

**THE CULTURAL HERITAGE AS FOUND IN
JAVANESE WEDDING PRANATACARA GENRE :
IN SEARCH OF IDENTITY IN DIVERSITY**

By :

Sukarno

FKIP – Universitas Tidar Magelang

ABSTRAK

Penelitian ini berusaha mengeksplorasi dan mendeskripsi-kan kekayaan budaya dalam genre pranatacara upacara perkawinan Jawa untuk menekankan arti penting pelestarian identitas dalam keberagaman. Pengambilan data dilakukan dengan merekam secara audiovisual sebuah upacara perkawinan yang disebut "Tumplak Punjen" dengan mehgutamakan khasanah kultural, seperti seting, pakaian, perilaku manusia, dan penggunaan bahasa. Penelitian ini menemukan bahwa genre ini sangat kaya dengan khasanah yang mensymbolisasi filosofi dan ideologi Jawa. Penelitian ini juga menjustifikasi pentingnya pelestarian warisan budaya sebagai salah satu usaha memelihara identitas dalam keberagaman sesuai dengan kenyataan bahwa Indonesia merupakan negara multi suku dan bahasa. Sangat ditekankan bahwa kekayaan budaya tersebut dilestarikan karena juga merupakan kekayaan budaya dunia. Penelitian ini juga berimplikasi pedagogis bahwa bahasa dan budaya perlu diintegrasikan secara utuh dalam pembelajaran, baik mengenai bahasa atau budaya.

Key Words : cultural heritage, philosophy, ideology

A. INTRODUCTION

The Javanese language, the native tongue of over seventy million speakers who resides Central and East Java, Indonesia, has been a source of great interest for various academic discipline. Ongoing research on Javanese linguistics and sociolinguistics has been a very productive scholarly enterprise. It has been investigated by different academicians focusing on different aspects. Kadarisman (1999), for example, explored the Javanese poetics in wedding narratives as verbal art performance. The Performance Technique of Contemporary Javanese *Wayang Kulit* was also investigated with respect to its phenomenology (Mrázek, Jan 1998). Another study was also undertaken by Zaid (1999), focusing on the strategies for oral communication between superior and subordinates. Those studies, to mention only few, have indicate that Javanese is so rich in its linguistic and literary uniqueness that many scholars are interested in investigating the language.

Therefore, as a language educator, the writer would like to participate in this research community by investigating the cultural heritage as found in Javanese wedding *pranatacara* genre. The current study was based on reviews of literature in line with the Javanese culture in order to identify the cultural values on which to formulate ways of cultural preservation as identity in diversity.

B. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Javanese language, as Purwadi (2005:11) states, quoting Poerbatjaraka (1964), belongs to Austronesian; which consists of languages spoken by the native people living in Southeast Asian islands; bordered in the North starting from

the island of Formosa to the South and bordered in the West starting from Madagaskar island to the East up to Southwest America. Therefore, it is logical to assume that Javanese belongs to groups of great languages spoken by people of almost half of the globe. Actually in the past, all nations spoke one language.

A comparative study reveals, Purwadi (2005:13) continues to elaborate that originally, when those nations lived together in Cempa, part of Indochina, they spoke one language. According to P.W. Schmidt, it can be assumed that Indonesian people originated from Central Asia. From this point of view, it is clear that language develops from what it was to what it is, and possibly to what it will be. It was a good thing that a group of linguists chaired by Sudaryanto (1992) had tried to standardize the Javanese grammar.

At the moment, apart from being used in three provinces, namely Central Java, Yogyakarta Special Region, and East Java with the population of 63,921,871 out of 179,321,641 of the total population of Indonesia (census, 1990), Javanese is also used in other provinces, such as Jakarta region and the transmigration area of Lampung, South Sumatra etc. Outside of Indonesia, Javanese is used in Suriname. This enables Javanese to be used with distinctively different geographical dialects. Besides, there are also some differences in use between the old and the young generations (Sudaryanto 1992:3).

However, when it comes to the discussion of Javanese as used by a *Pranatacara*, people will turn to two styles (*gagrag*), one of Surakarta and the other of Yogyakarta. This study refers to both without necessary attempts to differentiate since the differences are allophonic in nature, and therefore do not constitute any differences in meaning. Some people say that

Surakarta style is the original style, while Yogyakarta style is somehow simplified and contemporary. This kind of difference does not count in the study.

