

SEMANTIC AND PHONOLOGICAL RELATIONS OF JAVANESE WANGSALAN ELEMENTS

Relasi Semantis dan Fonologis Elemen-Elemen Wangsalan Bahasa Jawa

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Abstract

This paper is designed to describe the Javanese traditional formula famously known as wangsalan with the attention focus on the relation of its three-element structure, i.e. description, referent, and intention. The data presented in this article are mainly gathered from websites, Javanese lesson books, and Javanese song lyrics. Firstly, the elements of wangsalan are classified into three categories, i.e. description, referent, and intention respectively. Further, through careful investigation, the semantic and phonological relation between description and referent elements, and referent and intention elements are analyzed using contrasting method. Eventually, the research finds that the relation of description and referent elements is semantic, but the relation of referent and intention elements is phonological in character. The semantic relation can be distinguished into periphrastic, metaphorical, similarity, synonymous, and onomatopoeic relations, while the phonological relation can be differentiated into partial and total homophonic relations.

Keywords: *wangsalan, semantic, phonological, and relation*

Abstrak

Makalah ini bertujuan untuk mendeskripsikan formula tradisional dalam bahasa Jawa yang secara luas dikenal sebagai *wangsalan* dengan fokus perhatian pada tiga elemen pembentuknya, yakni deskripsi, referen, dan intensi. Seluruh data yang disajikan dalam penelitian ini dikumpulkan melalui laman, buku-buku pelajaran bahasa Jawa, dan lirik-lirik lagu Jawa. Pertama, elemen-elemen *wangsalan* diklasifikasikan menjadi tiga kategori, yaitu deskripsi, referen, dan intensi. Lebih jauh melalui penelitian yang cermat, relasi semantis dan fonologis antara element deskripsi dan referen, dan antara elemen referen dan intensi dianalisis dengan metode kontrastif. Hasil analisis menemukan bahwa relasi deskripsi dan referen bersifat semantis, tetapi relasi referen dan elemen intensi bersifat fonologis. Relasi semantik dapat dibedakan menjadi relasi perifrastik, metaforis, kesamaan, sinonimi, dan onomatope. Sementara itu, relasi fonologis antara referen dan intensi dapat dibedakan menjadi relasi homofoni total dan homofoni sebagian.

Kata kunci: *wangsalan, semantis, fonologis, dan relasi*

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INTRODUCTION

All languages are equal in terms of their function as means of communication, and every language has the same capacity to be a world language (de Cuellar, 1996, 179). However, the fate of all languages is strongly determined by social and political environment, above all of power and relations. Accordingly, a lot of world languages can not compete with the languages of more socially and politically powerful countries. This condition in turn has a big impact on the existence of the world's less powerful languages. Therefore, it is not surprising that between five and twenty thousand languages spoken today will become extinct in the next century. In fact, all those languages reflect a unique view of the world, pattern of thought, and culture. Furthermore, de Cuellar (1996, 179) stresses that the disappearance of any language means the impoverishment of the reservoir of knowledge and tools of intra-cultural and intercultural communication.

Indonesian Language policy has been for a long time aware of the role of minority or local languages in supporting and promoting the development of Indonesian as the national and official language. According to this policy: the local languages which are still used as communication tools are preserved by the government because they are part of Indonesian culture (Halim, 1981, 21). There are many efforts that should be made to maintain the local languages, one of which is to preserve the existence of their traditional formulas.

Any language certainly has traditional formulas which can be shared with other languages. For instance, the traditional formula the so-called proverb probably seems universal in terms of all languages owning this formula. In other words, this formula can seemingly be found in all languages. However, there are also traditional formulas that can only be found in several or a very small number of languages. *Wangsalan*, as far as I know, is only found in two languages, i.e. Balinese and Javanese (Wijana, 2022). Other languages do not seem to have *wangsalan*. *Wangsalan* as one out of not less than 30 others existing in Javanese (Rahyono, 205--208) has become an interesting focus of studies among Javanese scholars. However, various linguistic relations that hold between the formula's element structure have not been profoundly and satisfactorily revealed, as described in the following section.

