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**“MOLAS BAJU WARA”: HYBRIDITY IN MANGGARAI
RAP MUSIC**

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Abstract: Rap music which has been popular since 2007 in Manggarai region, East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia, gave rise to rap hybrid phenomenon. The mixture between American rap music formats and local elements of Manggarai attracted the attention of young people in the region. One of the local songs that feature hybridity in rap Manggarai is "Molas Baju Wara" created by Lipooz, one of the pioneers of rap in Ruteng, the capital city of Manggarai district.

To discuss this phenomenon, the concept of hybridity in cultural territory proposed by James Lull is adopted. This concept is used particularly to analyze the forms of hybridity reflected in "Molas Baju Wara" and the ways they are used in showing the social and cultural conditions of Manggarai. "Molas Baju Wara" was selected as the object of study because the song is clearly showing the characteristics of hybridity in music.

The study shows that hybridity could be perceived in Manggarai rap music specifically in the use of local musical instruments like drums, cajon, and tambourine as a substitute for percussive sounds of drums, boombox, or turntable which are commonly used by rap musicians in their home country, the U.S.A. In addition, there are elements of local sound such as the sound of rain that represents Ruteng as the rain city. Hybridity characteristics can also be found in the use of Manggarai vernacular in the whole lyrics as well as

the narration of local themes and certain sites that represent Ruteng.

Key words: hybridity, music, rap, Manggarai

***Abstrak:** Musik rap yang populer sejak tahun 2007 di wilayah Manggarai memunculkan fenomena rap hibrid. Percampuran antara format musik rap Amerika dengan elemen-elemen lokal Manggarai menarik perhatian orang-orang muda di wilayah itu. Salah satu lagu yang menampilkan hibriditas rap Manggarai adalah “Molas Baju Wara” yang diciptakan oleh Lipooz, salah satu pioneer rap di Ruteng, ibukota kabupaten Manggarai.*

Untuk menganalisa fenomena musik ini dipergunakan konsep hibriditas dalam teritori budaya yang dikemukakan oleh James Lull. Konsep ini dipergunakan untuk menganalisis bentuk-bentuk hibriditas yang terdapat dalam lagu “Molas Baju Wara” dan mengetahui bagaimana bentuk-bentuk hibriditas itu dipergunakan untuk menampilkan kondisi sosial budaya masyarakat Manggarai. “Molas Baju Wara” dipilih sebagai objek kajian karena lagu ini secara jelas menampilkan karakteristik-karakteristik hibriditas dalam musik.

Hasil kajian dalam atikel ini menunjukkan bahwa hibriditas dalam musik rap Manggarai terlihat pada penggunaan alat musik lokal seperti gendang, maupun cajon, dan tambourine sebagai pengganti suara perkusi dari drum, boombox, maupun turn-table yang lazim dipergunakan oleh pemusik rap di negara asalnya, Amerika Serikat. Selain itu terdapat elemen suara lokal seperti bunyi hujan untuk merujuk pada kondisi Ruteng sebagai kota hujan. Karakteristik hibriditas juga ditemukan dalam liriknya, yakni dari penggunaan bahasa daerah pada keseluruhan liriknya, penggunaan dialek, tema, serta situs-situs tertentu sebagai representasi kota Ruteng.

***Kata kunci:** hibriditas, musik, rap, Manggarai*

INTRODUCTION

Rap music that has become a pop culture phenomenon in the 1990s spread around the world through films about hip-hop culture such as *Wild Style* (1982) and *Beat Street* (1984) (Eflein, 1998). The music, according to Tricia Rose, was originally "a black cultural expression that prioritizes black voices from the margins of urban America" (Rose, 1994, p. 2). It spread worldwide because it evokes the spirit and philosophy of and represents the voice of marginalized groups who had undergone exclusions by the authorities and the dominant society. Through those films, the genre was introduced in various regions in Indonesia (Ayu, 2014; Hiphopindo.net, 2008). The music, which was played in those films as the rhythm to which break-dancers move, had attracted a great number of audiences in Indonesia and later become more popular than the other elements in hip-hop culture.

