

BETAWI MALAY DOCUMENTATION BASED ON COLOUR NAMING DIFFERENTIATION IN JAKARTA AND BEKASI DIALECTS

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ABSTRACT

The number of speakers of Betawi Malay is decreasing due to both external and internal factors. The rapid migration to Jakarta, the home of Betawi people, and the negative attitude of the Betawi Malay native speakers towards their language have endangered the existence of Betawi Malay language. The same case also happened to Betawi Malay spoken in Bekasi, the other area where Betawi people live. Tangible efforts to save Betawi Malay language are needed, one of which is through Betawi Malay documentation. In this study, the documentation focused on colour vocabulary. This study aims to find how far the colour vocabulary of Betawi Malay spoken in Jakarta and in Bekasi is different. This study used a qualitative method. 18 native speakers of Betawi Malay living in Jakarta and Bekasi were chosen as the informants. Observations, interviews, questionnaires, and documents were used to collect the data. A semantics approach was used in analysing the data. The results of the study show that the colour used in Betawi Malay spoken in Jakarta and Bekasi is differentiated by colour association, environment, and attitude. Environmental factors are very influential in building the speaker's way of thinking and the speaker's identity.

Keywords: Betawi Malay; colour naming; colour vocabulary; colour association; language documentation

Introduction

Living in the capital of Indonesia, Betawi people encounter various problems in maintaining their local language, i.e., Betawi Malay. The arrival of people from different areas in Indonesia and from different countries makes Jakarta, the home of Betawi people (Erwantoro, 2014; Jubaidah, 2020; Rismanto, 2012), a multicultural city. Jakarta is even called “city of migrants” (Attas et al., 2019). There are several immigrants who later replace Betawi people as local inhabitants. Mesiyarti (2014) found that most of the Betawi people are no longer found in Jakarta because they have migrated to East and Southeast Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi (Jabodetabek). Even though Mesiyarti only examined Betawi people who use the Betawi Ora dialect, her findings can still show the movement of Betawi people from Jakarta to the supporting areas around Jakarta (Jabodetabek). In addition, her research found that this displacement was caused by the factors outside of the language. As a result of acculturation, the local identity would be completely replaced by immigrants from out of town.

Such a situation certainly affects the language choice in Jakarta. Bahasa Indonesia, as a national language, is the language most extensively used in Jakarta (Suyanto, 2018), while Betawi Malay language is considered as the minority language (Jubaidah, 2020). In addition to the coming of people from other regencies, the minor frequent use of Malay Betawi language is caused by the preference of young Betawi people to use Bahasa Indonesia in their daily communication. In this case, Bahasa Indonesia has more prestige than Betawi Malay. In addition, the parents or older generation of Betawi Malay have not taught this local language to the young generation. If this situation continues, the Betawi Malay can become endangered or extinct in the future.

In order to overcome the situation described above, serious efforts from all relevant parties are urgently needed. The local government, Betawi people, scholars, and language observers need to work together to save Betawi Malay language from its extinction. For the linguistics scholars, the effort can be realised by doing more research on Malay Betawi language and publishing the results in national and international journals that have wider readership. Chaer (2009) argues that the colour identity in Betawi Malay language is continuously fading. He acknowledges that the Betawi language has faded so much that the classification is now merely limited to the Malay dialect of Jakarta despite its own Betawi dialect. Rismanto (2012) defines Betawi as the indigenous people of Jakarta, as well as their Creole Malay language and Malay culture. Sundanese, Malays, Javanese, Arabs, Balinese, Bugis, Makassarese, Ambonese, and Chinese were among the other ethnic groups that had previously lived in Jakarta. According to Saidi (1997), there is a possibility that the name Betawi is derived from a type of tree, since several flora names have been used in naming places or areas in Jakarta, including Gambir, Krekot, Bintaro, Grogol, and many more.

