SANEPA AND ITS UNDERLYING VALUES

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Abstrak. Artikel ini adalah laporan hasil penelitian tentang makna terselubung *sanepa* dalam bahasa Jawa. Pengertian tentang kata *sanepa* secara pasti belum ada. Untuk memahami hubungan antara *sanepa* dan makna terselubung *sanepa* tersebut, langkah pertama adalah memperjelas tentang ciri-ciri sintaktis. Kemudian melakukan interpretasi atas makna *sanepa*. Langkah terakhir adalah menentukan makna terselubung dari *sanepa*. Dari ciri sintaksis *sanepa* terbentuk dari penggabungan kata sifat dan kata benda dan membentuk (1) metafora nomina; (2) metafora predikatif; dan (3) metafora kalimat.

Kata kunci: *sanepa*, syntactic features, underlying value

INTRODUCTION

Language is not simply a means of communication, it plays a large and significant role in the totality of the culture of the speakers (Blount, 1975: 122). In line with this statement, Anderson (1965: 41) states that "each language is a product of a culture, and it reflects the culture of the people, and their view of the world." To this extent, languages differ not only in the phonological or syntactical structure, but also in how they reflect the social and cultural value of the speakers. This statement leads me to believe that there is a certain value which underlies the construction of the Javanese *sanepa*. To understand the relationship between *sanepa* and its underlying value, it is necessary first to understand the concept of *sanepa*.

The concept of *sanepa* itself is still unclear to many Javanese speakers. One may consider it as an allegory which is used by old generations to teach society norms belonging to certain cultural values to young generations (Kartomihardjo, 1981: 27). Others may confuse it with *pepindan*, which is an explicit figurative comparison, that is, it is a statement that one thing is like another thing. *Pepindan* contains a comparative word: *lir*, *kadyo*, *kadi*, *pindho*, or *pedah*, which all mean 'like' or 'as'. For example:

(1) *Netro lir baskoro kembar*   '(the) eyes are like twin stars'
     (eye) (like) (star)   (twin)

While *sanepa* is not an explicit figurative comparison. It does not contain a comparative word: *pindo* or *kady*o.

Some other scholars may associate *sanepa* solely with poetry or other kinds of literary piece (*kasusatran*). Such a view is not quite right. While Padmosoekotjo (1955,1978,1982) asserts that *sanepa* occurs in literature and in everyday conversation.

(2) *"unen-unen iki sok kasrambah ing paguneman sarta in kasusastran* (This utterance often occurs in everyday conversation and in literature.)

Padmosoekotjo may be right, since an expression *eseme pait madu* 'the smile is very sweet' occurs in *crito pedhalangan* 'shadowy-play lore'.

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Sanepa consists of a comparison between two things, which I label X and Y, and one cue, which I label Z. X is the one we are saying something about, and X-term denotes the thing to which some other thing is compared. Here we say something X (primary term) by comparing Y with it. The Y-term (secondary term) denotes the thing which is compared which X. Compared with Y, the state X is considered the opposite of Z. According to Beardsley (in Anderson, 1965:153), expressions like:

> He works like a beaver. He is as beautiful as a picture are called figurative speech. To him when the word 'like' or 'as' is dropped out of a figurative expression, and the primary and secondary term are jammed together, the figure becomes metaphor. Thus the expressions: He is a beaver; She is a picture; He is a lion; are called metaphors. Based on this statement and on the fact that *sanepa* does not contain a comparative word *lir*, *kadyo* or the like as well as on the feature that the state of the primary term is the opposite of the cue (Z) I claim that *sanepa* can be categorized as a type of metaphorical expression suggesting a wry contradictory comparison.

The following examples will hopefully clarify what *sanepa* is.

(3)   X   Z   Y
      cahyane   *abang*   *dluwang*   The complexion is very white
     (complexion) (red)   (paper)

In this example, the two things compared are *cahyane* 'complexion' (X) and *dluwang* 'paper' (Y), and the cue is *abang* 'red' (Z). *Dluwang* is generally white, but compared with *cahyane* it is considered red (*abang*). The expression thus implies that the complexion is very white, which is the opposite of *abang* 'red'.