A study done by Prasetyo (2016, 28--36) tries to investigate the forms and meanings of *wangsalan*. Without any clearness of form concepts, he finds that Javanese *wangsalan* can be constructed by words, phrases, and clauses. Using Haley's theoretical framework, he semantically classifies several meanings of *wangsalan*, i.e. being, energy, terrestrial, object, animate, and human. He does not also differentiate between meaning and communicative function by stating that *wangsalan* can also be used to deliver information, advice, innuendo, and requests. Meanwhile, using the literary approach, through words consisting in the formula, Purwadi's study (2018, 184--190) is concerned with *wangsalan* themes that cover patriotism, love, cooperation, and hard work. *Wangsalan* for the community members is useful for achieving life success. In line with Poerwadi's study, Khasanah et al. (2019, 172--176) expose the central role of *wangsalan* in implanting character education values. Without clearly differentiating between *wangsalan* and *parikan*, using the musical approach, Devi (2022, 34--42), like Purwadi's study, finds several themes of *wangsalan*, such as love, patriotism, and religious teaches that can be developed becoming various moral teaches. She also classifies several types of *wangsalan* structure, such as *wangsalan lamba* (simple *wangsalan*), *wangsalan memet* (complicated *wangsalan*), and *wangsalan padinan* (ordinary/daily *wangsalan*). The same approach is also used by Suparsih (2019, 226--232), and without clear linguistic concepts of words, phrases, and syllables, she tries to apply the appropriateness of *wangsalan* in supporting the nicety of *gendhing* (song) performance. Not far different from Suparsih's study, Rahayu (2018, 42--48) studies the esthetic values of phrases and word choices found in Javanese *wangsalan* to enhance the niceties of *sindhenen* songs of Javanese traditional concerts. In his paper entitled "Transposition of Meaning in *Wangsalan*", Wijoyanto (2019, 57--63) focuses his

study just on the relation of *wangsalan* elements which he says consisting of two parts, i.e., opening (*bebuka*) and content, and there is no semantic relation that holds between them, except the phonological associations. Ngadi's book “*Wangsalan Budidaya Adiluhung*” (2012) describes some matters of this Javanese formula, i.e structure, how to create the formula, and its several communicative functions. This book does not give any attention to the complexities of the Javanese *wangsalan* that cause the receivers difficulties in comprehending the formula. The article written by Insani (2020, 47--66) is concerned with the relationship between *wangsalan* and ecological matters, and its moral values contained within, such as love of peace, conflict avoidance, kindness, and respect for others. A comprehensive study on Balinese *wangsalan* concerning its forms and exploitation in Balinese shadow puppet performance has been done by Wilantara (2016, 123--132). The most recent study about *wangsalan* is carried out by Wijana (2022) which focuses on three issues, i.e., structures, communicative functions, and complexities that make the nonfully pledged Javanese speakers difficult to understand the formula.

Brown and Yule (1989, 1-2) state that the analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. Therefore, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions that those forms are designed to serve in human affairs. Meanwhile, according to Allan (1986, 3), any language use is presumed that the speaker produces an utterance with the intention of communicating something and expecting the hearer will understand what the speaker intends to do. Discourse is any linguistic unit, either sentence or above sentence, written or spoken, which contains a message for the interlocutor(s) to understand, and is produced in a concrete situational context (Wijana, 2002, 64--65). As the most completed linguistic unit, discourse constitutes the highest and the biggest grammatical unit. It can be realized in the forms of complete compositions such as books, novels, encyclopedic dictionaries, paragraphs, sentences, or words bearing a complete message (Kridalaksana, 1993, 231). As far as any discursive unit is concerned, all its elements are tied up by various kinds of relationship. For creating cohesive and coherent discourses, according to Halliday & Hassan (1976), the discourse elements must be marked by various kinds of formal as well as semantic relation markers, such as reference, substitution, repetition, conjunction, etc. It has already been realized that Javanese *wangsalan* is a type of discourse whose elements are built up by some kind of relations. However, the matters that are not settled yet are what types of relations hold among those elements. So far, scholars and Javanese speakers state that the opening elements are synonymous (in very loose sense) with the words intended, and these words have no relation, except phonological associations with the intention. This paper is intended to investigate more profoundly the types of relations that exist among structural elements of Javanese *wangsalan*.

METHOD

Most data presented in this paper are gathered from Javanese lesson books (Nuraini, without year, 77--78; Daryanto, 1999, 138--140). These data are added with *wangsalan* found on websites and Javanese song lyrics. The data are further classified based on their elements into three parts. Those are description, referent, and intention. The next analysis is directed toward findings of various relations existing between description and referent, and referent and intention through contrasting methods. This method is carried out by contrasting the *wangsalan* elements. For example, by contrasting the description element *klapa mudha* ‘young coconut’ and the referent element *degan* ‘young coconut’, and *janur gunung* ‘village young coconut leaf’ and *aren* ‘village young coconut leaf’, it can be identified that the relation between that element is periphrastic because *klapa muda* and *janur gunung* is the other way to say or describe *degan* and *aren*. By contrasting *balung jagung* ‘corn bone’ and *janggal* ‘corn cob’, and *balung klapa* ‘coconut bone’ and *bathok* ‘coconut shell’, it can be revealed that the relation that holds between them is metaphorical because the relation is built by partial similarities between *balung* ‘bone’ and *janggal* ‘corn cobe’ and *bathok* ‘coconut shell’. Meanwhile, by contrasting the *wangsalan*

