

Cognitive poetic Analysis of Hidden Transcript in Two Selected Songs by Sam Kapisa and Arnold Ap

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ABSTRACT

The Biaknese has a rich singing tradition. This tradition usually has a gnomic function, in the form of advice or wise words in dealing with various phenomena in their lives. In the social and political context, this tradition also equips the Biaknese in making criticism while avoiding retaliation due to their vulnerable position. This indirectness is a method often used by sub-ordinate or oppressed groups, which James Scott calls as hidden transcript. This research discusses hidden transcript messages in two songs by Sam Kapisa and Arnold Ap, “Manyei sima” and “Arbanya ifo amsam.” Both songs use metaphorical expression inspired by the ecological life of the Biaknese such as the sea, and its animals like birds and marine life. The purpose of this research is to analyze the implied meaning hidden in these metaphors. The method used in this research is qualitative and content analysis to analyze the hidden transcript in the text of the two songs. In particular, this study refers to the concepts of Peter Stockwell and George Lakoff, cognitive poetic and conceptual metaphors with two-domain (target-source) mapping model to infer explicit and implied meanings. The results of the discussion show that the second layer of meaning, although universal, is somehow very reflective because it is determined by the local content specific to the Biaknese and Papuans. Specifically, this finding justifies the existence of hidden transcript elements in the form of metaphor, anonymity, and euphemism in both songs.

Keywords: Arnold Ap, Sam Kapisa, Hidden Transcript, Cognitive Poetic Analysis

INTRODUCTION

“Nggo wor ba ido, na nggo mar” (If we do not sing then we will die) – The motto of the Mambesak Group led by Arnold Ap and Sam Kapisa.

The quote above is a gnomic expression of Biaknese that has a philosophical meaning. It illustrates how singing is an integral part of Biak tradition and culture. There are fifteen types of songs in the Biak tradition, each of which is sung at different times and situations and has a specific purpose. The fifteen songs are: (1) dou kangkerem: songs for worship rituals; (2) dou moringkir: ritual songs when sailing on the ocean; (3) dou erisam bepok: songs of encouragement when sailing the ocean during storms; (4) dou erisam bemawa: songs when sailing in the breeze in the morning, afternoon, evening and night; (5) dou wonggei: a song accompanying a voyage on a trade mission between villages, ethnicities or islands; (6) dou nambojaren: a midnight ritual song to satirize girls who become pregnant out of wedlock; (7)

dou kansyaru: a song sung by the hostess of the ritual; (8) dou dunsner: a song reminding dancers and singers in traditional rituals to prepare for dawn as a sign of victory (9) dou sandia: a song to welcome the morning; (10) dou randan: a song sung during the day; (11) dou mamun: a song to the battlefield; (12) dou beyuser: a song to commemorate the past, about the present and the future; (13) dou kayob: a spontaneous song of lament; (14) dou beba: a song of greatness for sailors, and; (15) dou sandik: a song of praise and worship to God (Warami, 2021). These diverse songs have a gnomic function in the form of wise, moral, spiritual messages through symbolic and metaphoric expressions in a brief but deep meaning. Warami's finding shows that singing is not just a ritual but has a social function in helping Biak people address and deal with all conditions and situations in their lives. In relation to this premise, singing can also be used as a means to voice the anxiety of the Biaknese when looking at social and political context of Papua in general. The relationship between the Papuan people and the Indonesian government has been a problematic since the integration process in the 1960s until today. Unequal power relations and discriminatory policies have triggered various acts of protest and resistance. These protests and resistance actions are often interpreted by the government as acts against the law (treason) that have the potential to create disintegration, so they receive retaliation from the government apparatus in the form of silencing, imprisonment and even murder (see Akhmad & Dir, 2022).

