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Linguistic Construction and Cultural Meaning of Sinjang and Semekan: An Anthropological Linguistic Study

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Abstract

Labuhan Hajad Dalem is an essential ritual in Yogyakarta's tradition; its primary purpose is to represent prayer and to perform a spiritual cleansing by placing and leaving out some offerings in particular sacred places. Sinjang and Semakan are some of the components of the offering in the form of long fabric to cover a body part. Each Sinjang and Semekan has a different name to illustrate a distinct Javanese cultural value. The naming process is influenced by cultural background, which is Javanese culture, and the name composition is also affected by Javanese linguistic structure. Therefore, this research aims to answer how the naming creation of the offerings, especially the sinjang and semekan using syntactic analysis and an anthropological linguistics approach. Six names of sinjang and fourteen names of semekan are sourced from the official Keraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat website. The names follow a pattern of phrases and clauses, primarily consisting of noun phrases constructed with single nouns, adjectives, or combinations thereof. Additionally, there are clauses formed by noun-verb or noun-verb phrase structures. These names predominantly feature nouns related to various birds and plants, such as perkutut (zebra dove) and mlathi (jasmine), alongside adjectives representing colors like gadhung (green) and pethak (white). Using these colors in the names signifies gratitude, often towards nature and the divine. Furthermore, the selection of nouns reflects the daily life and surroundings of the Yogyakarta community, highlighting the interconnectedness between cultural traditions and local environments.

Keywords: anthropological linguistics; sinjang and semekan; labuhan hajad dalem; naming process

Introduction

Sinjang and Semekan are one of the components of Labuhan Hajad Dalem offerings which carry Javanese value. Labuhan Hajad Dalem is a ceremony for giving offerings to Parangkusumo Beach, Mount Merapi, and Mount Lawu, as well as Dlepih in the particular years of Dal and Wawu held by Ngayogkarta Hadiningrat Palace (Rasna et al., 2021; Kraton Jogja, 2023). Labuhan Hajad Dalem intends to represent a prayer and to perform a spiritual cleansing (Kraton Ngayogkarta Hadiningrat, 2017) where several offerings are left out in different places. Every component carries a different meaning. One of the components is Sinjang–jarit, a long batik fabric–and Semekan–a long fabric used to cover the chest, representing deep value and it affects the place where it is left out.

A specific name is put to differentiate one Sinjang or Semekan from another. The process of naming is influenced by cultural background, which is Javanese culture, and the name composition is also affected by Javanese linguistic structure. Anthropological linguistics provides insight into how a name reflects society in terms of culture, beliefs, and values. Anthropological linguistics was used as the approach of this study to find out how sinjang and

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semekan are used in Labuhan Hajad Dalem. This approach was applied since it studies the variety of language and how it is used with the development of time, differences in places of communication, and the influence of ethnic customs, and beliefs (Rasna et al., 2021). In addition, it explores the relationship between language and cultural terminology to see how people within the community communicate in certain social and cultural activities (Rasna et al., 2021). The cultural terminologies also correlate with the cultural meaning, leading to anthropological linguistics observing the meaning in linguistics practices within wider cultural practices (Foley, 1997).

"A sign is anything that stands for something other than itself" (Danesi, 2008) in which language is a sign manifested in utterance. Saussure (1993) stated that a sign carries two parts: signified and signifier. A signifier is the material aspects of language that can be said, heard, written, or read which are realized in the form of a picture or sound (physically) (Fanani, 2013). Meanwhile, signified are mental images, thoughts, or concepts (Culler, 1976) that literally and physically do not exist (Yakin & Totu, 2014). Agustina et al. (2021) affirmed an example that a rabbit which has long ears, soft fur, and longer rear legs than fore legs is a signifier; it signifies strength and bravery.

As seen through the previous example, words that construct the name are signs for others. It signifies a meaning that might only be understood by a certain group. Through anthropological linguistics analysis, this research tried to find out how a culture is reflected in the use of its language. For instance, mlathi (jasmine), as in Semekan Gadhung Mlathi, whose colour is white signifies pureness, thus used to represent Tuhan yang Maha Agung (God Almighty).

