Semantic Analysis of River Fauna in Banjarese Proverbs, South Kalimantan, Indonesia

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Doi: 10.5901/mjss.2017.v8n3p267

Abstract

Banjarese people live in South Kalimantan Indonesia. Basically, the Banjar culture is inseparable from the river because the river and lowland or swamp environments influence the development of Banjarese culture. Banjarese people perform many activities in the river, such as trading foods, transporting people and stuff, cultivating crops, etc. Various river based activity is a source of livelihood to support daily life. Hence, Banjarese culture, including Banjarese proverb, is associated with the river. This study aims to describe how the fauna in the river and swamp environment contribute and inspire the birth of Banjar proverbs. This research used descriptive method, a method which seeks to explain the data carefully as what was recorded from observation, informant interviews, and document. Data analysis processes use content analysis method (content analysis). The results of the study were described as follows: (i) faunas of the river environment that contribute to the formation of Banjarese proverbs include moluscs, fishes, reptiles, birds, and mammals; (ii) river fauna words/phrases that became part of the sentence in Banjarese proverbs including timpakul (The mudskipper), bakut (The marble goby), baung (The two-spot catfish), saluang (Rasbora), hundang (The shrimp), haruan (The striped snakehead), and pupuyu (The climbing perch); (iii) reptile word/phrases that became part of the sentence in Banjarese proverbs are tadung (The cobra), buhaya (The crocodile), bidawang (The flatback sea turtle), and kukura (The Bornean river turtle); (iii) bird word/phrases that became part of the sentence in Banjarese proverbs including itik japun (The duck), balibis (whistling duck), buak (The brown hawk-owl), and buburak (The Javan pond heron); (iv) swamp animal words/phrases that became part of the sentence in Banjarese proverbs including siput (The snail), hadangan (The buffalo), and pilanduk (The mouse-deer); (v) rice field fauna words/phrases that became part of the sentence in the proverb describe river fauna life and behavior to make an analogy of life and Banjar human nature.

Keyword: Banjarese Culture, Proverb, River fauna, South Kalimantan

1. Introduction

The Banjar community is indigenous peoples inhabit the South Kalimantan province, Indonesia. They speak Banjarese. This language is derived from the old Malay language (Proto Austronesian). Thus, based on the language, Banjarese people could be considered as Malays (Kawi, 2011; David, 1997).

South Kalimantan province has an area of 41,467,75 km². Average rainfall is between 2000-2700 mm³, hence the area is classified as humid tropical climates. Geographic plains in South Kalimantan are divided into (i) swamp area of 900,000 ha (monotonic swamp of 500 ha, tidal swamp of 200,000 ha, and lakes of 100,000 ha); (ii) alluvial lowlands of 200,000 ha; (iii) reeds region of 600,000 ha; and (iv) mountainous region of 2,100,000 ha (Syanfuddin, et al. 1997). South Kalimantan region is divided into two major parts, wetlands (lowland region) and highlands (mountain region). Banjarese people prefer living in wetlands, especially at the edges of the river.

Basically, Banjarese culture is inseparable from water or river. Banjarese community is capable of adapting environmental conditions which possess a lot of swamps and rivers. As a result Banjarese community formed a distinctive river culture. Residences, markets, and mosques are established along the river. This culture is not only visible in one or two districts, but the entire regions of South Kalimantan possess the stereotype culture, namely river culture. Banjarese community is often divided into two groups, Banjar Kuala and Banjar Hulu. The Banjar Kuala inhabited region along the Barito and Martapura rivers. This area includes Banjarmasin, Banjar Regency, and Tanah Laut Regency (Kawi,
et al., 1986). The Banjar Hulu inhabited in the upstream rivers: Hulu Sungai Tengah, Hulu Sungai Utara, Hulu Sungai Selatan, and some districts outside the city of Banjarmasin, Martapura, and Tanah Laut (Durasid, et al., 1978).

The river life of Banjar Kuala society is distinctly shown through activities in the river region. Banjar Hulu is often called Pahuluan or Hulu Sungai (upstream) people. They established their houses on the banks of the river that flows in areas surrounding their settlement. The Hulu Sungai people temporarily go to the mountains or highland areas to cultivate rice, rubber, and etc.