Philosophically speaking, the Javanese wedding ceremonies that take place in a similar way to those of the royal family. It is argued that:

Almost everyday, newspapers carry pictures of society wedding stages in expensive hotels that meticulously follow a protocol that is thought to imitate the rite of the nobility. Especially since money came in a great way in early 1970s, such display spending has become fashionable, and has been dressed up in a 'Javanese' cloak. Meanwhile, many people hold such ceremonies, which include Javanese-style and gamelan music, to be national, to be Indonesian (Mulder 1998:95).

From the quotation above, it is clear that wedding ceremonies are held to imitate those of the royal family, even the bride and groom are often referred to in Indonesian as *Raja sehari* (one-day king). However, since such a ceremony involves financial expenditure, they can be modified here and there to fit the financial strength. A very rich family may hold the wedding ceremony spending millions of rupiahs in order to adopt every detail of the rituals and marital reception. Conversely, for middle class of Javanese society, some of the unnecessary stages may be omitted due to financial grounds.

This is (Mulder 1998:59-60) in accordance with the Javanese philosophy of *prasaja* (modesty) in support of the basic philosophy of *sepi ing pamrih, rame ing gawe* (unselfish or

non-veted interest; diligent). In other words, with respect to marriage ceremonies, one shall be humble (*prasaja*) but make sure that the goal (marriage) is achieved without unnecessary problems, such as being in bad debts upon completion of the marriage of their daughter and son.

Apart from the reason for such wedding events to be held, it is also argued that everything that has something to do with marriage has to be prepared according to the established Javanese philosophy, such as the use of *primbon* (magical almanacs) and *petungan* (calculations). The two terms, however, may be used interchangeably. Mulder (1998) further argues:

The *petungan* are used like the *primbon*, but may consist of fresh calculations in order to find the right married partner, the date, and the hour of a ceremony, or when to start building a town hall. They are like the *primbon*, a means of coordinating earthly events with cosmic condition (Mulder 1998:54-55).

Thus, from the very beginning, that is to find out the suitable partner for marriage has to be philosophically calculated. Failure to do so may cause bad destiny such as from disharmony of the marriage, 'fooling around' or even to its worst possible separation or 'divorce'. Such *primbon* or *petungan* applies to any family who want to carry out marital ritual for their daughter or son without regard to the social status of the family.

There are still quite a number of philosophical symbolizations with respect to the decoration in a wedding event, such as *balangan gantal*, *sungkeman*, *wijikan*, *timbangan*, *kacar-kucur*, and *dulangan*.

According to the interview with the subject of the study, Mr. Sudiyono, each of the above activities has a Javanese philosophical basis. *Balangan gantal*, for example, philosophically symbolizes that the bride and groom should love each other in order for their marriage to survive. Meanwhile, the parents of both the bride and the groom are fully respected by performance of *sungkeman* as the philosophical symbol. Furthermore; *wijakan* symbolizes 'respects' and 'loyalty' of a wife to her husband and *timbangan* symbolizes the parents' equal love to both daughter (son) and son-in-law (daughter-in-law).

Mr. Sudiyono continues to elaborate that *kacar-kucur* functions as a philosophical symbol that a husband should be the bread-winner and therefore give everything he earns to his wife in order for her to financially manage the family. Finally, *dulangan* symbolizes the mutual expression of love between a husband and his wife.

All the above items in a wedding ceremony are carried out with one goal in mind, namely 'being save before during and after the ceremony. Without regards to any religion, *Slametan* (ritual meals to request safety) as an important mechanism of social integration (Mulder 1998:15, Suyono 2007: 134-135) should be carried out to mark a wedding event, such as in the *Sasrahan* (dowry-giving), *Widodaren* (a night before the wedding), and *Slametan Penganten or Majemuk* (a night after the wedding).

In Islamic family, especially the have, there is another party called '*ngunduh mantu*' carried out by the groom family. This is, of course, another form of *Slametan*. All forms of *Slametan* are aimed at thanking God the Almighty for the

blessings and hoping for future prosperity for the newly-wedded couple.

