

JARWA DHOSOK: WAYS OF CREATING, THEMES, AND FUNCTIONS

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Abstract

This paper deals with a Javanese traditional formula widely known as 'jarwa dhosok'. 'Jarwa dhosok' etimologically comes from **jarwa** 'to explain' and **dhosok** 'at random'. So, it literally means 'to explain words at random'. By means of 'jarwa dhosok', Javanese people can express various intentions by creating new Javanese words and modifying the syllables into a meaningful phrase. An example is the word guru 'teacher', which consists of two syllables. It is modified into a phrase 'digugu lan ditiru' (to be believed and imitated). This paper focuses on three issues, namely, (1) the ways of creating 'jarwa dhosok', (2) the themes of 'jarwa dhosok', and (3) the communicative functions of 'jarwa dhosok'. The data presented in this paper are collected from a website, some Javanese textbooks, and personal data obtained during my 40-year stay in Yogyakarta. The data analysis is carried out through structural, contextual, and interpretative method. With regard to the ways of creation, this research found that 'jarwa dhosok' is mostly created by treating the words as acronyms. As for the themes, 'jarwa dhosok' is categorized into several domains, such as family member, puppet character, profession, plant and animal, food and drink, state, body part, time, activity, house utensil, outfit, performance, vehicle, etc. Concerning the communicative functions, the practice of 'jarwa dhosok' is to perform the emotive, connative, poetic, jocular, and metalinguistic functions. The final section of this paper provides a semiotic explanation of this cultural practice in its broadest sense.

Key words: *jarwa dhosok*, Javanese, ways of creation, themes, communicative functions

Abstrak

Makalah ini membahas formula tradisional bahasa Jawa yang dikenal dengan 'jarwa dhosok'. Secara etimologis, istilah itu berasal dari kata jarwa 'menerangkan' dan dhosok 'sekenanya'. Dengan formula ini, penutur bahasa Jawa dapat mengekspresikan berbagai maksud dengan menciptakan kata-kata baru dalam bahasa Jawa dan memodifikasinya menjadi frasa yang bermakna. Sebagai contoh, kata 'guru' – yang terdiri dari dua suku kata – dimodifikasi menjadi 'digugu lan ditiru'. Makalah ini membahas tiga hal, yaitu (1) cara-cara menciptakan jarwa dhosok, (2) tema jarwa dhosok, dan (3) fungsi komunikatif jarwa dhosok. Data yang disajikan dalam tulisan ini dikumpulkan dari laman internet, buku pelajaran bahasa Jawa, dan ditambah dengan data pribadi yang ditemukan selama lebih dari 40 tahun penulis tinggal di Yogyakarta. Analisis data dilakukan dengan metode struktural, kontekstual, dan interpretatif. Berkaitan dengan teknik penciptaannya, ditemukan bahwa sebagian besar 'jarwa dhosok' dikreasikan dengan memperlakukan kata tersebut sebagai akronim. Dilihat dari temanya, 'jarwa dhosok' berhubungan dengan berbagai ranah, seperti anggota keluarga, tokoh wayang, profesi, tanaman dan binatang, makanan dan minuman, keadaan, bagian tubuh, waktu, aktivitas, peralatan rumah tangga, pakaian, pertunjukan, kendaraan, dsb. Jarwa dhosok mempunyai berbagai fungsi

komunikatif, antara lain fungsi emotif, konatif, puitik, humor, metalingual, dsb. Bagian akhir makalah ini menyajikan penjelasan semiotik dari praktik kultural ini secara umum.

Kata Kunci: *jarwa dhosok, bahasa Jawa, cara menciptakan, tema, fungsi komunikatif*

INTRODUCTION

Between the years of 1978 and 1979, a dedicated literary expert from the University of Leiden, the late Prof. A. Teeuw, stayed in Yogyakarta at the invitation of Gadjah Mada University. For a few months, he gave a series of lectures and conducted discussions with the faculty staff and students about many things in relation to Indonesian and Javanese literature as well as prose and poetry. In some occasions, Prof. Teeuw asked his students to present their papers, and then he gave some comments and suggestions for improvements. He was very surprised when one of the students made an analysis on Goenawan Mohamad's poetry entitled "Z" from his anthology *Pariksit*. Prof. Teeuw could not understand how the student interpreted the word *Marly* in that poetry as *Maret dan Juli* 'March and July'. There was an argument between Prof. Teeuw and the student, but the student insisted that his interpretation was right.