It is believed that morphological analysis can be used to reveal how names are composed within the rules of a given language, which is Javanese linguistics. Morphology is a study that examines the grammatical architecture and configuration of words (Meyfiany et al., 2024) where it focuses on morphemes, which is the smallest unit of meaning. Similar to other languages, the Javanese language constructs its words using both free and bound morphemes. A free morpheme can serve as a complete word, equating to root word or in Javanese linguistic term, it is called *tembung lingga*, such as *srengenge* (sun), *mangan* (to eat), and *adoh* (far). In terms of the structure, *tembung lingga* or root words are categorized as a monomorphemic, a word that does not undergo any process of change where that word is the only element that has carried a complete meaning (Amrina & Wijana, 2024). On the other hand, a bound morpheme has to attach to free morpheme to create a complete meaning such as suffix -an, -i, and -a (Meyfiany et al., 2024).

In terms of Javanese word formation, a word is created through several processes, which are affixation, reduplication, vowel or consonant change, compounding, and acronyms (Poedjosoedarmo, 2015). The processes lead to a word structure called polymorphemic. It is a category involving the combination of free morphemes and bound morphemes to create a word as well as a combination of two or more free morphemes (Amrina & Wijana, 2024). *Tembung andhahan* is a specific terminology to describe the words that undergo an affixation process (Oktavia, 2018). Meanwhile, *tembung camboran* is the word that are constructed by two or more *tembung lingga* (root words) or a combination of *tembung lingga* (root words) and *tembung andhahan* (words that have undergone an affixation process). In other words, *tembung camboran* pictures the process of compounding.

On the other hand, syntactic analysis may also reveal an uncommon naming pattern. Syntax is a study that deals with how words are constructed to show connections of meaning (Matthews, 1981). The main discussion of syntactic analysis is the word units presenting the

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exploration of phrases, clauses, and sentences (Tarmini & Sulistyawati, 2019). In general, the words are categorized based on grammatical categories which are nouns, verbs, prepositions, adjectives, and adverbs based on the morphological and syntactic properties (Radford, 2007). The way these words from the same or different categories are combined constructs a phrase which then builds a clause and a sentence.

A phrase is a grammatical unit consisting of two or more words that fulfil one of the syntactic functions (Chaer, 2008), and it does not exceed the functional boundaries of a clause (Ramlan, 1987). A phrase is constructed by a head that is the center of a phrase that determines the syntactic category of that phrase and controls the other words which are the modifiers (a critical introduction syntax). In the study of Javanese linguistics, it is observed that phrases and compound words have a structural similarity—they typically consist of two or more words. However, compound words convey a new meaning, whereas phrases do not (Poedjosoedarmo, 2015). In addition, no other words can be inserted between the components of compound words (Poedjosoedarmo, 2015), for instance, *randha royal* (a food name; royal widow) will not make sense if we put a determiner *sing* (that), *randha sing royal*, in the middle of the compound words, rather it creates a phrase where *randha* is the head that is modified by *royal*.

A higher level than a phrase is a clause. A clause is a grammatical unit consisting of a group of words that comprises at least a subject and a predicate (Kridalaksana, 2008). A clause can be differentiated into two types which are independent and dependent clauses. An independent clause can stand alone as a complete sentence since it contains a subject and a verb while a dependent clause cannot stand alone as a complete sentence since mostly it does not possess a verb which means a dependent clause must be connected to an independent clause (Saragih & Hutajulu, 2020). Based on the word class or the phrase functioning as the predicate, there are four types of clauses which are noun clause, verb clause, numeral clause, and prepositional clause (Ramlan, 1996). The difference between an independent clause and a sentence lies in the message that is brought and the intonation to end the sentence. A sentence is constructed by a group of words that contains at least one clause that has a subject and a main verb. Furthermore, Dardjowijojo (1988) stated that a sentence expresses a complete thought grammatically that is realized in the use of punctuation.

Within this study, morphological analysis is used to describe how words are combined to perform the names of *sinjang* and *semekan*. How words are constructed also depicts the pattern and the motif of *sinjang*. For instance, Cindhe Abrit, a compound word consists of two base words that can be categorized as a polymorphemic word.