The phenomenon of Banjarese life is enshrined in Banjarese literary works in the form of literary prose, poetry, proverbs, etc. Every literature is very important as research material in order to study Banjarese world view. Hamzah & Mat Hassan (2011) explained that proverbs contain the relationship between Malay language and thought processes. How Malays looked view their world is summed up in their proverbs. Language is a cultural mode, especially verbal-based culture (verbal folklore). Widiyono (2012) explains that literary works are information sources regarding behavior, value, and idea that are possessed by members of each layer that in the society, kinship group, or on a particular generation.

Literary works (both oral and written, old and new) are works of art that use language as its media. Banjarese language constructs the literature of media for both prose and poetry, as well as other forms, such as riddles, proverbs, etc. Iswary (2007) argues that through the language, people are able to learn history in the past. Thus, literature is a priceless document of the culture of a society. The study of proverb in ethnic language is few such as Hamzah & Mat Hassan (2011). This study aims to describe how the fauna in the river and swamp environments contribute and form Banjar proverbs.

2. Literature Review

The proverbs are the product of an ethnic culture that has existed for hundreds of years. The proverb is considered as part of folklore because it transmitted from generation to generation. Folklore is the body of expressive culture shared by a particular group of people. These include oral traditions such as proverbs, tales, and jokes. Danandjaya (1986) state that folklore is a traditional product, which is distributed in the form of relatively fixed in a long time (at least two generations).

The Banjar proverb is a product of ancient Banjar culture remain persists today. The proverb often used to corroborate advice or teaching values. Ghanı (2004) argues that the value defined as something precious, contains good notions, considered true and contains truth. The value depends on society measurements because how they act quantify the value itself.

The proverb is formed of metaphoric phrase or sentences. Proverb usually exhibits the properties of objects, animals, plants, and even the nature of the human itself, which symbolize the good or bad nature of a man. The proverb has close ties with ethnic environment where the members of ethnic group live and perform activities. Hamzah & Mat Hassan (2011) who discussed the Malay proverb state that it is closely tied to Malay life and thought processes. One of the oldest poems described the Malay intelligence, therefore the creation of a proverb is tied to the old Malay custom. Researching proverb could reveal Malay old social structure, attitude, life activity, as well as the life philosophy they believe in.

The entirety of nature in form of flora, fauna, and even human beings themselves become the inspiration of past wise men in forming proverb. Mahali & Saamah (2013) who examines the relationship of animals and Semai proverbs concludes that the elements of nature, especially relating to animals is close to the life of the Semai. This clearly proves that animals are one element that plays an important role as the foundation to form proverbs in their language.

In Banjar proverb, there are two styles of metaphor. First metaphor style features bad animal characters, objects, and human being (negative). On the other hand, second metaphor style features ideal animal characters, objects, or human (positive). Proverb featuring a negative character is an allusion to the human with bad behavior with the implied message that mankind should shy away from the bad trait. Proverb which displays a positive character of objects, animals, and human or is an allusion to an ideal human being. Thus, both types of the proverb equally aims to provide a moral lesson for human beings to always stay away from the negative character and strives to be an ideal human being (Effendi, 2014).

Haryanta (2012) proposes that proverbs are a group of words or sentences with a fixed structure and generally make an analogy of a particular purpose. Sudijman (1990) states that proverb is a brief phrase, contains the reasonable truth, the principle of life, or behavior rules. Tarin (1986) divides proverbs into three parts: adage, parable and idiom. The adage is a word or a group of words containing advice. The parable is a metaphor, proverb or comparison. An idiom is a word or a group of words which specifically states something with figurative meaning.

Danandjaya (1986) suggests that the characteristics of proverbs or traditional proverbs are (i) proverbs should be in a form of one sentence or phrase; (ii) proverb exists in standardized form; (iii) proverb contains viability. Furthermore, Danandjaya (1986) divides the proverb into four categories: (a) a true proverb (b) a proverb with an incomplete sentence (proverbial phrase), (c) a parable proverb (proverbial comparison), and (d) an idiom similar to a proverb.
3. Research Method

This study revolves around Banjarese proverb. Banjarese proverb formed through Banjarese language. Proverbs and language are seen as cultural products. Language study will be able to reveal the nature of cultural of oral language used. Therefore, this study is a cultural research.

This research utilizes a descriptive method. Descriptive method is a method to describe data which is commonly utilized by qualitative researchers. Research data was collected through observation, interviews with informants, and relevant documents. Data obtained from the interview is the primary data while the data obtained from observation and document are considered secondary data, i.e. data for triangulation towards data obtained in the interviews.