(4)   X   Z   Y
      tatune   *arang kranjang*   'the wounds are many in number'
     (wound) (rare) (basket)

In this example, the two things compared are *tatune* 'wounds' (X) and *kranjang* 'basket' (Y), which refers to the holes in a basket, and the cue is *arang* 'rare' (Z). *Kranjang* 'basket' generally has many holes, but compared with the number of the wounds (*tatune*), the holes of a basket are considered widely spaced or *arang*. The expression thus implies that the wounds are many in number and closely together or *kerep banget* 'at very short intervals of space', which is the opposite of *arang* 'rare'.

(5)   X   Z   Y
      eseme   *pait*   *madu*   'the smile is very sweet'
     (smile) (bitter) (honey)

The two things compared in this examples are *eseme* 'smile' (X) and *madu* 'honey' (Y), and the cue is *pait* 'bitter' (Z). *Madu* is sweet, compared with *eseme* 'smile', it is considered *pait* 'bitter'. This expression implies that the smile is very sweet or *manis banget* which is the opposite of *pait*.

The focus of this paper is the Javanese *sanepa*. The purpose of the analysis is to investigate the features of Javanese *sanepa* in terms of its syntactic features and its underlying value. The problems being investigated in this study is formulated as follows: (1) What are the syntactic features of Javanese *sanepa* and (2) what is the underlying value of Javanese *sanepa*?

RESEARCH METHOD

This study is descriptive qualitative that aims to investigate the function as well as syntactic features of Javanese *sanepa*. The data are collected from daily use of *sanepa* by Javanese people. The research procedure of Javanese *sanepa* includes the analysis of syntactic features of Javanese *sanepa*, process of interpretation of *sanepa*, and the underlying value of *sanepa*. Pragmatic approach is adopted especially in the interpretation of *sanepa*.

RESULT AND DISCUSSION
The Syntactic Features of *Sanepa*

Syntactically, as Padmosoekotjo (1955) has stated, *sanepa* is constructed by combining an adjective and a noun. *"Sanepa kedadean saka dapukane tembung watak utawa kaanan, sinambung tern bung aram."* (Sanepa consists of an adjective and a noun.) Based on the formula above, the sanepa listed below consists of an adjective (Z) and a noun (Y).

(6) | Adjective (Z) | Noun (Y) | |
|---|---|---|
| *dhuwur* | *kencur* | 'very low' |
| high | a palm | 'like plant' |
| *kuru* | *semongko* | 'very fat' |
| thin | watermelon | |
| *atos* | *debog* | 'very soft/easily broken' |
| hard | banana tree | |

Syntactically, *sanepa* which consists of an adjective (Z) and a noun (Y) functions as a predicate of a sentence. The first term (Y) which is compared to Y functions as a subject. Normally, a *sanepa* follows the subject of a sentence, as illustrated below.

(7) *Sanepa* with Subject-predicate (X Z Y) construction:

Subject (X)	Predicate (Z)	(Y)	
abure	*dhuwur*	*kencur*	'the flight is very low'
flight	high	palm-like tree	
badene	*abot*	*kapuk*	'the body is very thin'
body	heavy	cotton	
awake	*kuru*	*semongko*	'very fat'
body	thin	water melon	

To give more emphasis, the Z Y combination precedes the subject (X). Thus it has a predicate-subject (Z Y X) construction. For example:

(8) *Sanepa* with Predicate-subject (Z Y X) construction

Predicate (Z)	Subject (Y)	(X)	
dhuwur	*kencur*	*abure*	'the flight is so low'
high	palm-like	tree	
abot	*kapuk*	*badane*	'the body is so light'
heavy	cotton	body	
kuru	*semongko*	*badane*	'so fat'
thin	watermelon	body	

Based on the syntactic feature in which metaphor appears, there are three kinds of metaphors (Levinson, 1985: 152-153): (1) nominal metaphor, (2) predicative metaphor and (3) sentential metaphor. A nominal metaphor may appear in the subject, object or the complement of a sentence. A predicative metaphor appears in the predicate of a sentence. In addition, a sentential metaphor appears in the whole sentence. In line with the syntactic identification above, *sanepa* appears in the predicate of a sentence which carries a significant message. It is therefore can be classified as a predicative metaphor.

The Process of Interpreting *Sanepa*

Although syntactic structure and lexical items are significant in understanding *sanepa*, it cannot be interpreted literarily. Since *sanepa* is culturally bound and carries the most fundamental values of the Javanese culture, to explore its deepest meaning, we have to go beyond its linguistic components. It needs a pragmatic approach.

The pragmatic approach proposed here follows the following steps. *First*, identify clearly the two terms of the comparison (X and Y). *Second*, identify the main character of the second term (Y). *Third*, identify the quality of the cue or the third term (Z). Fourth, predict the quality (state) of the primary term (X) by inferring that it is the opposite of Z.

