A Javanese word game

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ジャワ語のことば遊び

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ケロトボソとは、ジャワ語の民俗語源学として知られている言葉あそびである。kerata ケロト そのものは、「狩る」を意味し、basa ボサは、「言葉、ことば」を意味することから、文字通りには、「言葉を探す」ゲームと言えることができる。ケロトボソは、句、節、文のいずれかの形式で、ある言葉の「語源」を説明するものである。

cangkir = dianggo nyancang pikir

ティーカップ 使われる 没頭する 考える

ティーカップを意味する cangkir は、没頭する nyancang の第 2 音節 cang と、考える pikir の第 2 音節 kir とで出来たことばである。こうして、「ティーカップは、考えに没頭するときに使われる。」という。ケロトボソが出来上がる。

ジャワ文学、影絵芸の俳優 Dhalang などはケロトボソに詳しい。宮廷の文献や書籍にみられるケロトボソの数は約50ほどであるが、ケロトボソは、生産性があり、常に創作されているものである。本論は、ジャワ語のケロトボソの語源論的特徴について論じた後、これが他の民俗語源学とどのように違うのか、また、ケロトボソに現れる語彙がどのようなものかを論じる。そして、宮廷の文献にあるケロトボソから2世紀近く経た現在、ケロトボソがジャワ人のアイロニーを含む言葉遊びとして息づいていること、さらにまたこの伝統が現代のインドネシア語に波及し、膨大な数の省略語・省略形の流行語を生み出す背景にあることを主張するものである。

Introduction イントロダクション

Keratabasa is the Javanese term for folk etymology although the origin of keratabasa itself is not known. As kerata denotes ‘hunter’, and basa ‘language’, keratabasa may literally mean ‘searching of words’. Professionals of Javanese literature and language, dhalang, shadow puppet players are well familiar with keratabasa.

Although the number of terms which have keratabasa, published in articles and books is about fifty, keratabasa can be productive and creative. This paper will discuss what differentiates keratabasa from the folk etymology of other languages; what kind of words are found in keratabasa vocabulary; and what are the phonological features of kerata basa. Keratabasa is a phrase, clause, or sentence, which purports to provide the etymology of a word. The most popular pattern is a combination of the last syllable of the first clause/phrase and the last syllable of the second clause/phrase.

I will then argue that Javanese flexibility in phonological and morphological features as well as rich vocabulary makes the formation of keratabasa easier. We will also argue that keratabasa is influenced by the Javanese preference for acronyms.

I. Structure 構造

1.1. Combination of the last syllable of each phrase or clause 基本型：それぞれの語の最後の音節をとる。

Keratabasa is a phrase, clause, or sentence, which purports to provide the etymology of a word. The most popular pattern is a combination of the last syllable of the first clause/phrase and the last syllable of the second clause/phrase as shown in 1, a sentence keratabasa.

KERATA BASA = CV(c)CV(C)+ n CVC + CVC

ケロトボソ＝最初の語の最後の音節と最後の語の最後の音節を組み合わせたもの。
1. **gusti** = *bagusing ati*
   master good def. art. heart
   “The lord should have a good heart”.

2. **kodhok** = *teka-teka ndodhok*
   frog as soon as coming squat
   “Frog squats”.

3. **ludruk** = *gu* *lu* ne  *gela-gelo*, *sikile* a theater neck shakes right and left, legs
   gedrag-gedrug move up and down
   “Ludruk starts with a dance of head shaking and leg moving”.

4. **bocah** = *mangané* kaya *kebo*, *pagaweané* ora child eating-the like buffalo actions neg.
   kecacah counted
   “(The term) child originates from a sentence ‘his/her eating is like buffalo, and his/her actions are not countable’.
   このもというものは、水牛のようによく食べ、振る舞いも予想がつかない。

According to this kenatabasa the last syllable of *kebo* ‘buffalo’ and the last syllable of *kecacah* ‘counted’ are combined to create the term *bocah* ‘child’. In this way, *bocah* ‘child’ is considered to derive from the notion that *mangané* kaya *kebo* ‘his/her eating is like buffalo, and his/her action cannot be accounted for’. Example 5 is a clausal kenatabasa.