There are four informants involved in this study, namely Tajuddin Noor Ganie, Zakiah, Siti Raudah, and Bahriansyah. The informants were selected from the experts and practitioners based on following criteria: (i) native speaker; (ii) at least 40 years old; (iii) interested in the Banjar proverb (uses proverbs in speech and written form as well as wrote an article about proverbs). Documents used in this study were published books, which could be seen as follows: Proverb dictionary and Banjar Language Traditional Proverb (Seman & Makie, 1996; Effendi, 1993).

Data were analyzed using content analysis method. The content analysis method is divided into two, latent contents and communication content. Ratna (2004) states that latent content is contained in documents and manuscripts, while communication content is the message contained as a result of the communication that occurs. The latent content analysis produces meaning, while the communication content analysis yield significance.

Krippendorff (2004) (in Emzir, 2012) suggests some properties of content analysis, which could be seen as follows: (i) they require a close reading of relatively small amounts of textual matter; (ii) they involve the rearticulation (interpretation) of given texts into new (analytical, deconstructive, emancipator, or critical) narratives that are accepted within particular scholarly communities that are sometimes opposed to positivist traditions of inquiry; (iii) the analysts acknowledge working within hermeneutic circles in which their own socially or culturally conditioned understanding constitutive participate. For this reason, this study refers to these approaches as interactive-hermeneutic, a description that speaks to engaging in interpretation of the text.

4. Results and Discussion

River and terrestrial faunas which appear in proverbs Banjar include molluscs, fishes, reptiles, birds, and mammals. Base on their characteristics, the proverbs were classified into river fauna, reptiles, birds, swamp and rice-field faunas. Every mentioned type of fauna contributes to the formation of Banjar proverbs. The names of fauna become a core part of the proverb.

The proverbs containing word or phrase related to river fauna are as follows:

hidup manimpakul means ‘live akin to mudskipper.’
sandu-sandu bakut imbah maluncat limpua hampang means ‘The marble goby looks tame, but could jump off quickly’
liur baungan means ‘possessing The two-spot catfish fish’s saliva.’
kaia saluang mauk means ‘akin to drunk rasbora fish.’
hundang bapadah ratik means ‘shrimp pretends to be a branch.’
haruan bapadah haruan, pupuyu bapadah pupuyu means ‘the The striped snakehead admits a striped snakehead, the climbing perch admits as itself.’

The proverbs containing word or phrase related to reptiles are as follows:

rumah kawa disarangi tadung means ‘home akin to snake nest.’
ibarat buhaya bulik ka liangnya means ‘akin to crocodile returning to its nest.’
laka sawa mamburuki talanan means ‘akin to snake digesting its prey.’
asu dikarukut bidawang means ‘akin to being scratched by a turtle.’
laka kukura ditimbai ka banyu means ‘akin to turtle thrown into water.’

The proverbs containing word or phrase related to birds are as follows:

gawian maitik japun means ‘work like a duck.’
iaban baliwin mandi means ‘akin to whistling duck taking a bath.’
allim buak means ‘pious akin to brown hawk-owl bird.’
laka buburak kasiangan means ‘akin to the Javan pond heron caught by daylight.’
The proverbs containing word or phrase related to swamp fauna are as follows:

larang tali pada hadangan means ‘rope is more expensive than a buffalo.’

hinip kaya siput dipais means ‘quiet as steamed snail.’

pilanduk mambuang kujajing means ‘Mouse deer throws away kujajing fruit.’

The proverbs containing word or phrase related to rice field fauna are as follows:

kaya tikus kaculupan means ‘akin to drenched mouse.’

baringkatak: kaya baringkatak kalaluan suluh means ‘akin to a toad under light.’

mandi anak kalusuk means ‘taking a bath akin to the striped snakehead.’

Banjar proverbs containing word or phrase related fauna are exhibited on the following Table (Table 1):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Fauna in Banjar Proverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>River Fauna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timpakul (The mudskipper) Perioptthalmus sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakut (The marble goby) Oxyeleotris marmorata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saluwang (rasbora) Rasbora daniornicus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1 Proverb Featuring River Fauna Word/Phrase

4.1.1 Bakut: Sandu-sandu bakut, imbah maluncat limpua hampang (The marble goby looks tame but could jump off quickly)

This proverb features bakut or the marble goby as an analogy of human character. Banjarese people describe the marble goby as a very lazy fish that people thought it was tame and easily captured. In fact, this is just a trick. Its calm nature causes humans to be negligent when he caught it. Usually, when the fish were trapped in a net, it seems motionless. However, when grip loosens, the fish jump quickly. The fish freed itself from a negligent fisher who did not know the nature of fish. This proverb features human nature to appear calm and does not talk much. When the situation demands action, the person would exhibit its intelligence.

4.1.2 Baung: liur baungan (possessing two-spot catfish saliva)

This proverb refers to two-spot catfish. These fish live in the riverbed. It likes river banks with tree roots jutting up into the riverbed. The two-spot catfish lives the habitat, mating and offspring. Banjarese people describe this fish often mating and females always spawn. They can incubate thousands of springs. The catfish behavior inspires Banjarese in creating “baungan liur.” This proverb depicts a playboy who seduces a woman and when his temptation well done successfully, he turns to take another woman as his wife.

4.1.3 Hundang: hundang bapadah ratik (The shrimp pretends to be branch)

Hundang or “shrimp” is an expensive river fauna that favored by many people. Wooden branch is considered worthless and harmful because it causes a river siltation. This proverb depicts the character of someone who neither wants to stand
out, nor show off their intelligence. However, the real man is smart, humble, and skillful when working or solving a problem.

4.2 Proverb Featuring Reptile Word/Phrase

4.2.1 Tadung: rumah kawa disarangi tadung (the house akin to the cobra nest)

This proverb features a swamp reptile named "tadung" (The cobra). Banjarese people describe the cobra as a venomous snake. The cobra nest is made of various types of foliage and dry wood branches on cliffs near marshes. The nest smells similar to the pungent fishy odor because it also excretes urine and feces in its own nest. From such nests the people formed proverb, the house is very suitable for the cobra nest. This proverb makes an analogy of residents (especially wive) who are not able to make up the house. The house is left dirty and various household objects strewn about in unorganized mess. This proverb is also a tool to denounce women who pays too much attention to her appearance but fail to manage her house.

4.2.2 Buhaya: ibarat buhaya bulik ka liangnya (akin to the Crocodile returning to its nest)

This proverb use reptiles called "buhaya" or "the Crocodile" as a constituent. Banjarese people consider the crocodile as an evil and dangerous animal. This animal lives on the river bank filled with dense marsh plants. In this area, the crocodile makes burrow nests or hiding hole as a place to stay. During the daylight the crocodile crawls to the bank for food and when its stomach is full, it returns to its burrow. The crocodile hide and feel safe from other animals inside its nest. This proverb depicts an evil person who was stranded in a distant place, but got stuck into the group of bad guys.

4.2.3 Sawa: kaya sawa mamburuki talanan (akin to the python digesting its food)

This proverb uses "sawa" or 'the python' as a constituent. The python is also a type of snake that lives near water. Banjarese people describe the python foraging at night. The python eyes and sense of smell is very sharp. Using such advantage, it traces its victims whereabouts and devours it. Sometimes the python hangs on a tree to wait for the prey to pass. When it saw the animal passing underneath, it will immediately plunge onto the back of the body or parts of the quarry. After grabbing their prey with its long teeth, a python kills it by constriction. Once the meal is consumed, a python rests in a warm place while digesting. This proverb depicts a lazy person particularly a man. The man stays at home, like the python who can not move because of its full belly.

4.3 Proverbs Featuring Bird Word/Phrase

4.3.1 Balibis: ia banar balibis mandi (akin to bathing whistling duck)

"Balibis" or whistling duck is a duck like bird which body size is smaller than ducks. Banjarese people describe its feathers are colorful and clean. This particular duck is seen by the public as gorgeous and pretty birds. Although its body is clean, gorgeous, and fluffy, these birds are always taking a bath to cleanse itself. Due to the nature and physical form of this duck, this proverb was formed. This proverb make an analogy of a woman who likes to dress up, but forget the more important works, such nurturing kids, buying supplies at the market, cleaning the house, working in the fields, doing chores etc.

4.3.2 Buak: alim buak (pious as a brown hawk-owl)

"Buak" or brown hawk-owl is a dark brown, medium sized hawk-like owl with a round head and no ear-tufts. The bird is named based on its voice (buaak). Banjarese people describe the bird body is slightly smaller than adult hens, but looks fatter. Its movements are very slow. This behavior invites laugh and curiosity from the people. The bird moves slowly and possess a less attractive body shape. It was chirping aloud to show its credentials. The voice was as a tool to convey messages to other animal that this owl was a beautiful bird, dashing, and authoritative. It also tries to influence other birds that it is not a mere bird. However, when faced eye to eye, it does not meet the expectation set by its own voice. Based on this description, the proverb is formed.
This proverb makes an analogy of someone claiming to be pious or scholar (religious knowledge in particular), but in fact he is not a pious. This person claimed pious because they want to be honored and is satisfied with their little knowledge without considering the true extent of the wise.

4.3.3 Buburak: kaya buburak kasiangan (akin to Javan pond heron caught by daylight)

*Buburak* or Javan pond heron is a nocturnal bird. Banjarese people describe the bird seek foods and generally being active at night. During the morning, the Javan heron birds return to their respective nest to rest and sleep. However, sometimes there are herons which are focused on hunting and forgot the time. When it looked at the sunrise and bright sky, these birds seem confused and move scrambled because disorientation. The Javan pond heron behavior inspires this proverb. This proverb makes an analogy of someone who is confused being in a foreign place. The person lack of the skills to adapt new environment.

4.4 Proverbs Featuring Swamp Animals Word/Phrase

4.4.1 Hadangan: larang tali pada hadangan (rope is more expensive than the buffalo)

In order for *hadangan* or buffalo can be taken anywhere, a rein or rope had to be fastened at its neck or tied to the nose. The knot is usually made of rope or fibers that are made from palm fibers which are rough and sharp. This proverb is a figurative regarding sacrifice someone made, but is not comparable to the yield. The rope made of fibers is very cheap. This type of rope is sold in markets or shops around the village. In contrast, the buffalo is a very expensive animal and a symbol of high social status of the owner. This proverb compares the price of buffalo and rope fibers. In common sense, this comparison is far from equal. If someone was asked to select two things, no one chooses the rope.

However, since the fate of human beings is not the same between one and the other. This situation is due to negligence or because the fate of anyone who miscalculated in determining something. Options which thought was the best, but after some time, it did not meet their expectations. Those who have experienced such a fate is quipped with this proverb.

Among examples of the action which is insinuated by this proverb, for example, about parents who rushes to match his daughter with a man. Once they married, it turns out the man did not have anything to be proud of, even though, the daughter was a beautiful woman, pious, and clever. When the villagers saw the presence of the man who is far beneath his wife, they would say this proverb. He was likened to a rope fastened to female buffalo, which reflects his wife.

4.4.2 Siput: Hinip kaya siput dipais (quiet as a steamed snail)

The snail is a weak animal. Its movements are very slow and soundless. It also implies the lonely and desolate atmosphere of snail life. If this the snail is cooked akin to a steamed fish, then it certainly is more lonely and desolate. This proverb is a sarcastic analogy of a person who do nothing when something or action is required. The person who had boasted as being able to do something through hard work turned out to be empty talk. The nature of such a person is referred as the proverb.

4.4.3 Pilanduk: pilanduk mambuang kujajing (Mouse deer throws away bayur fruit)

*Kujajing* or *bayur* (*Pterospermum javanicum*) are trees on the banks of the river or on the edge of the valley. *Kujajing* fruit is the Mouse deer favorite food. However, Mouse deer did not look one bit toward the more fruitful *kujajing* tree at times. Mouse deer ignored ripe fruit because it saw many other foods. Mouse deer behavior is forgetting one food for another was the inspiration Banjarese wise to create this proverb. This proverb is an analogy of a person’s behavior who forget someone’s help and services because they acquire new friends or because there are other people who promised better services. Such a person is someone who can not return a favor and think only about profits for themselves.
4.5 Proverb with word/phrase of Paddy field fauna

4.5.1 Tikus: kaya tikus kaculupan (akin to drenched mouse)

Mice are considered as rice paddy pests. In paddy fields, mice make nests or hide in a hole. During rice cultivation, mice became enemies of farmers. It feed on rice straw and devour rice grain that would reduce harvest yield.

Various attempts to prevent mice have been done by the farmers. When rice stem starts to grow, farmers pluck out weed around rice plant and make a small dam so that the water continues to stagnate. This is done to prevent disruption of mice. However, a desperate mouse does not remain quiet. It attempts to eat rice straw to fill its need. Water is very dangerous obstacles to the mice. It gets into the water and swim towards the rice straw. Their soft fur became wet and the mice would shiver. Their fur is no longer decomposed but had crumpled and bound its small figure. From this fact, farmers create this proverb. This proverb is addressed to someone who is lazy. Like a mouse who always steal farmer’s crops. All attempts were made by the mice to get the loot. People who are similar to this mouse, they are always at home wearing veil or gloved and wait for other people’s sustenance. People with this behavior is not wealthy.

4.5.2 Baringkatak: kaya baringkatak kalaluan suluh (akin a toad under light)

Baringkatak or common toad is an animal that lives most of its life in the fields or in the gutter. During and after rainfall in the evening, a group of the toads may croak. When the sky is clear, the toad remains quiet in its position. However, when the peace is disturbed by bright light, the toad will jump to seek bright light. This behavior may plunge into an accident. This proverb is a metaphor for someone who is confused or awkward when saw something new. That person could not hide his joy and desire to possess that certain object. Unfortunately, this person did not have a good luck, but suffered a havoc.

4.5.3 Anak kalusuk: mandi anak kalusuk (taking a bath akin to striped snakehead)

Medium sized or juvenile striped snakehead (as big as small children’s toe or wrist) is called kalusuk. The juvenile snakehead hides in the mud at the bottom of the river or in the mud of rice fields. Once in a while it appears and hide in the mud again. When appears onto the surface, it is considered as activities to cleanse its body (bath) after long time hiding in the mud. Of course, the bathe is useless, because it re-immerses itself into the mud afterwards. This behavior raises this proverb. This depicts a child or person who does not bathe properly. This proverb also able to describe someone who is very concerned about her beauty with a shower or cosmetics, but her appearance could not cover the blemish her temperament and behavior.

The research has revealed links between proverb using animals with human life. In Banjarese society, this is demonstrated by the many types of animals used in proverbs derived from aquatic fauna. It showed the human perception of qualities of animals are used as a metaphor to characterize human. The most proverbs using animals used to demonstrate human vices. There were only a few which implies good attitudes as the marble goby, the striped snakehead, the climbing perch and turtles. Interestingly, the use of shrimp in this proverb contains two different meanings, the first mean a significant bad that such hypocrisy, while the others have a good sense that is not like to show off versatility. Differences in the nature of the meaning of common animals found in different cultures, as reported by Ho-Abdullah (2011), the Malay community use the word dog is addressed to those who are weak, vile, evil, and not knowledgeable. It is different in the English where dogs are often mapped to humans devout faithful. Simultaneously, it is a manifest distinction between propositions and schemes in a semantic metaphorical proverb of animals. Krikmann (2007) in his study on proverb using animals found that regardless of the geographical area, animal group. The most frequently used in the proverb is a dog, a horse, an ox, a chicken, a wolvea, a pig, a cat a sheep, a fish, a donkey, a bird, a goat and a rat. Thirteen animals form a two-thirds the enforceability of animals in proverbs.

5. Conclusion

Rivers and swamps where Banjarese community lives have greatly contributed to the forming Banjarese culture. Banjarese proverbs are no exception. Various creature behaviors that inhabit the rivers and swamps, such as fauna behaviors, became the attention of the Banjarese wise men in forming proverbs. Animal behaviors in river environment are examples of behavior that can be aligned and figured with human behavior. Not unlike the human behavior, there is good and bad behavior, animals behave similar to human beings. Animal bad behavior could be made into a bad human
behavior analogy and their good behavior could be aligned with good human behavior.

Banjarese consider the following animals to possess good behavior and references human behavior: bakut (The marble goby), hundang (The shrimp), haruan (catfish) and pupuyu (The climbing perch). Animals considered possessing bad behavior are as follows: timpakul (mudskipper), tadung (The cobra), buhaya (The crocodile), and baung (The two-spot catfish).

6. Acknowledgement

The author would like to thank Rector of Lambung Mangkurat University for supporting the research. I am grateful to the Dean of Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, and all participants in this study. I thank to Dr. Amin Setyo Leksono and a reviewer team at Graduate School of Interdisciplinary Studies Brawijaya University for revising the first manuscript.

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