referent elements *janggal* 'corn cob' and *tanggal (jawab)* 'responsibility' and *bathok* 'coconut shell' and *ethok-ethok* 'to pretend', it can be identified that the relation between the elements is partially homophone because the similarity lies only on the final syllables *-gel* and *-thok*. Finally, the contrast between referent and intention elements *gremeng* 'rhizome plant's flower' and *nggremeng* 'vibrating' or *golek* 'wood puppet' and *nggolek* 'to look for' is a total homophone. Many data can be discussed from various perspectives. Accordingly, they possibly appear more than once and are presented with different numbers.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Before going to further considerations, I will first discuss the structural elements which build the Javanese *wangsalan*. Any Javanese *wangsalan* is constructed by three elements. Those elements are respectively called **description**, **referent**, and **intention**. Description is the opening element of *wangsalan*. This element is filled by attributive noun phrases in which a noun that functions as the head of a construction is modified by attribute to specify its semantic scope. The opening description will lead the hearer to the referent. *Wangsalan* element that functions as a referent is always a mono morphemic word or single lexeme. And, this referent will be associated with speaker's intention. For more clearly, see (1) and (2) below:

- (1) **Balung jagung** 'corn bone' > **janggal** 'corn cob' > Niku sampun **tanggal** jawab kawula 'That was my responsibility'
- (2) **Balung klapa** 'coconut bone' > **bathok** 'coconut shell' > Geleme mung **ethok-ethok** 'He agrees to do just for pretending'

In (1) and (2) **Balung jagung** 'corn cob' and **Balung klapa** 'coconut bone' are opening descriptions. **Janggal** 'corn cob' and **bathok** 'coconut shell' the words meant are referents. From these referents the speaker's intentions **tanggal (jawab)** 'responsibility' and **ethok-ethok** 'pretending' are obtained. There are considerably different characteristics of types of relation that hold between description and referent and referent and description. The relation between description and referent is semantic in character, but the relation between referent and intention is phonological. **Balung jagung** and **balung klapa** are metaphorical perceptions for **janggal** 'corn cob' and **bathok** 'coconut shell'. The phonological relations so far are not considered as a relation by the scholars and the Javanese speakers.

On many occasions, to show speakers' ability in using *wangsalan*, they often combine the opening description with the intention elements. This way of speaking assumes that the referent elements are already shared by both speakers and the hearers. See (3), (4), (5) below:

- (3) **Janur gunung**, ngapa kok kadingaren? 'Village young coconut leaf, why you have been long time not coming here?'
- (4) **Balung janur**, paring **usada** mring kang nandhang wuyung 'young coconut leaf bone, Please give a medicine for someone falling in love'.
- (5) **Balung pakel**, Senengane **Alok** 'mango seed, you just like to insult'.

In (3) the shared referent is **aren** 'palm leaf' which has partial phonological similarities with **kadingaren** 'it is not as usual', in (4) is **sada** 'coconut leaf stick' phonologically similar to **usada** 'medicine', and in (5) is **pelok** 'mango seed' whose sounds are similar to **alok** 'insult'. And, by using this ground, it is found that there are various semantic relations holding between description and the referent elements, and varieties of phonological relations between referent and intention elements. These matters will be discussed in the following sections.

Semantic Relation between Description and Referent Elements

It has been mentioned that the relation between the opening description and its referent is semantic in character. Regarding this matter, there are at least four types of relations. Those are

periphrastic, metaphorical, similarity, and synonymous relation.

Periphrastic Relation

Paraphrase is the other way to express something using different words. Periphrastic relation seems constituting the most common semantic relation found in Javanese *wangsalan*. In this regard, the opening description is the longer expression used to denote the referent. See (6) to (13) below:

- (6) **Klapa mudha** 'young coconut' > **degan** 'young coconut' > **Leganana** atiku nandhang kasmaran 'Make my heart happy for I am falling in love'
- (7) **Mentil kacang** 'young long bean fruit' > **mbesungut** 'antenna, bean flower' > Aja mbesungut 'Do not grumble!'
- (8) **Kembang ganyong** 'edible tuber flower' > **midra** 'edible tuber' > Aja cidra marang wong 'Do not break your promise to someone'.
- (9) **Kembang garut** 'rhizome plant's flower' > **gremeng** 'rhizome plant's flower' > Ngapa Nggremeng ora karuwan? 'Why did you vibrate unclearly?'
- (10) **Kembang kacang** 'bean flower' > **Besengut** 'bean flower' > Dheweke Mbesengut ora kalegan 'He is tug at due to dissatisfaction or disappointment'
- (11) **Roning kamal** 'amarind leaf' > **sinom** 'amarind leaf' > mumpung nom 'Take advantage while you are young!'
- (12) **Roning mlinjo** 'gnetum gnemon leaf leaf' > **So** 'gnetum gnemon leaf' > Sampun Sayah nyuwun ngaso 'I am already tired, I need some rest'
- (13) **Wohing aren, pangocapane wong janma nendra** 'palm fruit, something said by a sleeping person' > **kolang kaling, ngilindur** 'palm seed, be delirious' > **Eling** omongane wong ngilindur! 'Be aware of everything said by unconscious/sleeping person!'
- (14) **Wohing tanjung** 'fruit of fragrant flower' > **Kecik** 'fragrant flower seed' > Becike kowe lungu wae 'You had better go!'