Now, after having elapsed for about 42 years, I can understand why the student was using such a way in interpreting the meaning of *Marly*, and the professor failed to understand the student's way of thinking. As a competent native speaker in the Javanese speech community, the student seemed to be influenced by the Javanese traditional practice of *jarwa dhosok* which means 'to explain words at random' (*jarwa* means 'to explain' and *dhosok* means 'at random'). It is a method to interpret the meaning of words by treating them as acronyms, and each syllable of the acronym is regarded as representation of other meaningful expressions that are smartly created to conform with the meaning of the word they want to interpret. This smart and creative way is called by the Javanese as *othak-athik gathuk* (associate something with something else and then match them). For instance, a famous Javanese expression considered as *jarwa dhosok* is *guru* 'teacher' which is interpreted as *digugu lan ditiru* 'to be believed and imitated'. Other expressions are *wedang* 'hot drink' as *nggawe kadang* 'making friends' or *ngawe kadang* 'waving to summon friends', *kathok* 'pants, trousers' as *diangkat mbaka sithok* 'lifted one by one'. Prof Teeuw, on the other side, since he belonged to a different speech community, felt amazed how the student could interpret the word *Marly* as '**M**aret dan **J**uli', and why the student could not see that the word could also possibly refer to the name of a place like a lushly forested recreation place near Paris.

Another example was given by my former postgraduate student. She said that she was very interested in searching the names of villages in some districts in Gunung Kidul, southern of Yogyakarta province. She exemplified a village named *Sureng* which is interpreted by the villagers as a word derived from *asu ireng* 'black dog'. At the beginning she did not realize that this interpretation was totally misleading. The way the villagers interpret the name of the village is influenced by their linguistic practice of *jarwa dhosok*. In fact, *Sureng* originally comes from the Old Javanese *Sura* 'brave' and *ing* 'of'. Through a phonological process [a + i > e], the combination becomes *Sureng* which means 'brave in facing against'. Actually the complete name of the village is *Sureng Juritan*, which means 'the living place of brave troops' (Prihadi, 2015: 287).

This phenomenon, according to Whorf, may happen because the linguistic system that someone has in his/her social community is not merely an instrument to express ideas but it is

also a mental shaper and guidance to a mental activity as well (in Carrol, 1956, 212-214; Wardaugh 1986: 213):

The background linguistic system (in other words, grammar) of each language is not merely a reproducing instrument for voicing ideas but rather is itself the shaper of ideas, the program and guide for the individual's mental activity, for his analysis of impressions, for his synthesis of his mental stock trade. Formulation of ideas is not an independent process, strictly rational in old sense, but is part of a particular grammar, and differs, from slightly to greatly between different grammars.

This paper aims to describe the practice of *jarwa dhosok*ⁱ which reveals how the Javanese people perceive the world and reality through a traditional playful literary formula. This formula is substantially different from acronyms in which the short forms or syllables of an existing word are creatively referred to a different entity (see Allan, 1986: 241). There are three main issues which will be discussed in this paper. The first one is the ways or techniques used by the Javanese speakers to create *jarwa dhosok*. The second issue is the themes of *jarwa dhosok* based on the semantic domains of the words whose meanings are being explained, and lastly, the communicative or pragmatic functions of *jarwa dhosok*.

PREVIOUS STUDIES

Javanese language has many types of traditional formulas (*unen-unen*) (Rahyono, 2015, 205-208), but only a few of them have been profoundly studied by the linguists. Some studies are by Sujono (2003) who discussed the Javanese idioms, Setyari (2007) Javanese similes (*pepindhan*), especially in association with the charms of Javanese woman body parts, Wijana (2015) *Wangsalan*, Hendrokumoro (2017) on Javanese Proverb, and Wijana (2019) about Javanese riddles. Marsono and Hendrosaputro (1999, 163) states that *kerata basa* which is essentially the other name of “jarwa dhosok” is an effort to find out the meaning of a word by searching the relation between parts of the word and conforming them with the forced creative meanings.

Scientifically, there is no relation between linguistic forms and their meanings. These activities are intended to evoke humorous situation. No one can explain the relation between *guru* ‘teacher’ and *digugu lan ditiru* ‘to be believed and imitated’, *garwa* ‘wife’ and *sigaraning nyawa* ‘part of the soul’, *wedang* ‘hot drink’ and *ngawe kadang* ‘waving to summon friends’ or *nggawe kadang* ‘making friends’. A large number of *jarwa dhosok* found in the use of Javanese overtly indicate the fondness of this community in playing with this traditional formula more than any other ethnic communities living in the archipelago.

The closeness relation of Javanese and the national language Indonesian, it is hard to deny that some of “jarwa dhasa” in slangy Indonesian expressions are free of Javanese influence let alone the Javanese speakers are the highest among other ethnic groups. For example *Bali* ‘name of island’ is intended to mean *banyak libur* (a lot of holidays), *Padang* ‘ethnic name’ to mean *pandai dagang* ‘clever in trading’ (Wijana, 2010: 61-63). As far as I know, as a native speaker, Balinese only has a few “jarwa dhosoks”, and only two examples I still remember up till now, namely *Mandor Kawat* ‘wire foreman’ with its created meaning *magae kendor makan kuat* ‘weak working, but eating alot’ and *mantu* ‘son/daughter in law’ to mean *maan tuyuh* ‘you get very busy’.