Because of this, Papuans must be cautious to maintain their self-dignity in the public sphere. Protest and resistance finally took methods that were considered safe from retaliation, one of which was through artistic and cultural expressions. The Papuan cultural revival movement through music and folk songs initiated by Arnold Ap and Sam Kapisa through the Mambesak group is a response to the social and political situation in Papua. Although the folk songs are mostly about pride in Papuan traditions and culture as well as the natural beauty of Papua, there are some that are voices of lament and resistance. These songs are an alternative medium to voice the stories of Papuans within the dominant discourses and narratives about their lives and their relationship with an unjust social order. Grief and hope are embedded in songs of grief and resistance, as these songs are not only expressions of sadness, disappointment and anger but also convey a deep desire for a better world (Winters, 2013).

In the expressive and mimetic approach according to M.H Abrams in his book *Mirror and the Lamp*, literary works are representations of the creator's views and are also images of the world around them. Literary works are often associated with certain historical, social and cultural backgrounds (HOU Xia, 2024). They are data that serve as a window to see the social, political and cultural phenomena that form the background of their creation.

From the background and information above, the author is interested in discussing the songs "Manyei sima" and "Arbanya ifo amsam" by Sam Kapisa and Arnold Ap. Both of them are Biaknese musicians and culturalists who initiated the Papuan cultural revival movement through the Mambesak music group founded in 1978 (Goo, 2019). The two songs that are the object of this research which the author categorizes as a type of 'dou beyuser' song that tells about the condition of Papua in the past, present and future. In addition, the author also categorizes these two songs as a form of lament and resistance. Different from protest songs that are more open, direct and oppositional (David Laing in Turner, 2021) such as sarcastic poetry with anger (as an example see Haniyah, 2023), resistance songs are more covert in

expressing opposition and criticism. Resistance songs have hidden transcript elements in the form of linguistic tricks such as metaphors, euphemisms, and anonymity. According to James Scott, the hidden transcript represents the ways in which marginalized groups subtly resist domination without making direct confrontation.

There are many songs in Biak or Papua in general that if translated, the first layer of meaning (lexical) will be seen to relate to its ecological beauty. The ecological phenomenon of the Biak tribe consisting of land, beach, coast, sea and swamp has for generations adorned the Biak tribe's oral tradition in the form of folklore, proverbs and songs (Warami, 2021). This makes the phenomenon of language is social and cultural. This consideration is an important dimension in the study of the relationship between the form of language expression and its meaning function. Mofu, Arafah and Malawat conducted an ethnolinguistic study in analyzing the cultural meaning of fish in Biak proverbs.(Mofu et al., 2024). How the characterization of fish is used in the expression of proverbs or metaphorical words of wisdom. The nature of language is metaphorical in its structure. Likewise, song verses are also a type of language use, so their structure is metaphorical. Symbolism and metaphor have become an integral part of daily life and reflect the mindset or cognition of the Biak tribe. Studying language from this perspective means studying conceptual patterns (Hussein & Ismail, 2025).

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The outer layer of meaning (lexical) of the songs “Manyei Sima” and “Arbanya Ifo Amsam” is about the nature of the coast and the beauty of its animals. However, with further exploration there are elements that are implied. Both songs are coded and metaphorical. Many Biak-language songs have coded subtexts, secretly because it is believed to be a safer way to voice criticism. Immanent practices of resistance and critique have a long tradition among disadvantaged and oppressed peoples (Torrey, 2021).

In explaining a group's resistance to another group, James Scott in Susilowati (Susilowati, 2018) mentions that there are two concepts that need to be defined. The first is public discourse or public transcripts where individuals behave according to a set of rules and norms that must be obeyed in order for there to be a smooth interaction between the dominated and the dominating party. The second is private discourse or hidden transcripts where one can freely express their opinions and behave differently if they are in public areas or under the gaze of authoritative figures. In practice, the voices of the oppressed enter the public sphere through public transcripts that are considered commonplace through the world of rumors, gossip, disguise through language tricks (anonymity, allegory, metaphor, euphemism), folklore, rituals and gestures.