Several studies have scrutinized the process of naming, particularly for naming batik. Sari & Nurhayati (2022) observed the naming system in Batik Banten by applying morphological and semantic analysis in order to find out how the names were constructed as well as the factor behind the name and batik motifs. Employing morphological analysis, Hastuti & Yuniawan (2023) attempted to identify the linguistic units and their lexical meaning of the name of batik tulis Girilaya. They applied an ethnolinguistic approach to seek the cultural meaning of the names. Purwandari (2020) analyzed the pattern of Semen Yogyakarta pattern by describing the lexical unit and its meaning through componential analysis. The analysis revealed the symbolic meaning and its function based on the Javanese perspective. Reviewing the previous study shows that morphological analysis can be applied to scrutinise the naming process, in particular batik names, since it is constructed by words that are

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created through various word formation processes. Finding out the cultural meaning, semantic analysis and ethnolinguistic analysis can be employed.

This study applied anthropological linguistics to find out the cultural meaning attached to *sinjang* and *semekan* names. Some scholars have applied this approach to answer their objective. Anthropological linguistics was used by Onwukwe (2020) to examine the metaphorical expression by analyzing the linguistic feature and its implied cultural values and beliefs by applying semantic and pragmatic analysis. Oetami et al. (2023) and Kurnianto and Fikri (2021) described the meaning and the cultural values depicted in the advice in Wandering Tradition practiced by Bawean people, and the symbols in Morga Siwe wedding. It observed the words, clauses, and discourse through the lens of anthropological linguistics to analyse the values carried in the advice and mantra. A similar analysis was also conducted by Rudiyanto et al., (2021), Rasna et al. (2021) and Caesarine and Setyaningsih (2023) where they observed the linguistic aspects to find out the symbolic meaning based on cultural values. They underwent a similar process, in which the initial step involved organising linguistic units into the same category. Then, the outcomes of the componential analysis were grouped to examine their symbolic meaning by applying anthropological linguistic analysis.

Scholars observed Labuhan Hajad Dalem through several lenses. Sumarsih et al. (1989) authored a comprehensive book compiling all aspects related to *labuhan hajad dalem* ceremony. It includes an in-depth explanation of the ritual along with a detailed account of its various components, in which they mentioned *sinjang* and *semekan* as the components of the offering. They also provide a historical overview of the ceremony, offering background context in order to enhance the understanding of the concept of the ceremony. In terms of journal articles, Nur'aini et al. (2022) examined the symbolic meaning of Sultan Hamengku Buwono X's commemoration ceremony by describing the procession and the offering and then analyzing each meaning. Still discussing the symbolic meaning, Setiawan (2020) utilized the semiotics analysis proposed by C.S Pierce to see the history of the event and the meaning behind the event, Labuhan Hajad Dalem. Setiawan (2020) also scrutinized the perspective of two different groups in seeing the procession.

Reviewing the previous study, this current study applied a similar method, which is morphological analysis, including syntactic analysis. It was used to scrutinise the name construction as well as the naming process. The construction and the process of naming sinjang and semakan were significant in examining the dominant component and form in the naming process through the lens of Javanese linguistics. By applying anthropological linguistics, the study attempts to know how these fabrics are used in Labuhan Hajad Dalem, reflected through its naming pattern and the meaning behind the chosen names. Specifically, this study seeks to answer two questions which are how the names of sinjang and semekan in Labuhan Hajad Dalem are constructed and how do the names of sinjang and semekan in Labuhan Hajad Dalem correlate with the view of the people of Yogyakarta

Method

This study adopts a descriptive qualitative approach, a distinct field of inquiry that spans various disciplines and subjects (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). Characterized by a complex web of interrelated terms, concepts, and assumptions—including foundationalism, positivism, postfoundationalism, postpositivism, poststructuralism, postmodernism, and posthumanism—qualitative research embraces a wide range of perspectives and methodologies,

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particularly within cultural and interpretive studies (Denzin & Lincoln, 2013). The focus of this research is to apply appropriate data analysis techniques to effectively present and describe the findings.

Data collection

This research examined the morphological and syntactic processes in naming the fabric, sinjang and semekan to find out how it is used in Labuhan Hajad Dalem. From the Kraton Yogyakarta official website, it was collected six names of sinjang, and fourteen names of semekan. The names were classified based on the number of words to identify the structure of the name.

