

CULTURAL IDENTITY DEPICTED IN RIRI RIZA'S *SOKOLA RIMBA*

Febby Winda Pelupessy¹, Natal B. Noya², Yulandi Ferderika Wurlianty³

Institut Agama Kristen Negeri Ambon¹⁻³

fwpelupessy@gmail.com

Abstract	Article Information
<p><i>This study aims to analyze how language and identity are related in a film directed by Riri Riza entitled Sokola Rimba. This film follows a struggle of Butet Manurung who teaches Orang Rimba and how she tries to overcome the obstacles. This study applies sociolinguistic frameworks specifically language and identity by John Edwards. The data is divided into three categories namely identity: personal and social, the construction and maintenance of groupness, also language and circumstance. The results of the study show that: (1) all the prominent characters' identity are shaped by their personal identity as well as the social identity given from the interaction within the social group. (2) The culture and values of Orang Rimba are strongly rooted in their life which enables them to still maintain their group. (3) The use of Kubu language and Bahasa Indonesia symbolize Orang Rimba's strong culture as well as their willingness to adapt with the changes from outside. It is expected that the future researches can focus on analyzing the use of Kubu language.</i></p> <p>Keywords: Language, Identity, Culture</p>	<p><i>Received:</i> 15/03/2025</p> <p><i>Revised:</i> 17/03/2025</p> <p><i>Accepted:</i> 20/03/2025</p>

INTRODUCTION

Edward Sapir once wrote that 'language is a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions, and desires by means of a system of voluntarily produced symbols' (1921:7). Language is produced based on an agreement of arbitrary by the society as a communication tool. Many aspects in the society influence the development of language including culture. Language and culture has a unique relation. Wardhaugh (2006, 217) noted that there is a relationship between the sound, words and syntax of a language and the ways in which people of the language experience the world. The use of language is not only as a means of communication but also as a symbol of someone's cultural background. Furthermore, the language we speak also symbolizes our identity. We will expect someone

who is Chinese to speak fluent in Cantonese and we will be surprised if we find out that this person cannot speak in Cantonese because he was born and raised outside China. The language we use will directly give others idea about our origin. The language shows someone's origin including his tradition and culture.

The relation between language and identity is also depicted in one of the popular Indonesian film named *Sokola Rimba* directed by Riri Riza and released in 2013. This film is based on a book written by Butet Manurung with the same title published in 2007. The film is located in Bukit Duabelas Forest, specifically up and downstream of Makekal River. *Sokola Rimba* describes a story of a woman named Butet Manurung, who is an employee at a conservation institution called Wanaraya. Butet is assigned to teach Orang Rimba who is located around Makekal River. As the time goes by, Butet then realizes that Orang Rimba actually face a huge problem related to the rights for their own land. *Sokola Rimba* surrounded the conflict around the importance of education especially for those in the hinterland. We all agree that getting a decent education is the right of every individual, including for people in hinterland. Article 31 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Constitution states that "Every citizen has the right to receive an education". Simply put every Indonesian citizen has the right to access decent and adequate education in order to have a better quality of life including for indigenous people in the hinterland.

The lack of education by Orang Rimba is the main conflict in this film especially Orang Rimba's inability to understand Indonesia language. As the main means of communication, language has a crucial role for an individual. Language allows someone to convey their ideas. Therefore, this study aims to examine the relation between language and identity using the concept of language and identity by John Edwards by focusing on the use of *Kubu* language as the native language of Orang Rimba and the use of Bahasa Indonesia as Indonesia national language.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Sokola Rimba as an object of research has been widely studied, especially from an educational aspect. Therefore, to support the main data in this study, it is merely focused on a literature reviews which are able to strengthen the results of this study. The first research is entitled *Meningkatkan Mutu Pendidikan Karakter Melalui Film "Sokola Rimba"* written by I Nyoman Payuyasa and Kadek Hengky Primayana (2020). This research shows that "Sokola Rimba" describes educational and humanitarian values. It represents ten character values such as social care, hard work, responsibility, tolerance, religious, environmental care, love of peace, curiosity, creative, and friendly which can be used to improve the students' characteristics. The second research is entitled *Kemerdekaan Pendidikan Anak Pedalaman (Analisis Semiotika Tentang Pendidikan yang Membebaskan dalam Film Sokola Rimba)* (2013) written by Intan Adilia Nisa, Masrukin, and Arizal Mutahir (2024) The results of this study indicate that social inequality is depicted through educational inequality and the struggle of the characters to gain educational independence. The third research is entitled *Analisis Narasi Tzvetan Todorov pada Film Sokola Rimba* written by Siti Shadrina Azizaty and Idola Perдини