To analyze these hidden messages, the author uses Peter Stockwell's cognitive poetic approach which focuses on how to read, process and understand literary texts by considering cognitive mechanisms such as metaphors and conceptual frameworks. How to build meaning from the text of the song lyrics by considering cognitive processes such as inference, pattern recognition and emotional response. In its application Stockwell uses an analytical tool in the form of conceptual metaphor from George Lakoff. Conceptual metaphor helps us to recognize and map patterns (source-target mappings) in understanding abstract ideas that are

implied by connecting them to a more concrete context of experience. The model of analyzing literary texts using the cognitive poetic approach and conceptual metaphor is very rare in Indonesian research as far as the author is concerned. In particular, its application in analyzing literary texts and Papuan songs can be said to have never existed before. Therefore, this research is expected to contribute to enriching the literary studies in Indonesia and specifically in Papua.

Cognitive Poetic Analysis

By looking at the historical background of Papua, especially at the time when Ap and Kapisa were working, their songs are considered not only as traditional songs. This article argues that the text and context of these two songs are a combination of creativity and resistance. To understand them in this way, the author uses qualitative and content analysis. This research method can make valid inferences from text or other meaningful things to their context of use (Krippendorff, 2004 in Gheyle & Jacobs, 2017) through cognitive poetics analysis technique. This analysis is an approach that offers a concept that systematically explains the relationship between the structure of literary texts and their perceived and conceptualized effects. Cognitive analysis deals more with the metaphorical expression of literary works as a way to incorporate conventional knowledge and understanding artistic creativity of the poet or artist. Cognitive poetics provides a new way of thinking about literature that involves applying cognitive linguistics and psychology to literary texts (Harrison & Stockwell, 2019). Cognitive poetic also emphasizes a more descriptive and detailed presentation of the linguistic features of a text in a more practical way. In confirming the relationship between literature and psychology, Margareth Freeman states that literary texts are “products of the cognizing mind”, and she describes interpretation as “the product of another cognizing mind in the context of the physical and socio-cultural world in which the text is created and read” (FOZILOVNA, 2020). In this regard, cognitive poetic views humans as cognitive beings who rely on their background knowledge and experience to understand literary texts. In other words, it offers an important means for readers to have a clear view of text and context, circumstance and usage, knowledge and belief.

Conceptual Metaphor

The hidden transcript proposed by James Scott has several literary elements such as euphemism, anonymity, and metaphor that often form the conceptual framework of people's everyday thinking. Human's language and thought processes are essentially metaphorical in nature. Accessing these metaphorical processes is a matter of observing the language one uses and mapping out the metaphoric features of one's worldview.

George Lakoff states that conceptual metaphor is systematic set of correspondences between two-domain (source-target) experiences in which the domains are connected by mappings that link analogous elements. This mapping is a mechanism to model how emergent meanings might arise from one domain, the “source domain”, onto the other domain, the “target” (Semino & Demjén, 2016). The basic formula of conceptual metaphor is “A is B” in which A is the target domain and B is the source domain. The source domain projects its attributes onto the target domain to make the target domain more explicit.

Attribute mapping compares one pair objects in isolation but considered by convention of the rhetor to have semantic similarities between the attributes that apply to each object in the pair. It is the cognitive ability that enables us to translate our physical and emotional experiences into mental conceptions, to relate one thing to another and to integrate the results of our mappings into new conceptualizations of our experiences. Human worldviews always start from their five senses, which is often referred to as the systematization of experience into organized schemas in their minds. From a cognitive linguistic perspective, the relationship between language and thought allows form a new perspective. To illustrate the correspondences or mappings following is an example of conceptual metaphor “anger is fire”. Anger (target/vehicle) is fire (source/tenor). The examples of linguistic metaphors in English everyday use:

She was burning with anger

He was spitting fire

Given such examples, the following are the correspondences or mappings:

The thing on fire → angry person

Fire is the source, the frame into which anger as the target is put. So the common properties of the pair object is then called ground. The blended space of sharing similarities are: hot, easily burnt, and can burn provide the new emergent understanding and perception about anger.