Accordingly, it is certainly unfortunate condition for the large number of *jarwa dhosok* data available in the use of Javanese, are left without anyone willing to study them seriously. The same fate is experienced by various traditional formulas of local languages in Indonesia (see Stokhof, 1981). Finally, Rahyono's study (2015) concerns with the philosophical value and wisdoms contained in all of Javanese minor forms, and "jarwa dhosok" among many others is one of them. However, the broad scope of his study made each genre of the traditional formula does not get serious attention.

RESEARCH APPROACH

As a cultural product, *Jarwa dhosok* is yielded by the Javanese speakers who actively participate in the traditional linguistic practice. This practice is essentially a medium used to anticipate, respond, and resolve to many different kinds of problems in the social life of a speech community. As mentioned by Slametmuljana (1956: 23), every human action is a concrete manifestation towards a challenging problem. To be able to effectively give a meaning to a particular entity, speakers should have a relatively adequate knowledge about the characteristics of the referential entity. In relation to *jarwa dhosok*, the speaker or creator should also have a comprehensive knowledge concerning various Javanese styles and their use to enable them to perform the communicative functions effectively. This traditional formula can be viewed from four different cultural standpoints, i.e., culture as knowledge, system of mediation, system of participation, and system of practices (Duranti, 1997). The mediation theory especially gives a view with regards to cultural products, including language, which is used as an instrument by which a speaker not merely can say things, but also do things (such as commanding, insulting, persuading, etc.) and build a relationship between the speaker and his/her interlocutors (Parker, 1986).

RESEARCH METHOD

All data presented orthographically in this paper are collected from the website www.bimbelbrilian.com and some Javanese textbooks (Daryanto, 1999; Susanto & Trisnowati, 2019) added with my own notes as a result of my forty-year experience living within the Javanese community in Yogyakarta. The data are first of all classified structurally based on the ways or techniques used by the Javanese speakers in creating the meanings. By this classification, the *jarwa dhosok* can be distinguished into one formulated by the final syllables of the words, such as *tandur* 'plant something, rice especially' to become *tata mundur* 'to arrange backward', sound change, such as *sawo kecil* 'firm fleshed sapodilla' to become *sarwo becik* 'everything good', deletion and addition, such as *demokrasi* 'democraton' to become *moh dikrasi* 'do not want to be forced', etc.

The next step is to classify the words according to the themes of the referents. There are *jarwa dhosok* which is concerned with family member, animal, plant, puppet character, etc. After that, an interpretative method to analyze the communicative functions of *jarwa dhosok* is applied. Last but not least, in order to understand a kind of 'awkward' relation between the words and their intended meanings, I provide a semiotic explanation.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Any use of language is governed by various principles. One of the most important principles is “the principle of ease of articulation” (Shariatmadari, 2006). This means that speakers of any language tend to produce linguistic units, words, phrases, or sentence at their own ease. As far as Javanese language is concerned, we can quite easily find contractions as in *ko sik*, which is the short form of *mengko dhisik* ‘just a moment’. Other examples are *pak dhe* from *bapak gedhe* ‘uncle’, *bu lik* from *ibu cilik* ‘aunty’, and *dubang* from *idu abang* ‘red saliva as a result of chewing betel’. This common linguistic practice seems to influence the Javanese people to create new short expressions by regarding parts of common words as expression units containing sense. By their creative efforts, they try to conform the arbitrary semantic relation of the signs or words (Duranti, 1997) with the newly created meanings. This linguistic behavior yields a lot of *jarwa dhosok* in Javanese. The following sections will consecutively discuss the ways of creating *jarwa dhosok*, the themes of *jarwa dhosok*, and their pragmatic functions.

Ways of Creating *Jarwa Dhosok*

Most of the *jarwa dhosok* found in Javanese are created as if they were acronyms. Each syllable (in loose concept) constitutes a meaningful expression that is rhyming on the final syllable, for instance *denawa* ‘giant’ is interpreted as *ngeden hawa* ‘to hold (contain) emotion’, *gedhang* ‘banana’ as *digeget bar madhang* ‘bitten after eating’, and *gusti* ‘lord, king’ as *bagusing ati* ‘the beauty of heart’. From 85 data, 74 or 87% of them follow this formula. In order to obtain appropriate formulations, creators often construct the formula in such a way by extending the meaning with some expressions. For example, *garbu* ‘womb’ is extended into a longer expression *Yen ora mbegar ora isa mlebu* ‘it cannot enter if it is not open’, *bocah* into *mangane kaya kebo*, *gaweyane ora kecacah* ‘eating like buffalo, but the work is unclear’, *cangkem* ‘mouth’ into *yen ora dicancang ora mingkem* ‘if it is not tied, it would not shut up (stop talking)’, *brekat* ‘small amount of food taken home after ceremonial meal’ into *dideleh makbrek terus diangkat* ‘it is instantly placed, and then lifted up’.