Putri (2018). This research shows that the plot in *Sokola Rimba* is more modern and it does not follow the traditional plot proposed by Tzvetan Todorov. These three previous studies and this study have the same focus on the film *Sokola Rimba*. On the other hand, this study focuses on the depiction of cultural identity using sociolinguistics framework.

Identity: Personal and Social

As mentioned previously that this study focuses on how language is used as the cultural identity for Rimba People especially those who are from the downstream of Makekal River. Thus, to analyze the data, this research applied sociolinguistics study. Ronald Wardhaugh (2006:13) wrote that “Sociolinguistics is the study of language in relation to society”. In general, sociolinguistics examines how language is used related to social and cultural aspects. However, Sociolinguistics is a broad term; this research only applies the concept of language and identity according to sociolinguistics framework.

Every individual has his/her own identity which differ each individual. This identity is attached to an individual forever. Identity is not an easy term to be studied since fixed identity is developed through long process of life which is also affected by many aspects of life. Before moving further into the connection between language and identity, it is interesting to explore the term identity from sociolinguistics point of view. Edwards (John Edwards, 2009) divided identity into two categories which are personal identity and social identity. These two types of identity are connected one another. An individual’s identity is a combination from the experiences he gets in his life as well as his experience he gets from interacting in the society. Edwards also wrote that “the essence of identity is similarity: things that are identical are the same, after all, and the word stems from the Latin *idem*” (2009, 19). In short, identity underlines the resemblance of an individual at all times or in all circumstances. Groebner (as cited in John Edwards, 2009, 16) noted that the word “identity” refers to an individual’s self as well as to personal classifications ‘markers’ that appear as important, both to oneself and to others, and also to those markers that explain group membership (p. 16). It means that someone’s identity can also represents his personality and the group which he belongs to.

Edwards explained that “Personality is essentially the summary statement of all our individual traits, characteristics, and dispositions; it defines the uniqueness of each human being” It means that personal identity attaches to every individual. He also noted that “The uniqueness of the individual comes about, then, through the particular combination or weighting of building blocks drawn from a common human store” (p.20). On the other hand, personal identity is developed by many related things in someone’s life including the society where his belongs to which also impact his way of seeing life. Furthermore, Edwards explained further that human personal characteristic also comes from our socialization in the group especially the groups that we belong.

The Construction and Maintenance of Groupness

The relation between personal and social identity has been mentioned previously. It is essential to explore how the group can be constructed and maintained since we already knew that the interaction between the people in the same group brings huge impact for an

individual. According to Edward, people who are from the same group develop the same interest (p. 25). Barth noticed that the group can develop borders only if a group has already started to unite in some way, usually the unity can be developed through individual's inter-relationship arising from common interests (As stated in Edward, 2009, 26). Because of sharing the same interest and values among the members of the group, the bonding, the solidarity will directly emerged between the members. The strong bonding and solidarity between the members usually go stronger which plays an essential role in maintaining the group. Edward explained further that "we favor those with whom we are associated or aligned, our hopes, and expectations are often higher from them, we bleed when they bleed, and so on" (p. 26).

An individual needs to interact with other people as a basic need to express the thought through communication. As the result, each individual must be a part of social group. The huge effects the social group brings to an individual are strongly rooted. The interaction within the social group is also depicted in *Sokola Rimba*. It is not only depicted but it is the center of the plot story. This fact triggers this research to also elaborate the interaction and how this interaction affects the identity of Rimba People.