From this point, two grand events actually had taken place. Each of the events had its own philosophical ground. The first event—the rituals of marital sacraments—represented human relation to God, the Almighty; or in Christianity it was symbolized by the vertical pole of the cross by which the sacred body of Jesus was supported. In this respect, the marriage had been legalized by Church, and the country upon being registered to the Office of Vital Statistics (Marriage Registrar) whereby their marriage was recorded. The second event—the marriage promulgation—represented human-to-human relation by means of which people around would acknowledge that the two sexually different individuals had been legally married. In Christianity it is symbolized by the horizontal pole on which both sacred right and left hands of Jesus were nailed. By nature the vertical pole was longer than the horizontal pole, symbolizing that God is superior to human.

C. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

It turns out that the wedding ceremony in the study differs considerably from the commonly held one in terms of the items or stages in the wedding genre. The data were about a wedding ceremony called '*Tumplak Punjen*', meaning the marriage of the last daughter. Therefore, the writer would only explore and describe '*Tumplak Punjen*' wedding ceremony.

It is believed that in the marriage event of Mr. S. Aji Nugroho and Mrs L. Yekti Nugraheni, those *Slametans* have been carried out accordingly. However, the study does not

attempt to describe the process of *Slametan* since it is far beyond the purpose of the dissertation. Rather, the study focuses on the wedding reception where the Javanese language used by the *Pranatacara* becomes the central point of discussion.

Upon completion of the rituals of marriage sacraments in church, the wedding reception of Mr. S. Aji Nugroho and Mrs L. Yekti Nugraheni was conducted to promulgate their marriage. A lot of people (friends, colleagues, relatives, neighbours) were cordially invited to honour their marriage. It was solely hoped that the newly wedded couple would be able to run a happy family without any unexpected problems up to the moment of death of any of the two which would take them apart as also stated in the famous philosophical saying 'Only death shall do us apart.'

The wedding reception of Mr. S. Aji Nugroho and Mrs L. Yekti Nugraheni, which was carried out following the Javanese tradition with some modifications, was unique in that it was the last marital event among the children of Mrs. Veronika Sukartini Sukirman. Mr. Sukirman in this occasion was not present because he had passed away. Therefore, there was a special stage of event called '*Tumplak Punjen*' eliminating normal generic stages in a wedding reception, such as *Panggih*, *Balangan Gantal*, *Wijikan*, *Kacar-Kucur*, and *Sungkeman*, etc. However, the activities in '*Tumplak Punjen*' were somehow similar to *Sungkeman*. The only difference is that in '*Tumplak Punjen*', the act of 'respecting a mother' is performed by several couples, one after the other, starting from the eldest couple.

The philosophical basis for either '*Sungkeman*' or '*Tumplak Punjen*' is that the role of parents in Javanese tradition is very central as 'the visible gods' (*Gusti kang katon*). Only by

their love and care is human reproduction made possible. Therefore they have to be highly respected. It is also argued that:

The position of parents is quasi-religious. As elders, they are closer to the Origin [*Sangkan paran*] to the sources of identity and wisdom, to Life [*dumadi*], the line of which they must continue by procreating and rearing children. The fulfilment of this task makes them worthy of the highest respect, and justifies the 'cult of parents'; parents themselves become *pepundhen* (object of veneration). The religious dimension of this 'cult' becomes clearer still from the dependence of children on their elders' blessing (Mulder 1998:143).

The quotation above justifies that children shall respect their parents and in a formal context, such as wedding reception, the 'respect' is symbolized in the performance of *Sungkeman* or *Tumplak Punjen* in order to grant the blessings of parents as 'visible gods'. Another view with respect to *Sangkan paraning dumadi* is further confirmed by the following argument:

Punapa ta menggah darunane? Jro sumungkem anguswa pepadane ingkang rama ibu, panganten anggung enget marang purwaning dumadi, duk rikala linairake aneng jagad padhang; -enget marang rama kang wus sembada angukir jiwa ragane miwah dadya lantaraning tumuwuh; -enget ingkang ibu ingkang wus kuwawa dadya papaning yoga brata salebeting nawa candra dasa ari, serta anglelithing anggulawenthah wiwit kalane semana ngantya diwasa (Suharjendra 2006:298).

(What is the purpose [of *Sungkeman*] ? Respecting both father and mother is due to remembering the Origin of being, that is the moment of being born—through mother's labour—to see the light of the sun; more specifically to remember father who had successfully sowed the seed of body and soul as the cause of 'being' and to remember mother who had become the place of culture to nurture the newly sowed seed for nine months and ten days, and taken care of the newly born kid from the moment of birth to that of adulthood.)