5. **guru** = *digugu* lan *ditiru*
   teacher = to be obeyed and be imitated
   “teacher = (one who is) to be obeyed and imitated”
   教師は、従い、真似るべき人。

According to this kenatabasa the term *guru* ‘teacher’ derives from the phrase *digugu* lan *ditiru*. The last syllable of *digugu*, a passive form of *gugu* ‘to obey’ and the last syllable of the passive form of *tiru* ‘to imitate’ are combined to make the term *guru* ‘teacher’.

Example 6 is another phrasal kenatabasa.

6. **gusti** = *bagusing ati*
   lord beautiful-LOC ati
   王は心の美しいもの。

The term *gusti* ‘lord, master’ then supposedly derives from a phrase *bagusing ati* ‘beautiful in mind’, according to its kenatabasa. The last syllables of *bagus* and *ati* are combined to make *gusti*. A particle or suffix does not participate in the formation of a kenatabasa so the locative suffix *ing* is not counted as being the last syllable of *bagusing*. A combination of non-last syllables is not common.

II. Semantic classification of kenatabasa ケロトボソの意味論的分類

1. 1. Categorizing people 人の分類

   Textbook kenatabasa are often moral/ethical teachings as shown in examples 2 and 3 above. Therefore, adjectival kenatabasa for certain categories of people are many.

   7. **garwa** = *sigaraning nyawa*.
      spouse split def. spirit/soul
      ‘One’s spouse (female) is a half of one’s heart/life.’
      妻とは、魂の片割れ

   8. **mantu** = *dieman-eman* meka *metu* son/daughter to be cared, forced follow
      ‘So sons/daughters-in-law are supposedly forced to follow.’
      婿、嫁は従わなければならないもの。

   9. **maratuwa** = *mara-mara* ketemu *tuwa*
      parents-in-law become meet old
      ‘Parents-in-law are those who get old while coming to meet (sons/daughters-in-law).’
      義理の親とは、会っていくうちに老いていくもの。

   10. **wanita** = *wani* *ditata* woman brave to be put in order
      ‘Woman likes to be arranged.’
      女はコントロールされるもの

   11. **tuwa** = *ngenteni* meku *nyawa* old wait leaving soul
      ‘Old ones wait for leaving of his/her soul’.

   12. **sepuh** = *sabdane* *ampu* old saying mystically powerful.
      “What old people say are mystically powerful.”
      年寄は、神秘的に力を持つ者。

1.2. Ogre and monsters 怪物

13. **buta** = *kalbu* sing *ora* *ditata* ogre heart which neg. controlled
      ‘Ogre’s mind cannot be controlled.’
      怪物の気持ちは統制がきかない。
2. Categorizing occupations and actions 職業や行動の分類
Occupations or actions are also described and evaluated by keratabasa.

14. maling = njupuk amale Wong sing pickpocket take away good things people that ora eling NEG conscious 'Thief = (one who) takes away the good things of people (who are) oblivious.'

15. sopir = yen nga somam pir driver when take a rest drop by 'Driver = one who, when taking a rest, pops into a stall.'

3. Body parts 身体名
16. cangkem = yen ora dicancang ora mingkem mouth if not tied NEG close 'Mouth keeps open if it is not closed well.'

17. kuping = katau njeping ear awkward listening to "(We) get awkward when listening with ears."

18. sirah = isining rah head content intention 'Head is a container of intention'.

4. Clothings 衣類
19. sindhur = isin yen mundur sash embarrassing when go back 'Sash is the one which is embarrassed when you go back.'

20. kathok = diangkat sitok-sitok pants being lift one by one 'Leg should get in one by one when wearing pants.'

5. Household wares 調度品
Several keratabasas for terms for household matters are found. It should be noted that several of them such as cangkir and kursi are redefined as sources for friendship or socialization.