Rap music began to be known to Manggarai public in 2007. They recognize the music genre through private and the local government radio stations in the district. The appeal of local rap lies in the local elements which are incorporated into the music and the lyrics. Those elements distinguished Manggarai rap from the mainstream rap in Indonesia and the United States that were introduced in the regency through television and radio broadcasts.

One of the songs that are popular among young people in Manggarai is "Molas Baju Wara" created by Lipooz. The song tells about an attractive woman in red dress whose beauty draws men's admiration. The lyrics were written in Manggarai language and some of its musical elements were adapted to local tastes. The popularity of "Molas Baju Wara" confirms Merriam's statement (1964) that one of the functions of music in society is, "[...] as a symbolic representation of other things, ideas, and behaviors." (p. 223). "Molas Baju Wara" represents norms, behaviors, and ideas originated in Manggarai society.

As a musical genre that originated in a foreign country, rap is affected by appropriation in and adaptation to local culture. In Manggarai rap songs, transformations of the tunes and lyrics are not only an adjustment to local tastes but also a way to criticize the society. Criticism and aspirations are considered more effectively expressed when they are situated within the local culture as the context. In addressing the elements of hybridity in Manggarai rap and the way they are connected to Manggarai society, this article specifically analyzes the forms of hybridity reflected in "Molas Baju Wara" and

the ways the forms are used in showing the social and cultural circumstances of Manggarai society.

METHODOLOGY

This study is a qualitative research. According to Given (2008) “qualitative approaches are typically used to explore new phenomena and to capture individuals’ thoughts, feelings, or interpretations of meaning and process” (p. 29). Furthermore, Have (2004) points out that “most qualitative research tends to be based on an ‘interpretative’ approach, in the sense that the meanings of events, actions and expressions is not taken as ‘given’ or ‘self-evident’, but as requiring some kind of contextual interpretation” (p. 4). In accordance with the interpretive approach in qualitative research, a thick description method is applied in this study. Pontoretto (2006) explains that “A thick description... does more than record what a person is doing. It goes beyond mere fact and surface appearances. It presents detail, context, emotion, and the webs of social relationships that join persons to one another.” (p. 261). For this purpose, this study examines Manggarai rap song in its cultural context. The hybridity that is reflected in the elements of its music and lyrics describe the socio-cultural circumstances and philosophical perspectives of the members of Manggarai society.

As previously mentioned, the object of the study in this article is a song entitled "Molas Baju Wara". Analysis was conducted on the music and the lyrics in the song to identify the local elements contained in the song and other forms of hybridity in Manggarai rap. "Molas Baju Wara" was selected for the consideration that the song is popular among the Manggarai and is representative to exemplify Manggarai rap songs.

Rap phenomenon in Manggarai was examined based on the concept of hybridity. Hybridization in post-colonial context generally refers to the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization. Such phenomenon can be associated with particular dynamics of cultural situation explained by Homi K. Bhabha. As cited by Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2007), Bhabha argues that in colonizer/colonized relations there is a relationship of interdependence and the mutual construction of their subjectivities, and all cultural statements and systems are constructed in a space called the 'Third Space of enunciation.' According to Canclini (2002), hybridity is the unexpected impact resulting from migration, tourism, and

economic and communication exchanges. Not only that hybridity is found in art, it also prevails in everyday life through the improvement of skills and knowledge achieved by individuals and groups in order to integrate them into the new conditions in distribution system and consumption (p. xxvii). Thus, in a nutshell, hybridity is an attempt made by individuals and groups to adjust themselves to the inevitable new conditions in the society.

Referring it to the one's adjustment process as a consumer of cultural product and technology to the new circumstances impacted by distribution system and consumption, Canclini's viewpoint concerning the concept of hybridity corresponds with that of Lull. As quoted by Androutsopoulos & Scholz (2003), Lull defines hybridity as "contact and mixture of new and familiar cultural form that leads to 'cultural hybrids'" (p. 467). This hybridization process constitutes a necessary stage in formulating a framework (imagined concept) for a new cultural territory. This process is observed in the music from the use of local sounds and in the text elements from the use of local vernacular as well as in referring to the topic and local institutions (p. 468).