Based on the facts of the Betawi people's recent situation provided above, documentation of their identity becomes extremely important. Efforts like this research must be made before the Betawi people and their culture are absorbed by people from other areas and cultures and their cultural identity would be in a critical state. Siregar et al. (2023) studied the factors causing the Betawi language to be endangered. Based on their findings, they suggested that the Betawi Malay language should be exposed to children from their early age and should be included in the school curriculum as one of the local content subjects. The other previous studies proposed the Betawi native speakers to have a positive attitude towards their native language as the effort to maintain their language (Lakawa & Walaretina, 2016; Nur, 2021). These previous studies need to be further investigated in terms of linguistic efforts that can help maintain Betawi Malay language, one of which is by documenting its colour-related lexicon.

Thus, this present study aims to find out (1) the colour vocabulary of Betawi Malay spoken in Jakarta and in Bekasi; and (2) how far the colour vocabulary of Betawi Malay spoken in Jakarta and in Bekasi is different.

Theoretical Background

The issue of documenting colour identity in this proposed study is due to the importance of observing the criterion of colour, the perception of colour, and the association of colour. These three things are related to one another and would become the basis of the analysis in this study. The analysis starts from the basic colour criteria, then proceeds to the perception of colour. After the colour perception is identified, the colour is linked with their association so that the social reality of the Betawi people can be revealed. The study of colour can be done by first looking at any colour that belongs to the basic colour. Below is an explanation about the theoretical foundation that includes the criteria of the basic colour, colour perspective, to colour association.

Colour always relate to perception of culture (Zein et al., 2020) and exhibit a different tendency in terms of colour naming, corresponding to Sapir-Whorf's linguistic relativity hypothesis (Kay & Kempton, 1984). Berlin and Kay (1969) proposed a theory of cross-cultural colour concepts based on the concept of a basic colour term. A basic colour term (BCT) is a colour word that applies to a broad range of objects (unlike blonde), is monolexicemic (unlike light blue), and is consistently used by the majority of native speakers (unlike chartreuse). Responding to Wierzbicka (1990) who argues that the concept of colour has been instilled in universal human's experiences, Wardana and Mulyadi (2022) found six basic colours in the Indonesian language that include red, white, black, blue, green, and yellow. The languages of modern industrial societies contain thousands of colour words, but only a few basic colour terms. For example, there are 11 colours in English: red, yellow, green, blue, black, white, grey, orange, brown, pink, and purple (Berlin & Kay, 1969); while in the Russian and Slavic languages there are 12 colours, with separate basic terms for light and dark blue (Davies & Corbett, 1994; Hardin, 2013). The absence of any other colour mix causes the colour to have a different meaning. This criterion is not significantly different from the first. A limited object cannot use the

third colour name. In essence, the primary colour should be broad enough to refer to multiple things.

Based on the three concepts of colour above, as referred to Paterson (2004), the basic colour name should be a common colour and not a component of that common colour. The bluish colour in English, for example, means “tinged with blue”, so bluish is a subset of blue and not the primary colour. The colour scarlet is a blended colour, a combination of orange and red. As a result, scarlet is not a basic colour. Blonde refers to the colour naming of wood and hair. Because of its restricted meaning, blonde cannot be used as a primary colour.

Several indicators were proposed a long time ago by Cleland (1921) and Keraf (1990). Keraf (1990) divided the perception of colour into three indicators: the pattern, brightness, and colour saturation points. Meanwhile, the Munsell colour system proposed by Cleland (1921) is a colour space that defines colours based on three colour properties: hue (basic colour), chroma (colour intensity), and value (brightness). For the dimension of colour name, colour identification can be recognised easily because the colour naming is clear, specific, and different from each other. In other words, the differences between colours are clear, such as red and black. The dimension of value is the quality of the colour brightness, such as from dark red to light red or pink. The level of value used starts from the brightest to the darkest level. The dimension of intensity or chroma sees the strength or weakness of colour, the transmit power of colour, and colour purity. Furthermore, Darmaprawira (2002) stated that the dimension of intensity is the colour quality that causes colour to speak, shout, or whisper in a gentle tone. It refers more to the identification of the colour name, such as darker red or brighter red.

Moreover, colours are associated with age. A study on colour perception has been conducted by Gollety and Guichard (2011) to assess the role played by colour and its impact on the choice behaviour of children. Using a semiotic approach to marketing, they carried out an experiment on children between the ages of 7 and 11. The results of their study indicated that the most liked colours among the children were red, blue, and purple.