The practice of *jarwa dhosok* with other types of rhyming pattern is much fewer in number. Only 11 (13%) data show this pattern. For instance, *bapak* ‘father’ is referred to (*bap*) *apa-apa pepak* ‘everything needed is complete’, *sepuh* ‘old’ to *sabdane ampuh* ‘his/her advice is effective’, and *tumpeng* ‘rice cone’ to *tumindak sing lempeng* ‘to act in the right manner’. The last three examples have the rhyming pattern on the first and final syllable. The other examples are *krikil* ‘gravel’ which is semantically extended to *keri ing sikil* ‘tickle on the foot’, and *sruwal* ‘pants’ to *saru yen nganti uwal* ‘it is impolite to put something off’. Another example of *jarwa dhosok* is *Bobo* ‘a magazine for children’, which I suspect is created to mean *bocah-bocah* ‘children’.

A few number of *jarwa dhosok* is created through a homophonous process. The first two syllables are used as the first word and the last syllables are modified into another word. Examples are *wanita* ‘woman’, which is interpreted as *wani ditata* ‘dare to be ordered’, and *maratuwa* ‘parent in law’ as *mara-mara ketemu wis tuwa* ‘meeting at old age’. Some Arabic words are also created to make *jarwa dhosok* through a homophonic process and syncretism to spread the Islamic religion. For example, *Petruk* ‘a character in puppet show’ is interpreted as the Arabic expression *fatruk* ‘so, leave it’, and *Bagong* ‘a character in puppet show’ as *bagho* ‘to exceed the limit’. Some other *jarwa dhosoks* are created through sound changes, as in *sawo*

kecik ‘firm fleshed sapodilla’. *Sawo kecil* is a plant which can be found in many traditional Javanese house yards, and it is believed that it stands for **sarwa becik** ‘everything is good’.

In line with the canonical pattern of Javanese syllables, most *jarwa dhosoks* (83%) are created from bisyllabic words, such as **dongeng** ‘fairy tale’ to mean *dipaido ora mengeng* ‘does not care to be unbelieved’, **dhalang** ‘puppeteer’ to mean *ngudhal piulang* ‘to spread out education or information’, and **buta** ‘giant’ to mean *kalbu sing ora ditata* ‘disordered heart’. There is a small number of *jarwa dhosok* which is derived from three or a four syllabic word (17%). For example, **Nopember** ‘November’ is referred to *ana sumber* ‘there is water source’ (because it is a rainy season in November), **Pebruari** ‘February’ to *yen mepe mburu ari* ‘hunting days for drying clothes’, and **Desember** ‘December’ to *gedhe-gedhene sumber* ‘big water source during the month’.

With regard to the speech level which is used to create *jarwa dhosok*, most of them primarily exploit *ngoko*, the lower speech level which is meant to build solidarity in informal speech situations. However, to evoke aesthetic nuances and other effects, the creators sometimes use *krama* (the high speech level), literary style, or *krama ndesa* (high speech level commonly used by the villagers). For example, **garwa** ‘spouse’ means *sigaraning nyawa* ‘part of the soul’ (*krama* with *-ing* ‘of’ to produce an aesthetic nuance); **pasa** ‘fasting’ means *apa-apa kersa* ‘(you) eat everything’ (*krama ndesa*), **saru** ‘impolite, indecent’ to mean *kasar lan kleru* ‘rude and misleading’ (*ngoko* with a literary element *lan* ‘and’).

Themes of Jarwa Dhosok

Based on the semantic domains, *jarwa dhosok* can be categorized into a variety of themes. From the data obtained so far, the themes that I could find are family member, puppet character, profession, plant and animal, food and drink, state, body part, time, activity, outfit, house utensil, performance, and vehicle. The intended meaning of each is provided in the *jarwa dhosok* list.

Family member: *anak* ‘child’, *bapak* ‘father’, *garwa* ‘husband or wife’, *batur* ‘house maid’, *bocah* ‘kids, children’, *mantu* ‘son/daughter in law’, *maratuwa* ‘parent in law’, and *simah* ‘husband/wife’.

Puppet character: *buta* ‘giant’, *Petruk* ‘clown name’, *Gareng* ‘clown name’, *Semar* ‘clown name’, *Bagong* ‘clown name’, *denawa* ‘giant’, and *Tetuko* ‘Gatot Kaca’s boy name’.

Profession: *sulap* ‘magic hand’, *dhalang* ‘puppeteer’, *maling* ‘thief’, *sopir* ‘driver’, *guru* ‘teacher’, and *kaji* ‘someone who has made the pilgrim to Mecca’.

Plant and animal: *sawo kecil* ‘firm fleshed sapodilla’, *cengkir* ‘half ripe coconut’, *tebu* ‘sugar cane’, *tomat* ‘tomato’ *kodok* ‘frog’, and *wedhus* ‘goat’.

Food and drink: *kupat* ‘rice bricket’, *tumpeng* ‘rice cone’, *gedhang* ‘banana’, *brekat* ‘blessed food’, and *wedang* ‘hot drink’.

State: *Tuwa* ‘old’, *gerang* ‘old’, *saru* ‘impolite’, *prawan* ‘virgin’, *jaka* ‘bachelor’, and *wanita* ‘woman’.

Body part: *sirah* ‘head’, *cangkem* ‘mouth’, *garbu* ‘womb’, *kuping* ‘ear’, and *weteng* ‘stomach’.