DISCUSSION

A. Geographic and Sociocultural Background

Before the forms of locality contained in "Molas Baju Wara" are brought into view, the geographical and socio-cultural conditions of Manggarai need to be presented in advance. Geographic and socio-cultural conditions presumably have an impact on a society's customs, values, and views on their surroundings. Moreover, they are related to the characteristics of Manggarai district in general and therefore Ruteng in particular which have become the background of the song.

Manggarai district is located on the western tip of Flores Island. Stretching between 08 ° .14 " - .00 ° 09 ' South Latitude and 120 ° .20' - .55' East Longitude, its height varies from 0 to more than 1500 M above sea level (BPS Kabupaten Manggarai, 2014). The size of Manggarai Regency's territory is 1669.42 square kilometers and it includes a small island called Pulau Mules. Because of its geographical condition, the weather there is relatively cool with temperatures ranging between 20° - 28° C during the daytime and 12° - 18° C at night (Hemo, 1988).

Manggarai Regency has 11 sub-districts with total population of 166,942 by the census taken in 2013 (BPS Kabupaten Manggarai, 2014). Manggarai residents rely mostly on wet rice fields and plantations for livelihood, but in some coastal areas such as Reo in Reok sub-district and Iteng in Satar Mese sub-district, some of them live as fishermen and seaweed farmers. They plant crops that produce rice and vegetables in their farm whereas coffee, nutmeg, clove, cocoa, and vanilla are yielded in plantation sector. The livestock they raise include buffalos, horses, cows, pigs, and chickens. Pigs are the main stock in the Manggarai's farms. They are especially important for pork consumption in the region and they also have special function in traditional events.

Administratively, Ruteng, which becomes the setting in "Molas Baju Wara" lyrics, is 60.54 km². It is part of Langke Rembong sub-districts with 11 villages belonging to its territory. According to the census of 2013, the capital city's total population was 71,534 with 1181.59 person / Km. in density. No doubt that Ruteng is the most densely populated area in Manggarai district.

Since it was established as the center of government by the Dutch in the late nineteenth century, Ruteng's recorded history was dated upon the replacement of traditional government's ruling power in Todo-Pongkor by the colonial government in Lingko Puni (Toda, 1999, pp. 313-323). The transfer of power was seen necessary as an impact of changes in the ruling system from vassal system under Bima monarchy into colonial government under Dutch East Indie. Changes in political system had also caused a chaos as Motang Rua resisted against the Dutch colonial government. This war led to the replacement of traditional governance system based on the power of local rulers with colonial government with the appointment of the first king of Manggarai by the Dutch.

Along with the arrival of the Dutch in Manggarai, Catholic missionaries spread the religion in the region. Among the efforts of instilling the new belief into the people of Manggarai that had been holding their traditional beliefs, the monks built a church, founded some schools, introduced crops, and made inventories as well as learnt local culture (Deki, 2011; Regus & Deki, 2011). One of the first buildings established by the missionaries is Ruteng Cathedral which is located in the center of the city. It has become a landmark of the region.

Apart from the Manggarai, there are also other ethnic groups live in the region. They live in the areas of Ruteng that were named after the names of their cultural identity: Kampung Maumere is inhabited by people who come

from Maumere in Sikka district, Kampung Larantuka is inhabited by the people of Larantuka from East Flores district, and Hombel area which is inhabited by people of Bajawa from Ngada district. However, it doesn't mean that the complexes (*kampungs*) are exclusively inhabited by people of the ethnic groups whose identities represent the names of the *kampungs*. The names of the areas merely serve as a kind of primordial bonding. At present, those areas also welcome other local people of Manggarai and newcomers from outside Flores islands such as the Minang, Bima, Java, Bali, and many more. From the composition of the population it could be seen that cultural contacts between various ethnic groups and that cultural hybridity is not new in Manggarai.