METHODS

This research is categorized as qualitative research because it focuses on text analysis to understand meaning and context. The method used is content analysis, which analyzes text in the form of song lyrics containing metaphoric messages. The qualitative content analysis method is a reflective method used by researchers who want to uncover inherent and more subtle or hidden meanings, perhaps forming certain perceptions, norms, social orientations that only become explicit if highlighted through more reflective methods (Preiser et al., 2021). This means that the process of abstraction and description of meaning is always interpretative. This is done by considering that meaning emerges through the way in which language and discourse are embedded in specific historical and social contexts but also as a result of the researcher's relationship with textual content where subjectivity comes to interact with the text (ibid). Interpretation is a matter not of following mechanical rules, but of conducting a thorough and comprehensive analysis while having the courage to search for the underlying meaning of the text word by word. In qualitative content analysis, the goal is to understand the words used and the people who utter them (Lindgren et al., 2020).

The data sources used in this research are literature studies related to hidden messages through symbolic and metaphoric expressions in the songs ‘Manyei sima’ and “Arbanya ifo amsam. The steps began with (1) looking for words that are metaphors in the text of the song lyrics; (2) making a table to record them and look for the first layer meaning (lexical) and the second layer meaning (symbolic, metaphorical, cultural) (3) making two-domain mappings (source-target) as in George Lakoff's postulation to see the conceptual framework and; (4) analysis. The analysis process uses Peter Stockwell's postulation of poetic cognition relating to interpretation to understand literary texts, how the researcher as a reader of literary texts

draws conclusions of meaning by considering the process of cultural cognition and the context in which the text is present, embodiment, namely how the words in the text relate to the humans who use them and the emotional resonance of their empirical experience.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Having discussed the conceptual framework of cognitive poetic and conceptual metaphor, we will now look at how different conceptual metaphors can be combined to produce subtle and complex effects in the analysis of their metaphorical meanings. Basically, conceptual metaphors reflect the relationship between language and human thinking, which is naturally based on bodily experience and shaped by cultural context. Conceptual metaphors are universal yet also culture-specific due to the specific mindset. Therefore, the analysis of conceptual metaphors in “Manyei sima” and “Arbanya ifo amsam” reveals the meaning based on the culture and context of their utilization. Everyday, people think in language and use it to express ideas. Conceptual metaphor is deeply rooted in human’s thought exists widely in everyday language and literature That is why metaphorical expressions are often used by people unconsciously because they are already part of their concept of thinking and acting. In the Biak tradition, conceptual metaphors appear in everyday usage as well as gnomic expressions in the form of advice, words of wisdom or parental advice, and songs.

Cognitively, the Biaknese understand the world around them through their five senses, which is a process of systematizing experiences into organized schemas in their minds. This process of viewing the world is influenced by various factors such as ecological, social, cultural and even political conditions. To show how this statement works, the two songs chosen here, as we will see, can be read in three stages. First, the song shows the first layer of meaning (lexical), which describes nature with its animals. This scene is something observed by the rhetor. Second, it looks at the second layer of meaning, which is the metaphorical and cultural meaning. This will then lead us to the third stage which is a discussion about understanding the conceptual metaphor of the song as a whole to grasp the meaning.

The Biak tribe is known as resilient and wanderlust sailors, they inhabit the Cenderawasih Bay, the coast and islands in the North to Southwest Papua, such as the Raja Ampat islands to Halmahera in North Moluccas. The region has pristine and rich ecological conditions such as fish, birds and beautiful nature. This can be clearly illustrated in these two songs.