Time: *Januari* ‘January’, *Pebruari* ‘February’, *Nopember* ‘November’, *Desember* ‘December’, and *sujarah* ‘history’.

Activity: *tapa* ‘meditation’, *ngelmu* ‘looking for knowledge’, *tandur* ‘growing seedling’, *ukir* ‘carving’, etc.

House utensil: *cangkir* ‘cup’, *piring* ‘plate’, and *kursi* ‘chair’.

Outfit: *kathok* ‘trousers’, *sruwal* ‘pants’, *kothang* ‘bra’, and *kupluk* ‘cap’.

Performance: *ludruk* ‘East Java folk theatre’ and *tayub* ‘dance in which male members audience are invite to join’.

Vehicle: *mersi* ‘Mercedes-Benz’, *sekuter* ‘motor-scooter’

Other categories of *jarwa dhosok* are traditional song (e.g., *sinom* ‘traditional song for the youth’), object (e.g., *krikil* ‘gravel’), the name of a magazine (e.g., *Bobo* ‘proper name’).

Communicative Functions of Jarwa Dhosok

One of the most widely cited theories concerning the communicative functions of language is the one proposed by Roman Jakobson (1966). In his essay entitled *Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics*, he states that language can at least perform six communicative functions. They are emotives from the sender, conative from the receiver, referential from the context, poetic from the message, phatic from the contact, and metalinguistic from the code. *Jarwa dhosok* can potentially perform all six communicative functions proposed by Jakobson, but based on the current data, this traditional formula prominently exploits four communicative functions, namely emotive, conative, poetic, and metalinguistic function.

Emotive Function

Jarwa dhosok is often pragmatically used by the Javanese speakers to express various kinds of emotion state. To express a feeling of dissatisfaction toward a child’s behavior, for example, a speaker may say *bocah* ‘child’, which means *mangan kaya kebo gaweyane ra kacacah* ‘eating like a buffalo, but the work is unclear’, or *anak* ‘child’, which stands for *karep apa-apa kudu ana lan enak* ‘everything you want must be available and comfortable’. To gain various kinds of cheerfulness, the Javanese often exploit their verbal instruments and play with language (Cook, 2000). They wittily search the meaning of the words in such a way by conforming the meaning and their consisting syllables, which result in surprising jocular effects. An example is *ludruk* ‘a traditional play from East Java’, which is said to stand for *gulune gelo-gelo, sikile gedrug-gedrug* ‘the neck is shaking while the foot is tapping’. This action is associated with the dance performed by the main character at the beginning of *ludruk* performance. Some other examples are *sopir* ‘driver’, which is referred to *yen ngaso mampir* ‘drop in when taking a rest’, and *weteng* ‘stomach’, which is referred to *ruwet tur peteng* ‘complicated and unclear’. The first mentioned is associated with drivers’ behavior of stopping by at street food stalls when they take rest’, and the latter is associated with a difficult treatment.

To increase the humorous effects of *jarwo dhosok*, sometimes the meaning is intentionally contrasted with the literal meaning of the word. For example the word *pasa* ‘fasting’ is intended to mean *apa-apa kersa* ‘anything you want (eat)’. In Javanese, sexual matters and anything related to them are considered the most enjoyable topics for joking (Raskin, 1985; Wijana, 2009; Wijana & Rohmadi, 2009). Some clowns in the Javanese puppet show, such as *Semar*, *Bagong*, and *Gareng*, are often used as *jarwa dhosok* by the Javanese adult males in jocular chats. *Semar* is interpreted as *mesem ing kamar* ‘smiling in the room’, *Bagong* as *ngobahi bokong* ‘wiggling buttock’, and *Gareng* as *megar dijereg* ‘getting wider when it is spread’.

Conative Function

Jarwa dhosok can also be used to indirectly perform many different kinds of directive speech acts such as giving a command or advice to the interlocutor. For example, the Javanese word *tuwa* ‘old’ is interpreted as *untune wis rowa* ‘the teeth is already loose’ or *ngenteni metune nyawa* ‘waiting for the release of the soul’. The expression might be used as an advice to the elders to avoid eating hard stuff or to always take care of their health’.

Another example is *prawan* ‘girl, virgin’ is interpreted as *yen papara kudu wayah awan* ‘only allowed to go out in day time’. This expression is used as an advice to girls to not going out at night time (see Holmes, 1995). To stop someone from boasting, the word *cangkem* ‘mouth’ is used to mean *yen ora dicancang ora mingkem* ‘if it is not tied, it would not stop (talking)’. For the careless drivers, the word *setir* ‘driving wheel’ may be uttered to mean *senajan singset isih isa muntir* ‘even though tight, it still can be reversed’.