From the quotation above, it is undeniably true that parents have an invaluable role of creating 'being' without whom no human beings would have come into existence. Of course in religious discourse, such a process of human reproduction will never happen without the interference of God the Almighty, the Supreme One who governs the universe and all living and non-living things in it.

In this *Tumplak Punjen* all the married children, couple by couple, approach the mother (Mrs. Veronika Sukartini Sukirman to perform the 'formal respect' as described by the *Pranatacara*:

... ingkang ngono to wau sagung para putra ingkang samekto ing gati, sumadyo ing diri, tumuli bade amrepeg ibu. Inkang lumampah satuhu punika putra pembayun ninggih Bapa Drs. LB. Heru, giyo sumembah ajejengku wonten ngarsanipun ibu,

*nyuwun pangestu dumateng ibu, mugi tansah
pinaringan rahayu... (Recorded Corpus Data).*

(...here then all married children, who have been ready, soon approach their mother (in law). And here are Mr. LB. Heru, the eldest son (in law), approaching and prostrating himself before mother (in law) requesting her blessings in order to have a safe and prosperous family).

In this respect, Mrs. Veronika Sukartini Sukirman blessed each couple of her married children. It was symbolized by giving a sacred package to each couple. The package contains *duwit sakepeng* (a coin), *ketan raja lele* (grains of sticky rice), *raja lele* rice (grains of rice), *dele putih* (white peas), *dele ireng* (black peas), *kacang ijo* (green beans) *kacang tholo* (peanut) *jagung* (corns, maize), *kunir* (turmeric), and *sekar melati* (jasmine). Each of the items in the package symbolizes something as described in the following table.

Table 4-2 The Items Found in the *Tumplak Punjen* Package

No.	Items	Items	Symbolizing
1.	<i>Dhuwit sakepeng</i>	Coins	Working capital to live on
2.	<i>Ketan raja lele</i>	Sticky rice grains	Origin of growth
3.	<i>Beras raja lele¹</i>	Rice grains	Origin of growth
4.	<i>Dhele putih</i>	White peas	In search of matches with whom a safe and prosperous living can be made
5.	<i>Dhele ireng</i>	Black peas	
6.	<i>Kacang ijo</i>	Green beans	
7.	<i>Kacang tholo</i>	Peanuts	
8.	<i>Jagung</i>	Corn	To win victory of life
9.	<i>Kunir</i>	Turmeric	Gold, wealth
10.	<i>Sekar melati</i>	Jasmine	To gain fame

Source: Description by the *Pranatacara*

¹ Raja lele is believed to be the best type of rice in Java.

² The reversed reading of the Javanese Characters

So sacred was the ritual of *Tumplak Punjen* that it started by reading the magic spell performed by the *Pranatacara* as:

Ca ra ka balik²

Ngo, tho, bho, nggo, mo, nyo, yo, Jo, dho, po, lo, wo, sa, tho, dho, ko, ro, co, no, ho.

Singgah singgah kala singgah, tan suminggah durgo kolo sumingkir, sirah-sirah, sing abuntut, sing awulu, sing atenggak, sumingkiro ing tawan prajamu, moro hage sumingkiro, sumingkir saka ngarsa mami. Lampahing titi cara sinarengan sesanti mugi putraheng wangsa tansah panggeh kawuryan (Recorded corpus data).

(Ca ra ka balik

*Ngo, tho, bho, nggo, mo, nyo, yo, Jo, dho, po, lo,
wo, sa, tho, dho, ko, ro, co, no, ho*

*(May all evils—by whoever, whatever and from
wherever—be gone away from me, and returned to
their places of origin. May this ritual be blessed
with forever safety).*

After reading the magic spell to drive away all evils, the
Pranatacara described the nature of *Tumplak Punjen* as:

*Niyating sono, nyaritakke du'ing caritane
Tumplak Punjen punika linampahan diarani mantu
ingkang pungkasan, ingkang limrahipun mantu
putra ingkang waruju. Mungguh ing darunaning
cariyos pun iku aninggih niat suci ingkang
kawedhar ing pralampita, dene Ibu Veronika
Sukartini Sukirman ingkang sembodho angentas
para putro, wiwit pambayun ngantos dumugi
waruju. Manggeh rahayu, widhodho, lir sambikala.
Pramilo ing rahino puniko, Ibu Veronika Sukartini
Sukirman ngempalaken sagung para putra wayah
piningan sangu agesang ingkang sinangon ing
pralampito. Ono unen-unen yen wong Jawa iku
nggoning semu, sakabeging perkara tansah
sinanguning samudono, wondene Ibu Veronika
Sukartini Sukirman anggenipun peparang
sanguning agesang dhumateng para putra wayah
ugi badhe sinambut ing pasemon (Recorded corpus
data).*