Table 1. An example of name classification based on the number of words

One word	Two words	More than two words
Limar, cangkring, poleng, solok, songer, dringin, banguntulak	Cindhe abrit	Podhang Ngisep Sari, Perkutut Pethak Seret Abrit

Data analysis

To identify the category, morphological analysis was employed. The first step was classifying the words based on the morphological structure: monomorphemic and polymorphemic. It was used to examine the most dominant words which led to the description of how it symbolizes the Javanese value. In addition, word formation was observed to figure out the word class and its meaning. The following table presents an example of the classification.

Table 2. An example of name classification based on the morphological structure

Monomorphemic		
Structure	Name	
1 Morpheme	Limar	
	Cangkring	
	Poleng	
Polymorphemic		
Structure	Name	
2 Morphemes	Cindhe Abrit	
	Banguntulak	
3 Morphemes	Jingga Tepen	
	Gadhung Mlathi Tepen	
4 Morphemes	Perkutut Pethak Seret Abrit	
	Gadhung Mlathi Tepen	

Table 2 presents the classification based on the morphological structure. The classification helped in learning the pattern and its significance of making it the offering in a particular place. Using the anthropological linguistics approach, the structure of the names of *sinjang* and *semekan* and the class of the words that construct them were examined to comprehend how those fabrics can be the components of the offering based on the Javanese value. To support the analysis and interpretation of the symbolic meanings of the names of

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sinjang and semakan, we interviewed KRT Widya Winata, the vice head of Kawedanan Widya Budaya Keraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat. The interview was held on April 24th, 2024 at Keraton Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat.

Finding

Morphological Analysis

Through the classification, it was found that eight sinjang and semekan names are constructed by monomorphemic words, ten names are in the form of polymorphemic words, and two names are classified as clauses. The following table presents the names that are constructed by monomorphemic words.

Table 3. Monomorphemic words

Structure	Name
1 Morpheme	Limar
	Cangkring
	Poleng
	Solok
	Songer
	Gadhung
	Jambon
	Dringin

Those words are tembung lingga or root words in which each word does not undergo a morphological process to create meaning such as affixation, or reduplication. In other words, those words can stand alone as a meaningful word. For instance, poleng (noun) is another type of lurik (batik motif full of stripes), and gadhung (adjective) means ijo enom (light green). These names with monomorphemic words are selected to characterise the motif or colour of the cloth, where the motif and colour of the fabric are sufficiently distinct to be represented. In addition, the names can convey the intended meaning or reference without any other description from other words.

Some fabrics have various colours or motifs that should be represented with several words captured in the naming pattern. The following table exhibits the polymorphemic words that construct the name of *sinjang* and *semekan*.

Table 4 Polymorphemic words

rable 4. Folymorphennic words		
Structure	Name	
2 Morphemes	Chinde Abrit	
	Lurik Kepyur	
	Banguntulak	
	Gadhung Mlati	
	Teluh Watu	
3 Morphemes	Gadhung Tepen	
	Jingga Tepen	
	Udaraga Tepen	
4 Morphemes	Perkutut Pethak Seret Abrit	
	Gadhung Mlathi Tepen	

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1. 2 morphemes

Five names of *sinjang* and *semekan* were constructed from two morphemes: *chinde abrit, lurik kepyur, banguntulak, gadhung mlati,* and *teluh watu*. Through the combination of these morphemes, the names undergo a morphological process known as *comboran* or compounding.

Each morpheme in these *comboran* is a free morpheme, meaning it can stand alone as a word. These morphemes are also used to describe the patterns of *sinjang* and *semekan*. For example, *gadhung mlati* is formed from two free morphemes: {gadhung} (green) and {mlati} (jasmine flower). *Gadhung mlati* refers to a long fabric featuring a green base with a white stripe in the middle. The morpheme {gadhung} describes the green base color, while {mlati} represents the white color, likened to jasmine petals.