(9) *Rembug-e wong   iku   peret   beton*
    talk   the person that rough   jackfruit seed

The two terms compared in this example are *rembuge wong iku* 'the talk of that person' (X) and *beton* "jack fruit seed (Y).
    a. *rembuge wong iku kaya beton*
       X   Y
    b. *Beton iku lunyu*   'a jack fruit seed is slippery'
       Y
    c. *Beton isih peret*.   'yet a jack fruit seed is considered rough'
       Y   Z
    d. *Rembuge wong iku luwih peret katimbang beton*
   'the talk of that person is considered more slippery than a jack fruit seed which is
    smooth and slippery'

The word *lunyu* 'slippery' in that context connotes 'difficult to catch' or' difficult to be trusted/not trustworthy'. Thus the *sanepa* above indirectly states that 'that person really cannot be trusted because of his/her empty promise.

(10) *wujude   agal   glepung*
     shape   large   powder

The two terms compared here are *wujude* 'shape' (X) and *glepung* 'powder' (Y).
    a. *Wujude kaya glepung*   'the shape is like powder'
       X   Y
    b. *Glepung iku alus/lembut*   'powder is fine'
       Y
    c. *Glepung isih agal*   'powder is still considered large'
       Y   Z
    d. *Wujude luwih agal katimbang glepung*.   'The shape is finer/smaller than powder'

Agal in this context is the opposite of *lembut* or *alus* 'fine'. In this sentence *agal* means large while *lembut* or *alus* means very smooth or fine or small. This *sanepa* is used to describe an object or a person that is running so fast that it looks so small or fine, even finer powder. This *sanepa* is the same as *lonjong endog playune*. *Endog* 'egg' is oval, but compared with the object or a person that is running, it is more oval. This *sanepa* is used to describe a person that is running so fast that he looks smaller and moreoval than an egg.

(11) *Kawruh   -mu   jero   tapak   meri*
    knowledge your   deep   trace   duckling

The two terms compared here are *kawruhmu* 'your knowledge' (X) and *tapak meri* 'duckling trace' (Y).

    a. *kaweruhmu kaya tapak meri*   'your knowledge is like a duckling's trace'
      X   Y
    b. *Tapak meri iku cethek*   'a duckling's trace is very shallow'
    c. *Tapak meri isih jero*   'Yet a duckling's trace is considered deep'
      X   Z
    d. *Kaweruhmu luwih cethek katimbang tapak meri*.
    'Your knowledge is shallower than a duckling's trace'.

Tapak meri, 'a duckling's trace,' is usually shallow, *cethek* which is the opposite of *jero* 'deep'. This *sanepa* thus implies that #2 (second person, you) has very shallow knowledge.

(12) *Utang -e   Bu Hari   arang   wulu   kucing*
    debt   the Mrs. Hari rare   fur   cat

The two terms compared here are *utange* 'the debt" (X) and *wulu kucing* 'cat's fur'. (Y).
a. Utange Bu Hari kaya wulu kucing   'Mrs. Hari's debt is like a cat's fur'
  X   Y
b. Wulu kucing kerep banget   'cat's fur is at short intervals of space'
c. Wulu kucing isih arang   'Yet cat's fur is considered Z "

d. Utange Bu Hari kerep banget   'Mrs. Hari's has a lot of debt'

A cat is usually full of fur, compared with *utange Bu Hari* 'Mrs. Hari's debt', however, it is considered at widely spaced. The opposite of *arang* 'rare' *isih kerep* 'at short intervals of space/thick'. This *sanepa* thus implies that Mrs. Hari owes (money) almost to every body.

The Underlying Value of Sanepa

Indirection plays an important role in Javanese society (Kartomihardjo, 1981; Suseno. 1984; Marbangun, 1984; Wahab, 1984). It is a custom for Javanese speakers to express an idea or feeling indirectly, so that it is sometimes difficult for the interlocutor, especially non-Javanese, to interpret what he/she means (Marbangun, 1984). *Inggih* 'yes' may mean *boten* 'no', and *boten* 'no' mean *inggih* 'yes' (Susena, 1984; Wahab, 1984); *inggih boten kepanggih* 'to give empty promises' therefore has becomes a famous ironical expression which shows this custom.