Poetic Function

Rhyming in *jarwa dhosok* constitutes an aesthetic aspect which creates beauty. There are at least three linguistic devices used to realize a aesthetic or poetic function, namely literary language style, final syllabic rhyming, and intended meaning rhyming. Literary language style is exploited by the extensive use of the preposition *ing*, infiks *-um-*, conjunction *lan*, and some Old Javanese lexical items. For example, *garwa* ‘spouse’ stands for *sigaraning nyawa* ‘part of the soul’, *tumpeng* stands for *tumindak sing lempeng* ‘behave in the right manner’, *saru* ‘impolite’ stands for *kasar lan keleru* ‘rude and misleading’, *sirah* ‘head’ stands for *isine rah* ‘containing blood’. *Rah* is an Old Javanese word for ‘blood’.

Apart from making use of final syllables to create a rhyming pattern, rhyming for an intended meaning may also show an astonishing charm. An example is *ludruk* ‘traditional play in East Java’ which is modified to *gulune gelo-gelo sikile gedruk-gedruk* ‘the neck is shaking, the foot is tapping’. Another example is *Tetuko* – Indonesian aircraft launched by the Nurtanio Aircraft Company in the New Order era. In Javanese puppetry, *Tetuko* refers to the name of Gatotkaca when he was a baby. So, *Tetuko* symbolizes the newly emerging Indonesian aircraft industry. At that time, because the product did not seem to be popular, the Javanese created a poetically rhyming *jarwa dhosok*: *sing tuku ora teka-teka, sing teka ora tuku-tuku* ‘the purchaser will not come, those who come will not purchase’.

Metalinguistic Function

Finally, as folk etymology, *jarwa dhosok* is essentially an attempt to explain the meaning of words by making use of the syllables which construct the words and creating an expression in accordance with the Javanese world views. In this case, the attempt plays its metalinguistic function. For example, *guru* ‘teacher’ refers to a person who must be believed (*digugu*) and imitated (*ditiru*). Some other examples are *brekat* ‘blessed food’ which refers to something which sounds like *breg* when it is placed, and then lifted up (*diangkat*) to be distributed to all people who come to a ritual gathering, *kuping* ‘ear’ is interpreted as a body part which is stiff or rigid (*kaku*) and straight (*njepiping*).

SEMIOTIC EXPLANATION

For some experts, *jarwa dhosok* is considered as an effort to give meaning to words by conforming carelessly the meaning of the words with the final syllables of the words (see Utomo, 2009; Hendrosaputro, 1999). However, in my opinion this is not fully true. To create *jarwa dhosok* that can be widely accepted by the speech community, the creators must carefully observe the semantic features of the words and their referents in their association with the cultural practises of the community. The deep observation is not far different from the observation done by people toward source domains and target domains in creating metaphors (see Folley, 2001). Accordingly, it is quite difficult for non-native speakers of Javanese to understand *jarwa dhosok*.

In this section, I will briefly explain some *jarwa dhosoks* that look like to be created in random ways because the literal meaning of the words and its intention seems disconnected. Those are *kupat* ‘rice bricket’ to mean *ngaku lepat* ‘to admit guilty’, *wanita* ‘woman’ to mean *wani ditata* ‘dare to be managed’, *tebu* ‘sugar cane’ to mean *anteping kalbu* ‘the solidity of heart’, *cengkir* ‘young coconut’ to mean *kencenge pikir* ‘the tense of thought’.

Kupat with coconut milk (*santan*) is a special food which is commonly served in *halal bil halal* ‘a party held after *Idul Fitri* (Islam celebration)’. By this association, Javanese speakers are inspired to create a rhyming *jarwa dhosok*: *Kupat santan, ngaku lepat nyuwun pangapunten* ‘rice bricket with coconut milk, I confess (I’m) guilty, and (I) ask you for forgiveness’. As the Javanese follows a patriarchy system, a female is considered to have a lower status than male. So, a women is regarded as *kanca wingking* ‘a partner in the kitchen’. Her tasks are *macak* ‘to make up’, *masak* ‘to cook’, and, *manak* ‘to give birth’. By this observation, the Javanese creates *jarwa dhosok* which regards *wanita* ‘woman’ as a person who dares to be managed or *wani ditata*. However, for some feminists who mind with this statement, create a counter interpretation *wani nata* ‘dare to manage’. Based on these evidents, it is really very risky to regard that seemingly disconnected “*jarwa dhosok*” like *tebu* ‘sugar cane’ and *cengkir* ‘young coconut’ above, as carelessly or randomly created formulas. Before the judgment is given, the Javanese traditional practices should be fully understood.

CONCLUSION

As a product of cultural practices, a traditional Javanese verbal formula called *jarwa dhosok* is created to answer the common daily problems faced by the speakers. The existence of *jarwa dhosok* which is abundant in Javanese makes speakers in this society special because it requires specific skills and knowledge from the speakers.

Jarwa dhosoks are mostly created on the basis of using the final syllables of a word. Only a few of them are created on the basis of first or combination of first and final syllables because one of the consisting syllables is homophonic. Some *jarwa dhosoks* are created by means of sound changes. Meanwhile, with regard to their themes, *jarwa dhosoks* are used to discuss many different things in relation to the speakers' customs or ways of life. This practice is to fulfill some communicative functions, namely emotive, connative, poetic, and metalinguistic functions.