Meanwhile, a more complex *comboran* or compounding process can occur during name formation, as seen with *banguntulak*. This name is constructed from two morphemes: {bango} (stork) and {tulak} (a charm or means to ward off pain or misery). However, a morphophonemic process also takes place during compounding. When the morphemes {bango} and {tulak} are combined, the resulting form would typically be *bangotulak* [baŋotulaʔ]. However, in this case, the vowel [o] in the final syllable of {bango} transforms into its allophone [v], and the word ends with the phoneme [n] when meeting the consonant [t] at the start of {tulak}. This process produces the form *banguntulak* [baŋontulaʔ].

Banguntulak refers to a long fabric featuring a blue base color with a white stripe in the middle. While banguntulak is commonly associated with the color dark blue in Javanese (Sudarwanto, 2016), its base morphemes may serve distinct functions. The morpheme {bango} represents the contrast between dark and light colors, similar to the appearance of storks commonly found in Yogyakarta Province. These storks, such as bangau bluwok (Mycteria cinerea), bangau sandang-lawe (Ciconia episcopus), and bangau tongtong (Leptoptilos javanicus) (Yuda et al., 2015) typically have black and white feathers. Meanwhile, the morpheme {tulak} refers to the fabric's function as a charm or a means to ward off pain or misery.

2. 3 morphemes

In other cases, three names are found to be constructed from three morphemes: gadhung tepen, jingga tepen, and udaraga tepen. These names include the word tepen, which has undergone an affixation process involving the morpheme {tepi} (edge) and the suffix {an}. A morphophonemic process occurs when the vowel [i] in {tepi} meets the suffix {an}, resulting in the form tepen [təpɛn]. This transformation happens as the vowel [i] merges with [an], producing [ɛn] (Poedjosoedarmo, 2015). Consequently, the word tepen refers to a fringe, specifically a gold-thread trim, and is used to describe a fabric pattern with such a feature.

The first morphemes of *gadhung tepen* and *jingga tepen* indicate the base color of the fabric. For instance, {gadhung} (green) describes the fabric's green color, while {jingga} (orange) describes its orange color. The addition of the word *tepen* provides further detail about the pattern, specifically the presence of a fringe.

A similar concept applies to *udaraga tepen*. *Udaraga* is a free morpheme that can stand alone as a word and means "belt," describing the function of the fabric. Adding *tepen* to *udaraga* serves the same purpose as with *gadhung tepen* and *jingga tepen*: it highlights that the fabric features a fringe.

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3. 4 morphemes

Two names of *sinjang* and *semekan* are also identified as examples of *comboran* or compounding, but these are constructed from four morphemes: *perkutut pethak seret abrit* and *gadhung mlathi tepen*.

The first name, perkutut pethak seret abrit, is composed of two comboran: perkutut pethak "zebra dove in white color" and seret abrit "red patterns". Each of these is made up of two morphemes: {perkutut} (zebra dove) and {pethak} (white) form the first comboran, while {seret} (patterns) and {abrit} (red) form the second. Together, the name perkutut pethak seret abrit refers to a white zebra dove with red patterns.

The second name, gadhung mlathi tepen, consists of two free morphemes, {gadhung} (green) and {mlathi} (jasmine flowers), along with the word tepen. The word tepen has undergone an affixation process, derived from the free morpheme {tepi} (edge) and the bound morpheme {an} (a suffix). This combination involves a morphophonemic change, where {tepi} and {an} merge to form tepen. When the morphemes are combined, gadhung mlathi tepen describes a green jasmine design with a fringe.

Additionally, it is observed that the naming process of the fabrics not only involves morphological processes but also incorporates a phrase and a clause. The following table shows a name that is categorized as a phrase.