According to Wahab (1984: 34) there are two principles that determine the pattern of socialization and expression of indirection in Javanese society. The first principle states that in any given situation man should behave in such a way to avoids conflict. The second principle demands that man shows respect to other people in accordance with their status. In Javanese the first principle is called *rukun* 'harmony' and the second principle is named *ormat* 'respect ' respectively. These two principles are nonnative frames that determine forms of social interaction. As a member of society, a Javanese is always aware and cognizant of society's expectations - to behave according to these two principles.

To emphasize the state of an object, a substance or behavior, Javanese people may use an intensifier *banget* or *sanget* 'very', such as *abang banget*, *bucet banget*, *manis banget*, etc. They may substitute an ultimate low vowel /o/ and /a/, or /i/ and /I/ of an adjective with a high vowel /u/ and a high vowel /I/ respectively. Thus an ultimate sound /o/ or /a/ becomes /u/ and /I/ or /e/ becomes /I/. For the Eastern Javanese dialect, a high vowel /u/ is added in the first position.

1. ultimate /o/ or /a/ becomes /u/
lara   'sick' → *loru*   'very sick'
dawa   'long' → dawu   'very long'
ijo   'green'→ *iju*   'very green'

2. ultimate /a/ becomes /i/

padhang 'bright'   → *padhing* 'very bright'
abang 'red'   → *abing*   'very red'
jembar 'large'   → *jembir*   'very large'

3. ultimate /i/ or /e/ becomes /i/
puteh 'white'   → *putih*   'very white'
manes 'sweet'   → *manis*   'very sweet'
gedhe 'big'   → *gedhi*   'very big'

4. /u/ in initial position

loro	'sick'	→ *luoro* or *luoro*	'very extremely sick'
dowo	'long'	→ *duowo* or *duowu*	'very extremely long'
manIs	'sweet'	→ *muanis* or *muanis*	'very extremely sweet'
abang	'red'	→ *uabang* or *uabing*	'very extremely red'
gedhe	'big'	→ *guedhe* or *guedhi*	'very extremely big'

Sanepa also expresses intensity or emphasis. It has the same function as the devices above. This emphasis, however, is expressed indirectly by using twisted contradictory comparison of two things. *Manis* or *manis banget* or *muanis* can be substituted with *sepet madu*. Instead of saying *pucet banget* a Javanese speaker may say *abang dluwang*. And instead of saying *pait banget* one may say *legi brotowali* (*brotowali* is a very bitter taste shrub).

Based on the description above, it can be concluded that it is the indirection which underlies the construction of *sanepa*. By manipulating *sanepa* a Javanese speaker can express his/her high spirited emotion or feeling to intensify or emphasize the state of an object or behavior.

CONCLUSION

Marbangun (1985: 110) states that indirection is less frequently used among Javanese young generations. They tend to express their ideas or feelings directly or straight forward *'blak-blakan'*. This phenomenon may also influence the language they use. They may frequently say *"Bu nyuwun arto kangge nonton'* (Mom, I need some money to go to the movie) rather than *'punapa Ibu kagungan arto. Dalem badhe nonton'*.

The phenomenon above causes me to suspect that indirect expression, like *sanepa* is less frequently used today or even will disappear someday. To prove this suspicion, however, a thorough investigation should be done.

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List of Javanese Sanepa
1. *Arang kranjang tatune.*
2. *Arang wulu kucing utange.*
3. *Anteng kitiran polahe.*
4. *Pait madu eseme, swarane, omongane.*
5. *Duwur kencur abure.*

Sanepa and it's Underlying Values
1. *Atos debog balunge.*
2. *Wuled godhong lumbu kulite.*
3. *Pait j uruh eseme, swarane, omongane.*
4. *Legi brotowali rasane.*
5. *Peret beton rembuge, omongane, guneme.*
6. *Abot nerang sebelah badane, abote.*
7. *Kuru semongko badane.*
8. *Agal glepungwujude.*
9. *Lonjong botor playune.*
10. *Lonjong mimis (endong), (widoro) playune.*
11. *Benjo tampah playune.*
12. *Bening leri rupane (ulate).*
13. *Jero tapak meri kaweruhe.*
14. *Abang dluwang cahyane (praupane.*
15. *Arum j amban gandane (ambune).*
16. *Sepet madu eseme (guyune)7 (swarane).*
17. *Resikpecerentetembungane (guneme).*
18. *Abot kapuk badane.*
19. *Renggang gula sesrawungane.*
20. *Kemepyur pulut sesrawungane.*