

## Material artifacts of Sundanese looms with hypogram on the figure of Nyai Pohaci in *carita pantun Lutung Kasarung*

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### ABSTRACT

The present research is motivated by an examination of the intimate link between women, looms, and woven products. In ancient and traditional Sundanese cosmology, the loom is regarded as Nyai Pohaci's embodiment (the Goddess of Rice). It is not, therefore, unexpected that women and looms are intertwined. Even when looms are no longer employed, woven clothes should be present at Sundanese offerings. This study seeks to highlight, analyze, and compare the material artifacts that accompany Sundanese verbal objects in the *Lutung Kasarung* pantun. The artifacts consist of Sundanese weaving-specific idioms and lexicon. The source of the artifacts is the old Sundanese story of *Lutung Kasarung*, which offers information about human activities at the time. In this narrative, linguistic artifacts are juxtaposed with visual material artifacts that are now infrequently used or unknown. The study method employs descriptive comparative data gathering techniques with purposeful sampling, as well as visual comparative analytical data processing techniques. Findings reveal that: (1) the linguistic and visual artifacts of looms are classified into three usage categories: (a) spinning cotton into yarn, (b) preparing yarn for weaving, and (c) weaving yarn into cloth; (2) compared to the modern Baduy looms (*pakara tinun*), the linguistic and material relics are distinct and far less well-known among the population; and (3) in cultural interpretation, the loom becomes a symbol of Nyai Pohaci's sacrifice of her body for human wellbeing in the natural world and of Sundanese women's determination to settle down. In conclusion, there is a dialectical link between linguistic and visual material artifact comprehension.

**Keywords:** Artifacts; ethnolinguistics; Sundanese; visual materials; weaving

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### INTRODUCTION

Weaving is an ancient tradition; one might even say that this tradition is as old as the existence of humans in the world (Bonder, 2001; de Albuquerque, 2004; Djajasoebrata, 2007). The weaving tradition evokes human thoughts about their place in the universe. Djajasoebrata (2007) states that a piece of woven cloth is a cosmic cloth in the symbolism of weaving. The warp yarn represents the Almighty's changes and elements, while the weft yarn that shuttles back and forth represents the entire variable. It agrees with

Ngarimu-Cameron (2019), who sees that weaving is a manifestation of the spiritual values of society in certain cultures. Such embodiment is born from beliefs, feelings, knowledge, experience, skills, and creativity honed for centuries. It is then referred to as the intelligence and wealth of a specific culture or nation as a "local genius." Local genius not only refers to the unique atmosphere of a location or the "spirit" of a place but also to a fundamental principle of living design that must constantly

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respond to the context in which it is located (Richthofen, 2022).

Besides manifesting spiritual values in certain cultures, weaving has always been associated with the female gender. The role of women is a vital aspect and dramatically influences the process and results of weaving (Ahmed, 2018; del Solar, 2019; Devi, 2012; Heath, 2015; Heinicke, 2021; Motamedzade & Moghimbeigi, 2013; Ngarimu-Cameron, 2019; Wielenga, 2015). Not only in the past but also in the present, the involvement of women as the main actors in preserving culture and driving the economy through weaving activities is often found in various regions (Amelia, 2021; Hendrawati & Ermayanti, 2016; Kartia, 2016; La'a & Sri, 2013; Rohmi & Mahagangga, 2020; Sulaiman & Anita, 2020). In the Indonesian context, the link between women and weaving can also be easily observed. In almost all ethnic groups in Indonesia, such as in Aceh, Batak, Minang, Jambi, Riau, Palembang, Baduy, Java, West Nusa Tenggara, Maluku, Bugis, and others, traditional weavers are women (Indra, 2017). Even in Bima, West Nusa Tenggara, weaving skills are a requirement for women to get married (Suwandi & Sunarya, 2021).

Weaving and its features in Sundanese culture are widely enshrined in Sundanese literature, such as in proverbs and idioms, fairy tales, *carita pantun*, *sisindiran* [satire], and Sundanese poetry (Isnendes, 2013). Weaving in *carita pantun Sunda* is part of Sundanese aesthetics that contains local wisdom values and plays a role in learning and character building, as suggested by Isnendes (2015). It is corroborated by Johnson et al. (2015), who state that knowledge base on custom and culture contains extensive information and can protect biological ecosystems (ecological characters). Humans use the knowledge about the environment that they already have to maintain their survival and preserve culture as their identity (Johnson, 1998).

Weaving in Sundanese scripts has been widely mentioned, especially in ancient Sundanese scripts (Gunawan, 2019; Ruhimat, 2017). Likewise, in Sundanese oral literature, *carita pantun* (an epic) records weaving as a women's activity that is considered sacred (Isnendes, 2013). *Carita Pantun* contains words as well as sentences. According to Krampen (2013), those words and sentences contain information about human activities in the past, also known as linguistic artifacts, which are always alongside material artifacts. In this regard, the *carita pantun Lutung Kasarung* that contains linguistic artifacts records the material artifacts of Sundanese looms in the past, which are rarely used and are not even known today.

Although previous studies have investigated the cosmological, spiritual, gender aspects, present use, and recording of looms and their activities in Sundanese ancient scripts and *pantun* (inter alia

Gunawan, 2019; Megantari & Setyawan, 2019), research that specifically looks at the interrelationship between certain cultural products, in this case Sundanese looms, and linguistic artifacts, is understudied. Thus, this research sought to address the following question: how and in what ways are material artifacts, Sundanese looms, encapsulated in the *carita pantun Lutung Kasarung*?

### **Culture and Language Reflex**

The interplay between culture and language is the central domain of a branch of linguistics called ethnolinguistics (Ismoilovich & Ubaydullaevna, 2022). Ethnolinguistics is vital for reducing the gaps that exist in language studies related to the culture of traditional societies because it is a cultural whole that perceives the semantic unity of all forms of the genre, such as language, rituals, beliefs, and arts, and creates human culture (Nurova, 2021). Mastery of ethnolinguistic competence has also proven to ease the process of identifying a word's lexical connotations, discovering cultural elements in certain ethnicities, and presenting various alternative meanings of translation in the process of language translation (Hrytsiv, 2020). Meanwhile, ethnicity is related to social groups in a social or cultural system that has particular meanings or populations because of their ancestry, customs, religion, and language (Baehaqi, 2013).

Ethnolinguistic research is research on language and its functions, as well as its use in the context of sociocultural situations. In ethnolinguistics, there is a relationship between language and its speakers' worldview, as Wierzbicka (1992) said: "Each language *contains a characteristic worldview*." Words also describe the way of life and express the speakers' thoughts, providing valuable clues in understanding the speakers' culture (Wierzbicka, 1997).

Ethnolinguistic studies are also known as linguistic anthropology. It is because only humans are considered to produce a dynamic culture with languages as the medium. Culture is an integral part of the interaction of language and thought (Brown, 2008: 231). Ethnolinguistics deals with thoughts, primarily meaning. As Duranti (2012) mentioned, in reality, humans hear certain utterances as "idioms."

This idiomatic lexicon has a wide range of definitions that vary in type (Orfan, 2020) due to its diversity in usage and lack of consensus on the terms used in phraseological research (Miller, 2020). However, previous research found that a lack of mastery of the cultural concept behind idioms causes someone to have difficulty learning idioms (Orfan, 2020), which indirectly shows that idioms are related to culture. Based on those considerations, it is necessary to define specific idioms to narrow down the terms used in this study. In this study, idioms are defined as characteristics of a particular

ethnic group. The term "idiom" used refers to Dzanic and Berberovi (2020), which state that an "idiom" is a specific way of expressing something in language, music, and arts that characterizes a person or a particular group of people.

Therefore, idioms play a significant role in showing the importance of a lexicon in certain ethnic activities. In other words, according to Raffaelli et al. (2019), idioms are a part of the lexicon or special lexicons that show a close relationship between culture and language. An idiom contains word symbols with representations of the intent or meaning. As for the number and possibilities of production in a language system, they can be countless (Danesi, 2004). Then, in this linguistic anthropology, language research is highly recommended to be researched and analyzed in many domains and paradigms (Foley, 1997; Haviland et al., 2017).

In addition to idioms, part of language elements, ethnolinguistic studies also contain cultural elements. The similarity between material (objects) and language is that both are artifacts (Krampen, 2013). Then, language artifacts and material artifacts cannot be separated. They are always side by side and produced simultaneously. According to Krampen (2013), those statements can be translated into four basic arguments as follows:

- 1) Humans cannot produce language artifacts without producing material artifacts at the same time, and vice versa;
- 2) The production of language and material artifacts is what discriminates humans from primates, both of which are the foundation of human civilization;
- 3) Material artifacts cannot be produced without the simultaneous production of language artifacts;
- 4) The social conditions that dominate the production of both artifacts can be broadly said to be identical.

In conclusion, ethnolinguistics is the right tool by which the very question of the extent to which cultural/material artifacts are reflected in language features can be dissected.

## **METHOD**

### **Research Design**

A comparative qualitative design was used to describe and compare the material artifacts, a pair of the language artifacts of Sundanese looms found in *pantun Sunda*. The language artifacts here were idioms or lexicons specifically for Sundanese weaving. Thus, the research employed a descriptive comparative method with an ethnographic approach.

The data were collected using purposive sampling on the corpus of Sundanese woven idioms

taken from the fragments of *carita pantun Lutung Kasarung* to analyze its cultural lexicons. The data were processed by describing, analyzing, and comparing each material artifact as a pair for each language artifact, both functionally and visually, and then elaborated with various previous studies.

The research was carried out in two stages. The first stage was to gather data on the idioms of Sundanese looms taken from the corpus, which were part of the fragments of *carita pantun*. The data were analyzed using a meaning approach based on cultural concepts (Duranti, 2012). In the concept, the idioms stemmed from recordings of cultural phenomena in society. In this case, those are material artifacts produced simultaneously with language artifacts. The second stage was to describe, analyze, and compare each material artifact as a pair of each language artifact in the *carita pantun*, both functionally and visually. All research stages were carried out in 2009, 2013, 2015, and 2021.

### **Data Source**

The language artifacts examined in this study came from *carita pantun Lutung Kasarung*. It is a *carita pantun Sunda* with a mixed genre: poetry, prose, and dialogue. This story is a literary work considered native to Sundanese culture. The story's contents revolve around the Kingdom of Pasir Batang Anu Girang, an ancient kingdom belonging to the Sundanese ethnic group. The section on linguistic artifacts is the section on poetic forms, which has been summarized in the excerpt on Appendix A.

This *pantun* was transcribed by C.M. Pleyte (1910). Meanwhile, the visual description data were taken from a book of Sundanese ethnography by Pleyte (1912), namely *De Inlandsche Nijverheid in West-Jaya Als Sociaal-Etheologisch Verschijnsel*, and a book by Jasper and Pirngadie (1912) *De inlandsche kunstnijverheid in Nederlandsch Indië II: De weefkunst* who was contemporaneous with Pleyte's activities when collecting these *pantuns*.

### **Data Analysis**

The data were processed by describing, analyzing, and comparing each material artifact as a pair for each language artifact, both functionally and visually (Fraenkel et al., 2012). In this study, data analysis includes three stages: processing data in the form of words through in-depth investigation (reduction), describing, analyzing, and describing (presenting), and solving problems (verification), in this case regarding looms in terms of linguistic artifacts and material artifacts (Huberman & Miles, 2002). The artifact form of the loom material is a form that can be sensed, seen, and observed. Thus, the looms in this study were described, analyzed, and compared to the function and visuals of each material artifact of the looms through photographs and lithography from the early 20th century.

## FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

### Findings

This section enumerates Sundanese weaving artifacts as reflected in the Pantun Lutung Kasarung at the beginning of the 20th century (Isnendes, 2014). These artifacts can be divided into three categories, namely: 1) material artifacts of yarn spinning tools (*nganteh*) consisting of *peteng*, *celetik*, *hindesan*, *kincir*, and *kisi*; 2) material artifacts of tools for preparing yarn (*ngalaway* and *mihane*) consisting of *lawayan*, *undar*, *palet*, *sikat*, and *pihanean*; and 3) material artifacts of tools for forming woven cloth (a set of looms) consisting of *gedogan*, *geleger*, *karap*, *barera*, *limbuan*, *hapit*, *toropong*, *caor*, and *suri*. There is also a lexicon '*saung ranggon*' as a place for weaving specifically for virgin women. Table 1 (See in the appendix) Spresents Sundanese weaving artifacts, consisting of: categories of usage, language artifacts of Sundanese weaving, and lexicons representing material artifacts.

The subsequent findings will center on the description of each material artifact in accordance with their respective lexicon, complemented by early 20th century visuals (photos and lithography) of each material artifact of the looms. The description of material artifacts from each lexicon of the looms is as follows.

### Material artifacts for woven yarn spinning tools (*nganteh*).

This linguistic artifact contains material artifacts of *hindesan*, *peteng*, *celetik*, and *kisi*.

#### (1) *Hindesan*

*Hindesan* is a lexicon that represents the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact of *Pohaci Hindesan Jati*. This material artifact is made of wood in the form of a simple milled machine equipped with a base, then a supporting body, and a pair of round sticks connected at both ends by a kind of spiral gear that is at the same end of the two sticks. One of the round sticks is connected to the rotator lever. If the rotator lever is rotated, the two round sticks will rotate simultaneously and will grind any object that enters between the two rotating round sticks. The function of this material artifact is to grind the cotton rolls so that the fibers are even, smooth, widened, parallel, and free from cotton seeds that are missed during cleaning using *peteng*, so they are easy to spin.

#### (2) *Peteng*

*Peteng* is a lexicon representing the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact of *Pohaci Pelengkung Jati*. This material artifact is in the form of a curved bow equipped with a rope called *pondoh*. The function of this material artifact is to clean the cotton from the still attached seed.

Figure 1  
*Hindesan* (Pleyte, 1912)

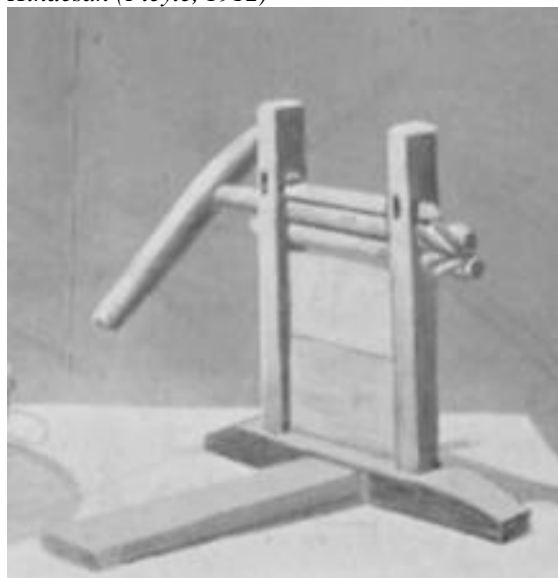
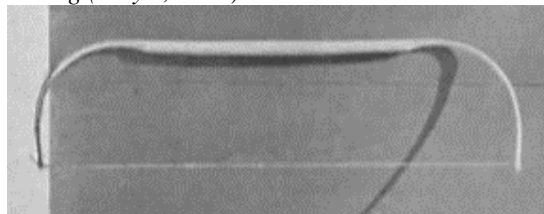


Figure 2  
*Peteng* (Pleyte, 1912)

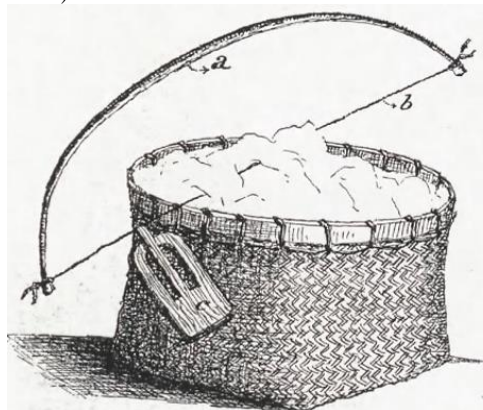


#### (3) *Cetik*

*Cetik* is a lexicon that represents the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact of *Pohaci Kaitan Jati*. This material artifact is a handheld tool made of wood that removes the fine cotton attached to the *peteng* rope. The fine cotton is then collected as big as the fingers of the hand called *asiwung* which will later be flattened on the *hindesan*. *Cetik* in the picture is shown with the letter c.

Figure 3

*Cetik* (c) to remove fine cotton (Jasper & Pirngadie, 1912)



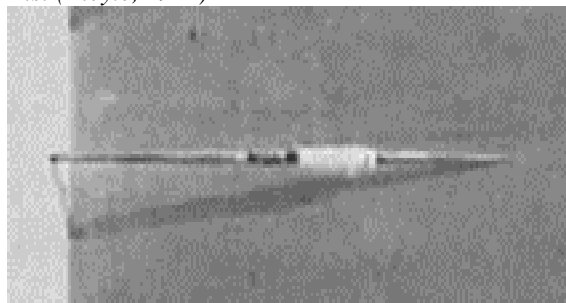
(4) *Kisi*

*Kisi* is a lexicon that represents the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact of *Pohaci Salongsong Gini*. This material artifact is a stick mounted horizontally and must be supported by a pair of *lembing* [javelins] available on *kincir*. The material for making *kisi* must be *jambe* wood (areca tree) because the material is hard and smooth. To install *kisi* on *lembing*, half of the body of *kisi* must be attached to *lembing*. The middle of the half of the body will be connected to the *kincir* rope. Meanwhile, the other half will function as a spinning wheel that rotates when *kincir* is rotated at a very fast rotation. With one rotation of the wheel, *kisi* will rotate approximately 400 times.

In the spinning process, namely *nganteh*; based on the description of the material artifacts, the first stage is cleaning the cotton raw material from the seeds using *peteng*. The results are then collected by the *celetik*, which turns the cotton into *asiwung* or clean cotton with the size of fingers. After the cotton is cleaned, the fibers are flattened by grinding using *hindesan*. After that, *kanteh* (yarn) is made using *kincir* equipped with *kisi*.

**Figure 5**

*Kisi* (Pleyte, 1912)



**Material artifacts of tools for preparing yarn (ngalaway and mihane)**

In this linguistic artifact, the material artifacts cover *kincir*, *lawayan*, *sikat*, *undar*, *palet*, and *pihanean*.

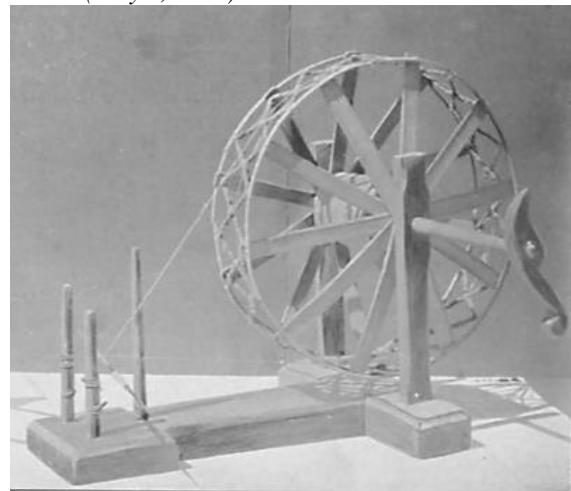
(1) *Kincir*

*Kincir* is a lexicon representing the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact of *Pohaci Penitan Jati*. In this material artifact, the circular wheel and its spokes are made of bamboo. Meanwhile, a pair of wheel support poles, a round stick and its rotator lever are made of wood for the base. Besides, it is also equipped with a pair of small poles of the same length called *lembing*. In the two *lembing*, in the middle, there is a support hole called *ceuli lembing* whose function is to support the *kisi* connected to the *kincir* rope. *Kisi* is mounted horizontally, supported on the right and left by that *ceuli lembing*. Apart from *ceuli lembing*, *kincir* is also equipped with a small pole that is slightly longer to keep the spinning rope in place. The function of this material

artifact is to rotate *kisi* connected to the *kincir* rope in the middle of the half of *kisi*. *kisi* will rotate when the big *kincir* rotates.

**Figure 4.**

*Kincir* (Pleyte, 1912)

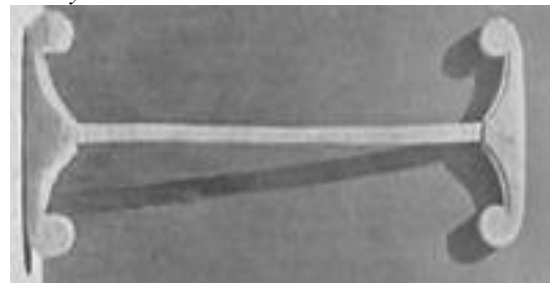


(2) *Lawayan*

*Lawayan* is a lexicon that represents the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact of *Pohaci Sampayan Emas*. This material artifact is a stick with a cross section of wood attached at both ends. The stick in the middle is called *daun lawayan*, while the stick attached across the two ends of the *daun lawayan* is called *watang lawayan*. *Lawayan* is used to collect the yarn formed from the activity of *nganteh* that has been done before using *kincir*. *Kanteh* that has been collected and rolled up on *kisi* is then moved through *dikumpar* or *dilaway* in the *lawayan*. It is to find out the size and the length of the *kanteh* (yarn) obtained.

**Figure 6**

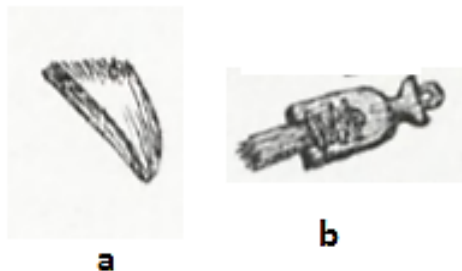
*Lawayan*



(3) *Sikat*

*Sikat* is a lexicon representing the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact of *Pohaci Lokatan Jati*. This artifact can be made from two kinds of materials: coconut fiber or palm fiber. The function of this material artifact is to apply the starch solution to the yarn arranged in *golodogan* to be dried and air-dried, so that after drying, the yarn will look smooth and easy to be processed.

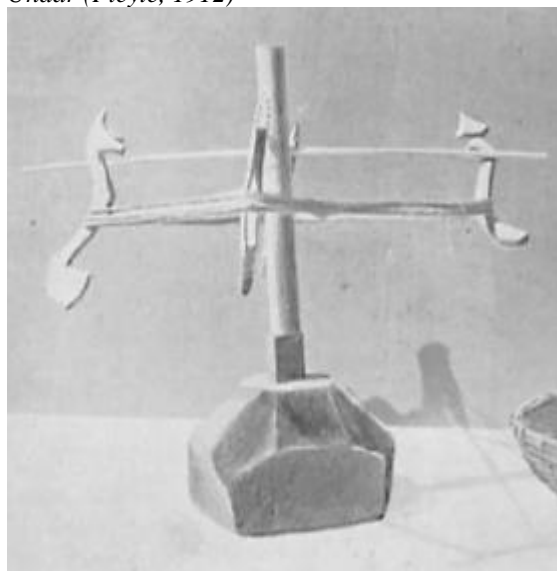
**Figure 7**  
Sikat (Jasper & Pirngadie, 1912)



(4) Undar

*Undar* is a lexicon that represents the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact of *Pohaci Ideran Buana*. This material artifact is made of wood shaped like a horizontal spinning *kincir* supported by a pole. It is used to store yarn that has been brushed and dried in the *golodog* so that it does not get tangled before the yarn is stretched and rolled onto *palet*. The wheel and spokes of this *undar* are called *kenceh* that consists of four spokes centered on a hollowed whole bamboo which is mounted vertically so that a pole can support it. The spokes of *kenceh* do not form a perfect circle. The goal is that the yarn brushed and dried in the *golodog* is easy to arrange on *kenceh*.

**Figure 8**  
*Undar* (Pleyte, 1912)



(5) Palet

*Palet* is a lexicon representing the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact of *Pohaci Leusan Jati*. This material artifact is usually made of *tamiang* bamboo or lightweight bamboo. The diameter of the bamboo is the size of a finger. The bamboo has a hole like a pipe. The function of this material artifact is to wind the yarn. The end of the yarn on the *undar* must be found and then coiled in the *palet* and rolled up. A quick way to roll the yarn is to use *kincir*. The perforated *palet* is inserted into

*kisi*, so that when *kincir* is rotated, *kisi* with *palet* installed at its end will automatically rotate. The yarn will then be coiled on the *palet*.

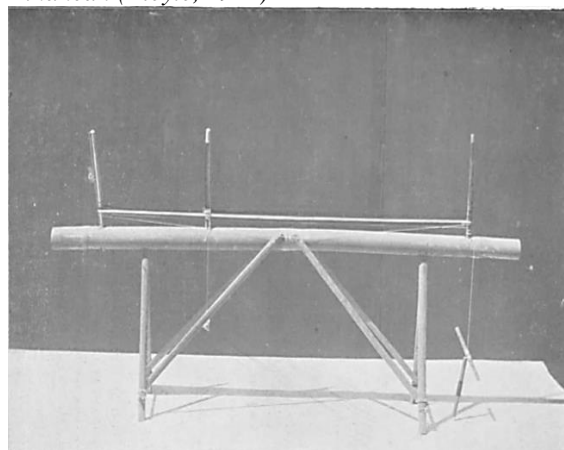
**Figure 9**  
*Kincir* (Pleyte, 1912)



(6) Pihanean

*Pihanean* is a lexicon representing the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact of *Pohaci Hambalan Jati*. This material artifact is usually made of bamboo, which functions to compose the warp yarn that will later be attached to the loom. The main body of the *pihanean* is a whole bamboo installed horizontally. Three parts of the stick are mounted vertically on the body of *pihanean*. The middle stick serves to string the *karap* rope. This lexicon is very well known in the idioms *sareundeuk*, *saigel*, *sabobot*, *sapihanean*, *sabata*, *sarimbagan*, denoting a harmonious unity.

**Figure 10**  
*Pihanean* (Pleyte, 1912)



**Material artifacts of tools for forming woven cloth (a set of looms)**

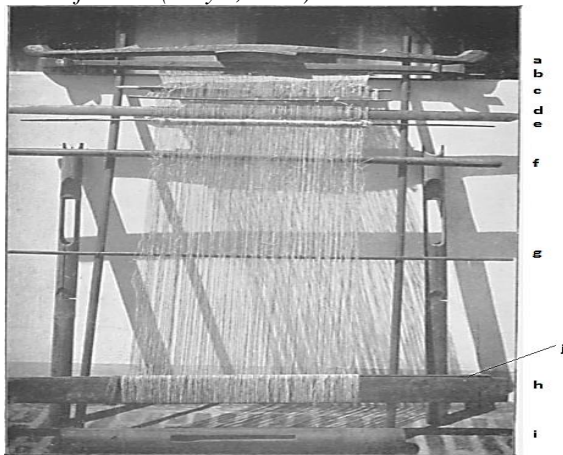
In this linguistic artifact, the material artifacts include *gedogan*, *geleger*, *karap*, *barera*, *limbuan*, *hapit*, *taropong*, *caor*, and *suri*.

(1) Gedogan

*Gedogan* (letter i in Figure 11) is a lexicon representing the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact of *Pohaci Adegan Jati*. This material artifact is usually made of large and strong wood or large bamboo which are usually used to hold the end of the warp head (*galeger*) which has been rolled on *tunjangan*.

**Figure 11**

A set of looms (Pleyte, 1912)



(2) *Galeger*

*Galeger* (letter j in Figure 11) is a lexicon that represents the material artifact as a pair to the language artefact *Pohaci Gereleng Herang*. This material artifact is usually made of bamboo shaped into a kind of flat stick called the warp head (*galeger*) which is then rolled on *tunjangan* and then mounted on a *gedogan*.

(3) *Karap*

*Karap* (letter c in Figure 11) is a lexicon that represents the material artifact as a pair of the language artefact *Pohaci Rantayan Jati*. This material artifact is usually made of a stranded rope where each strand is used to hold each strand of the warp yarn. This *karap* is then mounted on *nyere* (stick). The combination of *nyere* and *karap* is called *jinjingan*. In weaving, it functions as an adjusting tool for the up and down of the warp row.

(4) *Barera*

*Barera* (letter d in Figure 11) is a lexicon representing the material artifact as a pair of the *Pohaci Paneteg Jati* language artifact. This material artifact is usually made of flat wood. Its function is to reinforce the webbing of the weft yarn in the warp after the weft yarn is inserted crosswise with a *toropong* tool, then pressed by *suri* and then stabilized by *barera*. This lexicon is famous for the idiom *awas bisi kabarerang*, which means "watch out for the sap, take the blame!"

(5) *Limbuhan*

*Limbuhan* (letter f in Figure 11) is a lexicon representing the material artefact as a pair of the language artifact *Pohaci Gulingan Jati*. This material artifact is usually made from round wooden sticks. Its function is to weight the warp so that it will make the warp row tighten. The smaller *limbuhan* (letter g in Figure 11) is called *titihan*.

(6) *Hapit*

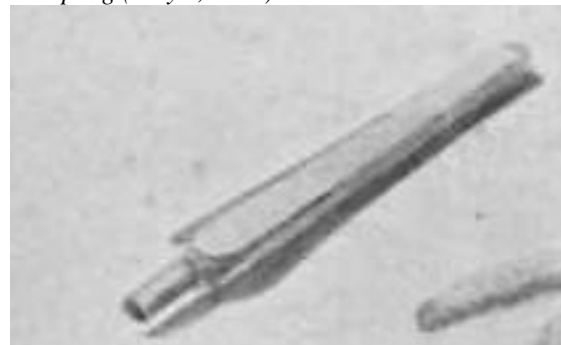
*Hapit* (letter b in Figure 11) is a lexicon representing the material artifact as a pair of the *Pohaci Inditan Jati* language artifact. This material artifact is usually made from wooden sticks. Its function is to roll the strong webbing of warp-weft into a woven fabric step by step.

(7) *Toropong*

*Toropong* is a lexicon representing the material artifact as a pair of the *Pohaci Rongsongan Jati* language artifact. This material artifact is usually made from *tamiang* bamboo. Its function is the same as the lifeboat on a sewing machine, which stores the *palet* of the weft yarn so that they are not easily straggling. Besides, it also makes it easier to weave the weft on the warp. This *toropong* is famous in the story of Sangkuriang, when Dayang Sumbi lost her *toropong* which fell under *saung ranggon* and was taken by Tumang.

**Figure 12**

*Toropong* (Pleyte, 1912)



(8) *Caor*

*Caor* (letter a in Figure 11) is a lexicon representing the material artifact as a pair of the language artifact *Pohaci Layaran Jati*. This material artifact is usually made of wood whose shape follows the shape of the waist and back. It serves as the backrest of weavers.

(9) *Suri*

*Suri* (letter a in Figure 11) is a lexicon that represents the material artifact as a pair of the language artefact *Pohaci Ringgit Maya*. This material artifact is usually made from the bark of a snake fruit tree in the shape of a rectangular box. The length follows the length of the warp row. In its middle is an array of *bangban* plant stems shaped like a closed comb. Its function is to press the weft after it is inserted between the warp. After the weft is entered with *toropong*, then the comb will press the weft, then the webbing is strengthened by *barera*.

In this stage, as the process of preparing *kanteh* (yarn) for weaving is taking place, first, the *kanteh* is *dilaway*, or the length of the *kanteh* is measured by using *lawayan*. It is then smeared with starch

using a brush and dried in the sun. Then after drying, the *kanteh* is *diundar* so it can be rolled on *palet*. The yarn is then arranged on the *pihanean* and *dikarap* to form the warp yarn (yarn that lines up parallel), which can be inserted back and forth with the weft during weaving. The last process is the *ninun* (weaving) using a set of looms, namely *gedogan*, *geleger*, *karap*, *barera*, *limbuan*, *hapit*, *toropong*, *caor*, and *suri*.

Then, according to Pleyte (1912), apart from the looms and their activities recorded in the *pantun*, there is one thing not found in the recording. It relates to the concept that a woman still a virgin usually performs weaving activities in a very high bamboo stilt house called *saung ranggon*, as seen in Figure 13.

**Figure 13**  
*Saung Ranggon*



### Discussion

It is not precisely clear when the Sundanese people became acquainted with weaving activities. However, the evidence contained in various Sundanese scripts, fairy tales, and stories shows that weaving is a skill that has been present, required, and practiced for a long time and is even thought to have emerged in the 16th century based on the presence of cloth motifs listed in ancient Sundanese scripts (Sasmita, 2022).

There are many looms recorded in the *carita pantun*, up to 19 lexicons encompassing three processes in weaving, namely: (1) *nganteh* or spinning, making yarn from cotton, (2) *ngalaway* and *mihane*, namely preparing yarn for weaving, and (3) *ninun* or weaving, making yarn into cloth. However, the looms used by the Baduy people today, as reported by Megantari and Setyawan (2019), appear to be more simplified and only include two processes, *mihane* and *ninun*. The Baduy community, especially the Outer Baduy

producing woven fabrics, no longer processes cotton into yarn because yarn can be bought from outside the Baduy, namely from Tanah Abang (Jakarta) and Majalaya (Megantari & Setyawan, 2019). It is in line with the results of an interview conducted in 2021 with Arsid Gajeboh, an Outer Baduy weaving entrepreneur. Thus, the looms used in the 20th century by the Sundanese Baduy people can be compared with those recorded by Pleyte in 1910. There are differences and the disappearance of linguistic artifacts in indigenous peoples in Baduy.

As for the recording of looms and their activities in the ancient scripts by Gunawan (2019), there is also a lexicon of interest, namely '*sawung*', which has not yet been identified. It is likely that *sawung* in the ancient scripts is *saung ranggon*, i.e., the place occupied by a virgin woman when she is weaving.

Based on the above descriptions of each material artifact of the Sundanese looms in the 20th century, along with the process of making certain cloth from cotton raw materials to cloth, some implications emerge in relation to previous studies. First is that the woven material artifacts become a counterweight of the abstract aspects of the looms, namely (1) cosmological (Djajasoebata, 2007), (2) spiritual (Ngarimu-Cameron, 2019), (3) female gender (Isnendes, 2021) which only exist in the mental aspect. It can then be brought to a more realistic direction, namely for activities, and looms into everyday life, especially in the daily activities of the Sundanese people. In the end, weaving is not only an exclusive activity for a handful of people, but it can also be developed into an economic activity for the Sundanese. In this case, Baduy women have moved in that direction and made their income aside from *ngahuma* or farming.

Culturally, women's looms are interpreted as the independence of Sundanese women in facing their maturity (Djajasoebata, 2007). It is in line with the opinion of Suryalaga in Harini and Rostiyati (2018), according to which weaving activities can improve a person's quality because, in the process, they must be accompanied by patience, thoroughness, economy, aesthetics, concentration, contemplation, and the ability to manage time. Producing a piece of cloth takes a long process accompanied by sincerity and patience (Djuniwanti at al., 2022). It shows that there are positive acknowledged values in the way of viewing a Sundanese woman, considering that knowledge and skills in weaving are usually owned and carried out by women (Mustapa, 2022). The tale of Nini Anteh, which is always associated with looms and weaving activities, also supports this image by how educated her figure is (Harini & Rostiyati, 2018).

The finding in this study is also in line with the last point highlighted by previous research (Mubarok, 2017) regarding the representation of Sundanese women in Sundanese proverb idioms



described as full of benevolence. However, the philosophy of looms and weaving is simultaneously contradictory to the first two points of Mubarak's interpretation (2017), which reveals that in Sundanese proverbs, Sundanese women are seen as submissive entities to men and are sexual objects. The relationship between Sundanese women and looms in the past was deemed necessary because their skills in using, caring for, and treating the looms was a sacred symbol and one of the considerations for a man to propose. It can be seen in the ancient script *Kawih Pangeuyeukan* which tells that the nymphs have a place of burial whose names are related to the tools, terms, and activities of weaving (Fauziyah, 2021).

In a material-visual way, the looms are also unique and complicated, as if they represent the psychological side of women biologically, according to Prado et al. (2021), influenced by complex hormonal cycles. It is very different from the lexicon of 19 names of Sundanese looms that represent material artifacts, which denote simple parole and associate male language (*genderlect*) from light (lexicon *celetik*) to heavy (lexicon *geleger*). It is assumed that, because of that masculinity, in a genderlect way, women refine the lexicon of these looms with the lexicon *pohaci* as a female representation in the roles of ancient and traditional Sundanese women in the past. This is interpreted as a pattern of balance in life in the universe, or a cosmology of dualism, which is also believed by the Sundanese people as a way of life (Isfiaty & Santosa, 2020).

The idioms that occur in the lexicon *pohaci* are very aesthetic and exotic in language, reflecting women who are beautiful, delicate, skilled, intelligent, and functional as a depiction of Nyai Pohaci (Goddess of Rice, goddess of all women and plants) who is beautiful and willing to sacrifice for human welfare in the world (Isnendes, 2014). Pohaci in *Kamus Bahasa Sunda* [the Sundanese Dictionary] (Danadibrata, 2006) is a goddess assigned by Batara Guru to take care of rice. Pohaci also has other names such as Dewi Sri, Dewi Asri, Sari pohaci Sanghyang Sri, Nyai Sri, Nyai Pohaci, Nyai Pohaci Sanghyang Sri Dangdayang Tisnawati/Tresnawati. The word Pohaci is also applied to all the goddesses in heaven (nymphs). There are several reasons why the looms are named after the names that symbolically represent Nyai Pohaci. In addition to the assumptions stated previously, in ancient and –now, some– traditional Sundanese beliefs, Pohaci is the mother of all plants, and all plants serve her (Bahagia et al., 2021; Holil, 2022; Isnendes, 2014). Thus, all plant derivatives are part of Nyai Pohaci's body. Therefore, the looms made of plant wood and bamboo in *carita pantun Lutung Kasarung*, are named Nyai Pohaci.

Figure 14

Nyai Pohaci and origins of plants

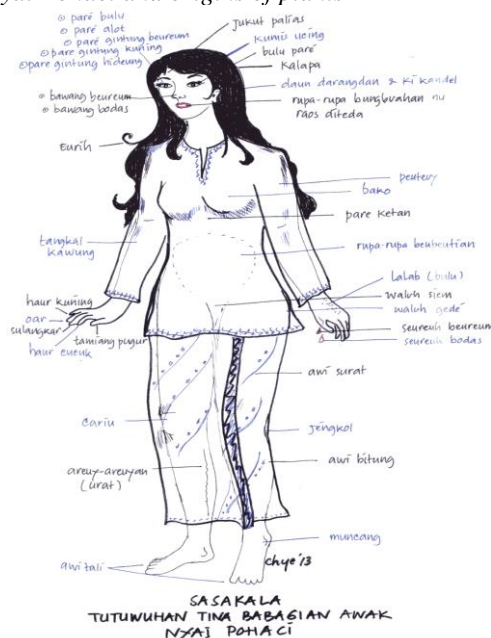


Figure 14 illustrates Nyai Pohaci and her cultural interpretations of her body parts. This figure was extracted from *carita pantun Tjarita Sri Sadana or Sulandjana* transcribed by Ajip Rosidi in 1970 (Isnendes, 2014). The picture above demonstrates how the Nyai Pohaci's body encapsulates the source of plants in the natural world, according to Sundanese cosmology.

Thus, if we conclude the idioms used in *carita pantun Lutung Kasarung*, genderlectically naming looms with the name Pohaci is a very logical behavior and accompanied by a beautiful view. The name that emerged from the past of the Sundanese people from nature, thoughts, beliefs, and worship of women became an identity, identification mark, symbolic, and contained the inner wealth of the Sundanese people. In addition, the management of looms handed over to women, which marks the maturity of a woman becomes very functional. Language maps thoughts, beliefs, understandings, and hopes and is inseparable and closely related to thought processes (Mamadalieva, 2021). Therefore, it can be said that the idioms in *carita pantun Lutung Kasarung* embody the essence of the thoughts of the Sundanese people at the time.

<i>Ulah sok hayang ka Gula</i>	Janganlah mau pada gula [Do not expect sugar]
<i>Tacan bisa ninggur kawung</i>	sebelum bisa memukul aren [Before you can hit a palm tree]
<i>ulah sok hayang ka kula</i>	janganlah mau sama kula (daku) [Do not expect me]
<i>Tacan bisa ninun sarung</i>	sebelum (engkau) bisa menenun (kain) sarung [Before you can weave sarongs]

In the fragment of *carita pantun Sunda* above, the teenagers are depicted as related to each other.

The girls who weave in small huts (*saung ranggon*) attracted the hearts of young men. The sound of a loom that could be heard from afar thumped rhythmically like a signal for young men. They were also attracted by the rhythmic repetitive sound, and they came to the girls, waited for them below, and stared at them from under the *saung ranggon*. Nature and the lush green environment created a romantic depiction of their interactions and relationships.

The sarong cloth, as a result of the girls' skills, is a sign of their maturity. The sarong is only part of the woven product that becomes a symbol that Sundanese women must be able to take care of clothing in their household. The cloth will be a dress as a symbol of honor in their household. It would be a shame for women if they could not 'weave,' sew, and take care of the clothes of their husbands and children. Therefore, looms, woven materials and weaving skills display a woman's maturity and ability to take care of her household duties in the future. This is evidence of how ancient and traditional Sundanese people view the role of a woman in life, who is considered essential and respected because she will become a 'mother' (Caturwati, 2019), who usually plays a domestic role (Firmansyah, 2022).

Thus, for those who understand the relationship between language and culture of the Sundanese people, the looms presented in linguistic and visual materials will become new knowledge about the importance of these looms for the regeneration of the ancient and traditional Sundanese people. Apart from being an icon of Nyai Pohaci's body, the looms symbolize the preparedness of ancient and traditional Sundanese women to marry. Weaving tools and woven products play an essential role in the superstructure of the ancient and traditional Sundanese people. It is because without weaving, there may be no marriage, and without marriage, regeneration is impossible, and *alam paramean* (the universe) becomes desolate and dies. It aligns with research findings by Scoviana et al. (2018). Those are the aspects of abstract weaving (cosmological, spiritual, and gender). As for now, there are new hopes in developing creative economic opportunities for the Sundanese people. This can be explored and elaborated to provide full benefits, especially for modern Sundanese women.

## CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the research, the following conclusions obtain. **First**, looms and their uses are divided into three categories, namely (a) material artifacts of yarn spinning tools (*nganteh*) consisting of *hindesan*, *peteng*, *celetik*, and *kisi* (b) material artifacts of tools for preparing yarn (*ngalaway* and *mihane*) consisting of *kincir*, *lawayan*, *sikat*, *undar*, *palet*, and *pihanean*. and (c) and material artifacts of

tools for forming woven cloth (a set of looms) consisting of material *gedogan*, *geleger*, *karap*, *barera*, *limbuhan*, *hapit*, *taropong*, *caor*, and *suri*. **Second**, compared to the current Baduy loom tools, these material artifacts are less known to the Baduy people. The material artifacts as a pair of the linguistic artifacts in the *Lutung Kasarung pantun*, which consists of three types of processes, namely *nganteh*, *mihane* and *ninun*, are different from the weaving process found in the Baduy community, which only has two types of processes, namely *mihane* and *ninun*. **Third**, in cultural interpretation, apart from being an icon of Nyai Pohaci's body, looms symbolize the readiness to settle down for an ancient and traditional Sundanese woman's household. Therefore, there is a dialectic in understanding linguistic material artifacts and visual material artifacts. The process may be first to recognize the visual material artifacts and then understand the linguistic material artifacts, or conversely, recognize the linguistic artifacts before knowing the visual material artifacts.