As a city in rural area, there are not a lot of other activities for its inhabitants besides working for a living. In the late 2000s, referring to the sociocultural context brought up by "Molas Baju Wara", the activities of the local community are limited in that they have to end them by dusk because the temperature drops significantly in the evening and they have not got sufficient supply of electricity. All of the activities in the city practically end when the shops are closed and commercial businesses stop. The only entertainment for the residents is the party that is often held for various purposes such as "*Kumpul Kope*," a fund raising event for an upcoming wedding or for a long journey a son or daughter is about to set out on; "*Sambut Baru*," a celebration for an acceptance of first communion in Catholic Church; and "*Pesta Sekolah*," another fund raising event organized by parents for their children who want to go to college out of town. Those kinds of parties have been valued moments for increasing a sense of brotherhood and solidarity among the residents and among the relatives of the family who hold the party.

Rapid changes have happened Ruteng region. Social mobility and urbanization have been affecting the socio-cultural landscape in the region from time to time. These descriptions of Ruteng's socio-cultural conditions are necessary to put "Molas Baju Wara" within the context of its era.

B. Hybridization Forms in "Molas Baju Wara" Song

"Molas Baju Wara" presents a story told from the male perspective of Ruteng residents. A boy met a girl in red gown when he took a walk in the afternoon after spending time at home all day. He was attracted and inclined to get to know her, but when he was close to her, he became so mesmerized by her beauty and speechless. By the time he was able to pull himself together, heavy rain was pouring from the sky and the girl had gone. He was left alone in the rain and his clothes got dirty because he ran into a shallot peddler.

The music of the song is largely composed in pop melodies. The sound of acoustic guitar played by Lipooz is predominant. Lipooz uses live music as his effort of reducing the use of music samples from non-local composers (Allin, 2012). Reduction of samples of other people's songs in his songs is one of Lipooz's strategies to adjust Manggarai rap to local tastes. Live music performance is not a common practice in hip-hop music. In the U.S. in which rap originated, DJs (Disc Jockey) generally put together some fragments of music from several popular songs (Hoffmann, 2002; Price III, 2006). A change took place as MC plays dominant role in hip-hop culture in the late 1970s, the period when rap music entered world music industry (Hess, 2010). Some rappers created their own musical compositions for their rap lyrics.

The change has influenced rappers outside the United States. They made their own music that suit local tastes. Elements of local music were effectively incorporated through the creation of live music. The locality could be observed in the elements of local tunes or the sounds of traditional musical instruments.

Percussion sound that characterizes rap music is retained in the whole "Molas Baju Wara" song. In contrast to rap music in general, which uses percussion of modern drum, artificial sound from tape called a boombox or a turn-table sound, percussion used in "Molas Baju Wara" is a combination of traditional Manggarai drum and a tambourine. A tune of a bass guitar is also used to accentuate the percussion rhythm. At the end of the song, the sound of the rhythm is created using a Cajon.

Percussion in rap appeals young people because its rhythm is good to dance to at parties and gathering events. Young people's fondness for percussion rhythm could be learned in a research conducted by Richard (2015) on rap music in Manokwari, Papua. Youngsters in Manokwari called rap music of "carpet dans". The term emerged because they used rap as a musical background of their dance on the carpet which was specifically held at a gathering place for young people. Percussion, according to Richard, attracted youngsters' attention in Manokwari for its connectivity with their traditional drum.

Other than the music, hybridity appears in the incorporation of background sound that evokes familiar climatic conditions of Manggarai, especially Ruteng. This kind of background sound appears in "Molas Baju Wara" in the form of the sound of heavy rain. Located on the hills, Ruteng is a region where rainfall is frequent and occurs in no specific season, unaffected

by the climate prevailing in other areas. Based on 2014 statistics, rainfall in Ruteng occurs 218 days a year; most of the time in December and January (BPS Kabupaten Manggarai, 2014). So, the sound of rainfall is a familiar local sound to the people of Ruteng.

Local sound in rap is also one of the elements used by Cheech, a rapper from Germany. Through a song called "Gemeinschaft", Cheech put the sound of phone operator's voice saying "Telefon Auskunft Kassel" into the song to accompany a musical sample taken from another song entitled "Wir sind aus Kassel" that has already been incorporated in "Gemeinschaft"'s background music (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2003). Other example of local sound elements can be found in a song entitled "Jogja Istimewa" performed by Jogja Hip Hop Foundation. In the beginning of the song, they present the sounds of drums and flute that are traditionally played by the soldiers of the Sultan Palace in Yogyakarta in certain events. The sound was incorporated as local accent in the whole song. By listening to the sounds of flutes and drums, the listeners—who are familiar to such sounds—can immediately recognize that this rap song comes from Yogyakarta.