As an agricultural society, Javanese is very rich in farming vocabulary. Javanese has different terms for naming the fruit, flower, leaf, seed, etc of different plants. For instance, the Javanese speakers name the young coconut fruit as **degan** which constitutes the paraphrase of **klapa mudha** 'young coconut fruit' which inspires the creation of (6). Meanwhile, a young fruit for the bean is named **mbesungut**, and *wangsalan* (7) can be created. Edible tuber flower is distinct from rhizome plant's flower and bean with different names, i.e., **midra**, **gremeng**, and **besengut** respectively, and then exploited to create (8), (9) and (10). Plants in Javanese can also be differentiated through their leaf. Tamarind and gnetum gnemon have different leaf names, i.e., **sinom** 'young tamarind leaf' and **so** 'young gnetum gnemon leaf'. This difference enables the speakers to create *wangsalan* (11) and (12). Names of fruit are also different from plant to plant. **Kolang kaling** is palm fruit (seed) and **kecik** is fruit of fragrant flower. The existence of *wangsalan* (13) and (14) is made possible by this phenomenon. Briefly, the referent elements of *wangsalan* (6) to (14) have periphrastic relations with their opening descriptions. The paraphrase relation can also involve animal and puppet characters, place names, such as shown by (15), (16), (17), and (18) below:

- (15) **Anak kethek** 'a young monkey' > **munyak** 'monkey small' > Ming maknyuk 'It is really very close'
- (16) **Yaksa dewa, dewa dewi lir denawa** 'giant goddess, beautiful goddess like giant' > **Bhatara Kala, durga** 'Kala goddess, Siwa's wife' > **Kala** mudha bangkit ambengkas **durgama** 'When you are young, you should wipe out crime, wickedness'.
- (17) **Anjani Putra** 'Anjani's son' > **Hanoman** 'white monkey, a character in Ramayana Epic' > Mumpung Nom 'Take advantage while you are young!'
- (18) **Jenu tawa, Dhepoke Pandhita Drona** 'fish poison, name of Drona's dwelling place' > **tungkul, Sokalima** 'passionate, name of Drona's dwelling place' > Ywa ketungkul, ulah saka tan prayoga 'Be careful of your inappropriate behavior'

In (15), (16), (17) and (18), **anak kethek** 'small monkey', **yaksa dewa, dewa dewi lir denawa** 'giant goddess, beautiful goddess like a giant', **anjani putra** 'son of Anjani', and

Dhepoke Pandhita Drona 'Drona's dwelling place' respectively are the other ways of saying their referential identity **munyuk**, **Bhatara Kala**, **durga**, **Hanoman**. and **sokalima**.

Metaphorical Relation

Metaphors are linguistic expressions whose meaning cannot be directly reached by the symbol but through their interpretation of them based on certain similarities held between the symbols and the targets. It is true that the symbols used as source domains are more familiar than the target domains (Foley, 2001, 182; Shen 2008, 296), but in creative works like *wangsalan*, the source domains are often less so than the target domains. For examples, the word **mawa** 'coal', **janggal** 'corn cob', **sada** 'coconut leaf steak', **Bathok** 'coconut shell', **kobis** 'cabbage', **jungkat** 'comb', **Apu** 'lime' seem more familiar than their metaphorical expressions **Balung geni** 'fire bone', **Balung jagung** 'coconut bone', **Balung janur** 'young coconut leaf bone', **Balung klapa** 'coconut bone', **Balung pakel** 'mango bone', **Garu rikma** 'hair harrow', and **Jenang sela** 'stone porridge'. Consider *wangsalan* (19) to (26) below:

- (19) **Balung geni** 'fire bone' > **mawa** 'coal' > Nggih mbok menawa 'May be yes'
- (20) **Balung jagung** 'corn cob' > **janggal** 'corn cob' > Niku sampun **tanggal** jawab kawula 'That was my responsibility'
- (21) **Balung janur** 'young coconut leaf bone' > **sada** 'coconut leaf steak' > Paring **usada** mring kang nandhang wuyung 'Please give a medicine for someone falling in love'
- (22) **Balung klapa** 'coconut bone' > **Bathok** 'coconut shell' > Geleme mung **ethok-ethok** 'He agrees to do just for pretending'
- (23) **Balung pakel** 'mango bone' > **pelok** 'mango seed' > Senengane **Alok** 'You just like to insult'
- (24) **Gendera bakmi** 'noodle flag' > **kobis** 'cabbage' > **Habis** 'It is sold out'
- (25) **Garu rikma** 'hair harrow' > **jungkat** 'comb' > Aja **nekat** 'Do not be determined'
- (26) **Jenang sela wader kali sesonderan** 'stone porridge, small river fish with sash' > **Apu, sepat** 'lime and river fish' > **Apuranto** yen wonten **lepat** kawulo 'I apologize if I have made any mistake'.