Furthermore, colours are associated with cultures. This is evidenced by the survey done by Bortoli and Maroto (2001) among high school students in 20 countries. These studies showed that some cultures commonly associate blue with high quality and red with love. Different results were obtained for purple. In Japan, China, and South Korea, respondents associate the colour purple with expensive products while respondents in the United States associate purple with inexpensive products (Jacobs et al., 1991). According to Geboy (1996), colours are culturally considered to be bound to certain ideologies and traditions. For example, red signifies happiness for the Chinese society. This will affect the dominant colour of a particular custom such as weddings. In the Chinese tradition, all things related to weddings should be identified with red, such as invitation cards, attire and even the feel of the wedding room. Additional colour categories exist in some languages, such as Russian, Greek, and Korean, that are not present in English. “Siniy” (dark blue) and “goluboy” (light blue), for example, are distinct basic colour terms for Russian speakers, while “yeondu” (yellow-green) and “chorok” (green) are distinct basic colour terms for Korean speakers. In Malay culture, colours are divided into warm

colours (macro-red), associated with bright colours, and cool colours, associated with dark colours (Sew, 1997).

Most discussions on colour in relation to personal identity have been reported with many themes in business. For example, Rathee and Rajain (2019) examined that colours attract the attention of marketers to gain customers' attention in India. They conducted a study to understand the role a colour plays in influencing consumer behaviour. The results indicated that colours influenced customers' decisions and brand recall while making purchases. It was also found that there was a significant difference among respondents regarding the purchase of warm and cool colours as well as warm and neutral colours. These findings support Labrecque and Milne (2012), who stated that to create an identity in the marketplace, brands employed colour and this sets them apart from the competition. Colour has been an integral part of sensory marketing tactics to influence consumers' behaviour and perceptions, induce moods and emotions, and help companies in positioning or differentiating themselves from their competitors.

In relation to marketing, Javed and Javed (2015) studied the significance of colour in influencing buyers' purchasing preferences when the time to do purchasing is limited. They found that in comparison to time constraints, the purchasing preference depended relatively more on the colour scheme in the case of a customer. It was revealed that time pressure had more importance as a moderating factor which had an impact on the influence of the colour of packaging on customers' buying preferences. Besides, Babolhavaeji et al. (2015) described the difficulties encountered by managers and packaging designers due to the product colour. They believed that the product colour obviously attracted the buyers and influenced their intention to buy the product. Furthermore, Roschk et al. (2017) found that warm colours produce higher levels of arousal, while cool colours produce higher levels of satisfaction. This implies that carefully choosing the right colour is very important in product marketing.

Colours describe the idea and certain characteristics (Rakhilina, 2007), so it is expected to be used as an effort to document the identity of the Betawi people and to encourage more research on this dialect.

Methodology

This research was conducted using a qualitative method. Qualitative research is a method for investigating and comprehending the significance that individuals or groups ascribe to a social or human problem. The research process includes developing questions and procedures, data collection in the participants' environment, data analysis inductively building from particulars to general themes, and the researchers' interpretations of the data meaning. Those who engage in this type of inquiry advocate for a research approach that values an inductive style, a focus on individual meaning, and the importance of rendering the complexities of a situation (Creswell, 2014).

The informants chosen in this study were 18 native speakers of Betawi Malay, comprising nine living in Jakarta in the Marunda area of Cilincing sub-district, and nine living in Bekasi (in Babelan sub-district). The criteria suggested by Samarin

(1988) and Tarigan et al. (2022) were used in this study. The informants were composed of four males and five females living in each area. They were 50 to 70-year-old native speakers of Betawi Malay, communicative, insightful, willing to be informants, honest, and accepted by the surrounding community.

In accordance with the purpose of this research, the researchers also used close-ended questionnaires as the research instrument. The questionnaire elicited data on the identity of the Betawi people on the colour vocabulary and the social reality of Betawi people living in Jakarta and Bekasi. Before the questionnaires were distributed to the respondents, the researchers gathered them twice to guide them in understanding the questions and providing their responses. Several Betawi respondents who lived outside Jakarta areas were sent the questionnaires via email with the request for them to answer the questions and return the responses. They had left Jakarta before the questionnaires were distributed to them.