Language is an effective means of communication that convey information, aspiration and the expressions of feelings. Through the language in the text of the song, people who recognize the symbols in it can understand the meanings transmitted by the interlocutor (Merriam, 1964). Manggarai community, according to Antony Bagul Dagur (1997), use several local languages: Komodo language in Komodo Island, Wae Rana language in Southeast Manggarai, Rembong language in Rembong which has similarities to the northern part of Ngada, the Kempo language in Kempo region, Rajong language in Rajong region, and special language of Manggarai. Dorotheus Hemo (1988) explains that Manggarai special language typically have six dialects namely Riung, a dialect found in West Manggarai, Central Manggarai dialect, Manggarai Peralihan dialect, East Manggarai dialect, a dialect in which /s/ sound is replaced by /h/ sound found in Kolang, Pacar and Rego regions, and a dialect in which /c/ is replaced by /s/ found in Riwu and Manus regions. The language used in "Molas Baju Wara" is Central Manggarai vernacular that is commonly called Ruteng dialect. The Central Manggarai vernacular is used for several reasons. Firstly, Lipooz comes from Ruteng region which means he is the native speaker of the vernacular. Secondly, the dialect is shared by the majority of the population in Manggarai because the central government and education are in Ruteng so people who work or go to school in Ruteng can understand this dialect. Third, the policy of territorial

expansion during 2000s that made Manggarai administratively divided into three sub-districts consisting of Manggarai, West Manggarai and East Manggarai. According to the abovementioned linguistic map, the division of the territory was not only based on geographic conditions but also linguistic distribution. The division has made Ruteng dialect becoming the dominant language spoken by the inhabitants of Manggarai district.

In addition to the linguistic factor, according to Lull (Androutsopoulos & Scholz, 2003), forms of hybridity appear in the specific familiar topic and local institutions represented the song's text. In "Molas Baju Wara," there are topics about locality. In the first verse, the story tells about a man waking up late because in the previous night he went to a party, got drunk and went home early in the morning: "*Holes jam satu gara-gara wie aku ngo pesta sale Watu, Rame dansa cha cha terasering sampai hemong waktu, Kole jam telu agu langu ciu.*" Here, party becomes an interesting topic in showing locality in Manggarai rap. Some singers in Manggarai rap specifically talk about the habit of having a party in the society. Among them are Dodi RBC in his song "*Reggae Manggarai*", Vian Mahon in "*Kador Neka Culas Bail*", or in Lipooz's other song, "*Hip Cha Cha*". Feast has been one of significant features in Manggarai social life since it is regarded as a medium in strengthening relations among friends, family members and relatives. In hip-hop culture, its music functions as the background of a party for young people in Bronx. Hip-hop songs are meant to be the rhythms to which youngsters dance, but in its development, parties are not a major concern for topics, especially after rap went into the mainstream entertainment industry. Lyrics in rap songs focus on street life, violence and crime.

The next aspect that contains hybridity is theme. "Molas Baju Wara" presents a story of a meeting between a man and a woman whom he is attracted. In rap, romantic theme which portrays the relation between men and women is rare. Rap songs in Indonesia mostly talked about the problems in urban environment and the dilemma faced by young people (Boden, 2005); meanwhile, rap songs in America contextualizes relationships between men and women in the corridor of misogynic (Sullivan, 2003). This romantic theme of relationship between men and women shows that rap in Manggarai is adjusted to local conditions, in which the themes favored by the people are the themes that exist in pop music. Strong dominance of local pop music and Indonesian pop music makes the rapper adapt to the market. This is the marketing strategy of the rap genre that is relatively new to Manggarai community.