Table 5. Noun Phrase

Structure	Name
NP + VP	Pandan Binethot

The name was constructed by a noun that is followed by a relative clause, which makes the phrase classified as a noun phrase (Gina et al., 1987). Pandan or Pandanus amaryllifolius is a noun that acts as the head followed by a relative clause, sing dipethot. The structure of the clause is constructed by a relative pronoun, sing or which, and a verb in the form of a passive participle, which derives from the root word, an adjective, pethot. It creates a meaning that the pandan is bent. However, the relative pronoun, sing, or which is omitted, and the verb dipethot undergoes a morphological process. The verb binethot means bent (passive participle). Binethot comes from the root word pethot, which means bent (adj) with the prefix bi- and infix -n-. The infix -n- changes the initial sound /p/. As a result, bi + n + pethot becomes binethot. Morphologically, adding the prefix and infix shifts the word class (Katamba, 1993). Thus, pethot which is classified as an adjective, shifts to a verb (passive participle). In addition, the prefix [bi-] encapsulates the clause's meaning, showing that a relative pronoun is unnecessary, as the semantic function is already embedded within the prefix. In terms of the pattern, pandhan binethot shows that there is a motif like a torn leaf with a green color.

Table 6. A clause.

Structure	Name
S + V + O	Podhang Ngisep Sari

A clause must consist of, at least, a subject and a verb and the verb can be followed by a noun as the object or an adjective as the subject complement. *Podhang ngisep sari* is a clause in which the subject is *podhang* (noun) followed by a verb phrase consisting of a verb, *ngisep*, and a noun as the object *sari* (noun). *Podhang* is a type of passerine bird while *ngisep* is suck (verb). As a transitive verb, *ngisep* must be followed by an object that is realized in the

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word *sari* or nectar. This clause is manifested in the color and motif of the cloth. The color of the cloth is orange which is like the color of the bird. How the bird sucks the nectar is projected in a long arrow in the middle of the cloth.

These names are chosen to describe the patterns and motifs of the fabric, especially when their appearance might be unclear. In such cases, additional explanation through clauses becomes necessary. For example, the pattern of *pandhan binethot* might not be immediately recognizable, so it is explained through a clause that describes the green color as "bent." Similarly, the appearance of *podhang ngisep sari* cannot be fully conveyed with colors alone. Instead, the clause evokes imagery, likening it to how a bird sucks nectar.

Anthropological linguistics analysis

To understand the cultural values reflected through the names of the *sinjang* and *semekan*, the meaning of the names should be first analyzed. After deeper understanding into the syntactic analysis, identification of the components of the names helps decoding the semantic meanings associated with these components. Then it is found three hypernyms in the names of *sinjang* and *semekan* such as color, bird, and plant.

All adjectives found through the naming process reveal that they belong to one hypernym, which is "color". They are abrit (red), gadhung (green), jingga (orange), and jambon (pink). These adjectives are part of the naming processes either in monomorphemic word such as gadhung or polymorphemic such as jingga tepen and perkutut pethak seret abrit. The following table presents the adjectives found in the names of the sinjang and semekan.

Table 7. Adjectives found in the names

Hypernym	Hyponym	Structure	Names
colors	abrit (red)	Polymorphemic	Cindhe Abrit
			Perkutut Pethak Seret Abrit
	gadhung (green)	Monomorphemic	Gadhung
		Polymorphemic	Gadhung Tepen, Gadhung Mlathi
		Polymorphemic	Gadhung Mlathi Tepen,
	jingga (orange)	Polymorphemic	Jingga Tepen
	jambon (pink)	Monomorphemic	Jambon
	pethak (white)	Polymorphemic	Perkutut Pethak Seret Abrit

Color is the sole adjective hypernym found in the names of the *sinjang* and *semekan*. The use of hyponyms of colors is due to the colors of the *sinjang* and *semekan* itself. For instance, the *semekan* based on the green color is named *Semekan Gadhung*, because green means *gahdung* in Javanese and the *semekan* based on the orange color is named *Semekan Jingga* as *jingga* means orange.

Not only expressed through the use of hyponyms of color, colors of the *sinjang* and *semekan* are also expressed by other words. For instance, the word *pandhan* in *Pandhan Binethot* used to express the green color. As mentioned before, *pandhan* or *pandan* (*Pandanus amaryllifolius*) is a tropical plant, widely found in South East Asia, with green blade-like leaves (Bhuyan & Sonowal, 2021). In Indonesia, especially in Java, the use of

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pandan leaves is found in numerous of dishes and drinks, such as in *jamu* or Javanese traditional herbal drinks (Hariani et al., 2024). In addition, it is also recorded in one of the Surakarta Palace manuscripts written by Pakubuwana IX who reigned from 1861 – 1893 that pandan was long used as an ingredient for making *boreh* and *parem*, Javanese traditional herbal medicines (Supardjo & Sudarsini, 2011). Leaves are commonly used to express the green color as it is easily found in human life. In Javanese tradition, however, because of its common use from generation to generation, pandan has been associated with the green color. Therefore, the use of *pandan* in the *Semekan Pandhan Binethot* not only expresses the green color, but also shows how strong the connection between this particular plant and the people of Java.