All the data that had been collected in Jakarta and Bekasi were analysed to find out the colour vocabulary in Jakarta and Bekasi and the different identity of colours used by Betawi people living in Jakarta and in Bekasi. The difference based on geographical location would also be examined. In this case, the documentation of the identity of the Betawi people was done by doing research about colour vocabulary as Paterson (2004) suggested that colour was an abbreviation for conveying ideas and information. Next, this study used a list of 216 colour questionnaire Colour Palette cards. These cards had several basic colours that varied and depended on the brightness level.

Results

The results of the present research show that colours play a significant role in speakers' choices. Through this study, it was found that the colour most preferred by Betawi people in Jakarta and Bekasi was blue and the least preferred was yellow for both male and female.







The similarities in naming of colour vocabulary in Jakarta and Bekasi outnumber the distinctions. These distinctions, however, cause the dominant vocabulary in the two areas of observation to differ. This finding is intriguing because the colour naming and association are associated with the colour itself. Furthermore, in Jakarta and Bekasi, the Betawi people's perspectives on colour and associated naming can be made more widely known.

When it comes to basic colours, Jakarta and Bekasi have the same basic colour vocabulary. The basic colours identified in both areas of observation are white, black, red, green, yellow, and blue. The research findings for each of its primary colours, as well as the associations associated with colour naming, are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1

The Comparison in Naming of White Colour in Jakarta and Bekasi



Jakarta	Associations	Bekasi	Associations
<i>Putih muda</i>	Brightness level	<i>Putih muda</i>	Brightness

Light white		Light white	Level
			
<i>Putih tua</i> Dark white	Brightness level	<i>Putih tua</i> Dark white	Brightness level
			
<i>Putih tulang</i> Bone white	Parts of body	<i>Putih tulang</i> Bone white	Parts of body
			
<i>Putih susu</i> Milk white	Beverages	<i>Putih susu</i> Milk white	Beverages
			
<i>Putih bendera</i> Flag white	Things	-	-
			
<i>Putih mata</i> Eye white	Parts of body	-	-
			

The comparison of the white basic colour above shows that Betawi people in Jakarta have more terms to refer to the basic colour of white (*putih muda*, *putih tulang*, *putih susu*, *putih bendera*, and *putih mata*) than Betawi people in Bekasi (*putih muda*, *putih tua*, *putih tulang*, and *putih susu*). In addition to their perceptions of brightness level, body parts, things, and beverages, Betawi people in Jakarta also associate white with the flag (*putih bendera*). This could be due to Betawi people in Marunda being accustomed to the colour of white flags. Obviously, this is not surprising because the Marunda area is geographically located on the coastal area. Many of them are fishermen, and each of their boats must be identified by a flag. The term *putih mata* (eye white) is used by Betawi people in Jakarta, but it is not familiar to Betawi people in Bekasi.

In contrast to the naming of the basic white colour, the naming of the basic black colour is more dominant in Bekasi. Table 2 shows a comparison of black colour in Jakarta and Bekasi.

Table 2
The Comparison in Naming of Black Colour in Jakarta and Bekasi

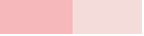




Jakarta	Associations	Bekasi	Associations
<i>Item dop</i> <i>Doff matte black</i>	Automobile parts	<i>Item dop</i> <i>Doff matte black</i>	Automobile parts
			
<i>Item manis</i> Sweet black	Human skin	<i>Item manis</i> Sweet black	Human skin
			
<i>Item blek</i>	Colour	<i>Item pek</i>	Colour



In terms of the black colour, the associations between Jakarta and Bekasi are somewhat similar, i.e., *item dop* and *item manis*. Most associations refer to the colour of the body skin. The terms *item blek* (used in Jakarta) and *item pek* (used in Bekasi) are pure black and *item manis* is sweet black, associated with the typical skin of Betawi people. The black colour associations usually involve automobile parts, skin, and basic colours. The distinction is that Betawi people in Bekasi have one more term for referring to the black colour associated with human skin as *item Keling* to denote the dark skin of the Keling people originating from India who came to Indonesia a hundred years ago.