(I would like to tell you about *Tumplak Punjen*. It is the marriage of the last child. The purpose of this is to thank God from the deepest part of the heart; that is in this respect, Mrs. Veronika Sukartini Sukirman has managed to carry out the marriages of her children, from the first child to the last one successfully without any obstacles. Therefore in this occasion, she gathers all her married children, including her grand children. The Javanese traditions have a lot of symbolization. She would also perform her true gratitude to God by means of symbolization, namely by giving a sacred package to each couple of her married children)

As previously mentioned, the wedding reception adopted the Javanese tradition. It could be seen from the VCD recording that the decoration—simplified though—represented the hall of a royal family. The adoption of a royal family is not without reason. In Javanese philosophy, it is argued in Sunoto, L. 2005:107 that '*Bagi rakyat Jawa kraton itu bukan hanya suatu pusat politik dan budaya: kraton merupakan pusat keramat kerajaan* (For the people of Java, a palace is not only the centre of politics and culture but also the symbol of the sacredness of Kingdom). Thus, in the wedding reception, the hall is decorated in such a way to resemble a palace in the hope the wedding event as a whole is sacred and formal. It is not a social joke; it is a marriage, a once-in-a-life-time event.

In addition, the costumes—worn by the bride and groom, the people on duty, including the *Pranatacara* himself, Mr. Sudiono—all symbolized the Javanese tradition. The men in

Javanese costumes looked very elegant and authoritative, representing the power of the nobles. The women were very graceful and submissive in such a way to show that they were rule-governed, following the rules of conducts of the wives of the nobles. A philosophical saying for Javanese wives—as *konco wingking* (sub-ordinate mate)—is that a wife is described as *Swarga nunut, neraka katut*, meaning that whether or not she is happy in the family depends entirely on her husband, and therefore she has to obey the family policy as determined by the husband. This includes a possibility for a husband to have more than one wife as a handed-down tradition of the King of Java.

The Kings of Java—with the exception of Sri Sultan Hamengkubuwana X—had more than one wife. This is because a wife is a symbol of power. Thus, if one has more than one wife, he is considered as ‘powerful’ at least for financial grounds. Or, it is also possible to argue that a king is a replica of god handed down to the world; thus following the Mahabarata epic in which gods, kings and knights practiced polygamy.

In reality however, the last mentioned fact (polygamy) is difficult to implement due to the success of feminists’ struggle over equality and the influence of western propaganda on feminism.

Back to the main discussion that a wife has to be fully submissive to her husband, it is actually in line with the Javanese philosophy as *Manunggaling kawula-gusti* (relationship between the ruler and the ruled) or *Curiga manjing rangka* (a Javanese Kris—weapon—to be put in its place) which symbolizes ‘matches’. Two different individuals are said to be

'a match' if each of them realizes his or her place. It is symbolized in the use of language as stated by Mulder:

It is impossible to speak Javanese without reference to the position of the person spoken to in relation to the position of the speaker. In its many complicated and formal gradations, the choice of words reflects position, intimacy or formality, age, social distance and rank, together with all the nuances of relative expectations, obligations and rights. The choice of words and language are expressive of the prevailing order (Mulder 1998:64).

The quotation above justifies that Javanese language puts its users in accordance with their hierarchical positions. Thus it supports the idea of putting a wife sub-ordinate to her husband since each of them has to use different speech levels of Javanese when speaking to each other.

However, others may argue that such a husband-wife relationship only applies to royal family. Common people will treat themselves differently since Javanese people often use hidden messages behind their activities. A particular wife may use the high speech level of Javanese to her husband in front of the children just to give an example of how to respect their father. But still, it should be emphasized that such a culturally framed situation has to be maintained at least during the wedding reception. It is of course up to the newly wedded couple to decide the family policy after the reception is over. They will have to live normally and not anymore a 'King' even though they used to be described by the *Pranatacara* as a one-day King and Princess.