Similarity Relation

In a lot of cases, the relation between description elements and the referents is built based on similarities. Everything described by the opening description does not certainly refer to the same entities but is just similar in appearance to the referent *wangsalan* elements. So, **lateng** 'stinging nettle', **timba** 'pail', **ali-ali** 'ring', **puyang** 'a medicinal plant of ginger family', **dhandhang** 'large metal vessel for steaming rice', **buni** 'tree bearing small sour fruit', **kecap** 'soya bean sauce', **krecek** 'buffalo skin processed for eating', **golek** 'wood puppet doll', and **urang** 'prawn' are consecutively different from **bayem** 'spinach', **gayung** 'water scoop', **gelang** 'bracelet', **jahe** 'ginger', **kendhil** 'cooking pot', **mrice** 'pepper', **petis** 'condiment of fermented shrimp or fish', **pindhang** 'meat with salt without drying', **reca** 'statue', and **wader** 'water fish', eventough some of them, such as **lateng** and **puyang** might belong to the same family to **bayem** 'spinach' and **jahe** 'ginger'. See (27) to (35) below:

- (27) **Bayem arda**, **ardane ngrasuk busana** > **lateng** 'stinging nettle', **besus** 'like to make up' > Mari anteng, **besuse** saya ketara 'After silent, her bad behavior can more clearly be seen.'
- (28) **Gayung sumur** 'well scoop' > **timba** 'pail' > Aja **kemba** aja mundur 'Do not loose your passion, do not regress!'
- (29) **Gelang swedha**, **kancing gelang mungging dhadha** 'finger bracelet, pin bun above the chest' > **ali-ali** 'ring', **peniti** 'safety pin' > Ajwa lali den **nastiti** barang karya 'do not forget to be careful of your work'
- (30) **Jahe wana** 'forrest ginger' > **puyang** 'a medicinal plant of ginger family' > Hatiku **puyang**-payangan 'My heart is always spinning'
- (31) **Kendhil dawa** 'long cooking pot' > **dhandhang** 'large metal vessel for steaming rice' > Enggal ditandhang! 'It must be quick to handle'
- (32) **Mrice kecut** 'sour pepper' > **buni** 'tree bearing small sour fruit' > Kok, **muni-** **muni?** 'Why are you angry'
- (33) **Petis manis** 'condiment of fermented shrimp or fish' > **kecap** 'soya bean sauce' > Aja **ngucap** yen tok

- amung samudana! 'Do not talk if only just pretending!'
- (34) **Pindhang lulang** 'skin meat with salt without drying' > **krecek** 'buffalo skin processed for eating' > **Kacek apa aku karo dheweke?** 'What different between I and him'
- (35) **Reca kayu** 'wood statue' > **golek** 'wood puppet doll' > **golek apa?** 'What are you looking for'

Synonymous Relation

Synonymy is the semantic relation of two or more linguistic expressions having the same sense. Synonymous relation in a language has never been total, but always partial. The meaning of one expression might be wider, less formal, more literary, more dialectal, more intensive, ancient, etc. than its synonymous equivalents (Wijana, 2020, 54). For example, the old Javanese **kapi** 'monkey' has the same meaning as its New Javanese equivalent **kethek** 'monkey'. **Kepiting** 'crab' is synonymous with its dialectal and literary equivalent **yuyu** 'crab', and **wideng** 'crab'. **Langgar** is synonymous with **mesjid** which is different in respect of size. Consider (36) to (39) below:

- (36) **Kapi jarwa** 'the meaning of kapi' > **kethek** 'monkey' > **Dakpethek mangsa luputa** 'I try to guess but it is still wrong'
- (37) **Kepiting kang sabeng rawa** 'crab that goes to swamp' > **Yuyu** 'crab' > **Nguswaraganta wong ayu** 'I want kissing you, beautiful girl'
- (38) **Mesjid alit** 'small mosque' > **langgar** 'small mosque' > **Aja sok nglanggar aturan** 'Do not ever violate the rule!'
- (39) **Wideng galeng, putra Kresna Paranggarudha** 'rice field crab', Kresna's son > **yuyu** 'crab', **Samba** > **Tyas rahayu**, agawe **tibaning wahyu** 'Keep silent for the coming of inspiration'.

Onomatopoeic Relation

In very rare cases, the description element is associated onomatopoeically with the referent. By metaphorically comparing the bird with a person in which **lanang** 'male (for both person and animal)' is replaced by **priya** 'male' (only for person), the bird's name **kulik** is related to the referent element through its sound imitation (onomatopoeia) **tuhu**.

