### **CHAPTER 4**

### **DATA ANALYSIS**

In this chapter, the writer discusses the procedures of the Barikan *Besar* ritual and the offerings prepared by the participants of the ritual. To start the discussion, the writer uses Sims and Stephens' theory to determine whether the Barikan *Besar* ritual is a low-context or high-context ritual. According to Sims and Stephens (2005), a low-context ritual is less formal, not announced, and there is no dress code. Whereas, high context ritual is more formal, announced, well planned, having a particular dress code, and having someone knowledgeable about the ritual to make sure that the ritual runs smoothly from the beginning until the end.

After observing and interviewing the locals, the writer finds out that the Barikan Besar ritual belongs to a high-context ritual. The reasons are:

- 1. The participants are using a particular dress code.
- 2. The ritual is announced beforehand and well planned. The locals prepare the ritual several months before it is carried out.
- 3. The ritual is led by some people who have the authority, experience, and knowledge about the ritual.

Those elements are the elements of a high-context ritual.

The word "Barikan" comes from Arabic word or Al-Quran, Islam bible which means "grateful". This statement is supported by the interview with the elders in Karimunjawa, Mr. Hj. Sucipto. He said that Barikan means an expression of gratitude from the locals to God. "arti daripada Barikan itu kalau diambil dari bahasa Arabnya

atau Al-Quran itu bersyukur, Artinya bisa juga bersyukur kita terima kasih pada Tuhan, kalau menurut Islam ya kepada Allah, tapi Barikan itu tidak dikhususkan untuk orang Islam. Jadi, semua yang ada di desa kita itu, baik itu Muslim maupun non-Muslim, kalo berkenan, bolehlah ikut..acara Barikan, karena tidak ada istilahnya hanya untuk Muslim" [The meaning of Barikan if it is taken from the Arabic language or the *Quran* is grateful. This also means that we are grateful, we thank to God, if according to Islam so it is to Allah, but *Barikan* is not devoted to Muslims. Everyone in our village, be it Muslims or non-Muslim, if you wish, you may join the *Barikan*, because there is no term only for Muslims.] (Interview with Mr. Hj. Sucipto on 2018)

### 4.1 The **Procedure** of *Barikan Besar* Ritual

In rituals, there must be a procedure that is followed by the participants from the beginning to the end of the ritual. The procedures in the *Barikan Besar* ritual consist of two stages: preparation and performance. The first stage is preparing the *Barikan Besar* ritual. The process of the preparation involves the committee of the ritual deciding the time (date and hour) of the ritual, the participants of the ritual, and the ritual offerings.

The second stage is the performance of the ritual. The *Barikan Besar* ritual begins in the afternoon around 03:00 PM until 03:30 PM, after *Asr* prayer. *Asr* prayer is one of the five mandatory praying times for Muslims. The way the participants run the Barikan *Besar* ritual is almost the same as the *Barikan Kecil* ritual. On the day of the *Barikan Besar* ritual, a member of each household brings the *buceng* (*small-sized* 

cone-shaped yellow rice function as offerings only, not to be eaten) from home. At the same time, the committee provides a *tumpeng raksasa*. The top of the *tumpeng raksasa* will be cut and offered to the sea.

Like the *Barikan Kecil* ritual, at the beginning of the ritual, all participants gather at the crossroad to pray together and ask for safety, prosperity, and protection from disaster and disease. The ritual is held at the crossroads because Karimunjawa people believe that a crossroads is a place that can store good things and get rid of bad things.

After all participants come and get together at the crossroad, the ritual starts with an opening speech by a religious leader. In his speech, the religious leader usually reminds the participants about the objectives of the ritual. The speech is continued with "doa keselamatan", the prayer from Islam teaching to strengthen faith and ask for salvation from the torment and the heat of hellfire. The order of the prayers recited in the Barikan Besar ritual is the same as that in the Barikan Kecil ritual. They are:

# 1. Al-Fatihah

Al-Fatihah is one of the surahs (chapter) in Islam bible, Al-Quran. The literal meaning of Al-Fatihah is "the Opening" or "the Opener". It consists of seven ayat (verses). Al-Fatihah becomes the most required surah to recite by the Muslims on every occasion including the five times obligatory prayer and Sunnah or voluntary prayer known as salah.