The other colour vocabulary is a red-related colour. The findings displayed in Table 3 describe the comparison of red colour vocabulary used by Betawi people in Jakarta and Bekasi.








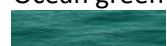
Table 3
The Comparison in Naming of Red Colour in Jakarta and Bekasi

Jakarta	Associations	Bekasi	Associations
<i>Merah muda</i> Light red (Pink) 	Brightness level	<i>Merah muda</i> Light red (Pink)	Brightness level
<i>Merah tua</i> Dark red 	Brightness level	<i>Merah tua</i> Dark red	Brightness level
<i>Merah ati</i> Heart red 	Parts of body	<i>Merah ati</i> Heart red	Parts of body
<i>Merah delima</i> Ruby 	Fruits	<i>Merah jambu</i> Ruby	Fruits
-	-	<i>Merah cabe</i> Chili red 	Vegetables

In referring to the basic red colour, Betawi people in Bekasi also have more terms referring to red than Betawi people in Jakarta: *merah muda*, *merah tua*, *merah ati*, *merah jambu*, and *merah cabe*. Betawi people in Bekasi have an additional colour vocabulary, i.e., *merah cabe*, which is associated with vegetables. In this case, as the Betawi people in the Marunda area are close to the sea, they are

not associated with vegetables but instead with fish. It is natural that no red colour is associated with chilies as a kind of vegetable. This condition is different from Betawi people living in Bekasi. The geographical location of Betawi people in Bekasi which is close to vegetables and farms makes vegetables to be associated with basic colours. This is interesting because the association is usually made based on common availability of a thing. Another notable finding is that Betawi people in Jakarta associate red fruits as ruby (*merah delima*). Although the colour name is associated with vegetation (i.e., pomegranate fruit), it is an imported fruit. Jakarta is the capital of Indonesia with a seaport allowing imports and exports from and to foreign countries. Pomegranate is a fruit originated from Iran, and because of its bright colour, it is taken as one of the colour vocabulary used by Betawi people living in Jakarta. A similar finding can be seen in the comparison of green colour in Jakarta and Bekasi, as displayed in Table 4.

Table 4
The Comparison in Naming of Green Colour in Jakarta and Bekasi

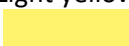


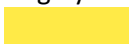




Jakarta	Associations	Bekasi	Associations
<i>Ijo muda</i> Light green 	Brightness level	<i>Ijo muda</i> Light green	Brightness level
<i>Ijo tua</i> Dark green 	Brightness level	<i>Ijo tua</i> Dark green	Brightness level
<i>Ijo daun</i> Leaf green 	Plants	<i>Ijo daun</i> Leaf green	Plants
<i>Ijo lumut</i> Moss green 	Plants	<i>Ijo lumut</i> Moss green	Plants
<i>Ijo telur asin</i> Salted egg green 	Food	<i>Ijo tai kuda</i> Horse waste green 	Animal waste
<i>Ijo langit</i> Sky green 	Nature	-	-
<i>Ijo laut</i> Ocean green 	Nature	-	-

The findings in Table 4 display green colour vocabulary used by Betawi people, that includes *ijo muda*, *ijo tua*, *ijo daun*, *ijo lumut*, *ijo telur asin*, *ijo langit*, *ijo laut*, and *ijo tai kuda*. Nevertheless, Betawi people in Jakarta have more green colour

variations than those in Bekasi. The proximity factor of Betawi people in Jakarta with the surrounding environment makes it also associated with everything commonly found close to them, such as salted eggs, moss, sky, and ocean. *Ijo langit* (sky green) and *ijo laut* (ocean green) are two colour images that represent coastal communities corresponding to the job of fishermen; meanwhile, people in non-coastal areas certainly do not pay too much attention to both green colours. A similar situation happens to horse waste green colour (*ijo tai kuda*) for Betawi society in Bekasi. The influence of colour could be that horses at one time were a common sight in Bekasi, so horse waste was often easily found and the people associated it with the basic colour of green. These images are thus associated with specific nature, jobs, and things.