Furthermore, another color is found to be expressed by a word that is not a hyponym of color in the name of the *semekan*. The white color of two *semekans* are found to be expressed by the word *mlathi* (jasmine). These are *Gadhung Mlathi* and *Gadhung Mlathi Tepen*. These two *semekan* has the green color as its base and the white color striking in the middle.

Jasmine holds significance as one of Indonesia's three national flowers, bestowed with the title of *Puspa Bangsa* or "The Flower of The Nation" (Milagsita, 2023).Like pandan, *mlathi* or jasmine (Jasminum sambac) is similarly prevalent in Javanese cultural practices. However, rather than for dishes or drinks, jasmine is primarily utilized in sacred ceremonies such as weddings and funerals.

For instance, in Yogyakarta's wedding tradition, jasmine is part of *bunga sritaman*, a set of flowers used for *siraman* procession, along with rose and ylang flowers (Armia, 2017). *Siraman* is one of the sacred rituals during Yogyakarta's wedding ceremony, it is a flower bath ritual for the bride and groom the day before the *panggih* ceremony. Jasmine, with its white color, symbolizes pureness and nobility, therefore the use of it to symbolize the pureness and nobility of not only the couple but also the tradition. Not only in *siraman* procession, jasmine flowers are also used as the accessory for both the bride and the groom, strung lengthwise and put on their attire (Widayanti, 2011). One function of this flower is not only to symbolize purity and nobility, but its white color also plays a crucial role in establishing contrast within the color harmony of green, red, and gold of the attire worn by the bride and groom.

Mlathi or jasmine is traditionally associated with the color white due to the hue of its petals. Being a tropical flower, it is easily found throughout Indonesia, thus contributing to its familiarity within the cultural tradition, including in Yogyakarta's tradition. The word *mlathi* in the names of the *semekan* is primarily to express the color white. The color base of the fabric is green, thus the term *gadhung* (green) comes first and then followed by *mlathi*, expressing the color white in the middle of the fabric.

Both *pandhan* and *mlathi* can be categorized under the hypernym "plant." The table below helps show the following classification.

Table 8. The hypernym of "plant" found in the names

Hyponym	Color expressed	Structure	Names
Pandhan	Green	Clause	Pandhan Binethot
(Pandanus amaryllifolius)			
mlathi(Jasminum sambac)	White	Polymorphemic	Gadhung Mlathi
			Gadhung Mlathi Tepen

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Table 8 shows the primary reason for incorporating *pandhan* (pandan) and *mlathi* (jasmine) into the names of *sinjang* and *semekan* is to represent their distinctive colors. These words are chosen to signify the colors green and white, respectively, owing to their widespread usage in various Javanese traditions, particularly in Yogyakarta.

The third hypernym identified falls within the "bird" category, namely *perkutut* (zebra dove) and *podhang* (black-naped oriole). The table below shows the following classification of the hypernym "bird".

Table 9. The hypernym of "bird" found in the names

Hyponym	Structure	Names
perkutut (Geopelia striata)	Polymorphemic	Perkutut Pethak Seret Abrit
podhang (Oriolus chinensis)	Clause	Podhang Ngisep Sari

The word *perkutut* in the name of Perkutut Pethak Seret Abrit refers to *perkutut jawa* or zebra dove (*Geopelia striata*). Perkutut Jawa is a fauna unique to the Special Region of Yogyakarta, commonly found in various areas, including residential areas (Yuda et al., 2015). These birds are small and have a lengthy tail. Their colour is mainly brownish-grey, with stripes in black and white. Perkutut, revered as the *klangenan* (cherished pet) among the populace of Yogyakarta, particularly esteemed by the *priyayi* (nobility), has gained widespread popularity owing to its melodious song and considerable economic worth (Kehati, 2017).