In this song, the concept of friendship among young people in Ruteng is also demonstrated. They usually spend their spare time by strolling around the city. Youngsters in the neighborhood or at schools have peer groups with whom they do various activities together like enjoying live music, exercising, or just hanging out to spend leisure times. Friendship theme is commonly found in the lyrics of Indonesian rap songs, but it is not a theme that attracts the attention of American rappers. According to Taylor & Taylor (2004), rap music attracts the attention of the international music industry when it exposes street violence. It is different from the earlier days of its appearance when rap music talks about the awareness of the condition of the black community at that time.

C. Hybridity to Represent Manggarai Locality

Through the language used in the song, one can see the geographical concept of a society. Geographical concept means how the locals put themselves in relation to the geographical environment. "Molas Baju Wara" shown the concept of place and space associated with one's position geographically. In the song the singer appoint several places such as: *sale Watu*, *sale Kota*, *eta mai Kumba* and *eta mai awang*. In Manggarai grammar, the mention of the place and space preceded by the mention of the direction of the compass. The concept of the compass in Manggarai language are *awo* (east), *sale* (west), *le* (south), *lau* (north). In addition to the direction of the compass, there is a concept of space that shows the location of a place in the geographical landscape as "*eta*" (above) and "*wa*" (below). The concept of direction and such places appears in the song. The words "*sale Watu*" and "*sale Kota*" showed that the two places are in the western part of the speakers. "*Kota*" here refers to the center Ruteng town, a place where the commerce, government, and Motang Rua field lies as the landmarks of Ruteng.

"*Eta mai Kumba*" and "*eta mai awang*" has different meaning. "*Eta mai Kumba*" refers to a specific place that is Kumba region in Ruteng. Kumba region is situated in higher location than the speakers'. The concept of "*wa*" and "*eta*" occurs because of the contour of Ruteng area which is hilly. The word "*eta*" denotes a place that is located higher than the speakers'. On the other hand, when the speaker is located in the hills, he said "*wa mai Kota*", meaning that the current location is in the higher region than the City. Meanwhile, the expression "*eta mai awang*" explains the position of the clouds which is above the earth. This word is used when the speaker tells about the

pouring rain when he tried to approach the girl in red gown whom he wanted to know.

According to Merriam (1964), "[a song texts] conveys emotion or something similar to emotion to those who understand its idiom" (p. 223). Through the lyrics of "Molas Baju Wara", listeners are invited to explore the conditions of Ruteng and the lives of its people. One of the unique circumstances of the people of Ruteng is the festive atmosphere which lasts from dusk until dawn. In the party, music is playing all night long to entertain and invite the audience to dance cha-cha and *terasering*. In addition, local liquor commonly called *sopi* is served in the party. The drink keeps the party goes warm amidst Ruteng's coldness where the temperature can reach 12° C at night (Hemo, 1988), and is used as a tribute to the guests who attended the party. *Sopi*, the local liquor, is also called *tuak* or *ciu* in local vernacular. In the text of the song, Lipooz uses the term *ciu* to refer to the traditional drink. Exposing this party atmosphere makes the listeners feel the local conditions of Manggarai in general and Ruteng in particular. The habits of people who attend the parties from dusk until dawn is depicted at the beginning of the first verse. Festive spirit represented by the words: "*Rame dansa cha-cha terrasering sampai hemong waktu, kole jam telu, agu langu ciu*" (dance cha-cha terrasering forget the time, came home at three in the morning, drunk of traditional drink).

Other form of locality in the song is depicted on the lyrics in the second stanza: "*De Mama molas ge ho'o aku to'o ga, neka rabo bao toe ngo campe weli gola*" (My gorgeous mother, I'd wake up now, sorry had not help you to go to buy sugar) and "*Nana ngo nia? Rei di Mama, emo det ngo ejor sale kota, toe beheng Mama to'ong kole aku jam 5*" (My son, where are you going? Ask Mama, do not wandering around the town, I will not be long Mama, I'll go home at 5). The two sentences show the close relationship between the child and his mother in Manggarai community. The closeness of the relationship was particularly attached to the boy because he is the successor of the family. Therefore, they called him "*ata one*" (insider), the one who is going to live in the clan, while the girls follow the husband's family, and so they are called "*ata pe'ang*" (outsiders) (Allerton, 2004). Proximity is shown by the prohibition of the mother to her son not to wander around the town because of the cloudy day and the town is far away. However, he reassures the mother by saying that he will not be long. The loving and intimate phrase appears in the last verse, "*Saki taung baju, com kole mbaru, ho'o kole rugi le Mama daku*" (My clothes is dirty, let's go home, I

will be scolded by Mama). It depicts how the mother of the speakers showed affection by scolding him when he came home in the rain.