Viewed from the perspectives of tradition, culture and modernity, the marriage of Mr. S. Aji Nugroho and Mrs. L. Yekti Nugraheni was a mix of Javanese tradition and modernity. On the one hand it maintained the Javanese tradition such as can be seen from the decoration of the reception hall, the costumes of the bride and groom, including all the people on duty; the ways they talked, walked, and sat—all reflect the tradition of Java.

As a *Pranatacara*, Mr. Sudiono performed his job professionally. He was dressed in a complete Javanese costume. His voice was a real duplicate of Ki. Nartosabdo (the late), a very famous *dalang* (leather puppet performer). In other words, his voice was of very high quality with the intonation and word stresses well engineered to meet the standard of acceptance in the Javanese language as used by a *dalang* when describing an event. In short, it can be said that Mr. Sudiono is spiritually, physically and professionally matured in his job as a *Pranatacara*.

First of all, the *Pranatacara* started his job with a kind of meditation. With his eyes closed, he united his two palms up above his head, and slowly let them pass down his face and finally settled them on his chest. He must have read a kind of magic spell silently for himself. He went on opening the reception as:

*Kawulo nuwun sagung para tamu ingkang tansah
sinugata ing pakurmatan. Mugi rahayu saha sih
wilasaning gusti kang maha asih tansah tumedhak,
tumandhuk jiwa kasalira dumateng kula lan
panjengean sedaya. Nuwun injih kanthi asta
tumadah nyenyadang, lumunturing berkah*

sangking Gusti ingkang Maha Mirah, mugi tansah rumentah sarta lumarambah sagung titah, satemah sami amangun bungah, awit katarimah sedyaning manah ngantos dumugi putra wayah (Recorded corpus data).

(Excuse me, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, may the blessings of God the Merciful be upon us, me and you all. Humbly do I request that the blessings of God the Merciful be bestowed on people on earth in order to achieve everlasting happiness up to the next and next generation.)

From the type of Javanese used by the *Pranatacara*, it is clear that it is the language is of the highest speech level. Not only does it represent the language of the Nobles in terms of diction but also of high literary value by means of skilful engineering of vowel rhymes, such as shown in the following table.

Table 4-3 Vowel Rhymes Representing High Literary Value

No.	Word	In rhyme with
1	<i>Saha</i>	<i>Maha</i>
2	<i>Sih</i>	<i>Asih</i>
3	<i>Kula</i>	<i>Sedaya</i>
4	<i>Tumadah</i>	<i>Berkah, mirah, tansah, rumentah, lumarambah, titah, satemah, bungah, katarimah, namah, wayah</i>

Such a complexity of vowel rhyming makes it impossible to perform both word for word and construction for construction translation. The translation that follows the above text is a form of dynamic translation with the meaning maintained as far as possible.

As previously mentioned, the bride and groom and people on duty walked in a way of the tradition of the Nobles, such as described by the *Pranatacara* below:

Lahing kana ta wahu lampahing risang Suba Manggala, ingkang hangemba lakune patih Sindurejo, ketingal lumapah atebah dhadha, hatampel wetis tangkep dhadha, bantalan bahu. Lumampah dadap anaraga, kathon ngregunuk-ngregunuk, kaya dwipangga ucul sangking wantilan (Recorded corpus data).

(The way by which the *Suba Manggala* (Commander in Chief) is walking resembles that of Prime Minister Sindurejo, with his hands elegently swaying across. Slowly but confidently does he walk like an elephant coming out of its dwelling.)

The *Suba Manggala* was described like Prime Minister Sindurejo in the way of walking. But with respect to dignity, he was described as an elephant coming out of its dwelling. However, this does not apply to everyone in the bridal procession. The bride and groom walked slowly, smiling at everyone around. The others behind the bride and groom simply walked slowly.

However, all of these Javanese ways of conducts soon ended after being announced by the *Pranatacara* as follows:

Dene sinambi angrerantu laksitaning adi cara candha'ipun, wekdal wonten ngarsanipun group lelangen Orkestra D'angelis sumonggo wekdal kawula aturaken (Recorded data corpus).

(While waiting for the next item which is now in preparation, it's time for entertainment by D'Angelis Choir. Now the floor is yours.)

From this point, there was a performance resembling a Church choir, which is not Javanese at all. Indonesian and English songs were played accompanied by violins and other music instruments. The performance of D'Angelis choir lasted for quite some time until a new item was announced as:

Maketen sagung para tamu kakung sumawono putri ingkang hambeg luhuring budi. Menggah lelangen Orkestra D'Angelis sangking Semarang, anggenipun sampun damel semuwo, sarto regenging pasawuran ing rahino puniko. Nuwun injih sasampunipun sumene sawetawis, sinambi hangarahapi sawernaning rupa buga ingkang sampun angratusaken dining para kadang pramuladi, tumuli kewawon kalajengaken rantaman titi cara ingkang kapeng tiga, injih punika atur pambagya harja sangking panjenenganipun Ibu Veronika Sukartini Sukerman, ingkang samangke badhe dipun aturaken datheng panjenenganipun Bapak Drs. Alexius Mardi Utomo.

jinajaran Bapak Drs. FA. Sehadi saha Bapak Drs. Supardi. Sumonggo dumateng priyagung ingkang sampun kawulo sebat asmanipun wekdal kulo aturaken. Nuwun (Recorded corpus data).

(Distinguished guests ladies and gentlemen, that's the end of the performance of D'Angelis Choir from Semarang which has relieved us from tension and made us enlightened in this day-time wedding reception. While having whatever has been served to you, let us continue with the third item, that is a welcome address by Mrs. Veronika Sukartini Sukerman and this case represented by his excellency Drs. Alexius Mardi Utomo, accompanied by Drs. FA. Suhadi and Drs. Supardi. To those above-mentioned elegant individuals, the floor is yours.)

Thus, the extra entertainment by D'Angelis Choir can be said to convert the Javanese tradition into something of contemporary style. This is common in Javanese culture as it is adaptable in any preferred situation. In other words, Javanese culture is not rigid and therefore can be flexible depending on the circumstances. It is further argued (Sunoto, L. (2005:1) that the typical characteristic lies in the adaptability of the Javanese culture to let it be flooded with the waves of cultures coming from outside—and in the flood [of other cultures], it maintains its originality. The Javanese culture does not develop in isolation; rather, it develops through assimilation with other cultures. Hinduism and Budhism were welcome and

'Javanized'. Islam entered the island of Java only to enrich the Javanese culture to even help it find out its identity. In other words, it is possible to have the adaptability of the Javanese culture within different cultures. A wedding reception of Javanese tradition is of no exception. Assimilating it into different cultures makes no harms. However, some people may still want to preserve its originality. Others want to create different flavours to accommodate the interests of the Javanese people, especially the young generation. Thus, it is common to see that in Javanese wedding reception other forms of entertainment may be included without ruining the main flavour of the Javanese culture.

In the marriage reception of Mr. S. Aji Nugroho and Mrs. L. Yekti Nugraheni, the main item (*Tumplak Punjen*) was even proceeded by D'Angelis Choir and followed by other performances of D'Angelis Choir. More interestingly, the groom stood up and played the violin. The bride also sang several songs. This is a very rare occasion in a wedding reception where the bride and groom joined the entertainment. Normally they just sat down calmly as a one-day King and Princess. This was further encouraged by the *Pramatacara* as quoted below:

*Para tamu ingkang kunurmatan, endah sarwa edhi
suwasana ing rahino puniko, awit temanten
sekaliyan ugi ngersaaken menyanyi. Pramila kanthi
lampah ingkang kados makaten punika, mugi
panganten sarimbit ingkang badhe miwiti hebrayan
anyar, sageto kalis ing rubido. Sagung para tamu..
Wonten wekdal ing wirunggan puniko nyuwun
gungan dumatheng sedaya putra wayah kasuwun*

photo sesarengan kaliyan putra pinangaten sarimbit (Recorded corpus data).

(Distinguished guests, so beautiful is the present reception since the bride and groom sang songs. Therefore, may it be a good precedence to their future family; they will start the family, hopefully, without problems. Ladies and gentlemen, in this occasion, all familiarly-related individuals are invited to join the photographing session together with the newly wedded couple).