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**APPENDICES**

**Appendix A**

Purba Sari Ayu Wangi, the youngest princess, was said to have suffered from her life because she was constantly harassed by her older sister, Putri Purba Rarang, who desired the Kingdom of Pasir Batang and Anu Girang. One day, the youngest daughter was expelled from the palace and placed in a hut in the middle of the forest. Lutung (a black monkey with a long tail), the incarnation of Guru Minda Kahiangan, son of Sunan Ambu and Batara Guru Hyang Tunggal, had arrived at the palace to find a mate. At the palace, the princesses, including those who were weaving, were disturbed. Lutung was looking for the daughter that had come to him in his dream. However, among the daughters, he could not find one that looked like his mother, as she appeared in his dream. It is the atmosphere described when Lutung was peeking at the princesses' weaving. Because Lutung did not find what he dreamed of, he started to make a mess in the palace. Purba Rarang, therefore, directed Uncle Lengser to cast him into the forest with the Youngest princess. In the ugly hut in the middle of the forest, the young princess who was suffering always got help from the monkeys. Purba Sari, who was ugly because of Purba Rarang's trick, returned to her beauty after bathing in the lake given by Lutung. She also had a golden palace, also a gift from the monkey. The news that a golden palace on the mountain reached Purba Rarang. How angry Purba Rarang was when it turned out that her younger sister was even victorious. To get rid of her sister, she asked Purba Sari to participate in whatever *pasanggiri* or competitions she wanted. The competition included Purba Sari planting rice on seven hills, making the cloth as long as possible, and making delicious food. Of course, Purba Sari could only cry because she had no people. However, everything could be overcome with the help of Lutung or the incarnation of Guru Minda. The seven hills of rice, long cloth, and delicious food had been made by the angels, who were the right hands of Sunan Ambu, the mother of Guru Minda. Purba Sari's task was to learn how to socialize with people later on. How to? The trick was that Sunan Ambu got into Purba Sari's dream and taught her how to cultivate the land for planting rice, processing rice and cooking it, making clothes and looms, and other provisions, including telling Purba Sari the names of the looms. That's what he said: *kapas* is named *Pohaci Ulesan Jati*, *hindsan* is named *Pohaci Gilingan Jati*, *peteng* is named *Pohaci Pelengkung Jati*, *celetik* is named *Pohaci Kaitan Jati*, *peteng* is named *Pohaci Cemut Putih*, *gelengan* is named *Pohaci Sang Lempay Putih*, *kincir* is named *Pohaci Penitan Jati*, *kisi kosong* is named *Pohaci Salongsong Gini*, *lawayan* is named *Pohaci Sampayan Emas (gorolong jati)*, *kanteh* is named *Pohaci Ringkelan Jati*, *kanteh putih* is named *Pohaci Maya Putih*, *kanteh beureum* is named *Pohaci Maya Kuning*, *kanteh hideung* is named *Pohaci Irengan Jati*, to print *Pohaci Naga Paneteg*, *sikat* is named *Pohaci Lokatan Jati*, *undar* is named *Pohaci Ideran Buana*, *pangacian kulakan* is named *Pohaci Naga Pamungkus*, *palét* is named *Pohaci Leusan Jati*, *pihanéan* is named *Pohaci Hambalan Jati*. In addition, the *gedogan* for weaving also has a name. *Gedogan (Pohaci Adegan Jati)* is made up of the following components: *tegel (Pohaci Rangsangan Jati)*, *geleger (Pohaci Gereleng Hérang)*, *karap (Pohaci Rantayan Jati)*, *barera (Pohaci Paneteg Jati)*, *limbuan (Pohaci Gulingan Jati)*, *hapit (Pohaci Inditan Jati)*, *toropong (Pohaci Rongsongan Jati)*, *caor (Pohaci Layaran Jati)*, *sumbina (Pohaci Pingitan Jati)*, *surina (Pohaci Ringgit Maya)*.  
*De Legende van den Loetoeng Kasaroeng* (Pleyte, 1910: 135-218)

**Appendix B**

*Sundanese weaving artifacts*

No	Use category	Language artifacts of Sundanese weaving (Idioms)	Lexicons representing material artifacts
1		<i>Pohaci Gilingan Jati</i>	<i>Hindsan</i>
2	Material artifacts of yarn spinning tools ( <i>nganteh</i> )	<i>Pohaci Pelengkung Jati</i>	<i>Peteng</i>
3		<i>Pohaci Kaitan Jati</i>	<i>Cetik</i>
4		<i>Pohaci Salongsong Gini</i>	<i>Kisi</i>
5		<i>Pohaci Penitan Jati</i>	<i>Kincir</i>
6		<i>Pohaci Sampayan Emas</i>	<i>Lawayan</i>
7	Material artifacts of tools for preparing yarn ( <i>ngalaway</i> and <i>mihane</i> )	<i>Pohaci Lokatan Jati</i>	<i>Sikat</i>
8		<i>Pohaci Ideran Buana</i>	<i>Undar</i>
9		<i>Pohaci Leusan Jati</i>	<i>Palet</i>
10		<i>Pohaci Hambalan Jati.</i>	<i>Pihanean</i>
11		<i>Pohaci Adegan Jati</i>	<i>Gedogan</i>
12		<i>Pohaci Gereleng Hérang</i>	<i>Geleger</i>
13		<i>Pohaci Rantayan Jati</i>	<i>Karap</i>
14	Material artifacts of tools for forming woven cloth (a set of looms)	<i>Pohaci Paneteg Jati</i>	<i>Barera</i>
15		<i>Pohaci Gulingan Jati</i>	<i>Limbuan</i>
16		<i>Pohaci Inditan Jati</i>	<i>Hapit</i>
17		<i>Pohaci Rongsongan Jati</i>	<i>Toropong</i>
18		<i>Pohaci Layaran Jati</i>	<i>Caor</i>
19		<i>Pohaci Ringgit Maya</i>	<i>Suri</i>