- (40) **Kulik priya**, **priya** agung Anjani Putra 'name of a male bird coming out at night time, son of Anjani' > **Tuhu** (really), **Anoman** 'white monkey, a character in Ramayana epic' > **Tuhu** eman wong **anom** wedi kangelan 'It is really unfortunate a young person who does not dare to face difficulty'

Phonological Relation between Referent and Intention Element

Sound as a cohesive marker of discursive expressions can be found in various traditional formulas, and *wangsalan* is one of them. Regarding Wangsalan, the phonological relation holding between referent and intention elements can be differentiated into two categories, i.e., partial homophonic relation and total homophonic relation.

Partial Homophonic Relation

Most of the referent elements of Javanese “wangsalan” relate to their intention elements through partial or nearly homophonic relation. So, the sameness of the referent and the intention elements might be only on one or two syllables. Consider (41) to (45) below:

- (41) **Damar mancung** 'a lamp made of inflorescence of palm tree sheath' > **upet** 'Java wick, fuse'
- (42) **Cupet sarwo kang samar** 'It is narrow everything which is unclear'
- (43) **Gendera bakmi** 'noodle flag' > **kobis** 'cabbage' > **Habis** 'It is sold out'
- (44) **Mrica kecut** 'sour pepper' > **buni** 'tree bearing small sour fruit' > **Kok, muni-muni?** 'Why are you angry'
- (45) **Kancing gelung mungguweng dhadha** 'pin bun above the chest' > **peniti** 'safety pin' > **Titenana!** 'Be careful what will happen to you!'
- (46) **Jalak jamang** 'wattled stirling' > **menco** 'myna bird' > **Kui slenco** 'That is unsymmetrical'

Total Homo Phonic Relation

Several data show the total homophonic relation between the referent and the intention elements. For examples, **golek** 'wood puppet doll' and **golek** apa? 'What are you looking for' (46), **tungkul** 'fish poison' **tungkul** 'passionate' (47), **gremeng** 'rhizome plant's flower' and **Nggremeng** 'to vibrate' (48), **besengut** 'bean flower' and **mbesengut** 'tug at' (49), and **langgar** 'small mosque' and **nlanggar** 'to violate' are homonymous. The nasal sounds (*ng* and *m*) preceding the verbs of intention element are Javanese active voice grammatical markers, and *ke-* in (47) is Javanese affixes for expressing unintentional passive. See (46) to (50) below:

- (46) **Reca kayu** 'wood statue' > **golek** 'wood puppet doll' > **nggolek** apa? 'What are you looking for'
- (47) **Jenu tawa**, **Dhepoke Pandhita Drona** 'fish poison, name of Drona's dwelling place' > **tungkul**, **Sokalima** 'passionate, name of Drona's dwelling place' > *Ywa ketungkul*, *ulah saka tan prayoga* 'Be careful of your inappropriate behavior'
- (48) **Kembang garut** 'rhizome plant's flower' > **gremeng** 'rhizome plant's flower' > *Ngapa Nggremeng ora karuwan?* 'Why did you vibrate unclearly?'
- (49) **Kembang kacang** 'bean flower' > **besengut** 'bean flower' > *Dheweke Mbesengut ora kalegan* 'He is tug at due to dissatisfaction or disappointment'
- (50) **Mesjid alit** 'small mosque' > **langgar** 'small mosque' > *Aja sok nlanggar aturan* 'Do not ever violate the rule!'

CONCLUSION

As one of the traditional formulas shared with a very small number of languages, Javanese *wangsalan* consists of three elements. Those elements are description as the opening formula, *referent*, and *intention*. The opening elements that are always filled by attributive noun phrases lead to single or single lexemic noun referents. These referents finally associate with *wangsalan* intention elements. There are significant differences between the relation that holds between description and the referent elements, and one that does between referent and intention elements. The former is semantic, and the latter is phonological in character. Further, the semantic relation can be distinguished into periphrastic, metaphorical, similarity, synonymous, and onomatopoeic relations. Meanwhile, the phonological relation can be differentiated into two types, partial and total homo phonic relations.

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List of Javanese Wangsalan in Alphabetical Order

Anak kethek 'a young monkey' > **munyuk** 'monkey small' > Ming **maknyuk** 'It is really very close'

Anjani Putra 'Anjani's son' > **Hanoman** 'white monkey, a character in Ramayana Epic' > Mumpung **Nom** 'Take advantage while you are young!'

Balung geni 'fire bone' > **mawa** 'coal' > Nggih mbok menawa 'May be yes'

Balung jagung 'corn cob' > **janggal** 'corn cob' > Niku sampun **tanggal** jawab kawula 'That was my responsibility'

Balung janur 'young coconut leaf bone' > **sada** 'coconut leaf steak' > Paring **usada** mring kang nandhang wuyung 'Plese give a medecine for someone falling in love'

Balung janur, janur isenan boga 'young coconut leaf bone, young coconut leaf bone filled with food' > **sada, kupat** 'coconut leaf stick, rice bracket wrapped in coconut leaf' > Kula **lepat** 'I am wrong; Apologize me!'