Another locality is the depictions of heavy rains that often occur in Ruteng. The heavy rain with fog limits people's vision. People cannot see vehicles and others within a few meters ahead because of heavy rain and fog. It is expressed in the words: "*Mori pa'u usang mese eta mai awang, [...] hanang koe aku toe itas salang*" (God, torrential rain fell, I am alone and I cannot see the road [ahead of me]). Rainfall in Ruteng is quite high. It is about 10,000 mm (BPS Kabupaten Manggarai, 2014). The rain occurred because of local weather which is influenced by geographical conditions. Ruteng region lies in the chain of Mandosawu mountain range with Gunung Ranaka as the highest peak Flores mainland (Toda, 1999).

The comical part is at the end of the song; the lyrics says "*sampe duntak aku ata pika bawang*" (I run into a shallot peddler and my head is hurt). It was the misty rain that clouded his sight and prevented him from seeing the coming peddler. It depicts one of the businesses types in Ruteng, i.e. selling vegetables. Shallot, betel, and areca nut stalls are opened on street sides. When the supplies of the vegetables are abundant, the sellers peddle around the town because the competition of the price among the owners of the stalls is quite tight. By peddling around they make higher profits and got more consumers than in the stalls.

Through abovementioned exposure, hybridity in Manggarai rap performed by Lipooz in "Molas Baju Wara" reveals the socio-cultural conditions of Manggarai community. Those conditions are necessarily reflected in the local music to maintain traditional values, norms and customs that are threatened by the eroding impact of modernity. By generating locality in the lyrics in the context of the philosophy of hip-hop culture, Lipooz has declared his identity as the members of Manggarai community and his attitude to be honest to himself.

CONCLUSION

Manggarai rap which is known in its cultural area since 2007 has a specific form of inclusion of local elements in its music and lyrics. The elements distinguish Manggarai rap from Indonesian rap and American rap. Local elements in the music are reflected through the use of local sound

elements like the sound of rain and the sound of drums, cajon and tambourine as a substitute for percussive sounds of drums, boombox, or turntable. Hybridity in the lyrics is observed in the use of local vernacular for the whole part of the song, local theme and the description of local sites as a representation of Ruteng.

In Manggarai rap songs, the transformation of the musical and lyrical elements serve as an adjustment to local tastes. On one side, as a new genre, Manggarai rap must compete with other musical genres for spaces in the region given the fact that genres such as dangdut, rock and alternative pop had gain popularity in Manggarai and Indonesia before rap was introduced to the region. In that case, in popularizing the genre, the local rappers feel the need of addressing the current trend in the society. On the other side, Manggarai rap should not leave rap music philosophy that it is a medium of expressing criticism and aspirations of the marginal groups. Criticisms and aspirations of the people are more effectively expressed when they are put in the context of local culture. Therefore, the hybridity in the elements of Manggarai rap songs is crucial in dealing with those issues.

"Molas Baju Wara" created by Lipooz is one example of the process of hybridity that can incorporate locality. Through this song, Lipooz explains socio-cultural conditions of the local community in Manggarai particularly those living in Ruteng, and they are selected to be the context of that song. The depiction local conditions in the musical and lyrical elements can be used as a means of preserving values, norms and customs of the local people that are threatened by the eroding impact of modernity. By generating locality in the lyrics in the context of the philosophy of hip-hop culture, Lipooz has declared his identity as the members of Manggarai community and his attitude to be honest to himself. As a Manggarai people, he is regarded as "*pecing adak*", a member of the community with full awareness of his tradition in that he took actions—through rap songs—in preserving the legacy of the culture where he grew up by revitalizing the values, norms and philosophy that have long been cherished by Manggarai people.

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