The use of the word *perkutut* in the name of Perkutut Pethak Seret Abrit is to refer to the pattern of the particular *sinjang*, expressing the similar stripes in the fabric to the distinctive pattern of the birds' feathers. As the fauna unique to the region, the birds are found almost everywhere in the region thus the use of the name represents the similarity between the pattern of the fabric and the appearance of the birds.

Whereas *podhang*, in the name of Podhang Ngisep Sari, refers to *kepodang* or *kepudang kuduk-hitam* or black-naped oriole in Indonesian (*Oriolus chinensis*), another bird found in the Special Region of Yogyakarta (Yuda et al., 2015). The term is incorporated into the fabric's name due to its widespread recognition within the region. These birds are prevalent across the region, particularly in areas abundant with coconut trees. Kepodang kuduk-hitam is a bird of medium size, reaching a length of 26 centimeters. It exhibits predominant hues of yellow and black, featuring a black stripe extending across the eyes and nape. The flight feathers are primarily black. In males, additional areas display a vibrant yellow coloration, while females exhibit a more subdued olive-yellow tone on their backs (Kehati, 2017). Many individuals are drawn to its vibrant color, making it a popular choice as a pet.

Podhang Ngisep Sari is a clause with *podhang* acting as the subject of the clause and *ngisep sari* (suck flower nectar) acts as the verb phrase. While the *perkutut* serves to signify the striped pattern of the fabric, *podhang*'s significance cannot be detached from its clause. Concerning fabric patterning, the act of sucking is discernible in expressing the design. Podhang Ngisep Sari predominantly features a red base color with a long central yellow stripe. The long yellow stripe is represented by the action of the bird that sucks the flower nectar.

Table 8 and 9 show that colors are mostly expressed in the names of these fabrics. Significantly, the colors represented by the fabric hold important value. For instance, green, expressed by *gadhung* and *pandhan* is found in 5 names (Gadhung, Gadhung Tepen, Gadhung

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Mlathi, Gadhung Mlathi Tepen, Pandhan Binetot). According to KRT Widya Winata (personal communication, 2024), in the Labuhan Hajad Dalem or Labuhan procession, the color green represents the earth. As part of the offerings, these fabrics are the symbol of giving back to the earth and also being grateful for what the earth has given.

The color white expressed by the words *pethak* and *mlathi* found in 3 names (Perkutut Pethak Seret Abrit, Gadhung Mlathi, Gadhung Mlathi Tepen), signifies pureness and nobility. According to KRT Widya Winata (personal communication, 2024), in the Labuhan procession, the color white is the symbol of heaven, the god, and the creator of all. Thus, it is used as a form of gratitude to God for the blessing bestowed upon the people of Yogyakarta.

Conclusion

Labuhan comes from the word *labuh* which means to throw, put, or wash away and the purpose of this *labuhan* is as a prayer and hope to get rid of all kinds of bad qualities (Kraton Yogyakarta Hadiningrat, 2017). As part of the offerings, *sinjang* and *semekan* symbolizes deep values of Yogyakarta tradition which also reflects the life of ordinary people of Yogyakarta.

The analysis revealed that eight *sinjang* and *semekan* names are monomorphemic in structure, ten are polymorphemic, and two are clausal. These morphological and syntactic processes reflect the patterns and motifs embedded in *sinjang* and *semekan*.

In the naming processes of *sinjang* and *semekan*, a variety of birds and plants are referenced. Birds include *perkutut* (zebra dove) and *podhang* (black-naped oriole), while plants such as *mlathi* (jasmine) and *pandhan* (pandan) are also represented. Most notably, the naming processes emphasize the use of colors, such as *gadhung* (green), *pethak* (white), *abrit* (red), *jingga* (orange), *jambon* (pink), and others. These words often carry symbolic meanings, with *mlathi* representing white and *pandhan* symbolizing green. The use of these colors expresses gratitude, primarily towards the earth and the divine.

Furthermore, the words used in these names are drawn from birds and plants familiar to the people of Yogyakarta. This highlights how the naming process not only conveys symbolic significance but also reflects the daily lives and natural surroundings of the community.

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