21. wedang = ngawe kadang hot drink to call/to invite relative/sibling ‘Hot drinks invite relatives’

22. kursi = yen diangkurake banjur isi chair = when being left behind then fill ‘When somebody leaves a chair, somebody else sits (on that chair) next.’

23. piring = sepínë yen miring plate deserted when slanting ‘Plate gets empty when slanted.’

24. gelas = yen tugel ora kena dilas glass = if breaks neg. can fixed ‘When a glass breaks, it cannot be fixed.’

6. Vehicles and transportations 乗り物
Several kerata basa are found in terms for vehicles.

25. andhong = anake supaya gelis nggendhong carriage child so that easy to shoulder ‘Andhong is used so that it is comfortable to carry little child’

26. Sepur = asepé metu ndhuvur train smoke-def. exit high ‘Train’s smoke goes up high.’

27. Sepeda = asepé tidak ada bicycle smoke-def. neg. exist ‘Bicycle does not have smoke.’

7. Stories and performances 物語やパフォーマンス
28. Ludruk = gdulun gela-gelo, sikile gedrag-gedrug ludruk neck moving right and left, leg moving up-and down ‘Ludruk is a theater in which the performers move their necks and legs’.

ルドルックという演劇は、首や足を動かして演じる劇。
29. **Tayub = ditata supaya katon guyub**
   dance be arranged so that look friendly
   “The dance tayub is arranged to make people socialize.”
   タユブという踊りは、人が社交するためにある。

Others:

30. **garbu = yen ora mbegar ora bisa miebu**
    gate if neg. open neg. can enter
    “If not open, (you) cannot enter.”
    門は、開けなければ入れないもの。

**Non-Javanese 非ジャワ語**

That keratabasa are not limited to providing etymologies to just Javanese words. Indonesian words and foreign words are also subject to being “explained” by keratabasa. So far five month terms are found, although it is evident that two out of oktober, nopember, and desember are derivative from one of them.

31. **januari = hujan saben ari**
   January = rain every day
   ‘January is a month when it rains every day.’
   1月は、雨が連日降る月。

32. **pebruari = yen mepe mburu ari**
   February = when dry be left day
   ‘February is the month you need more than a day to dry (clothes)’.  
   2月は、洗たくものを干すのに1日以上かかる月。

33. **oktober = untub-untube sumber**
   peep out source
   “October is the month when sources appear”.  
   10月は資源が現れる月。

34. **Nopember = ana sumber**
   “November is the month when there are sources”.  
   11月は資源がある月。

35. **Desember = gedhe-gedhene sumber**
   “December is the month when the sources are large”.
   12月は、資源がたくさんある月。

   From here, we can now assume that we can make a keratabasa from

**III. Code-mixing ジャワ語とインドネシア語のコード・ミキシング**

   cf. **UUD = ujung-ujunge dhuwit**
   edge money

←Undang-undang Dasar
   Constitution

UUD（憲法）は，金の端くれ。

The tradition of coining keratabasa has spread to Indonesian. So several keratabasa are combinations of elements from Javanese and Indonesian. In 17, *tidak ada* ‘non-existent’ is Indonesian.

36. **Sepeda = asepè tidak ada**
   bicycle= smoke-def. neg. exist
   ‘Bicycle does not have smoke.’
   自転車には煙がない。

**IV. Development to plesetan ‘word games’ アイロニーとしての言葉遊び plesetanへの発展**

Since keratabasa involve punning they have developed to become jokes. For example, wanita ‘woman’ in example 7 above has another keratabasa as in 37. Note that the first element *wani* is a whole word, an exceptional pattern.

Wanita wani ditata.
   Woman bother arranged (controlled)

→>

37. **wanita = wani mranata**
   woman brave to put in order
   ‘Woman wants to arrange things’
   女は、コントロールしたがるもの。

   *Anak ‘child’ above has another keratabasa as shown in 38.

38. **anak = anane ming kepenuak**
   child exist only desire
   ‘Child has only desire’.
   こどもは，ものを欲しがるだけ。

   This keratabasa is an ironical variation of the original keratabasa, using pun, plesed/tan.