“Manyei Sima” By Sam Kapisa

Osofa ipyum imnis manbesaki iwa
(no birds as beauty as bird of paradise)
Manosai wembran was wemnis mansapuri
(no birds as mighty as the eagle)
Mangun diri besamo pyumfa wemniso mambruksi
(so as there is no bird as beauty as crowned pigeon)
Manofa iwor pyum imnis kawoki mandorek arwo
(no dawn song as good as song of humming bird)

Reffrain:

Manyouri mano saserefi, aweko imano manggaras

(parrot the cute singing bird, white parrot the talking bird)

Maninggeri manbe songger do marires naiwa

(green parrot the flute blower)

Wou..wou..bapeda mano man nye sima

(but what happened to those birds?)

Karwaro ..o..manno mannyei syakada

(For God sake, what happened to the birds?)

Yabe kuker osso mano sro ..ra idawer

(I've tried to protect all them but they all hunted down/killed)

Table 1. Conceptual metaphor of "Manyei Sima"

No	Bird Name (Biak)	Characteristics	Cultural/Metaphorical Meaning
1	Mambesak (bird of paradise)	There are several species that are endemic, nicknamed birds of paradise, generally beautiful feathers in brown, golden yellow, emerald green on the neck, have a tail strap. Nests in tall trees. Rarely found because it is rare.	For the Biak tribe, and Papua in general, the bird of paradise is considered a sacred bird, it symbolizes the uniqueness, beauty, and wealth of Papua which is represented through the color of its feathers (yellow symbolizes the natural wealth of Papua, emerald green symbolizes the fertility of the land of Papua), bird of paradise has a high cultural and economic value.
2	Mansapur (eagle)	Predatory, sharp eyesight, high flying ability, fast and agile. Nests in high places.	Its characteristics portray a leader, courageous, independent and visionary.
3	Mambruk (crowned pigeon)	An endemic Papuan bird, graceful and beautiful with a lovely crown,	In the Biak language, it means a bird that lives in the bush (forest), can be interpreted as a fighter, guerrilla.
4	Mandorek (magpie)	It has a loud and melodious voice, its chirping signaling the morning.	Its characteristics depict someone who brings joyful news, good news, and hope like a bright morning.
5	Manyouri (parrot)	Nicknamed smart birds because they can mimic the sounds around them, social	For the Biak tribe, especially Numfor, this bird is considered a sacred bird, its characteristics describe someone who is good at singing, prophesying about

		birds that live in groups,	tomorrow (in Biak language called konori).
6	Aweko (white cockatoo)	Intelligent bird, sound mimic, highly adaptable	Its characteristics symbolize a person who is good at diplomacy, good at talking
7	Maninggeri (green parrot)	Intelligent bird, sound mimic, green color makes it unique and rare compared to white cockatoo.	Its characteristics symbolize a person who is good at diplomacy, good at talking, good at maneuvering, as described through the song lyrics of his habit of flying maneuvering over residents' gardens.

This particular song is not a mere bird catalog, but more than that, it addresses a deep analogue and conceptualization specific to Biaknese in Papua. In this song the singer uses birds, each with its distinctive characteristics to emphasize the similarity with the object being compared. The conceptual metaphor is formed from two guiding principles, namely the principle of similarity and the prominence. Name of the bird in Biak language: Mambesak (bird of paradise), Manyouri (parrot), Aweko (white parrot), Maninggeri (green parrot), Mansapur (eagle) are compared to someone anonymous. The basic formula of conceptual metaphor in this song is HUMAN IS A BIRD in which HUMAN is the target domain and BIRD is the source domain. The source domain projects its attributes onto the target domain to make target domain more explicit. In the context of the Biak tribe's patriarchal cognition or outlook, men who have prominence qualities (cleverness, courage, intelligence, material wealth) are referred to as Mambri. Because of these prominence qualities, Mambri is often appointed as the leader of his clan.

The analogical reasoning of this song text leads to the construction of metaphors. This means that the creation of metaphors is based on analogical reasoning which includes three cognitive skills: attribute mapping (perception of similarities between objects), relational mapping (sensitivity to relations between objects) and system mapping (recognition of patterns created by object relations that allow generalization to more abstract structures).

The conceptual mapping of the metaphor HUMAN IS A BIRD can be seen as follow:

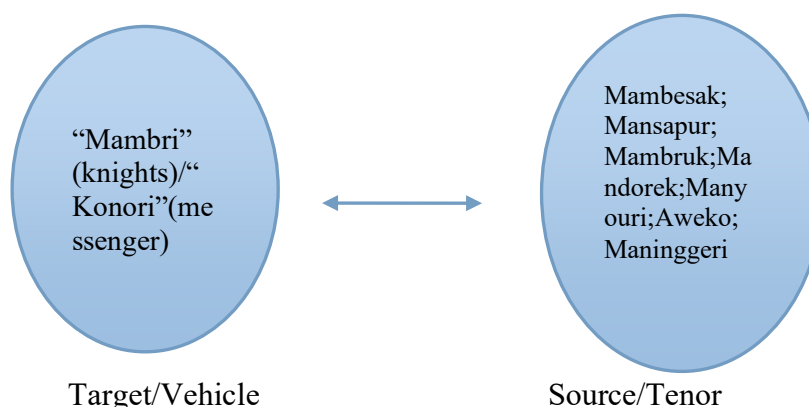


Figure 1. Attribute mapping of song ‘Manyei Sima’

The mapping of these two domains provides a basis for understanding the meanings that emerge based on attributes and relations that allow generalization to more abstract structures. The attribute or perceived similarities of the bird described in this song through the singing and talking bird and also its characterization shown in table 1 is equated to an anonymous person. Reviewing the characterization of birds in the metaphorical or cultural context of the Biak tribe, this anonymous person can be abstracted as 'mambri' as shown in figure 1. Mambri is always ready to appear at the forefront to defend the dignity of his 'keret' (family clan). In everyday usage, the word mambri is often interpreted as someone who is brave and tough.

The attributes of the birds as shown in their characteristics, metaphorical and cultural meaning in table 1: Mambesak (birds of paradise), Mansapur (Eagle), Mambruk (crowned pigeon), mandorek (magpie), manyouri (parrot), aweko (white cockatoo), and maninggeri (green cockatoo) which are singing and talking are equated to 'mambri' (knights). In particular, the bird's melodious voice and its mimicry of human speech, is associated with someone who is good at singing or speaking. In 'Koreri', the traditional belief of the Biak tribe, a messenger is referred to as 'konori'. A konor (messenger) is someone of divine character who speaks the truth. In the context of the reading here, the singing of birds is equated to the message in a song or chant, therefore someone who is good at singing and speaking the truth can be categorized as a 'konor.'

Both mambri (knights) and konori (messenger) might specifically refer to the singer himself (Kapisa) or all Papuan singers since the word singing might literally mean sing a song. While, metaphorically mambri (knights)' might also refer to those who sing and speak about justice and truth as shown in the refrain "Manyouri mano saserefi, aweko imano manggaras" (parrot the cute singing bird, white parrot the talking bird). By seeing the social and political context in Papua, the words singing and talking metaphorically can be interpreted as doing criticism.

On a macro level the song is divided into two parts, i.e. verse and refrain. Makna lapis pertama (lexical) di bagian bait menunjukkan karakteristik keunggulan masing-masing burung: Mambesak (birds of paradise), Mansapur (Eagle), Mambruk (crowned pigeon), mandorek (magpie), manyouri (parrot), aweko (white cockatoo), and maninggeri (green cockatoo). But a tragic fate is depicted at the end of the refrain where the birds one by one disappear or being hunted down. Their beautiful and melodious chirping had lured the poachers to come.

The tone of the song has an emotional resonance through the minor notes that depict sadness, which is an early indicator for cognitive creativity in understanding the second layer of meaning embodied in the conceptual metaphor.

Wou..wou..bapeda mano man nye sima

(but what happened to those birds?)

Karwaro ..o..manno mannyei syakada

(For God sake, what happened to the birds?)

Yabe kuker osso mano sro ..ra idawer

(I've tried to protect them but they all disappeared/killed)

In Scott's perspective of hidden transcripts, the style and rhetoric of not naming the specific names (sender and receiver) of the message is anonymity. The what, from whom and to whom of this song is anonymous (not mentioned) but can be abstracted through the framework of poetic cognition and conceptual metaphor. In addition, the song can also be considered a form of euphemism as it addresses the sensitive issue of dealing with protest and resistance. It is a sweet talk to soften or hide direct criticism to avoid retaliation. This song has three elements of hidden transcripts i.e. metaphor, anonymity, and euphemism. The message of the song is very sad and tragic because it tells the story of the fact that most people who stand up and fight for rights and justice in Papua will be hunted down like birds in the wild. This song is like a prophecy of the fate of Kapisa and Ap. Kapisa died in 2000. Ap was shot by authorities in 1984 in Jayapura. He was previously held in police detention, where he also composed a song called "Hidup ini suatu misteri" (Life is a mystery) in which he described himself as a caged bird who longed for freedom, but was ultimately killed in vain.

Arbanya Ifo Amsam (Arnold Ap)

Suni, sundane sundandema

(it is a full tide)

Arbanya ifo amsam

(the reef is full of sea orchin)

Mansorom irow ikarandin

(Crane is flying but could hardly land)

Arbanya ifo amsam

(because the reef is full of sea orchin)

Inja mura, raroryo

(where have you been?)

Sye mufawi fawiwa bo

(that you don't know)

Naryano sye naryano

(this is the way of life)

Table 2. Conceptual metaphor of "Arbanya Ifo Amsam"

No	Animal's Name	Characteristics	Cultural/Metaphorical Meaning
1	Amsam (Sea Urchin)	The most recognizable sea urchins are round, often black and covered in sharp spines. In Indonesian, they are called 'duri babi' because they resemble porcupines	In usage, especially in proverbs, sea urchins are often identified with trouble, or something dangerous.

		with their spiky bristles.	
2	Mansorom (crane)	Crane is a large bird with long neck and legs, slender body, and long wings. The crane feeds around the craggy shoreline at low tide. When looking for food, it flies while looking for its quarry.	Mansorom (crane) is a graceful yet innocent seabird. Its use in Biak idiom often depicts people who are innocent and careless. Mansorom (crane) often steps on the thorns of sea urchins and even sea cucumbers, putting itself in danger.

“Arbanya ifo amsam” has a different structure from conventional songs consisting of chorus and refrain, this song has a through-composed structure and is more free and narrative. This is typical of Papuan folk songs. The first layer (lexical) meaning of this song as shown in table 2 describes the ecological condition close to the Biaknese, namely the nature of the coast and its animals as described in the song lines as: sea, tide, reef, crane, and sea urchin. While the second layer meaning of this song departs from the conceptual framework of the metaphor which is summarized as LIFE IS LIKE A SEA FULL OF SEA URCHIN. LIFE is the target domain, while the comparison phrase LIKE A SEA FULL OF SEA URCHIN is the source domain. This comparison phrase is the attributes projected on LIFE as the target domain to make its meaning more explicit.

The analogical reasoning of the song texts is somewhat different although both lead to metaphorical constructions. The attributes taken in this song take one pair of objects that are considered separate from the other objects, which can be done based on the semantic similarity between the attributes that apply to each object in the pair. Relational mapping generalizes the relationship between corresponding objects in terms of cause and effect.

The conceptual mapping of the metaphor can be seen as follow:

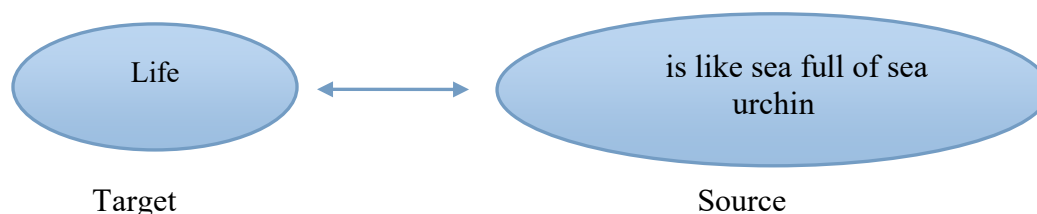


Figure 2. Attribute mapping of song “Arbanya Ifo Amsam.”

