
Setaman flower lexicons in the *Nyekar* rite: Anthropolinguistics of Javanese society

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ABSTRACT

The tradition of carrying *setaman* flowers has been an integral part of the local wisdom that has been maintained throughout centuries. However, documents about it are still limited. This study aims to describe the lexicons of *kembang setaman* in the *nyekar* rite from the Javanese perspective. Adopting qualitative method with a focus on ethnographic approach, data is collected through interview and literature study and examined using the lens of semiotic and lexical-semantic analysis. The result show seven plants that make up the *setaman*, including (1) roses (*mawar* or *mawi-arsa*, a sincere intention to live up to noble values), (2) jasmine (*melati* or *melat ing ati*, the sincerity of the heart), (3) white chrysolite (*kanthil* or *tansah kumanthil-kanthil*, uninterrupted devotion), (4) ylang-ylang (*kenanga* or *kenangen ing angga*, always remembering the ancestral heritage), (5) tuberose (*sedap malam* or *harum dhalu*, always remembering the sacred teachings of the ancestors even in the dark of the night), (6) rose balsam (*pacar air* or *pacar banyu*, prosperity continues to flow), and (7) pandan leaves (liaison with the deceased). *Kembang setaman* functions as a symbol of gifts accompanied by prayers sent when visiting graves which are considered homes for people who have died, and contemporary Javanese society is maintaining this tradition. This research expands the limited field of Anthropolinguistics studies and can be used as a cultural documentation for maintaining and promoting the local wisdom.

Keywords: *Setaman* flowers; *nyekar* rite; Javanese society; Anthropolinguistics

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INTRODUCTION

Javanese traditions or rituals have been practiced by the local people with the whole philosophy and meaning behind them (Basir, 2017). In Javanese society, a ritual is not seen as something that merely has religious meaning but can also be a bridge between the self and something that is "there" (God) (Geertz, 2014; Zulyan & Hasibuan, 2022). One of the rites in the tradition of the Javanese people, which still shows its existence today, is *nyekar* tradition. The Indonesian people in general view this practice as the pilgrimage of the graves. The tradition is still relevant nowadays and it has been believed that Javanese people have long been practicing it (Maulana, 2015; Pramulia, 2019; Abid & Saputra, 2021; Wahyuni, Bakry, & Ilyas, 2022). *Nyekar* is an essential religious rite or ceremony for the Javanese, especially Jawi Muslims (Wulandari, 2021).

Some Javanese people also believe that sending a prayer to God at the time of *nyekar* not only aims for the spirit to get a good place in heaven but can also bring rewards for the sender of the prayer (Toha, 2016). In Javanese culture, the symbolic medium of *kembang setaman* is used to convey various aims, intentions, and objectives, particularly for those who have passed away. This medium represents the carpenter's intention and can evoke feelings of loss, sincerity, and remembrance. The *setaman* flower is a collection of ritual elements, typically wrapped in banana leaves, brought during the *nyekar* procession, although plastic bags are now common in urban areas. Traditionally, seven flowers are included, but the number and variety can be adjusted.

The practice of offering flowers through the *setaman* flower tradition is not only a way to pray for ancestors or deceased family members but also a means of symbolizing the wishes or desires of the living to the dead. Each flower represents different sentiments such as sincerity, the eradication of evil, deep devotion, and persistence in upholding values. These symbolic gestures hold significant meaning

in Javanese culture and are deeply rooted in tradition. *Kembang* (flowers) for Javanese people are also often used as *uborampe* or ritual equipment (Rudiyanto, Rais, & Purnanto, 2020). Meanwhile, Dastenbaevna (2022), in research related to the naming of flowers in Turkish culture, also argues that each country has its own culture in naming and interpreting flowers, for example, the meaning of roses. In ancient Roman culture, roses were associated with Venus (goddess of beauty), while the Muslims believe that roses are a gift from Allah SWT himself. White roses grow from the sweat drops of the Prophet Muhammad SAW on the night of his ascension to heaven; many are associated with holiness.

The tradition of bringing *setaman* flowers to the grave can also aim to keep the grave fragrant and looks beautiful. In addition, it is also considered as a tribute to the family who has passed away, as well as comforting the grieving family members. Another purpose is for reminding people who are still alive that one day death will come that humans will be aware to always do good deeds as provisions in facing the phase after death (Mumfangati, 2007). In addition, the *nyekar* tradition can also create emotional bonds between those who are still alive and ancestors or relatives who have died because visiting a grave can remind the about those who died about their lifetime.

Several studies have been conducted in the field, focusing on various aspects of language and culture. Santoso (2017) examines plant lexicon among female students in Semarang, Baehaqie (2018) studies the meaning of *jenang* in Javanese birth rites, and Luardini, Natalia, and Garner (2019) explore the Dayak Ngaju language in relation to medicinal plants. Prasetyo (2021) investigates medicinal plant lexicon in a *primbon* book, and Firdaus et al. (2022) analyze the *petra* doll plant in Tengger death rituals. Alfian (2018) studies the *nyekar* tradition in Central Java, while Abid and Saputra (2021) examine its impact on the Nahdiah millennial generation, and Wulandari (2021) focuses on the tradition in Magetan from an Islamic perspective.

However, there is a lack of attention on analyzing the *nyekar* tradition from the perspective of flower lexicon, specifically the plants in the flower *setaman* during the *nyekar* tradition. The importance of local wisdom as a moral foundation is highlighted by Agung, Nasih, and Kurniawan (2024), and Yuliatin et al. (2021) stress the significance of local genius as a cultural guide. The study aims to identify the lexicons of *kembang setaman* in the *nyekar* rite from the Javanese society's perspective, exploring their cultural meanings and symbolism in contemporary Javanese society. The research is expected to provide theoretical insights for academic studies and practical benefits for future generations to appreciate and preserve the philosophy of the *nyekar* tradition.

This study belongs to Anthropolinguistics which views language as an instrument that can be used to find cultural understanding through language forms or lingual units, including lexical units (Firdaus et al., 2022). Communities that own culture unanimously view language as a cultural resource, and lingual practices within the cultural sphere are referred to as cultural practices (Firdaus et al., 2022; Arrozi, Burhanuddin, & Saharudin, 2020; Sibarani, 2016). Essentially, this means that language plays an important role in shaping and reflecting the cultural identity of a community. By studying the linguistic patterns and practices of different cultures, anthropologists can gain insights into the beliefs, values, and behaviors of those communities.

Research aimed to reveal the underlying meaning of various forms of cultural items, such as flowers, has referred to the theory of signs originally proposed by Saussure and developed by Lyons. A previous study by Baehaqie (2018) has shown that semantic and semiotic studies are an important theoretical basis in the discussion of this paper. Semantics is the study of language meaning which is suitable for uncovering the philosophy of ritual elements which are built from a collection of lexeme which are symbolized through signs. A lexical unit has meaning as a group of structured cognitive features or characteristics, making it possible to designate or designate all denotations or referents with a particular lexical unit. Meaning is basically a form of cognitive knowledge that is structured in the language system, and is generally understood by speakers in communication.

In an effort to understand this more deeply, the concept of semiotics emerged through the ideas of Ferdinand de Saussure and Charles Sanders Peirce regarding sign and signifying systems. In the discipline of Anthropolinguistics, semantic and semiotic analysis can be used as a theoretical basis for uncovering people's cultural expressions. Semiotic analysis is carried out to find studies that match the sign system. The work of Saussure (Keane, 2003) has been the theoretical as well as methodological foundation for this study. Saussure highlights the importance of the sign in interpreting linguistic communication traits and according to that theory there is a dichotomy between the signifier and the signified (Saussure, 1966; Paraskevaidis & Weidenfeld, 2021). This semiotic system consists of three

building elements, namely sign, concept, and significatum. The meaning of linguistic signs is based on these three elements (Lyons, 1977; Baehaqie, 2018; Zakiyah, Setiawati, & Rohman, 2021).

On the other hand, the lexical semantic analysis aims to find the meaning of a language implicitly or explicitly (Erniwati, 2017). Moreover, lexical semantic analysis is another crucial aspect of studying language. It aims to uncover implicit or explicit meanings within a language. This analysis helps to reveal deeper layers of meaning in texts that may not be immediately apparent. By examining words and phrases in context, researchers can identify subtle nuances and connotations that contribute to overall meaning. Steps for analyzing plant texts in the *nyekar* tradition include identifying, classifying, examining lexical meanings, and drawing conclusions. Culture is studied through an emic approach to identify cultural dimensions and variability based on native perspectives. Understanding the concepts of semantics and semiotics is very important in discussing people's cultural expressions. These two concepts play an important role in exploring the meaning of symbols used in rituals or other activities. Semantic and semiotic analysis not only helps us how symbols are interpreted by people in their social context but also provides greater insight into the culture of a society.

METHOD

This research uses qualitative methods, particularly the ethnographic perspective, which is based on the actual situation in relation to the research topic. This type of qualitative research seeks to carry out a depth analysis of meaning (Asdar, 2018). Ethnographic approach allows focused inquiry on an existing phenomenon occurring in a culture or subculture of contemporary society (Higginbottom et al., 2013; Hooker & Tyndall, 2023). In collecting data, interview techniques and literature study are employed. During the interviews, informants are selected based on their cultural characteristics that are relevant to the research, starting from their occupation (*setaman* flower sellers), age (over 40 years), and ethnicity (Javanese). The literature study serves as a complement to the data (Zed, 2018). The data collected in this study are interview transcripts, literature review results, and supporting documentation.

As for the analysis, the data are analyzed through semiotic and lexical-semantic methods. This research use three building blocks that support the semiotic system of meaning (signification); sign, concept, and significatum (Lyons, 1977). Steps for analyzing plant texts in the *nyekar* tradition include identifying, classifying, examining lexical meanings, and drawing conclusions. Culture is studied through an emic approach to identify cultural dimensions and variability based on native perspectives. The validity of the data is proven through data credibility testing techniques in the form of technique and source triangulation (Mekarisce, 2020).

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Results

The seven *setaman* flowers in the *nyekar* tradition include roses (*mawar*), jasmine (*melati*), white chrysolite (*cempaka*, but more commonly referred to and known as *kanthil*), ylang-ylang (*kenanga*), tuberose (*sedap malam*), rose balsam (*pacar air*), and pandan leaves. Table 1 and 2 show the taxonomic division of the scientific names of plants that are part of the *setaman* flower composition, as reported by the Integrated Taxonomic Information System (ITIS) Report (Firdaus et al., 2022; ITIS, 2024).

Table 1. Kembang Setaman Taxonomy

	Roses (<i>Mawar</i>)	Jasmine (<i>Melati</i>)	White Chrysolite (<i>Kanthil</i>)	Ylang Flower (<i>Kenanga</i>)	Tuberose (<i>Sedap Malam</i>)	Rose Balsam (<i>Pacar Air</i>)	Pandanus Levae (<i>Daun Pandan</i>)
Kingdom	Plantae	Plantae	Plantae	Plantae	Plantae	Plantae	Plantae
Division	Tracheo- phyta	Tracheo- phyta	Tracheo- phyta	Tracheo- phyta	Tracheo- phyta	Tracheo- phyta	Tracheo- phyta
Subdivision	Spermato- phytina	Spermato- phytina	Spermato- phytina	Spermato- phytina	Spermato- phytina	Spermato- phytina	Spermato- phytina
Class	Magno- liopsida	Magno- liopsida	Magno- liopsida	Magno- liopsida	Magno- liopsida	Magno- liopsida	Magno- liopsida

	Roses (<i>Mawar</i>)	Jasmine (<i>Melati</i>)	White Chrysolite (<i>Kanthil</i>)	Ylang Flower (<i>Kenanga</i>)	Tuberose (<i>Sedap Malam</i>)	Rose Balsam (<i>Pacar Air</i>)	Pandanus Levae (<i>Daun Pandan</i>)
Ordo	Rosanales	Lamiales	Magnoli- ales	Magnoli- ales	Asparaga- les	Ericales	Pandanales
Family	Rosaceae	Oleaceae	Magnoli- aceae	Annona- ceae	Asparaga- cegae	Balsami- naceae	Pandana- ceae
Genus	Rossa	Jasminum	Magnolia	Cananga	Polianthes	Impatiens	Pandanus
Species	<i>Rosa hybrida</i> L.	<i>Jasminum sambac</i> L.	<i>Magnolia champaca</i> L.	<i>Cananga odorata</i> Lam.	<i>Polianthes tuberosa</i> L.	<i>Impatiens balsamina</i> L.	<i>Pandanus amarylli- folius</i> Roxb.

Table 2. The Lexicon Form of the Constructing *Kembang Setaman* Plants

Lexicon Type	Lexicon Family	Used Part
Roses (<i>mawar</i>) (<i>Rosa hybrida</i> L.)	Rosaceae (roses family)	Flower petals or flower
Jasmine (<i>melati</i>) (<i>Jasminum sambac</i> L.)	Oleaceae (jasmine family)	Flower petals or flower
White chrysolite (<i>kanthil</i>) (<i>Magnolia champaca</i> L.)	Magnoliaceae (champaca family)	Flower
Ylang-ylang (<i>kenanga</i>) (<i>Cananga odorata</i> Lam.)	Annonaceae (soursop family)	Flower
Tuberose (<i>sedap malam</i>) (<i>Polianthes tuberosa</i> L.)	Asparagacegae (asparagus family)	Flower
Rose balsam (<i>pacar air</i>) (<i>Impatiens balsamina</i> L.)	Balsaminaceae (garden balsam family)	Flower petals or flower
Pandanus leaves (<i>daun pandan</i>) (<i>Pandanus amaryllifolius</i> Roxb.)	Pandanaceae (pandanus family)	Leaf

**Chart 1. The Semiotic Chart of Rose
Concept**

Sincere intentions and symbol of affection (*mawi-arsa*), and accepting the departure of the loved (*awar-awar ben tawar* or *jembaring ati*)

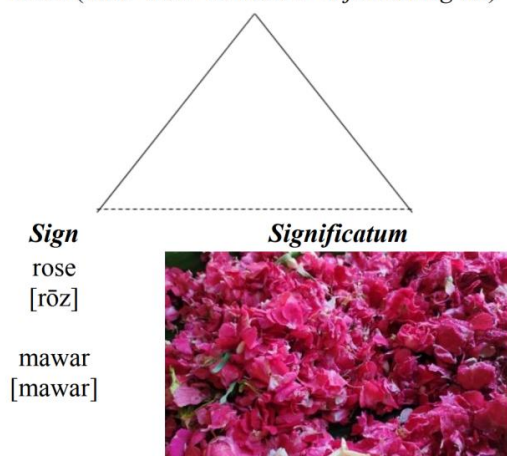


Figure 1. Roses (*Mawar*)
Source: Personal Documentation

**Chart 2. The Semiotic Chart of Jasmine
Concept**

The symbol of the decay of unkindness, letting go of each other (*melat saka njero ati* or *melating ati*)