   Garwa ‘wife’ in 39. is also a humorous variation of the original keratabasa shown in 4. above.

39. **garwa = ketemune barang sigar karo barang dawa**
   female spouse match thing split with thing long
   ‘Taking a wife is to match a split thing with a long thing.’
   妻を娶るとは分かれたもの長いものをマッチングさせるもの。
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V. Socio-historical background 社会・歴史的背景

Although many Javanese do not know what kerata basa is, they are enjoying this word game, constantly creating new kerata basas. This creation is highly sarcastic, often appearing on newspapers and TV shows. Like other poetry, kerata basa has been used to implicitly criticize the current politics and society. Following examples are recent kerata basas circulated in public.

VI. Plesedan (punning)⇒ sindiran (sarcasm) 脅酒落のことばあそびからアイロニーへ。

40. bapak = badane okeh sing gupak, father body lots rel.pro. is messy
“Older men are messy”.
おじさんたちは、だらしがない。

41. biyung (ibu) = bimbingane kudu disengkuyung, mother education should be staggered
“Mother’s education gets staggered.”
母親教育は、なかなか進まない。

Sarcastic keratabasa for occupation is abundant.
42. polisi = pol-pole ming ngapusi, police as much as only clean away
“Police lie as much as they can.”
警察官はねっからのほら吹き。

Following examples are recent kerata basas circulated in public.
43. jaksa= ajak maksa public prosecutor ask to join force
‘Prosecutors force (people)’.
検察官は押し付けるだけ。

44. wartawan = wargane ansah oleh prawan, journalist group def.art. always get maiden
“Journalists are the group who always get maidens”.
ジャーナリストは、若い女の子にすぐに手を出す。

45. hakim = hubungi aku kalau(nek) penguin menang, judge contact me if want win
“Contact me if you want to win.”
判事hakimとは、「勝ちたかったら連絡してください。」という意味。

46. advokat = ana vulus (dhuwit) mangkat, lawyer exist money to leave
“Lawyer is the one you want if you have money to leave”.
弁護士は、金さえあればＯＫという者。

Government politics, social problems are the main themes of keratabasa.
47. Undang-undang Dasar UUD = ujung-ujung dwuwit edge money
‘Indonesian Constitution UUD means ‘the edge of money’
インドネシア憲法は金の端くれ。

Conclusion: Creativity of keratabasa 結論：ケロトボソの創造性

Keratabasa is constantly increasing because of 1. Javanese flexibility of tense, voice shifts, and 2. A large amount of vocabulary. Also, Javanese tendency of creating acronym contributes to the creativity of keratabasa.

1. Morphological flexibility omitting of particles, articles, negation marker, tense marker, voice shift,
two sets of lexicons: ngoko and krama
complete – incomplete
positive- negative
past-future
progressive – stative
future – present
passive - non-active

2. The tradition of acronym
Reinterpretation of acronym→formation of kerata basa

3. Socio-political reasons implicitness and word play,
ethical teaching

Keratabasa, Javanese folk etymology, is a witty word game, which explains the origin of word. Lists of keratabasa are found in court manuscripts dating from the mid-19th century (Behren and Pudjastuti 1997, Florida 2000, Wade and Tana 2012). Textbooks and court manuscripts have listed about 50 words of keratabasa.

The most popular pattern of keratabasa is a combination of the last syllable of the first clause/phrase and the last syllable of the second clause/phrase, although a few exceptions are found. The definite pattern is that the last syllable of keratabasa sentence/clause/phrase is the last syllable of the word.

Keratabasa’s are also found in modern textbooks for Javanese language and literature. These textbook keratabasa describe characters of people, occupations,
and actions, implicitly suggesting that keratabasa traditionally have involved moral/ethical teachings. Because of their morphological flexibility, keratabasa have expanded to become a word game, going beyond textbook keratabasa. Currently Javanese play this word game, without noticing that this is a variation of keratabasa. Many times keratabasa are created to implicitly criticize the cultural and socio-political situation. In this way, Javanese are constantly adding new keratabasas to their original keratabasa without telling that they are keratabasa.

References
Data: