'. *Peuteuyeun* is also a urinary bladder problem, but the cause is *peuteuy* (*Parkia speciosa* or stink bean). *Cacingeun* is an intestinal disease caused by *cacing* 'worm' infection.

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#### CONCLUSION

Sundanese names of diseases generally refer to

conditions traditionally regarded as diseases by Sundanese people. They are mostly diseases related to skin, eye, throat, stomach, or limbs. Names of diseases recognized by the modern medical science, such as cardiac disease, hypertension, and cancer, are usually referred to by their Indonesian names.

Naming of diseases, including in Sundanese language, is generally arbitrary because there is no relation between the form of the name and the reality referred to. Names are given by convention among language users. However, a thorough look into the data gathered revealed that not all Sundanese names of diseases are arbitrary. There are a number of names indicating the existence of relation between the names and the reality they refer to. Such naming is iconic. Thus, it can be concluded that names of diseases in Sundanese are either arbitrary or iconic.

The study resulted in the following conclusions

Based on their construction, iconic names of diseases in Sundanese take the form of either affixed words or phrases. Iconic names of diseases with affixed word construction are characterized by the following features:

- Each name of disease consists of two morphemes: a basic morpheme and the suffix *-eun*.
- The referent or reality referred to is the stem or basic form of the name.
- The suffix *-eun* means 'like/resembling/similar to' or 'caused by'.

Names of diseases with phrase construction are characterized by the following features.

- Each name consists of two words.
- The first and second words are related by virtue of likeness.
- The referent or reality is referred to by the second word.

Because the referent or reality is expressed by the second word, it can also be concluded that the second word of the phrase modifies the first.

- The relations between the form of language used and the reality referred to can be categorized as follows:
- Relation of similarity of shape,
- Relation of similarity of symptom/condition,

- Relation of similarity of sound,
- Relation of similarity of color, and
- Relation of causality.

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