Balung klapa 'coconut bone' > **Bathok** 'coconut shell' > Geleme mung **ethok-ethok** 'He agrees to do just for pretending'

Balung pakel 'manggo seed' > **pelok** 'manggo seed' > Senengane **Alok** 'You just like to insult'

Bayem arda 'village/mount spinach' > **lateng** 'plants whose leaf can cause itching' > Dhasar **anteng** kang adi luhung 'Calm is really good and the best; Silent is Golden'.

Bayem arda, ardane ngrasuk busana > **lateng** 'village spinach', **besus** 'like to make up' > Mari **anteng, besuse** saya ketara 'After silent, her bad behavior can more clearly be seen.'

Carang wreksa, wreksa wilis tanpa patra 'Branch of tree, leafless green tree' > **pang** 'branch',

urip 'leafless green tree' > Ora gampang wong **urip** ing alam donya 'it is not easy to live in the world'

Damar mancung 'a lamp made of inflorescence of palm tree sheath' > **upet** 'Java wick, fuse' > **Cupet** sarwo kang samar 'It is narrow everything which is unclear'

Garu rikma 'hair harrow' > **jungkat** 'comb' > Aja nekat 'Do not be determined'

Gayung sumur 'well scoop' > **timba** 'pail' > Aja kemma aja mundur 'Do not loose your passion, do not regress!'

Gelang swedha, kancing gelung mungging dhadha 'finger bracelet, pin bun above the chest' > **ali-ali** 'ring', **peniti** 'safety pin' > Ajwa lali den nastiti barang karya 'do not forget to be careful of your work'

Gelang swedha, sidhat agung mawa teja 'finger bracelet, shining big eel' > **ali-ali** 'ring', **weling** 'black snake' > Aja lali lamun wineling bandara! 'Do not forget of your superior's advice'

Gendera bakmi 'noodle flag' > **kobis** 'cabbage' > **Habis** 'It is sold out'

Godong garing 'dry leaf' > **klaras** 'dry banana leaf' > Esuk-esuk wis kon **nglaras** 'It is still early why you ask me to feel sad'

Jahe wana 'forrest ginger' > **puyang** 'a medicinal plant of ginger family' > Hatiku **puyang**-payangan 'My heart is always spinning'

Jalak jamang 'wattled stirling' > **menco** 'myna bird' > Kui slenco 'That is unsymmetrical'

Jangan gori 'jack fruit vegetable' > **gudeg** 'young jack fruit vegetable cooked with coconut milk with spices' > Ngapa kok ethok-ethok budeg? 'Why did you pretend to be deaf?'

Janur gunung 'village young coconut leaf' > **aren** 'palm leaf' > Ngapa kok kadingaren? 'Why you have been long time not coming here?'

Jenang gula 'sugar porridge' > **gulali** 'taffy, syrupy sweet' > Kowe aja **lali** 'Please, do not forget!'

Jenang sela wader kali sesonderan 'stone porridge, small river fish with sash' > **Apu, sepat** 'stone powder and river fish' > Apuranto yen wonten **lepat** kawulo 'I apologize if I have made any mistake'.

Jenu tawa, Dhepoke Pandhita Drona 'fish poison, name of Drona's dwelling place' > **tungkul, Sokalima** 'passionate, name of Drona's dwelling place' > Ywa **ketungkul**, ulah **saka** tan prayoga 'Be careful of your inappropriate behavior'

Kapi jarwa 'the meaning of kapi' > **kethek** 'monkey' > **Dakpethek** mangsa luputa 'I try to guess but it is still wrong'

Kancing gelung mungguweng dhadha 'pin bun above the chest' > **peniti** 'safety pin' > **Titenana!** 'Be careful what will happen to you!'

Kembang garut 'rhizome plant's flower' > **gremeng** 'rhizome plant's flower' > Ngapa **Nggremeng** ora karuwan? 'Why did you vibrate unclearly?'

Kembang kacang 'bean flower' > **Besengut** 'bean flower' > Dheweke **Mbesengut** ora kalegan 'He is tug at due to dissatisfaction or disappointment'

Kendhang alit, alite Woro Sumbodro 'little drum, Wara Sumbadra's name when she was young' >

Rara (Ireng) > Aku lara 'I am sick'.

Klapa mudha 'young coconut' > **degan** 'young coconut' > **Leganana** atiku nandhang kasmaran 'Make my heart happy for I am falling in love'

Kembang ganyong 'edible tuber flower' > **midra** 'edible tuber' > Aja **cidra** marang wong 'Do not break your promise to someone'.