The quotation above justifies that in terms of culture, the Javanese is very flexible. It is very contextual and situational. This is not limited to the items in the reception. The language can also be adapted according to the situation as justified (Suharjendra 2006:316) that most samples of description found in textbooks are engineered to meet the high standard of the Javanese speech styles; they may be difficult to be understood by the contemporary Javanese people and they are difficult to learn, too. Therefore, it is advisable that a master of ceremony (*Pranatacara*) should be creative to compose his own speech of description which is communicative and in accordance with the factual situation. Thus, Suharjendra, the author of *Atur Kula, Sesorah Basa Jawi Jangkep lan Mranani*, a guide book for *Pranatacara* (master of ceremony). Thus, it is justified that the description in a wedding reception differs considerably depending on the creativity of the *Pranatacara*.

In short, with respect to the performance of Mr. Sudiono, the *Pranatacara* in the wedding reception of Mr. S. Aji Hugraha

and Mrs. L. Yekti Nugraheni, he has met the seven criteria as outlined in Wiyoto's handout of PERMADANI (Persaudaraan Masyarakat Budaya Nasional Indonesia) *Pranatacara* Course, namely (1) *sarira jangkep*, (2) *patrap ingkang nyengsemaken*, (3) *kagungan swanten ingkang sae*, (4) *nguaosi basa lan sastra*, (5) *kagungan kawruh ingkang cekap*, (6) *kagungan kapribadhen ingkang sae*, and (7) *kebak raos pitados dhiri*.

In terms of *sarira jangkep* (physically normal), Mr. Sudiono is handsome, representing a typical Javanese man without physical defects. He performed interestingly (*patrap ingkang nyengsemaken*), and his voice is, as previously described, a duplicate of Ki Nartosabdo (*kagungan swanten ingkang sae*). Furthermore, viewed from the language use, he must be linguistically and literarily knowledgeable (*nguaosi basa lan sastra*) with thorough mastery of wedding ins and outs (*kagungan kawruh ingkang cekap*). His overall performance also indicated that he had a good personality (*kagungan kapribadhen ingkang sae*) and was of high self-confidence (*kebak raos pitados dhiri*).

D. CONCLUSION

So far, the writer has described the Javanese cultural heritage that is reflected in one event of '*Tumplak Punjen*' wedding ceremony. Several cultural issues, costumes, setting, language use are not practiced as normal social encounters. Such issues are used in this special genre. It is therefore important to avoid extinction of such high cultural values as a local identity of Javanese.

It is a good thing that in reality, Javanese people still prefer to carry out their wedding ceremony in that way, maintaining

the practice of the old Javanese culture; even when the bridegroom is not Javanese. It is true that contemporary Javanese people have been very much influenced by the Western propaganda in the ways they are dressed, thinking and even making decisions; but for them, marriage is still sacred, and therefore should maintain the old tradition. It is still a good thing if Javanese people at least show positive appreciation toward this particular form of use of the Javanese language. Or it will be a pity to observe that such high cultural heritage be claimed not to belong to Javanese culture.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Kadarisman, A. Effendi, 1999, *Wedding Narratives as Verbal Art Performance: Explorations in Javanese Poetics*, Ph.D Unpublished Dissertation. Hawai'i : University of Hawai'i.
- Mrázek, Jan., 1998, *Phenomenology of a Puppet Theater: Contemplations on the Performance Technique of Contemporary Javanese Wayang Kulit*, Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University. (Internet browsing on July 17, 2006).
- Mulder, Zoet, 1998, *Mysticism in Java, Ideology in Indonesia*. Amsterdam, The Pepin Press.
- Poerbatjaraka, 1964, *Kapustakan Jawi*, Jakarta: Djembatan
- Purwadi, 2005, *Unggah Ungguhing Basa Jawa*, Yogyakarta: Hasna Pustaka.
- Sudaryanto (Ed.), 1992, *Tata Bahasa Baku Bahasa Jawa*, Yogyakarta: Duta Wacana University Press.

- Suharjendra, 2006, *Atur Kula, Sesorah Basa Jawi jangkep lan Mranani*, Yogyakarta: amanah Media Pustaka.
- Sukarno, 2008. *The Study on Interpersonal Meanings in Javanese Wedding Pranatacara Genre*, Unpublished Dissertation, Semarang: State University of Semarang
- Sunoto, L., 2005, 'Bahasa Jawa Bukan Muatan Lokal', In *Suara Merdeka CyberNews* of May 30, 2005 (accessed on July 18, 2006).
- Zaid, Adnan, 1999, *Strategies for Oral Communication between Superior and Subordinates*, Unpublished Dissertation, Malang: State University of Malang.