#### 2. Yaasiin

Yaasiin is the 36<sup>th</sup> chapter of Al-Quran that consists of 83 verses. It is usually carried out by the Muslims in the Tahlilan; the moment after the Muslims pray, or when they want to send a prayer for their family and other people who have already passed away. Surah Yaasiin contains a warning from Allah and the Prophet about the Day of Resurrection after the Day of Judgement. It is a reminder for Muslims to always worship Allah.

### 3. *Tahlil*

Tahlil is praising Allah by saying "La ilaha illallah". It means that there is no other God than Allah or none deserves worship except Allah. The *Tahlil* is recited by the religious leader within the prayer to remind people that there is only one God, Allah.



Figure 4.1

The participants praying in the ritual

(Source: documentary video of the Barikan Besar ritual 2019)

After praying, the participants parade the offerings around the village, an activity called "kirab" by the locals. From the crossroad as the starting point, the participants parade the offerings to the east, then to the south, and then they will go back to the west to the harbor. This direction is handled by the elders.

The participants of the parade are arranged in a specific order. The fighters are at the very front of the line followed by the government officials who wear traditional clothes. Behind the government officials, come several men carrying the *tumpeng raksasa* ( gigantic cone-shaped yellow rice) and the tambourine music players. The last in the line are Karimunjawa women carrying *buceng* (small cone-shaped yellow rice) and *tumpeng ukuran sedang* (medium-sized cone-shaped yellow rice) from each RT/*Rukun Tetangga* (neighborhood).

When the participants arrive at the harbor, the *tumpeng* will be symbolically blocked by some people who act as the "enemies" who want to stop the *kirab*; these enemies symbolically mean obstacles in our life. The fighters who stand at the very front of the line will fight the enemies. After the fighters defeat the enemies, the parade will go on to the side of the sea.

The parade, then, stops at the seaside. There, the leader of the ritual will cut the top of the *tumpeng raksasa*. He tosses the top of the *tumpeng* to the sea. Mr. Arif Setyawan said, "....dalam Islam, sesaji itu harus dimanfaatkan. Jangan dimubazirkan. Artinya dibuang. Boleh, itu dikatakan sesaji boleh. Boleh. Apa sih sesaji? Sesaji itu kan dalam arti, saji, menyajikan." [...in Islam, the offering is not to be wasted. What is Sesaji? (Sesaji means offering).] (Interview with Mr. Arif Setyawan, on 6 August

2021). It means that the act of tossing the food does not mean wasting the food, but it means to offer. Karimunjawa people believe that this act is a sign of gratitude to God for the sustenance and health given to them. The lives of Karimunjawa people are very dependent on the sea. Many of them are fishermen. Therefore they do the act of tossing the top of the yellow rice in return of what the sea has given them.



The leader of the ritual tosses the top of the *tumpeng*(Source: documentary video of the Barikan Besar ritual 2019)

The procedure explained above is the procedure of the *Barikan Besar* ritual. However, because the *Barikan Besar* ritual is also for Jepara regional tourism agenda, several activities are included in the ritual to attract tourists to come to Karimunjawa and witness the ritual. The committee carries out activities that balance the budget they have. There are three activities that the *Barikan Besar* ritual committee designs to make

the ritual more festive. They are training or workshop, *Minagara* dance, and meal sharing.

The first activity is training or workshop. The committee usually runs a training or workshop for the locals as well as the visitors. For example, workshops on batik making, carving, hospitality, and photography. In addition to the training and workshop, the committee also prepares *Minagara* dance and meal sharing. Karimunjawa people prepare and train for the dance performance several months before the ritual begins.



Figure 4.3.

# Batik Workshop

(Source: documentary video of the Barikan Besar ritual 2019)

The second activity is *Minagara* dance which is done after the participants of the parade go back to the village from the seaside and gather in the city square. When they arrive, they will be welcomed by the dancers. There are 200-300 dancers who will perform the *Munagara* dance. The dancers are mostly women from various

backgrounds; they consist of students (from elementary school, junior high school, senior high school) and other citizens. The word *Minagara* comes from the word "Mina" which means farmer and "gara" or segoro which means the sea. The word "farmer" in this case means fisherman because most people in Karimunjawa work as fishermen. This dance performance is a result of the locals' initiative to make the Barikan *Besar* ritual more interesting, not just a parade of tumpeng (cone-shaped yellow rice). They invite the traditional art performers so that the residents of Karimunjawa are more active and maintain the existing traditions in Karimunjawa.

"Tapi untuk barikan sendiri biar tidak monoton terkesan hanya arak-arakan terus potong tumpeng. Lha itu kita mengajak teman-teman budaya, kita sangkut pautkan dengan kebudayaan. Makanya dari sanggar-sangar kita rangkul, terus bagaimana kita mengemas dengan baik supaya lebih semarak lah" [for barikan itself, in order to avoid being monotonous, just a parade and the cutting of the tumpeng. We invite our friends from the traditional art performance, we relate it to the culture. We embrace dance communities and then we make the events more interesting] (Interview with Mr. Arif Setyawan, on 6 August 2021)

Particularly on *Minagara* dance, based on the interview with the elder in Karimunjawa, Mr. Hj. Sucipto in 2018, the dance performance in the *Barikan Besar* ritual is to make the event livelier. Mr. Hj. Sucipto also added that it was acceptable not to include the dance performance in the ritual.

"Kalau hanya sebatas apa itu, tumpengan saja, kan kurang meriah. Maka, dari teman – teman kita yang panitia yang nangani itu, kita ikutkan, tari – tari.. daerah lah. Ya daerah itu, diangkat. Baik itu dari tari apa tari apa, itu diangkat, supaya menjadikan suasana itu tambah meriah. Gitu. Jadi seandainya ndak ada, ndak papa. Gitu." [If it is just the offerings, it is less festive. So, our friends who are on the committee that handles it put the dance performance in it. Whatever the dance is, to make this event more exciting. So, there is no problem if the dance performance is not included in the ritual.] (Interview with Mr. Hj. Sucipto on 2018)

Because Minagara dance is not the actual part of the Barikan Besar ritual, it does not always have to be performed. In 2020, when the COVID-19 pandemic hit Indonesia, the Minagara dance was not performed.

The dance itself is about the wives who welcome their husbands who have just come home after working in the sea, "Untuk wanitanya ya itu...kita pergi ke tepi laut, pinggir laut menanti suami datang dari laut mas, terus suaminya datang membawa hasil tangkapannya kemudian diberikan kepada perempuan, kepada istrinya untuk dijual ke pasar" [The woman, she goes to the seaside, waits for the husband to come from the sea. Then the husband comes with the catch and then gives it to his woman; to his wife to sell it to the market.] (Interview with Mrs. Tri Fadmawati on 2018)



Figure 4.4 *Minagara* Dance

(Source: documentary video of the Barikan Besar ritual 2019)

The third activity is meal sharing. This activity is done after the parade arrives at the city square bringing with them the rest of the *tumpeng raksasa* and *tumpeng sedang* prepared by the RT (*Rukun Tetangga*). The *tumpeng* is shared with all people there. Everyone can take and eat the *tumpeng raksasa* and *tumpeng sedang*. Meanwhile, the *buceng* (small cone-shaped yellow rice) that each person brings from home can be brought back home. The small one will be thrown away, just like what people do in the *Barikan Kecil* ritual, and the mung beans and the raw salt will be spread around their house. Karimunjawa people believe that raw salt can protect and prevent them from negative energy or supernatural power.

Based on the documentary video of the *Barikan Besar* ritual 2019, the remaining *tumpeng* will be eaten by all participants of the *Barikan Besar* ritual with no exception regardless of what position, religion, or race. ".... *Ya juga menurut agama lainnya*, ... *Jadi istilahnya*, apa yang keluar dari bumi seperti ketela, atau apapun itu silahkan dimakan bersama. Tidak pandang pejabat dan sebagainya, silahkan..." [The

other religions are welcome too... What comes from the earth such as cassava or others, can be shared together. No matter who you are, you are welcome to eat] (KH. Abdul Mu'in's interview in the documentary video of the *Barikan Besar* ritual 2019)



Figure 4.5

The participants share the *tumpeng*(Source: documentary video of the Barikan Besar ritual 2019)

The procedure of the *Barikan Besar* ritual may change according to the circumstances faced by the locals like what happened in 2020. In that year, after they went to the seaside and tossed the top of the *tumpeng raksasa*, they did not go to the city square. The locals went straight to the front of the village hall where the *tumpeng raksasa* and *tumpeng ukuran sedang* were shared with all the participants. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, not all RT/*Rukun Tetangga* bring *tumpeng sedang*. Only those who were chosen to be the representatives brought the *tumpeng sedang*. Moreover, the *tumpeng sedang* was not brought to the seaside with the *tumpeng raksasa*, but it was brought straight to the city square.

Based on the explanation above, the writer found that the *Barikan Besar* ritual is not only a cultural event for the locals but also an annual agenda for the Jepara government to make the ritual livelier and attract more tourist to come to Karimunjawa by adding various additional events. Then, in accordance with what Sims & Stephens (2005) said, "High-context rituals are typically conducted by someone. Usually the experienced members of the group, sometimes even specially selected members, run the ritual and make sure it happens in the right way." The *Barikan Besar* ritual might have changes on its procedure each year based on what circumstances faced by the locals, but it still belongs to high-context ritual because there is a leader who will make sure that the core elements will be there and the ritual happens in the right way.

# 4.2 The Offerings of Barikan Besar Ritual

Offerings are needed to run a ritual and it is one of the most important elements in rituals. "Offerings are the actualization of one's desires, thoughts, and feelings so that they are closer to God. This effort is an abstract form of cultural accumulation" (Setiawan, 2015, p. 27). Karimunjawa people agree on what items should be prepared as the offerings of the *Barikan Besar* ritual. The offerings in this ritual are almost the same as the offerings in the *Barikan Kecil* ritual.

Tumpeng (cone-shaped yellow rice) prepared in the Barikan Besar ritual is garnished with crops and seafood. "Tumpeng yang dibuat bukan hanya hasil bumi, tapi juga ada hasil laut, karena warga Karimunjawa tidak hanya menggantungkan hidupnya dari hasil bumi, tapi juga dari laut." [The offerings prepared are not only

from crops, but also seafood, because Karimunjawa people not only depend on the crops but also seafood to live.] (Interview with Khudori on 2 September 2018)



Figure 4.6

The Offerings in the Barikan Besar Ritual

In this research, the writer only describes the offerings used in the *Barikan Besar* ritual because during the observation and interview the writer's informants could not provide any information about the meaning behind those offerings and why the participants chose them as the offerings in the *Barikan Besar* ritual.

Based on the writer's interview with the informants, all stated that the offerings in the *Barikan Besar* ritual are mostly the same as the offerings used in the *Barikan Kecil* ritual. However, there are some additional side dishes for the *tumpeng*. According

to the informants, there are three types of *tumpeng*: *tumpeng raksasa* (literally translated as gigantic cone-shaped yellow rice), *tumpeng sedang* (medium sized cone-shaped yellow rice), and *buceng* (small cone-shaped yellow rice) with *buceng* as the most important *tumpeng* in the ritual because of its symbolic meaning, "*hanya tumpeng besar gitu aja sih mas, cuman bucengnya tetep ada, buceng paling atas kan tetep ada karena itu simbolis untuk barikan sendiri.*" [It is just big cone-shaped yellow rice, but the small one is still there, it is just for the symbolism of *Barikan* itself.] (Interview with Mr. Arif on 6 August 2021).

### 4.2.1 Tumpeng Raksasa (Gigantic Cone-shaped Yellow Rice)

This *tumpeng* raksasa is the main offering in the *Barikan Besar* ritual. This offering contains *tumpeng* on the top, fruits, vegetables, and fish below. The contents of the offering are related to what the informant said that the locals prepare the offerings with all sources that are available in Karimunjawa. This *tumpeng* is the one that will be brought by the participants from the crossroads to the seaside.

This *tumpeng* is specially prepared by the committee because it is the most important part of the *Barikan Besar* ritual. The yellow rice is usually cooked by some women in the early morning of the ritual. After the yellow rice is cooked, it will be put in a big tray made of braided bamboo decorated with fruits, vegetables, and seafood. This decoration is prepared a night before the ritual begins. The *tumpeng* is made from four layers of rounded-shaped yellow rice and the *buceng* is placed on top of them. This *buceng* is the one that will be tossed to the sea as part of the ritual.



Figure 4.7

buceng on the top of four layers

# 4.2.2 Tumpeng Sedang (Medium Sized Cone-shaped Yellow Rice)

Besides the *tumpeng raksasa* prepared by the committee, there is *tumpeng sedang* prepared by each neighborhood (RT/Rukun Tetangga) or some communities such as hotel owners or tour agencies in Karimunjawa. In the *Barikan Besar* ritual 2020, not all neighborhoods or communities prepare the *tumpeng sedang* because of the situations and circumstances that the locals faced. This *tumpeng* will be shared and eaten by the participants after they pray together. This *tumpeng* is served with side dishes that are ready to be eaten.

# **4.2.3** *Buceng* (Small Cone-shaped Yellow Rice)

The third type of *tumpeng* in the Barikan *Besar* ritual is *buceng*. This *tumpeng* is the same as the one in the *Barikan Kecil* ritual. The locals usually call this small cone-shaped yellow rice *buceng*. The word "*buceng*" is also used by the locals to name the top of the *tumpeng raksasa* which is usually cut off and tossed to the sea. *Buceng* is prepared by each household, the women in the household usually cook and prepare this *buceng*. After that, they bring the *buceng* to the crossroads and pray together with all participants. They also follow the procession until the end. After they go back to the village, they will bring the *buceng* to their home. They will not eat the *buceng* but they will throw it away.

Based on the interview with one of the informants, it turns out that in the past, when the locals held a *Barikan* ritual, they threw "buceng" to each other after they gathered and prayed at the crossroads. The reason for e buceng throwing is the activity to get to know each other better. There is no anger between them; they even laugh about it. Now, this activity is removed from the ritual because it is considered a waste of food.

The writer is going to describe some elements that are used as the offerings in the *Barikan Besar* ritual, whether in *tumpeng raksasa* or *buceng*.

### a. Yellow Rice

Yellow rice is a common food in Indonesia. It is made from rice which is one of the staple foods in Indonesia. Indonesians are known as big consumers of rice, averaging more than 200 kg per head each year. "Indonesia is one of

the world's leading rice producers, with paddy production in 2003 of more than 50 million tones and a cultivated area of more than 11,5 million ha." (International Year of Rice, 2004, para.1)



Figure 4.8

Cone-shaped yellow rice

Yellow rice is made from rice mixed with turmeric, coconut cream, and other *rempah-rempahan* (spices). This makes the rice more tasteful and savory than the white rice that is the daily food of Indonesian people. Yellow rice is commonly used when people hold a tradition called "*selametan*". *Selametan* is a Javanese tradition when people give thanks to God for everything that is given to them. In many cultural events in Indonesia, yellow rice holds an important part and is always arranged in cone-shaped (*tumpeng*).

Mr. Haji Sutjipto said that the yellow rice cone in Barikan Kecil was small because this cone would not be consumed but would be thrown away. On the other hand, the yellow rice cone in Barikan Besar or Barikan Kubro will be

consumed by the people of Karimunjawa after the top of the large cone is "tossed" in the sea as a symbol of gratitude and a request for good luck and protection.

# b. Mung bean

Mung beans come from Asia. This seed is popular in Asia, especially Southeast Asia. Many people use mung beans as an ingredient for mung bean porridge, *rempeyek* (a kind of crackers), and other kinds of food both sweet and savory. The word "mung" comes from the Hindi word "moong", which is derived from the Sanskrit word "mudga".



Figure 4.0.9

Mung Beans

The informants could not give any explanation why they use mung beans as the offerings in the *Barikan Besar* ritual. They say that mung beans can be replaced by other seeds, such as corn, rice, etc.

# c. Eggs

Eggs are the most used ingredients for food in Indonesia. There are also lots of rituals that use eggs as a requirement. For example, in Javanese culture, there is a tradition called "*Injak Telur*" when someone is getting married. In that ritual, the groom must step on the egg with his right barefoot. The egg is placed on a tray covered with flowers

Eggs are also used in the celebration of Eastertide. Easter is the principal festival of the Christian church. This festival celebrates the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Eastertide begins on Easter Sunday and continues with Easter week.

Eggs in Easter represent the resurrection of Jesus Christ.



Figure 4.10

Egg

The informants did not give any further information why the locals use eggs as offerings in the *Barikan Besar* ritual. Based on the writer's observation, the locals believe that the egg will bring new sustenance, wealth, and fortune. The locals in Karimunjawa use chicken eggs for the offerings in the *Barikan Besar* ritual. It is because of the availability of the sources there. This proves that the offerings in the *Barikan* ritual are dependent on what are the sources that are available there.

# d. **Urap-urap**an

Urap-urapan is a salad dish that is commonly found in Indonesia. Urap also spelled urab is usually made from steamed various vegetables mixed with seasoned spiced grated coconut. This food is usually used in many traditions in Indonesia along with tumpeng. Urap-urapan usually consists of spinach, young cassava, papaya leaf, and other vegetables with shredded old coconut seasoned with salt, garlic, red chili pepper, coconut sugar, ground shallot, tamarind juice, and galangal to make it more tasteful. It can be consumed either as a salad or as a side dish.



Figure 4.11 *Urap-urapan* 

Based on the interview with one of the writer's informants, *urap-urapan* is one of the items that is definitely there and not forgotten by the participants to be prepared as the offerings in *Barikan Besar* ritual. "cuman dibawahnya ada nasi urap kalau orang sini. Ada ikan basah ada ikan asin ada telur. Yang jelas tidak meninggalkan untuk urap urapan sini tu mas" [below the yellow rice there is urap rice. There is fresh fish, salted fish, and eggs. What is clear is that we Karimunjawa people don't leave the *urap-urapan*, mas] (Interview with Mr. Arif on 6 August 2021)

## e. Salted Fish

Salted fish is made by salting the fish, preserving food with dry edible salt. This method of preservation can make the food last longer and can be eaten in the future.



Figure 4.12 Salted Fish

One of the writer's informants said that salted fish in Karimunjawa is useful for survival because when the westerly wind blows the fisherman cannot go to the sea for fishing. Then before the westerly wind comes, Karimunjawa people usually prepare and make a salted fish survive for about two months, from January until February. "...kalau sini kan ada musim... musim pancaroba, musim timur, musim barat gitu. Lah pas angin barat kenceng fungsi dari ikan asin itu untuk kita bertahan. Karena pas musim Januari Februari itu biasanya angin barat kenceng sekali. Nelayan ndak bisa ngapa ngapain" [In here there are transition seasons, east season, west season. When a westerly wind strongly blows, the salted fish's function is to survive. Because when it is January and February, the westerly wind usually blows very strongly. So the fisherman cannot do anything] (Interview with Mr. Arif, on 6 August 2021)

### f. Raw Salt

The raw salt is one of the resources and minerals that have been used since ancient times in many cultures. This mineral is used for seasoning, preserving food, and also as a component of ceremonial offerings in a ritual. In the Bible, salt is used metaphorically for loyalty, durability, and purification.



Figure 4.13
Raw Salt

The writer found in an article on a website, <a href="https://www.refinery29.com/">https://www.refinery29.com/</a>, Coughlin quoting Moore who said, "Salt's association with cleanliness, protection, and purity probably comes from the fact that its mundane uses include purifying and preserving food (Coughlin, 2018)." The idea comes from the white color that means purity, then the salt's ability to preserve food and keep it fresh connects to protection.

In general, based on the writer's interview with the informant, the items that are used as the offerings for the ritual are replaceable. It is highly dependent

on the availability of local sources in Karimunjawa. One of the writer's informants, Mr. Arif, chief person of *Barikan Besar* ritual in 2020, stated that all crops that are available in Karimunjawa are accommodated and made as the offerings. "Ya, istilahnya hanya untuk ini sih... mengumpulkan hasil bumi yang ada di karimun, kita jadikan satu disitu. Sebenarnya ngga ada arti sih itu, kita hanya memperlihatkan ini lho hasil bumi karimunjawa, memperlihatkan saja" [Yes, the term is just to collect the crops that available in Karimun, made it as the offerings, actually there is no meanings behind it, we just want to show all crops in Karimunjawa, just to show it.] (Interview with Mr. Arif, on 6 August 2021).

There are many rituals in Java Island that is called Barikan, the writer believes there must be different meanings, different purposes, and different function of these rituals. The writer found that Karimunjawa people are really dependent on the sources that they have. The offerings that are used in the Barikan Besar ritual can be replaced by any other sources that available in Karimunjawa at the time the ritual being held. Usually, the offerings of rituals are valid and cannot be changed or replaced. The fact that the offerings in Barikan Besar ritual can be replaced will make it have different meanings, For example, the colours must represent something