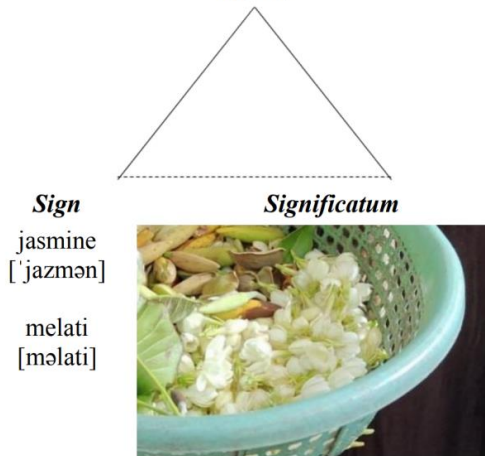


Figure 2. Jasmine (*Melati*)
Source: Personal Documentation

Chart 3. The Semiotic Chart of Chrysolite

Concept
Symbol of uninterrupted deep devotio (*tansah kumanthil-kanthil*)



Figure 3. Chrysholite (*Kanthil*)
Source: Personal Documentation

Chart 4. The Semiotic Chart of Ylang-ylang

Concept
The embodiment symbol always remembers the ancestral heritage (*kenangen ing angga*)



Figure 4. Ylang-ylang (*Kenanga*)
Source: Personal Documentation

Chart 5. The Semiotic Chart of Tuberose

Concept
The embodiment symbol always remembers the sacred teachings of the ancestors, even in the darkness of the night (*harum dhalu*)



Figure 5. Tuberose (*Sedap Malam*)
Source: Personal Documentation

Chart 6. The Semiotic Chart of Rose Balsam

Concept
The symbol of embodiment of well-being continues to flow (*pacar banyu*)



Figure 6. Rose Balsam (*Pacar Air*)
Source: Personal Documentation

Chart 7. The Semiotic Chart of Pandan Leaves

Concept
Connector embodiment symbol with the deceased or ancestors



Figure 7. Pandanus Leaves (*Daun Pandan*)
Source: Personal Documentation

The seven plants in charts 1-7 are commonly referred to as *kembang setaman*, a set of ritual elements in the form of flowers carried during the *nyekar* tradition. The number seven (*pitu*) is interpreted as help, guidance, and advice (*pitulungan*, *pituduh*, and *pitutur*). The seven plants include (1) roses or *mawar* (*mawi-arsa* as an embodiment of noble values), (2) jasmine or *melati* (*melat ing ati*, sincerity from the heart), (3) white chrysolite or *cempaka putih* or *kanthil* (*tansah kumanthil-kanthil*, unconditional devotion), (4) ylang-ylang or *kenanga* (*kenangen ing angga*, always remembering the ancestral), (5) tuberose or *sedap malam* (*harum dhalu*, always remembering the sacred teachings of the ancestors even in the dark of the night), (6) rose balsam or *pacar air* (*pacar banyu*, prosperity continues to flow), and (7) pandanus leaves or *daun pandan* (a link symbol to the deceased or ancestors).

Discussion

Forms of the Kembang Setaman Lexicon in the Nyekar Rite of the Javanese Society Perspective

The term *nyekar* is derived from the old Javanese word *sekar* which means flowers. *sekar* words in linguistic review, or syntax, are included in the category of nouns. However, the community has its own culture related to *sekar*: carrying the *sekar* when mourning the graves of those who have died and then sprinkling it. The movement from the category that was initially a noun to a makes the morpheme "*sekar*" derivation verb de noun so that it turns into "*menyekar*", which in Javanese culture is disseminated as the tradition of *nyekar*. As the name implies, in the tradition of *nyekar*, people who come to the grave bring flowers or flowers, which are termed *kembang setaman*, as a separate symbol in carrying out the tradition.

Based on Table 1, it can be seen that of the seven plants used, there are six orders or nations, including Rosanales for roses, Lamiales for jasmine, Magnoliales for white chrysolite and ylang-ylang, Asparagles for tuberose, Ericales for rose balsam, and Pandanales for pandan leaves. There is a common ordo in white chrysolite and ylang-ylang flowers—the Magnoliales ordo, both of these plants rare commonly used as elements of *setaman* flowers which can give a distinctive aroma. Scientifically the Magnoliales have a scent due to the presence of essential oil cells in the leaf parenchyma (Silalahi & Wahyuningtyas, 2020). The lexicon forms of the plants that make up the flower *setaman* can be followed up by classifying the lexicon based on the lexicon of the family and the parts of the plant used as building blocks or constituents of the flower *setaman* as in Table 2.

Based on Table 2, it can be ascertained that the types of lexicons available are in the noun category. These lexicons can be divided into two types of lexicon: the family and the part lexicon, which is used as a constituent element of the flower *setaman*. In addition to the family lexicon previously mentioned, there is also a lexicon of plant parts which are the constituent elements of the *setaman* flower in the *nyekar* tradition. These parts can be broadly divided into three: the whole flower, the flower in the form that has decomposed into a single flower petal, and the leaves.