Referring to the colour that leads to a particular thing such as horse waste which is common in certain areas, it is also seen in the case of yellow colour in Jakarta and Bekasi. Table 5 shows a comparison of yellow colour used by Betawi people in Jakarta and Bekasi.

Table 5
The Comparison in Naming of Yellow Colour in Jakarta and Bekasi






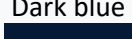

Jakarta	Associations	Bekasi	Associations
<i>Kuning muda</i> Light yellow 	Brightness level	<i>Kuning muda</i> Light yellow	Brightness level
<i>Kuning tua</i> Dark yellow 	Brightness level	<i>Kuning tua</i> Dark yellow	Brightness level
<i>Kuning jeruk</i> Orange yellow 	Fruits	<i>Kuning jeruk</i> Orange yellow	Fruits
<i>Kuning mangga</i> Mango yellow 	Fruits	<i>Kuning paya</i> Papaya yellow	Fruits
<i>Kuning mangga</i> Mango yellow 	Fruits	<i>Kuning emas</i> Gold yellow 	Jewellery
<i>Kuning pisang</i> Banana yellow 	Fruits	-	-
<i>Kuning beko</i> Backhoe yellow 	Excavator truck	-	-

There are two things to notice in Table 5, one of which is that the association of yellow with the fruit group is stronger in Jakarta than in Bekasi. Furthermore, the way Betawi people associate yellow, both in Bekasi and in Jakarta,

reveals their distinct characteristics *kuning tua*, *kuning muda*, *kuning jeruk*, *kuning mangga*, *kuning pisang*, *kuning paya*, and *kuning beko*. Due to the numerous developments in the Marunda area, Betawi people in Jakarta associate yellow with *beko* excavator truck that has the permanent colour of yellow. Heavy machinery has become all too familiar to their eyes. In contrast, *kuning* or yellow is frequently associated with valuable objects for Betawi people in Bekasi. They may be common gold jewellery because many of the people are wealthy and own many fields and large farms.

Furthermore, due to the presence of the association of blue (*biru*) in which it is paired with another colour, *biru muda*, *biru tua*, *biru telur asin*, *biru langit*, *biru laut*, *biru terong*, and *biru dongker* (see Table 6), there is a relatively new and exceptional case found in this research.

Table 6
The Comparison in Naming of Blue Colour in Jakarta and Bekasi

Jakarta	Associations	Bekasi	Associations
<i>Biru muda</i> Light blue 	Brightness level	<i>Biru muda</i> Light blue	Brightness level
<i>Biru tua</i> Dark blue 	Brightness level	<i>Biru tua</i> Dark blue	Brightness level
<i>Biru telur asin</i> Salted egg blue 	Food	<i>Biru telur asin</i> Salted egg blue	Food
<i>Biru langit</i> Sky blue 	Nature	<i>Biru langit</i> Sky blue	Nature
<i>Biru laut</i> Navy blue 	Nature	<i>Biru laut</i> Navy blue	Nature
-	-	<i>Biru dongker</i> Dark blue 	Colour
-	-	<i>Biru terong</i> Eggplant blue 	Vegetables

The presence of *biru dongker* (dark blue) in Bekasi indicates the presence of mixed cultures in referring to the colour with the current condition and situation, which leads to the use of *dongker* (derived from Dutch word) for dark blue colour and is associated with only blue colour to be mentioned together by Betawi people in Bekasi. Alternatively, because of the lack of proper association, colour mixing becomes an option for naming newly identified colours. The Betawi people in Bekasi

are associated with purple and eggplant blue and this connection is quite intriguing. The famous Betawi culinary specialty of blue eggplant is called *pecak*, cooked with shallots, cayenne pepper, ginger, salt, sugar, and limes. *Pecak* or halibut of *bandeng* fish is also cooked with eggplant, curly red chilies, bird's eye chilies, shallots, onions, peanuts, limes, and ripe tamarind.