Many of the words created as *jarwa dhosok* have logical semantic relations with the intended meanings in their own ways. However, some of the relations are frequently difficult to understand. To comprehend them, Javanese cultural practices in the broadest sense and everything related to them should be fully understood. In this case, semiotic interpretations should be carried out.

NOTE

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List of Jarwa Dhosok in Alphabetical Order

1. Anak 'child': *Karep apa-apa kudu **ana** lan **enak*** 'Everything must be available and delicious'.
3. Bagong 'clown name': *ngobahi bokong* 'wiggling buttock', **Bagho** 'to exceed the limit'
4. Bapak 'father': **Bap** apa-apa **pepak** 'Everything is complete'
5. Batur 'house maid': *Embat-embating **tutur*** 'place for complaining'
6. Bobo 'name of children magazine' : **Bocah-bocah** 'children'
7. Bocah 'child': *Mangan kaya ke**bo**, gaweyane ora ke**cacah*** 'Eating like buffalo, the work is unclear.
8. Brekat 'blessed food': *Dideleh mak**breg** terus di**angkat*** 'It sounds breg when it is put, and then to be lift up'
9. Buta 'giant': *Kal**bu** sing ora ditata* 'unordered heart'
10. Cangkem 'mouth': *Yen ora dic**ancang** ora ming**kem*** 'If it is not tied up, it would not shut up'.
11. Cangkir 'cup': *Kanggo ny**ancang** pikir* 'It is for tying mind'
13. Cengkir 'half-ripe coconut': *K**encenge** pikir* 'the tense of mind'
14. Dhalang 'puppeteer': *Ngud**hal** piwul**ang*** 'to deliver teachings'
15. Delok 'to watch': *Kendel alok* 'dare to insult'
16. Demokrasi 'democratization': *Moh di**krasi*** 'Do not want to be forced'
17. Denawa 'giant': *Nged**en** hawa napsu* 'to express emotion'
18. Desember 'December': *Ged**he**-gedhene **sumber*** 'the time for big water source'
19. Dongeng 'tale': *Dipaido ora meng**eng*** 'Does not care even not to be trusted'
20. Dosen 'lecturer': *Sak**dos** sak **sen*** 'One doss only contains one cent'
21. Garwa 'husband or wife': *Sig**ar**aning nyawa* 'part of the soul'
22. Garbu 'womb': *Yen ora mbeg**ar** ora iso mle**bu*** 'if it is not stretched, it can not be entered'
23. Gareng 'clown name in shadow puppet performance': *Megar di**jereng*** 'Getting wider when it is spread'

24. Garwa ‘husband or wife’: **Sigaraning nyawa** ‘part of the soul’
25. Gedhang ‘banana’: **Saged padhang** ‘it can be bright’, **Digeget** bar **madhang** ‘to be bitten after meal’.
26. Gerang ‘old’: **Segere** wis **arang-arang** ‘Rarely to be healthy’
27. Guru ‘teacher’: **Digugu lan ditiru** ‘to be belived and imitated’, **Wagu tur saru** ‘clumsy and indecent’
28. Gusti ‘king’: **Bagusing ati** ‘the beauty of heart’
29. Indoktrinasi ‘indoctrination’: **endhok, teri, lan nasi** ‘egg, anchovies, and rice’.
30. Januari: **Hujan** saben **ari** ‘It rains every day’
31. Jaka ‘bachelor’: **aja kandha-kandha** (nek aku wis rabi) ‘Don’t tell if I have already got married’
32. Jarkoni ‘personal name’: **Isa ngujar, ora isa nglakoni** ‘able to say but can not practise’
33. Kaji ‘some one who has done pilgrimage to Mecca’: **Tekade siji** ‘the will is only one’
34. Kathok ‘pants’: **Diangkat** sitok-sitok ‘it is lifted one by one’;
35. Kodhok ‘frog’: **Teka-teka ndhodhok** ‘Directly sit, when it comes’
36. Kotang ‘bra’: **Sikute diutang** ‘The elbow is missing’
37. Krikil ‘gravel’: **Keri** ing **sikil** ‘It feels tickle on foot’
38. Kupat ‘rice bricket’: **Ngaku lepat** ‘Confessing to be guilty’
39. Kuping ‘ear’: **Kaku njepiping** ‘stiff and stright’
40. Kupluk ‘rimless cap’: **Kaku nyempluk** ‘stiff and **chubby**’
41. Kursi ‘chair’: **Yen diungkurake banjur isi** ‘Drag backward and then to be seated’
42. Ludruk ‘Eastern Java traditional play’: **Gulune gelo-gelo, sikile gedrug-gedrug** ‘the neck shaking, the foot tapping’
43. Maling ‘thief’: **Njipuk amale** wong sing ora **eling** ‘taking the deed of the unconcious/careless’
44. Mantu ‘son/daughter in law’: **Dieman-emani meksa metu** ‘Something carefully kept, but finally come out’
45. Maratuwa ‘father/mother in law’: **Mara-mara ketemu tuwa** ‘meeting when already old’
46. Mersi ‘mercedes-Benz’: **pamer gusi** ‘showing gums’
47. Nopember ‘November’: **Ana sumber** ‘There is water source’
48. Ngelmu ‘learning’: **Angele** yen durung ketemu ‘It is difficult when it is not yet found’
49. Oktober ‘October’: **Untub-untube sumber** ‘The water source is starting visibly out’
50. Pasa ‘fasting’: **apa-apa kersa** ‘to want everything’
51. Pebruari ‘February’: **Yen mepe mburu ari** hunting day for drying clothes’
52. Petruk ‘clown name’: *fatruk* ‘so, leave it’,
53. Piring ‘plate’: **Sepi** yen **miring** ‘silent when slanting’
54. Prawan ‘virgin’: **Yen pepara** (lelungan) kudu wayah **awan** ‘Going far must be on day time’
55. Sawo kecil ‘hard fleshed sapodilla’: **sarwa becik** ‘everything is good’
56. Saru ‘impolite’: **Kasar** lan **keliru** ‘rude and misleading’
57. Sejarah ‘history’: **Sejan ngarah** (yen dina riaya/Idul Fitri) ‘Willing to order in Idul Fitri (Islamic hollyday)
58. Sekuter ‘motor- scooter’: **Sambi sendheku** mlayu **banter** ‘While bowing, running fast’.
59. Seltu ‘staff English Training Unit’: *Selane Ming Setu* ‘The vacancy is only on Saturday’; *Kesel Metu* ‘To quit when felling tired’
60. Semar ‘clown name’: **mesem** ing **kamar** ‘smiling in the room’
61. Sepuh ‘old’: **Sabdane ampuh** ‘The advice is effective’
62. Setir ‘driving wheel’: **Senajan singset** tetep bisa **muntir** ‘Even though tight, it still can be reversed or twisted’
63. Simah ‘husband or wife’: **Isine omah** ‘the house content’
64. Sinom ‘song genre for the youth’: **Isih enom** ‘still young’
65. Sirah ‘head’: **Isine rah** ‘The content is blood’
66. Siti ‘earth’: **Isine bulu bekti** ‘The content is tribute’
67. Sopir ‘driver’: **Yen ngaso mampir** (ing warung) ‘always drop in when resting’.

68. Sruwal ‘pants’: **Saru** yen nganti **uwal** ‘Impolite if it is put off’.
69. Sulap ‘magic hand’: Yen kesusu bakal **ketilap** ‘if in hurry, you will be deceived’.
70. Tandur ‘growing small plant’: **Nata** karo **mundur** ‘ordering and stepping backward’
71. Tapa ‘meditation’: **Tatane** kaya wong **papa** ‘behaving like the hopeless’
72. Tarub ‘temporary structure (for wedding or other ceremonies)’: **Ditata** supaya katon **murub** ‘It is ordered to be seen shinning’
73. Tayub ‘Northern Central Java Dance’: **Ditata** supaya katon **guyub** ‘It is ordered to be seen harmonious’
74. Tebu ‘sugar cane’: **Antepe** kalbu ‘the solidity of heart’
75. Tepas ‘fan’: **Titip** napas ‘I give you my breath’
76. Tetuko ‘Gatot kaca’s boy name’: sing **teka** ara tuku-tuku, sing **tuku** ora teka-teka ‘the comer will never buy, the buyer will never come’
- 77: Tomat ‘tomato’: mangkat **tobat**, bali **kumat** ‘Repent when departing, but relapse after returning’
78. Tuju dolar ‘seven dollars’: **untune** maju, **gadhule** melar ‘The teeth protruded, the dirt spread’
79. Tumpeng ‘rice cone’: **Tumindak** sing lempeng behaving in right manner’
80. Tuwa (old): **Untune** wis rowa ‘the teeth are already loose, ngenteni **metune** nyawa ‘Waiting for the soul release’
81. Ukir ‘to carve’: **Ukurane** pikir ‘the measurement of thought’
82. Wanita ‘woman’: **Wani** ditata ‘dare to be managed’. Wani nata ‘dare to manage’
83. Wedang ‘hot drink’: Dianggo gawe **kadang** it is used to make friends’, Ngawe **kadang** ‘waving to call friends’
84. Wedhus ‘goat’: **Suwe** ora tau **adus** ‘long time not taking bath’
85. Weteng ‘stomach’: **Ruwet** tur **peteng** ‘complicated and dark/unclear’

ⁱ To understand the rhyming of *jarwa dhosok*, it is important to know that in Javanese, the voiced stops [b], [d], and [g] which occur at the final position of a word will be pronounced as voiceless [p], [t], or [k] respectively (see Verhaar, 1996: 84-85). Furthermore, the vowel *a* in an open final syllable is pronounced as [ɔ], such as in the words *dhasa* [dʰɔsɔ] ‘ten’, *garwa* [garwɔ] ‘husband’ or ‘wife’, and *pasa* [pɔsɔ] ‘fasting’.