Sea urchins in the conceptual framework of the Biak tribe represent a threat that, when in large numbers, can become a pest that harms the marine ecosystem, such as the sea crane depicted in this song. In the conceptual framework of HUMAN IS A BIRD, the sea crane describes someone who is innocent and vulnerable to danger. It is described in the song's verse line that the sea crane flies but observes the sea has been filled with sea urchins, making

it afraid to land. Whenever he steps out to forage along the reef his feet will be hit by the spines of sea urchins. In general, this song is derived from the gnomic expression of the Biak tribe in the form of advice or wise advice from parents to their children, to be careful living a life full of mystery and danger.

Furthermore, the perception of similarity between the objects, the sensitivity to the relationship between the objects and the recognition of the patterns created by the object relationships allow generalization to the more abstract structure of life in Papua, especially in the socio-political context. The ground as the emergent meaning of the metaphor will be: life (in Papua) is very vulnerable and risk now because of the existing and impending threat.

The sensitivity tone of this issue is manifested not only through hidden transcripts in this song, but also metaphors in the form of anonymity and euphemism. The anonymous figure is represented by the euphemism of the words crane and sea urchin. Who does the singer mean as vulnerable people and people who are considered pests or threats in this song? This reflective question is aimed at listeners, in this case the Biaknese and Papuans in general.

The hidden element is also present through the anonymous narrator, who in the last lines of the song, is very concern and asking the crane (mansorom) “Inja mura raroryo? (where have you been?). He (mansorom) is too naive to know that the sea shore now full of sea orchin. The voice of the narator can be seen as a warning that he (mansorom) needs to be carefull when he’s at home. The crane (mansorom) might refer to the singer, in this ocassion is Arnold Ap himself or it might be the people (Papuans).

CONCLUSION

From the discussion above, it can be concluded that the songs “Manyei sima” and “Arbanya ifo amsam” do have elements of hidden transcripts contained in metaphorical expressions found through words and phrases in the lyrics. Through two-domain (target-source) conceptual metaphor mapping, hidden meanings can be extracted. Firstly, the song “Manyei sima” has a conceptual metaphor “HUMAN IS A BIRD” showing an anonymous element through the allusion of birds: Mambesak (birds of paradise), Mansapur (Eagle), Mambruk (crowned pigeon), mandorek (magpie), manyouri (parrot), aweko (white cockatoo), and maninggeri (green cockatoo) to represent the characteristics of a Biaknese or Papuan leader or figure who is gallant, brave, intelligent, in voicing the truth and resistance to injustice. These attitudes and characteristics have fatal consequences where they end up being martyred. While the second song, “Arbanya ifo amsam” has a conceptual metaphor, “LIFE IS A SEA FULL OF SEA URCHINS” and “HUMAN IS A BIRD” shows elements of anonymity and euphemism through the allusion of sea tides with its biological life such as sea urchins and sea crane. Through its meaning, this song has a gnomic function in the form of advice that is usually given by parents to their children who are considered too innocent to live a life full of mystery and danger. The message in these two songs is a reflection for the Biaknese and Papuans in general, how they behave in the midst of their vulnerable and dangerous lives.

The process of extracting the meaning of these two songs is interpretative and reflective based on a cognitive poetic analysis that emphasizes the description of the literary text in the context of the real life where it was created. That the process of interpreting the meaning by

the researcher as a reader is also another part of the process of cognition of the mind in the context of the physical and socio-cultural world in which the text was created or read. The process of interpretation in the findings of this research relies on the author's background knowledge and experience to understand these two song texts. This is both a strength and a weakness that can be a starting point for further research that complements this research.

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