Discussion

The findings indicate that colour vocabulary used by Betawi people living in Jakarta and Bekasi is broadly classified into six colours: white, red, black, yellow, green, and blue. This finding is consistent with the previous study that colour in Indonesian language is classified into six basic colours: red, white, black, blue, green, and yellow (Wardana & Mulyadi, 2022). Nevertheless, this finding is different from the previous studies confirming 11 colours in English (Berlin & Kay, 1969) and 12 colours in Russian and Slavic languages (Davies & Corbett, 1994; Hardin, 2013). The difference is mainly motivated by the colour categorisation in Betawi Malay language, which classifies colours based on their broad classifications and specific classifications. If judged from the number of specific colours, Betawi Malay language introduces many more colours than in English and Slavic languages. The use of broad and specific classifications of colours found in this research is consistent with the colour concept proposed by Paterson (2004), who classified colours based on the colour set and the sub-sets of the colour.

In terms of indicators for classifying colours, the findings of this research are consistent with the previous literature that classified colours based on their patterns, brightness, and saturation points (Keraf, 1990). In other words, these indicators are also applicable in naming colours in Betawi Malay language. Moreover, the findings of this research extend the indicators of colour categorisation by including a geography factor. These findings confirm Wierzbicka's (1990) universal human experience on colour classification based on day and night, fire, the sun, vegetation, the sky, and the ground. A geographical location determines the classification of colours. For example, colours are associated with the ecosystem (plants, animals, landscapes) available in certain areas. The introduction of navy (ocean) blue, sky blue, ocean green, and sky green colours indicates that the speakers of Betawi Malay in Jakarta live in a coastal area. The same case also happens to colour vocabulary associated with fruits and vegetables available in the area.

Moreover, the colour classification is also related to the things found in the area. For example, the use of backhoe yellow colour indicates that a backhoe is a common machine for Betawi people in Jakarta. The other example is horse waste green colour. This colour vocabulary is introduced in Betawi Malay spoken in Bekasi because horses are familiar animals in Bekasi. However, it is not used in Betawi Malay in Jakarta since horses are rarely seen in the city. Historically, horses used to be familiar in Betawi culture because they were used in the traditional transportation known as *andong*, a carriage pulled by horses. Nevertheless, such a transportation means is no longer found in Jakarta as it is replaced by modern vehicles. This finding is consistent with the previous literature that colours are culturally considered to be bound to certain ideologies and traditions (Geboy, 1996).

Furthermore, the findings indicate that the colour vocabulary in the same language can differ due to different areas where the language is used. There are several colours which are named differently in Betawi Malay language spoken in Jakarta and Bekasi. For example, Betawi people in Jakarta use the term *merah delima* for ruby colour, while Betawi people in Bekasi use *merah jambu*. Even though both the colours are associated with fruits, they refer to different fruits. This finding is consistent with the previous study that environment shapes both the colour vocabulary and the genetics of colour perception (Josserand et al., 2021). Besides, the colour vocabulary can also be different although it is associated with the same fruit or other plants. This is possible since a certain fruit or flower may have more than one colour. Madden et al. (2000) found that a rose is used to shape different vocabulary in different cultures as it can be either white or red. Japanese consumers prefer white, whereas consumers from Hong Kong prefer red. This preference certainly has a relation to their different ways of thinking and attitudes to the rose.

Conclusion

The study explored the colour scheme perceived by the people in referring to the basic colours, Betawi people in Jakarta and Bekasi share many similarities. The difference is found only in the number and some particular associations. Colour vocabulary in Betawi Malay spoken in Jakarta is dominated by white, green, and yellow colours, while it is dominated by black, red, and blue colours in Betawi Malay spoken in Bekasi. The difference in dominance between Betawi people in Jakarta and Bekasi indicates that there is also a difference in attitude or identity among Betawi people themselves. In this case, the surrounding environmental factors are very influential in building up the point of view of a group even if the comparable groups come from the same group.

The findings also reveal the role of geographical location in defining and classifying the colour vocabulary. This is an interesting finding since it can be further explored by future researchers on colour naming or colour vocabulary classification. A geographical location is certainly related to the surrounding ecosystem (flora, fauna, and landscapes). Therefore, studying colours can also be done within the domain of ecolinguistics. The results of this study suggest other researchers to conduct studies on colour naming from ecolinguistics perspectives.

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