The division of the lexicon of plant parts used as constituent elements of the *setaman* flower refers to the physiological characteristics of the flower. In large-sized flowers such as roses, jasmine, and rose balsam, the flowers are generally scattered into single petals, although some sprinkle them over the grave with the flowers intact. As for the lexicon category, the parts used are in the form of flowers, such as white chrysolite, ylang-ylang, and tuberose flowers. Physiologically, they are generally small in size, while for the category of leaves, such as pandan leaves, they have their uniqueness because they are sliced or sliced thinly beforehand or, in Javanese terms, called chopping with a shape resembling the letter V.

Lexical and Cultural Meanings of Kembang Setaman in the Javanese Perspective

Lingual practices in Javanese culture can be found through traditions or rituals, which are full of meaning and philosophy in naming an element and in the implementation of the tradition itself. Therefore, the lingual texts of the plants that make up the flower *setaman* in the *nyekar* tradition hold a separate cultural identity formed and believed by the Javanese people who carry out this tradition. The lexical and cultural meanings contained in the lexicon of the plants that make up the *setaman* flower in the *nyekar* tradition based on the cultural perspective of the Javanese people are as follows.

Roses (Mawar)

Rose (*Rosa hybrida* L.), an annual plant (perennial), has a solid woody stem structure and thorns. Roses are also plants with many branches and several flowers, fruits, and seeds they have (Hidayah, 2016). Based on their use, roses are classified into a cut, garden, sowing, and cosmetic roses (Marlina

& Rohayati, 2009). Rose, one of the favorite flowers in various parts of the world, has many meanings based on its cultural perspective. In ancient Roman, roses were associated with Venus (goddess of beauty). In contrast, Muslim culture believed that roses were a gifts from Allah SWT himself. White roses grew from the sweat drops of the Prophet Muhammad SAW on the eve of his ascension to heaven, so many associated them with purity (Dastenbaevna, 2022).

As for sowing roses, in the cultural perspective of the Javanese people, they are classified as one of the flowers that make up the *setaman* flower. The sign realized in the name of the rose [rōz] or *mawar* [mawar] refers to the significatum in the form of a rose marked with a particular concept which in Javanese society means affection, sincere intention, and a symbol of sincerity. The sign system on the roses can be seen in the chart 1.

Roses generally have a variety of colors, ranging from red, white, yellow, and so on. Based on the philosophy in circulation, white roses mean peace, while red roses mean affection. From the perspective of the Javanese people, roses (*mawar*) have a *mawi-arsa* philosophy which means living up to noble values with will or intention (Buana, Rustiyanti, & Suryamah, 2023; Wulandari, Nugraha, & Kaswati, 2023). Noble values should be internalized with good intentions and total sincerity. Rose or *mawar* also means as *awar-awar ben tawar*, meaning making the heart tasteless or reduce the heartbreaking. This means that a human being must be able to accept and face every trial of life. In addition to these two philosophies, roses have another philosophy, multicolor, which means that human life has various varieties and colors.

The use of roses in the *nyekar* tradition has been going on for a very long time for generations. In addition to its characteristics in the form of many flower petals with striking colors and a distinctive fragrance, the philosophy that roses have is believed by the Javanese people to be the right "souvenir or gifts" when visiting graves which are considered the homes of people who have died because they can be used as an embodiment that the deceased has died. The flower bearer has a sincere and loving will or intention, and if what is visited is the grave of a former ancestor, it can be used as a symbol that the flower bearer will live up to and maintain the noble values are passed down.

On the other hand, the philosophy of *jembaring ati* is that a rose can be used as a symbol that the bearer of the flower has been able to accept and face life's trials in the form of losing a loved one, be it family, relatives, relatives or other loved ones. The Javanese people who view roses as a symbol of loss can also be one of the reasons why in traditional Javanese weddings, the bride is decorated more with jasmine flowers instead of roses. On the other hand, there is also a philosophy of love and sincere intentions that roses have.

Jasmine Flowers (Melati)

Jasmine (*Jasminum sambac* L.) is a perennial plant that grows for over a year. Jasmine plants have trumpet-shaped flowers of various types and species with attractive color variations. Most jasmine flowers produce a fragrant aroma, but several types do not have an aroma (Hieronymus, 2013). The Jasmine flower is also one of the flowers belonging to the *setaman* flower. The sign that is realized in the form of the name jasmine [jazmən] or *melati* [məlati] refers to the significatum in the form of jasmine flowers marked with a certain concept which in Javanese society means the symbol of the decay of unkindness and sincerity to each other (*melat saka njero ati* or *melat ing ati*). The sign system on the jasmine can be seen in the chart 2.

From the perspective of the Javanese people, jasmine flowers (*melati*) have a philosophy that symbolizes the feeling of *melat saka njero ati* or *melat ing ati*. This means always speaking sincerely and sincerely from the heart so that there will be no lies or hypocrisy in everything (Irmawati, 2013; Mustakim et al., 2022; Wulandari, Nugraha, & Kaswati, 2023). Based on a tradition that has existed for a long time, jasmine is a flower that is believed to be suitable as a "souvenir or gifts" when visiting graves or what is known by the Javanese as *nyekar*. The choice of jasmine as a souvenir or gifts in the flower ceremony is because this flower has a distinctive fragrance and has a unique philosophy, namely a symbol of sincerity and sincerity in praying for the person being visited and the decay of all bad things (lies and hypocrisy) that might occur between the flower bearer and people visited.

White Chrysolite Flowers (Kanthil)

White chrysolite (*Magnolia champaca* L.) has a pistil that is green and has a shape like a comma with yellow shoots. In addition, *kanthil* flowers have short stamens (Fitri, 2018). The *kanthil* flower is

also one of the flowers belonging to the *setaman* flower. The sign realized as a chrysolite [ˈkrisə, līt] or *kanthil* [kanʈil] refers to a significatum in the form of a *kanthil* flower marked with a specific concept which in Javanese society means a symbol of uninterrupted deep devotion (*tansah kumanthil-kanthil*). The sign system on the chrysolite flower or *kanthil* can be seen in this chart 3.

The white chrysolite flower, in a social and cultural context, is a crucial and inseparable part of Javanese rituals. The profound philosophy of this white chrysolite flower or *kanthil* is *tansah kumanthil-kanthil* or the existence of a rope of feeling, meaning uninterrupted deep devotion means to give love and benefit to all beings, both parents and their ancestors (Farningrum, 2023). *Kanthil* flower or white chrysolite, is chosen as one of the flowers that are commonly used during the tradition of *nyekar* with the background because this flower, besides having a distinctive fragrance, also has a philosophy as an embodiment that the bearer of the flower has deep devotion or still has a strong bond with dead people. Therefore, the flower bearer chooses this flower as a "souvenir or gifts" when visiting the grave because he wants to continue to express his love to the person being visited even though that person has died. This is one manifestation of a strong bond between the person who died and the person left behind.

Ylang-ylang Flowers (Kenanga)

The ylang-ylang flower plant (*Cananga odorata* Lam.) has elongated oval-shaped leaves with a pointed base and leaf tip. Usually, the length of the leaves is 23 cm, while the width is around 4.5-14 cm (Yuna, 2008). The flowers of the ylang-ylang plant are star-shaped and have green colors when they are young and yellow when they are ripe. In addition, ylang-ylang flowers generally appear on flower stalks in single numbers or groups of about three to four florets (Yuniarti, 2010). The ylang-ylang flower is also one of the flowers belonging to the *setaman* flower. The sign realized in the form of the name ylang-ylang [ilan-ilan] or *kenanga* [kənaŋa] refers to the significatum in the form of ylang-ylang flowers marked with a certain concept which in Javanese society means the symbol of always remembering ancestral heritage (*kenangen ing angga* or *keneng-a*). The sign system on the ylang-ylang flowers can be seen in the chart 4.

According to the philosophy of the Javanese people, ylang-ylang (*kenanga*) comes from the term *keneng-a*, which means achieving the nobility achieved by the predecessors. Therefore, the next generation should be able to achieve the good behavior and achievements their ancestors successfully obtained during their lifetime (Wulandari, Nugraha, & Kaswati, 2023). Apart from that, ylang-ylang or *kenanga* in the philosophy of the Javanese people is also interpreted as *kenangen ing angga*, which contains a philosophy so that their successors always remember the heritage, be it good traditions, arts, culture, philosophy, et cetera.

The ylang-ylang flower is a flower that is synonymous with things that smell like funerals. This statement has been a hereditary belief for the Javanese people since long ago. The reasons behind this include the distinctive aroma of ylang-ylang flowers and the philosophy of this flower, which means advising the successors of those left behind to be able to achieve nobility and always remember and preserve the legacy in the form of sound and noble values from those who died. Therefore, the Javanese people believe in bringing ylang-ylang flowers in the tradition of visiting graves (*nyekar*) as a symbol of remembering the person being visited and a form of effort always to remember the suggestions and hopes of the person who died.

Tuberose Flowers (Sedap Malam)

Tuberose (*Polianthes tuberosa* L.) is a flowering plant that is quite popular among people because of its fragrance. Tuberose flowers have the advantage of having a white color and an attractive arrangement of flower buds on the stem (Balai Penelitian Tanaman Hias, 2015). Tuberose in Indonesia has characteristics including plant height of 40–62 cm, multilevel flower arrangements, thick and fragrant, and a red tinge on flower buds that have not yet bloomed (Kamino, 2015). The tuberose flower is also one of the flowers belonging to the flower *setaman*. The sign, which is realized in the form of the name tuberose [ˈt̚oobə, rōs] or *sedap malam* [sədap malam], refers to the significatum in the form of a tuberose flower marked with a specific concept which in Javanese society means the symbol of embodiment of always remembering the sacred teachings of the ancestors even in the dark of night (*harum dhalu*). The sign system on the tuberose can be seen in the chart 5.

From the perspective of the Javanese people, the tuberose flower has a philosophy that means *harum dhalu*, meaning that tuberose is an embodiment of fragrance in the darkness of the night or other

words, it means that even if a person is in a state of dark feelings and thoughts, that person must still be able to maintain behavior and good name. Tuberose is also considered a flower that is full of meaning. In Javanese life, it always appears in various cultural rituals (Hidayati et al., 2023). The background for the use of tuberose flowers in the *nyekar* tradition is due to their distinctive fragrance and the philosophy that these flowers have. The Javanese people believe that tuberose flowers have the meaning of *harum dhalu*, that is always remembering the sacred teachings of the ancestors even in the dark of the night, meaning that they are always trying to be able to carry out the sacred teachings of their ancestors even though they are in a state of frantic feelings and thoughts.

Rose Balsam (Pacar Air)

Rose balsam or garden balsam (*Impatiens balsamina* L.) is classified as a plant that has fibrous roots; the stems are wet, soft, round, branched, and yellowish-green in color. The leaves of the rose balsam plant are lanceolate in shape, elongated with a tapered tip and small serrations at the edges (Wijayakusuma, 2000). From the perspective of the Javanese people, the rose balsam flower (*pacar air*) has a philosophy that means *pacar banyu* is a form of prosperity that continues to flow like water (*banyu*). The rose balsam is also one of the flowers belonging to the *setaman* flower. The sign that is realized in the form of the name rose balsam [rōz'bōlsəm], or *pacar air* [*pacar a,ir*], refers to the significatum in the form of rose balsam flowers marked with a particular concept which in Javanese society means a symbol of the embodiment of a continuous flow of prosperity (*pacar banyu*). The sign system on the rose balsam can be seen in the chart 6.

The use of rose balsam flowers in the *nyekar* tradition has been passed down from generation to generation. In addition to its characteristics in the form of many flower petals with bright and striking colors and a distinctive fragrant aroma, the philosophy of the rose balsam flower is believed to be a manifestation of the hope that the person who dies in the grave will receive prosperity at His side (Majalah Suara Pendidikan, 2020). On the other hand, some Javanese people also have the belief that by sending a prayer so that the person who died gets welfare at His side, the prayer can return to the flower carrier or the person praying so that they also get prosperity in their life (Toha, 2016).

Pandanus Leaves (Daun Pandan)

Pandan or screwpine (*Pandanus amaryllifolius* Roxb.) has leaves that are always green all year round. Pandan leaves are low shrubs that have creeping stems and taproots. In addition, pandan leaves are classified as the single-leaf plant with a thin and elongated shape and a tapered tip. The pandanus plant's leaf bones are generally yellowish-green (Hidayat & Napitupulu, 2015). Pandan leaves are also one of the plants belonging to the flower *setaman*. The sign realized in the name pandan leaves [pandan lēves], or daun pandan [dawun pandan], refers to the significatum in the form of pandan leaves marked with a particular concept in Javanese society means a symbol of embodiment of connecting with the deceased. The sign system on the pandanus leaves can be seen in the chart 7.

According to the view of the Javanese people, pandan leaves have a philosophy as a spiritual medium to connect living families with the spirits of people who have died (Aminuddin, 2019). Some state that pandan has a soft texture, meaning humans must be able to forgive each other gently (Setyani, 2020). That is because, according to the Javanese people's beliefs, the graves' spirits can listen to what the grave pilgrims say. Apart from that, it has been a tradition since ancient times that pandan leaves are one of the plants that need to be brought when carrying out the *nyekar* ritual to bring a fragrant aroma to the grave area. Fragrant aroma, or what the Javanese call fragrant, can form a sacred atmosphere as the tomb is sacred because it is a resting place for predecessors or ancestors who have already faced the Almighty.

The Symbolism of Kembang Setaman and Its Existence in Contemporary Javanese Society

From the perspective of Javanese society, death is not seen as a human transition to a new status (death) but rather as a time when a human being returned to the origins of his existence (*sangkan paraning dumadi*). When the Javanese die, their status when they are alive must be replaced with an image of a dignified life. (Layungkuning, 2013). The deceased are honored and respected, symbolized by flowers representing love, respect, and sincerity. Symbolism is integral to Javanese culture, with the *setaman* flower embodying various philosophies and values. Javanese and symbolism itself are closely related. Nuraili (2009) argues that Javanese society is rich in symbols. The symbol is not only in the

form of words but an object representing meaning. Throughout the history of Javanese society, symbolization has functioned as a medium for conveying messages implicitly. The classic Javanese proverb also states that "*wong jowo iku nggoning semu, sinamun ing samudana, sesadone ingadu manis*" means the Javanese are the place of symbols; everything is manifested in symbols to look beautiful and sweet, including the symbolization of the *setaman* flower in tradition.

The word *setaman* represents the expression of one garden (*satu taman* or *setaman*) and *sritaman*. It is called one garden because there are wide varieties of flowers with components in the form of flowers commonly found in Javanese community gardens, so they are considered representatives of the flowers of one garden. The meaning of *sritaman* represents the morpheme "*sri*" which means "*beautiful*", so *sritaman* means a beautiful garden. The Javanese tradition of *nyekar* aims to beautify the deceased's "home" with seven specific flowers, each with symbolic meanings. Factors that often influence Javanese people to use acronyms are related to language savings, refinement of statements or euphemisms, advice, et cetera (Herawati, 2016). This is supported by A and B, two of our participants who are sellers of *kembang setaman* at the Tawangmangu Traditional Market.

"For *nyekar*, people usually use ylang-ylang, rose balsam, tuberose, roses, white chrysolite or *kanthil*, jasmine, and pandanus leaves. Graves are like the homes of people who have died so that their families come to visit. The meaning of flowers is a symbol of gifts for guests."

(A, 18 March 23)

"Flowers are considered a symbol or laden. The meaning of *nyekar* is to stay in touch with parents, pray to God so that parents are forgiven for their sins."

(B, 18 March 23)

The *setaman* flower is known for its unique scent, symbolizing the hope of inheriting positive qualities from ancestors. Taxonomically, it shares similarities with white chrysolite and ylang-ylang flowers, belonging to the Magnoliales family that have a distinctive fragrant aroma due to essential oil cells in the leaf parenchyma (Silalahi & Wahyuningtyas, 2020). The *setaman* flower typically consists of seven (*pitu*) flowers, representing help (*pitulungan*), guidance (*pituduh*), and advice (*pitutur*) in Javanese culture. The use of banana leaves as wrappers for the *setaman* flower also holds significance, symbolizing perseverance even in loss. Despite modern adaptations, the *nyekar* tradition remains strong in Javanese culture, with many viewing it as an essential ritual, especially among Muslims. The practice involves praying for the deceased spirits to prosper or find peace in the afterlife, with the belief that these prayers will benefit the living as well. It serves as a reminder of mortality, encouraging individuals to lead a life filled with good deeds to secure a favorable place in the eyes of a higher power.

"(Flowers) that are most often used for painting are roses. However, if there are none, other flowers can be replaced because the most important thing is a prayer for the grave expert. *Nyekar* is a symbol of sending prayers, while the flowers used for *nyekar* are considered a symbol of caring for graves. Sending prayers for the dead does not have to be by visiting the graves, but because it is a tradition, it is still being carried out (until now)."

(C, 18 March 23)

Our informant, C, suggest that Javanese people have practiced this for a long time and this tradition continues today (see Abid & Saputra, 2021) because *nyekar* is considered an essential ritual for the Javanese, especially muslims (Wulandari, 2021). The study explores the classification of *setaman* flowers aligning with previous research by Heryamien (2016). The cultural significance of *setaman* flowers in the *nyekar* ritual tradition is highlighted, showing varied symbolic and philosophical meanings. Language plays a crucial role in reflecting cultural intimacy with the environment, as seen in the Ngaju Dayak language research by Luardini, Natalina, and Garner (2019). Similarly, Arrozi, Burhanuddin, and Saharudin (2020) discuss the ethnomedicine lexicon in traditional Sasak medicine, emphasizing the harmony between people, nature, religion, and economic value. The study suggests a strong relationship between local wisdom in Indonesia, including Javanese traditions, and the interconnectedness of humans, nature, and God. Recent research on traditional culinary names in Pandeglang Regency and the lexical (Rosidin, Riansi, & Muhyidin, 2021), and cultural meanings in the

tradition of tanning Sunan Kalijaga's heirlooms further support the importance of cultural symbols and meanings in rituals (Zulfa & Suyanto, 2022).

The use of *setaman* flowers in the *nyekar* tradition symbolizes prayers, hopes, and teachings of life connecting humans, nature, and God. The continuation of this tradition by the Javanese community reflects a strong belief in the values it upholds, serving as a foundation of honored values. Local wisdom is shown to provide valuable life lessons and increase maturity, as evidenced by research by Pajarianto et al (2022), Agung, Nasih, and Kurniawan (2024), and Yuliatin et al (2021).

CONCLUSION

The study has yielded a comprehensive explanation of the meaning and significance of *kembang setaman* as a set of ritual elements in the *nyekar* rite in Javanese. In a nutshell, it symbolizes a gift from prayers when visiting graves, the homes of people who have died. Each flower is loaded with varied meanings, ranging from sincere intention to live up to noble values to liaison with the deceased. In the body of knowledge, this finding can contribute to the theoretical side of the unification of language and cultural studies (Anthropolinguistics) which is still quite limited in Indonesia, a country with abundant intangible cultural heritage. In addition, when viewed from the theory of local wisdom, this study shows the strong influence of local wisdom values which are believed by the community seen through the practice of carrying out traditions in everyday life. The existence of local wisdom in this study has proved to be a moral foundation for the community involved and a guide for life. In practice, the myths about the use of flowers in a tradition have now shifted to an object with a philosophical value that makes the tradition more meaningful and beautiful without having to be associated with the supernatural or mystical. However, by enhancing the comprehension of this phenomenon, it can also encourage the community to live the tradition with value, not just a cultural heritage that is passed down as symbolism or formality.

This research has contributed to the field of the lexicons of *nyekar* tradition in Anthropolinguistics review and can be used as cultural documentation that encourages the maintenance of the local wisdom. It is interesting to find that Javanese people adopt symbolic philosophies from other myths which are rooted in the life of the Javanese. Therefore, further academic studies are suggested regarding the dynamics of the life of the Javanese people and their traditions (e.g. syncretism) in an interdisciplinary perspective between linguistic and anthropological studies.

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