Language and Circumstance

The understanding of a language really depends on the circumstance of both the speakers and the listeners. The language selection by the speakers brings an important impression for the listeners especially when the speakers come from a different group with the listeners. John Edward elaborated language as

"a communication system composed of arbitrary elements which possess an agreed upon significance within a community. These elements are connected in rule-governed ways. The existence of rules (that is to say grammar) is necessary for comprehension of course, but it is also essential for virtually infinite creativity (or productivity) of a system that rests upon a finite number of linguistics gears and axels" (p.53)

Edward wrote that the basic distinction between the communicative and the symbolic functions lies in a differentiation between language in its ordinarily understood sense as an instrumental tool, and language as an emblem of groupness, a symbol, a psychosocial rallying-point. He also added that language has a symbolic value, the historical associations which determine its' semantic (p.55). It means that language is not only a matter of words and sound production but also how it affects specific social group where the language belongs. Llamas (2007) noted that there is a connection between the language selections made by the speakers from outside the group and an effort to strengthening in-group linguistics connection by using accent or dialect in order to be seen as a part of particular group. Edwards underlined that all people own a range of speaking style (p.27).

Edward also elaborated that in a sociolinguistics context, *style* refers to the variation of speech which reflect one's assessment of social context as well as what is or is not suitable for the listeners (p.28). Furthermore, the different choice of style usually affects the formality, the seriousness and the intent of the interaction. Edward explained further that "if context can determine linguistics choice, then, equally, language (or dialect, or accent, or style) choice

can affect the social-psychological situation” (p.30). The way we use language including our aims behind this choice of language will have linguistic consequences.

Edward noted that there is an assumption that people who speak our language are the members of our group. On the other hand, for the outsiders to be a part of a group it does not only a matter of using the native language but also underlined that many researches show that we usually put more emphasis on the nonverbal accompaniments than we do on the actual utterance when we try to fully understand the language. He wrote that the outsiders who learn a language for practical reasons may develop a highly fluent command but they also find that certain deeper levels of communication remain closed to them. Furthermore, it is interesting to examine how *Sokola Rimba* draws a connection between social groups in this case the Rimba People upstream and downstream Makekal River and the language use throughout the film especially the interaction between Butet and Rimba People during her class.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This paper is a qualitative research. Kaya Yilmaz explained that qualitative research focuses on process, context, interpretation, meaning and understanding through inductive reasoning by observation and interview (Kaya Yilmaz, 2023, 312). This research applied descriptive qualitative study which focuses on deep analysis of the movie entitled *Sokola Rimba* as the object of the study. This movie was released in 2013 and directed by Riri Riza. This study elaborates language and cultural identity depicted in the movie by examining the connection between personal and social identity, the construction and maintenance of the groupness, and the connection between language and circumstance.

FINDINGS & DISCUSSION

Sokola Rimba depicts a woman name Butet Manurung who teaches children from Rimba especially those from upstream Makekal River. Butet works as a volunteer in Wana-*raya*, one of NGO located in Bukit Duabelas National Park area in Jambi South Sumatra. Throughout the movie, the viewers are presented by Butet’s hard working personality and determination in teaching the children how to read and count.

The Relation between Personal and Social Identity

As have been written previously that there is a strong connection between personal and social identity. This part aims to examine the identity of the prominent characters which are developed through their journey of life and interaction within the social group. This study explores the characterization as the main data for underlying the identity. In order to strengthen the analysis, the characters are divided into three groups which are Rimba People, Butet, and Bahar. This classification is important to find out their thought about each other social group.

Rimba people in this movie are classified into downstream and upstream Makekal groups. In general, Rimba People are viewed as less educated group. This assumption can be

concluded first by the material taught by Butet. Butet teaches them only on literacy. The material is similar for all the children although from the depiction in the movie, we can see that the students are consisted of various ages. This proves that the children don't have any formal education which can grade their ability. Furthermore, this assumption is strongly stressed through the conversation between Butet and Dr. Astrid as follows

“They don't see Rimba People from the right perspective and also with pity. What is the basis? They refer Rimba as stupid and primitives. I think their sense of understanding towards the environment is better than us. In many ways, the Rimba People are more advanced than us” (24:16).

This assumption is common since Rimba People live in the middle of BukitDuabelas Forest in Jambi. This location is quite hard to be accessed. Rimba people are also addressed by *Kubu* which comes from Melayu language which means primitive, stupid, dirty, and disgusting (<https://warsi.or.id/id/orang-rimba-kubu-dan-suku-anak-dalam-sad/> accessed on January, 11 2025)

Furthermore, the negative assumption towards the Rimba people is also depicted during the journey between Butet, Nangkabau and Beindah when they try to find the way to go to the downstream of Makekal River in 21st minutes of the movie. In the middle of their journey, they witness the loggers. Unfortunately, the loggers find them and try to shoot them. This scene emphasizes that Rimba people are seen as less valuable by the outsiders.

This movie also depicts Rimba people's thought about the outsiders. As an ethnic hinterland, it is uncomfortable for them to meet and interact with outsiders. This can be observed as follows “Bungo visited me for a few times to observe me from a distance. But now, he doesn't anymore. He seems to want to get close but at the same time, I know that he's being suspicious. Bungo must have come from a closed group among Rimba people” (11:10) for downstream it is still uncommon for them to interact with outsiders due to their location which are quite far compare to the upstream. Although Bungo really wants to study, he still makes distance from Butet and children from upstream which symbolizes his unease thoughts to interact with outsiders. Bungo is also faced by negative perception from upstream related to his group which is well known for bringing the diseases.

The character of Butet Manurung as the teacher is also important to be examined. Throughout the movie, Butet is described as soft and kind hearted teacher. This description can be seen through the interaction between Butet and her students. Her intonation while talking to the students is soft. She does not use a high intonation when she is angry and asks Nangkabau to stop running while they are learning (05:46). The interaction between Butet and her students are warm and friendly. Butet helps her students to understand the material by joining them to hunt. Butet will directly praise her students when they answer correctly (10:38). Butet is well-known for Rimba People “I hear the Rimba people mentioning your name often. A lot of them love Teacher Butet” (23:10).

This characteristic can be understood since Butet has worked as a teacher for the children upstream for two years. It is easy for her to adapt and being able to get along with Rimba people. From the educational background, Butet is a university graduate. “Actually, after

graduating from college, I really didn't know what to do. And that time, I saw a really interesting job vacancy in Wanaraya. I thought this could be a very exotic adventure. Teaching in the jungle. Isn't that interesting? (24:34). Thus, Butet is equipped by enough knowledge related to her works for Rimba people. Butet also realizes that her students like her "I think they've found a friend in me. I also get along really well with them (25:35). This dialogue proves that Butet is no longer seen as an outsider for Rimba people.

Butet's thought of Rimba people is mostly developed through her many interaction with them which can be seen from the narrative at the beginning of the movie

"I never doubted the wealth Indonesia has. Seventeen thousand islands and almost work for an institution in Bukit Duabelas National Park area. A National Park covering 65.000 hectares area in Jambi southern part of Sumatra. A forest protected by the rules law ideally should be left untouched by the humans. The law and the work of my institutions provide great benefits for the existence of the forest here. I've worked for two years in this place but I'm still wondering. What does this mean for the people who were born in it? (00:25)

This quotation elaborated two important points. Butet believed that her work institution has a huge role in protecting the existence of Rimba people. On the other hand, Butet also questioned whether their works are impactful for Rimba people. This doubt comes even after 2 years working for Rimba people, which proves that this timeline has changed and deepen Butet's thought about Rimba people.

This changing proves John Edward's argument about the relation between the personal and social identity which he believes that an individual identity is developed by complex interaction between him and the group where an individual belong. The conflict of this movie appears when Butet does not get permission from her office to teach children from down Makekal stream. This disapproval creates the tension between Butet and Bahar, the head of her office. Living together with Rimba people enables Butet's identity to be more aware towards them compare to Bahar. Butet gets the clear picture about their struggle because she tries to a part of the group as follows "Consideration is needed to approach Rimba people's group for the first time. Sometimes, the open world is too overwhelming for them. I always try to feel whether my presence is desired or not. I'm sure this is Nyungsang Bungo's group" (27:48)

The Construction and Maintenance of Groupness

The discussion of language and identity cannot be separated from the circumstances which we know, influence the development of someone's identity. Based on the theory previously, the construction of a group comes from the same interest. The group members share the same values and belief which at the same time deepen the solidarity towards the members. This solidarity is a fundamental way to maintain the group's existence. The second analysis aims to elaborate Rimba people especially downstream of Makekal River group.

The presence of Butet as a teacher is not always accepted well by Rimba people especially downstream group. Butet is interested in teaching downstream group because of Bungo, one of the downstream children who is willing to walk miles away just to study. Butet

then tries to enter the group and she gets accepted by the group. Bungo also asks most of the children to study with Butet (31:31). On the other hand, Butet's presence is debatable among the members especially the elders because it is against the group's value and culture. The downstream group belief that pencil will bring disaster and disease for the group as mentioned here "What kind of a woman walking alone carrying a pencil. If you bring a pencil many children will get sick. I don't want my child to study. If he studies he will go far away and never come back again" (33:18)

Disagreement is also pictured in the conversation between Bungo's parents, as follows

Mother: He only keeps studying. If he studies, that means changing our custom

Father : He still can help his mom and dad.

Mother : Bringing a book and a pencil means bringing a disease

Father : but it actually has a good purpose. Let him do it

Mother : Someday, Bungo will go far away and won't come back again.

Father : Learning is good, let him do it!

Mother: I don't want Bungo to study. Tell that person to leave! (36:53)

Actually, Bungo's motivation to study comes from his worry that the outsiders especially the loggers will rob their land until they have no land to live. Rimba people including downstream group live a nomadic life. Bungo realizes that it is dangerous for them if the forest is dominated by the palm oil plantation because it will ruin their her workmates as follows

I finally met the furthest group of the Rimba people at the downstream of Makekal River. The group of Tumenggung Belaman Badai. They have moved several times due to the National Park Zoning Matter and the expansion of palm oil plantations. I met a boy named Bungo. He showed me a letter he couldn't read. None in this group could read. That paper was an agreement about logging in their customary territory and they have approved by stamping their thumbprints on a letter they can't read. And the payment is some cans of biscuits, sugar and cigarettes. Bungo took the agreement letter everywhere as if he wanted to show me how much he wanted to be able to read and resist this farud against the Rimba people (45.15)

Butet realizes that the effect of National Park as well as palm oil plantation bring huge impact for Rimba people. She tries to emphasize the urgent situation to Bahas as the quotation below:

Tumenggung Belaman Badai's group has moved several times because of the palm oil owners' interest. The place their live in has changed. They hunted of three nights only to get one pig or one deer or even nothing at all. Now they can't even open a field because burning a field means violating the law of national park. Now they don't have the freedom to live on their own land (48:17)

This reason forces Bungo to learn how to read from Butet. Throughout the movie, we can see how diligent Bungo is to learn. Bungo believes that by knowing how to read, he can stop the outsiders to keep fooling them. Unfortunately, Bungo can no longer study with Butet

since she needs to leave the downstream because the members are not comfortable with her presence as described below:

Teacher, I don't know how to explain it to you. In fact attending school is against our customs. Bungo's mom and great shaman believe in the story about the pencils carrying disease. So, teacher please leave. You can't teach unless everyone welcomes you. In the end, we argued so it's true that pencils bring disease. (39:47)

This scene is in line with the theory that describe that the solidarity among the members in the same group is very strong. As the result, the members put the interest of group higher than their individualities interest. This is similar to the description in the movie. The member's rejection towards Butet symbolizes how the members value the culture strongly. Although Bungo knows that reading is the only way to save and keep the group, he needs to follow the rules as the member of a group. Bungo grows in the group which value education as a tool to bring bad luck. This value is rooted to his identity. Furthermore, as a part of social group, Bungo symbolizes the way of protecting the group existence. Later, Butet still tries to teach the students from both up and downstream by providing the class in one of the transmigrant family's house called Mrs. Pariyan (51:19). Bungo also hears about the class. Bungo manages to keep learning with Butet.

During their class, Bungo explains one of the rituals of Rimba people called "Ritual ambil madu" This ritual must be follow by all men of Rimba people. Bungo knows that one day when the time is right, he too will follow the ritual just like his father experience. The description of the ritual can be seen as follows

My dad used to be a great honey tree climber. It all starts with a spell. Everyone must be ready. His heart must be free from all evil thoughts. A chosen man will put the stakes as the footing to the top to a tree branch where the honey is. For the footing of others who will take the honey. The flaming wood is used when he arrives at the top. They climb up very high. Once they get to the top, it gets very dark, silent and the wind blows hard there. Those men must have strong legs because they have to cling onto the honey tree branch. They keep reciting the spells so they won't be harmed by the wood ghost. At the top of the honey tree, there are many things we can find but it depends on the state of our hearts. (1:01:46)

The class runs smoothly, until an unfortunate event happened in Bungo's life. Some people of downstream come and ask Bungo to back home and remind him about their belief on the bad luck of getting an education. Bungo must accept the fact that their group leader who they always refer as *Tumenggung* has passed away. The members of the group believe that his pass is the consequence of trying to break the value. At the end, Bungo decided to join his group and perform the tradition of *Melangun*. *Melangun* is a journey of move until their aching grief is gone (1:14:16). This scene is powerful in capturing the strong solidarity which is shared by people from the same social group. This scene also symbolizes the way of maintaining the group. Bungo knows that as a part of the group, it is a must for him to value culture and tradition of Rimba people.

Language and Circumstance

The last analysis is related to the use of language in *Sokola Rimba* and how Language is depicted as a part of cultural identity especially for Rimba people. This study aims to examine the use of *Kubu* language by Butet and how Rimba people use Indonesian language to protect their existence. As a tool for communication, language is not only about a matter of expressing idea and thought but it goes beyond that. The use of language also symbolizes the life of a specific social group. This study will not only focus on word or grammatical aspect of a language but it only focuses on the nonverbal communication in order to get a clear description about how language is used to strengthen both personal and group identity.

Sokola Rimba is taken place in Bukit Duabelas forest, Jambi, South Sumatera. The movie tries to depict the struggle of a teacher named Butet Manurung to teach Orang Rimba in up and downstream of Makekal River. Compare to the other Indonesia movies which describe the life of Indonesia various indigenous, *Sokola Rimba* is quite unique because all the dialogue between Butet and Rimba people are delivered in the native language which is called as *Kubu* language. The use of *Kubu* language symbolizes two important things in this study. First, it indicates that Rimba people are still isolated from outsiders. Oyvind Sandbukt noted that “their avoidance behavior may be viewed as a highly effective strategy for shielding, against very considerable pressures” (Oyvind Sandbukt, 1984:85). The only language that they master is their native language. Orang Rimba actually realize that this condition creates an unfair advantage for them. The students in upstream realize that the loggers have cut too many trees. On the other hand, they do not know what to do to fight for their land. Even, Beindah and Nangkabau, Butet’s students make the promise to fight with the loggers if they are already smart and know how to read as seen as follows:

Nengkabau : Teacher, why do sawing machines keep cutting our
tress?

Butet : Why? Maybe because they need a lot of woods.

Nangkabau : We use machetes so we don’t take too much of them

Beindah : Teacher, when we get smarter, we can stop outsiders
from taking our woods. (07:44)

This proves that Orang Rimba only uses *Kubu* language to communicate.

Furthermore, the second important point which is symbolized in the use of native language, comes from Butet’s characterization. Throughout the story we can observe the way Butet talks in native language to her students as well as with all Orang Rimba. This is common considered her experience on teaching Orang Rimba for 2 years, so she is able to adapt with their culture including the native language. It is strongly assumed that Butet knows that Orang Rimba can only talk in their native language. Thus, in order to be able to teach them well, Butet also learns the native language. Moreover, Butet’s ability to communicate in the native language shows her strong commitment to study the about Orang Rimba. However, there is a difference especially in Butet’s intonation. If we take a look closer, the way Butet speaks is slower than the Orang Rimba’s intonation. This signifies that despite her effort and dedication, Butet is still an outsider.

Furthermore, Butet's nonverbal communication is also interesting to be analyzed as can be seen through these scenes



Figure 1 Butet, Beindah and Nengkabau meet leader of Bungo's group (scene 27:57)

After knowing that Bungo is from downstream, Butet decides to go to downstream and teach the students there. When she speaks to the leader of the group Butet manages to sit and speak slowly in the native language, she also asks Beindah to pass the book for the leader. This scene indicates Butet's way of show respect for Orang Rimba by respecting their culture. She realizes that she is still an outsider for them. Thus, she needs to make sure that her presence does not disrupt the group. The way Butet uses of *Kubu* language also emphasizes Orang Rimba true identity, which rooted and respected by the community.

Not only the use of native language, this movie also depicts the use of Indonesia language to communicate between Orang Rimba. As been mentioned on the previous analysis, Orang Rimba depicted in movie does not understand Indonesia language. As the result, they cannot communicate with the loggers about their land well. Their inability to understand the agreement between them and the companies triggers Bungo to learn how to read in Indonesia language. Bungo's motivation is very strong until he is angry when he knows that Butet leaves his group because she gets no permission of teaching the students.

Furthermore, the first time Bungo sees Butet teaches the kids, he hides roll of paper but he always carries it around. Later on, the viewers know that this is an agreement paper between Orang Rimba and the palm oil company. Bungo carries the paper around because he wants to understand the agreement well. Bungo realizes that the agreement is unfair because the company has violated their logging areas. On the other hand, Orang Rimba is only paid by a box of biscuits, and cigarette which is very depressing fact.

I finally met the furthest group of Rimba People at the downstream of Makekal River. The group of Temenggung Baleman Badai. They have moved several times due to the National Park zoning matter and the expansion of palm oil plantations. I met a boy named Bungo he showed me a letter couldn't read. None of his group could read. That paper was an agreement about logging in their customary territory and they approve it by stamping their thumbprints on a letter they can't read. And the payment? Some cans of biscuits, sugar and cigarettes. Bungo took the agreement letter everywhere as if he wanted to show me how much he wanted to be able to read and resist this fraud against the Rimba people. (45:10)

The most powerful and important scene which underline the importance of Indonesian language is represented by Bungo's point of view. After the death of Tumenggung, Bungo's group maintains to continue their life in the different area of the forest. Moreover, Bungo and his group still face the same problem related to the loggers. The difference is that now Bungo insist to read the agreement so that all of the parties are able to know their own rights related to the territory, as can be seen in the conversation between the company and Bungo's group.

Company : We are glad to gather here in this familiar atmosphere. We respect Mr. Tumenggung but we also need to expand this land. The limit is over there you only need to draw a line. We only need a thumb-print from the chief now

Tumenggung : Wait. We want to read it.

Bungo : We don't agree with article number three and five. Because it is written that the plantation company has the right to enter the deepest border (1:24:26)

The scene where Bungo leads the discussion and asks for sometimes to read all the agreement symbolizes Orang Rimba's realization of the outsiders, they need to be adapted with the changing. On the other hand, they still want to value their culture and belief well without being interrupted by the outsiders. Being able to use Indonesia language is a powerful way of confirming their identity as well as underline the notion that they are able to adapt with outsiders without losing their true identity.

CONCLUSION

Language and identity is always related. Language as a part of cultural product aims as a means to communicate as well as to pass the culture to the next generation. *Sokola Rimba* is an interesting movie which captures the life on indigenous people. Cultural identity in this film is analyzed into three important points. The first point is related to the depiction between personal and social identity. The main characters in this film develop their identity through the combination of their personal identity and the interacting between the group members. This interaction within the group enables outsiders to have knowledge about the group. The second point is related to formation of group. People within the same social group share the same values and belief which also enables them to have a strong relation between the members. This argument can also be found in the film. Bungo is faced by two difficult conditions between his strong motivation to learn and being respectful for his culture. At the end, Bungo shows his respect for his culture by following the tradition. The last important point that is highlighted in this study is related to the use of *Kubu* language and Indonesian language. The use of language in this film is very influential to emphasize Orang Rimba's culture and values as well as their view towards the outsiders.

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