Kepiting kang sabeng rawa 'crab that goes to swamp' > **Yuyu** 'crab' > Nguswaraganta wong **ayu** 'I want kissing you, beautiful girl'

Kendhil dawa 'long cooking pot' > **dhandhang** 'large metal vessel for steaming rice' > Enggal **ditandhang!** 'It must be quick to handle'

Kukus gantung 'hanging smoke' > **Sawangan** 'cobweb' > **Sawangane** sajak ra seneng 'Her gaze indicates the looks unhappy'

Kulik priya, priya agung Anjani Putra > Name of male bird coming out at night time, son of Anjani' > **Tuhu** (really), **Anoman** > **Tuhu** eman wong **anom** wedi kangelan 'It is really unfortunate a young person who does not dare to face difficulty'.

Mentil kacang 'young long bean fruit' > **sungut** 'antenna' > Aja **mbesengut** 'Do not grumble!'

Mesjid alit 'small mosque' > **langgar** 'small mosque' > Aja sok **nglanggar** aturan 'Do not ever violate the rule!'

Mrica kecut 'sour pepper' > **buni** 'tree bearing small sour fruit' > Kok, **muni-muni?** 'Why are you angry'

Mutra bebek 'young duck' > **meri** 'duckling' > Kawit mau mung wira-wiri 'Since some time ago you just to and pro'

Petis manis 'sweet soya bean sauce' > **kecap** 'soya bean sauce' > Aja **ngucap** yen tok amung samudana! 'Do not talk if only just pretending!'

Pindhang lulang 'skin meat' > **krecek** 'buffalo skin processed for eating' > **Kacek** apa aku karo dheweke? 'What different between I and him'

Pring dhempet, sundhuk sate 'twin (stuck) bamboo, meat skewer stick' > **andha, sujen** 'ladder, meat skewer stick' > **Kandhaa** ijen ora ana sing percaya 'say it just to yourself, (no one will believe)'

Pupus tebu 'sugar cane shoot' > **gleges** 'sugar cane shoot' > Ora teges tanpa guna 'It is meaningless and useless'

Reca kayu 'wood statue' > **golek** 'wood puppet doll' > **golek apa?** 'What are ayu looking for'

Roning kamal 'tamarind leaf' > **sinom** 'tamarind leaf' > mumpung **nom** 'Take advantage while you are young!'

Roning mlinjo 'gnetum gnemon leaf leaf' > **So** 'gnetum gnemon leaf' > Sampun sayah nyuwun ngaso 'I am already tired, I need some rest'

Sarpa langking 'black snake' > **dumung** 'black snake' > Yen tok **amung** samudana 'If only just pretending'

Saron hambung 'bamboo gamelan' > **angklung** 'shaken bamboo musical gamelan' > cengklungen aku ngenteni 'It has been very long time I am waiting for'

Sarung jagung 'corn husk' > **klobot** 'dried corn husk for cigarette wrapper' > **Abote** wong kabacut tresna 'How heavy, one who is falling in love!'

Sayuk karya, wulung wido mangsa rowang 'harmonious work, green eagle kills its friend' > **saiyeg** 'work together, bidho 'a kind of bird' > **sayektine saking bodo kawulo** 'Actually because of my stupidity' **Sekar aren** 'palm flower' > **dangu** 'long time' > Rawuh ipun sampun **dangu-dangu** 'Come quick, not too long'

Semut seta 'white ant' > **rayap** 'termite' > **Layap-layap katon sliramu** 'between asleep and awaken I saw you'

Teja bengkok nyirup toya 'a curved light sucking water' > **kluwung** 'rainbow' > **Aluwung** lunga 'It had better go'

Uler kambang 'floating worm' > **lintah** 'leech' > saktitah 'do as you can' > **Alon-alon!** 'Do it slowly!'

Wader bungkok 'humped small fresh water fish' > **Urang** 'fawn' > **Kurang** apa aku? 'What do I lack for'

Wastra tumrap mustaka 'shirt or dress applied to head' > **iket** 'head cloth' > Ben rineket 'It is in order to be connected tightly'

Wideng galeng, putra Kresna Paranggarudha 'rice field crab', Kresna's son > **yuyu** 'crab', **Samba** > Tyas rahayu, agawe tibaning wahyu 'Keep silent for the coming of inspiration'.

Witing pari 'rice plant' > **damen** 'rice stalk' > **Dimen** mari nggonku lara ati! 'For recovering my broken heart'.

Wohing aren, pangocapane wong janma nendra 'palm fruit, something said by a sleeping person' > **kolang kaling, ng lindur** 'palm seed, be delirious' > **Eling** omongane wong ng lindur! 'Be aware of everything said by unconscious/sleeping person!'

Wohing tanjung 'fruit of fragrant flower' > **Kecik** 'fragrant flower seed' > **Becike** kowe lungu wae 'You had better go!'

Yaksa dewa, dewa dewi lir denawa 'giant goddess, beautiful goddess like giant' > **Bhatara Kala, durga** 'Kala goddess, Siwa's wife' > **Kala** mudha bangkit ambengkas **durgama** 'When you are young, you should wipe out crime, wickedness'.