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Reinterpreting *keratabasa* in Javanese food names: A backronymic typology and cognitive frame-semantic perspective

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ABSTRACT

Keratabasa is a lexical reinterpretation practice in Javanese culture that assigns new meanings to existing word forms by expanding their elements into meaningful expressions. This phenomenon is commonly found in the names of traditional foods used in customary ceremonies and reflects the close relationship between language, knowledge, and Javanese culture. Previous studies of similar phenomena have tended to examine them as forms of wordplay or linguistic creativity, while their structural typology has received limited attention. This study aims to examine the structural typology of *keratabasa* and interpret the cultural meanings constructed through its expanded forms by employing Backronym as an analytical perspective within an anthropolinguistic and cognitive frame-semantic framework. The study adopts a qualitative descriptive design and examines seven traditional Javanese food names used in customary ceremonies. Data were collected through ethnographic fieldwork in Central and East Java and analyzed using Spradley's ethnographic procedures, followed by interpretation through cognitive frame semantics. The findings reveal two principal dimensions of *keratabasa* typology: the degree of phonological correspondence, comprising complete, partial, and variant correspondence, and syllabic alignment, comprising aligned and non-aligned patterns. These patterns indicate systematic tendencies in the formation of expanded *keratabasa* forms. Semantically and culturally, these forms represent prayers, moral values, social harmony, humility, protection, and prosperity, reflecting the Javanese worldview. The study contributes to the development of a *backronymic* typology and demonstrates the interconnectedness of linguistic structure and cultural conceptualization in *keratabasa* as a form of *jarwa dhosok*.

I. INTRODUCTION

For the Javanese people, food functions not only as a means of fulfilling basic nutritional needs but also as a medium for cultural expression and a marker of ethnic identity (Saleh et al., 2022). These cultural characteristics are reflected in the naming, composition, preparation, and presentation of traditional foods. Moreover, each element has philosophical meaning that often form the attitudes and guiding principles for the community themselves (Githinji, 2008; Levina, 2023). In Javanese culture, food is rich in symbolism and reflects the principle of *sinamun ing samudana* referring to the manifestation of deeper meanings beneath the surface (Hariyanto et al., 2024). One particularly noteworthy aspect of Javanese traditional food culture is the phenomenon of *keratabasa*, found in the names of traditional foods served during ceremonies. These *keratabasa* expression can be examined through a backronymic perspective to show how linguistic reinterpretation serves as a means of conveying cultural values and philosophical concepts within Javanese culinary traditions.

Keratabasa refers to a practice in Javanese society of reinterpreting existing lexical forms by breaking down their syllabic components into meaningful words, phrases, or expressions (Rahyono, 2015). This practice is related to the broader Javanese tradition of *jarwa dhosok*, in which existing lexical forms are reinterpreted by segmenting or breaking down their elements into meaningful expressions (Poerwadarminto, 1939). In the context of traditional food names, such reinterpretation creates a semantic relationship between the original lexical form and the resulting expanded expression. This relationship may be associated with the food's characteristics, ingredients, preparation methods, presentation, or cultural meanings. In this study, the term *keratabasa* is retained to refer to this local Javanese phenomenon, while backronym is used as an analytical perspective for examining the structural relationship between the existing lexical form and its resulting reinterpretation.

The concept of backronym provides a relevant analytical perspective because it involves the retrospective reinterpretation of an existing lexical form through an expanded expression whose elements correspond to components of the original form (Becker, 2018; Wessing, 2016). The formation of a backronym involves various word-formation processes, such as blending, clipping, and acronym formation (Zatsnyi & Zaitseva, 2023); (Al-Salman & Haider, 2021). Its relevance to *keratabasa* lies in the formal correspondence between the original lexical form and the resulting expanded form, which produces a new interpretation of an existing lexical form. From this perspective, backronym and *keratabasa* are not regarded as identical or synonymous categories. Instead, backronym is used to examine the structural correspondence underlying the reinterpretation of *keratabasa*. This is consistent with Padmosoekotjo's (1953) understanding of *keratabasa* (Rahyono, 2015), which is understood as assigning meaning to a word based on its syllables by expanding them in a manner similar to an acronym. In other words, this characteristic demonstrates a structural correspondence with the principles of acronym formation. Crystal (Crystal, 2008) identifies two structural

components, namely: (1) the original lexical form, which in this context is referred to as the backronym, and (2) the expanded form, which constitutes the complete elaboration of the letters or syllables that make up the backronym. This framework provides the basis for analyzing how *keratabasa* forms in traditional Javanese food names exhibit correspondence between the original forms and their expanded forms.

The *keratabasa* expressions found in the names of traditional Javanese foods used in ceremonies often carry meaningful interpretations that reflect core principles of Javanese life, particularly those concerning interpersonal relationships and the relationship between humans and God. The meanings are connected to the various elements involved in the ceremonies and can be interpreted through a cognitive perspective rather than being understood solely as products of collective belief.

Research on backronym and the formation of expanded forms has grown across a variety of domains. However, most studies have primarily adopted a macro-social perspective, emphasizing communicative functions, social identity, language change, and branding strategies (Al-Salman & Haider, 2021; Hadiansyah et al., 2025; Novoseletska et al., 2024). A similar tendency can be observed in Javanese linguistic research, particularly in Ubaidilah (2022), which focuses on the grammatical structure and social meaning of *keratabasa*. Although these studies make important contributions to understanding the functions of forms that are consistent with the principles of backronym, they generally remain concerned with broader social dimensions rather than the linguistic mechanisms underlying its formation. Consequently, relatively little attention has been devoted to the internal linguistic processes involved in constructing backronyms, especially at the micro level. Aspects such as phonological structure, patterns of expanded-form formation, and their structural typology have not been investigated in previous studies. This gap shows that backronym formation has rarely been studied as a linguistic system with its own internal patterns and rules. Instead, it has mainly been viewed as a social phenomenon or a rhetorical strategy.

Research on food from linguistic perspectives has attracted increasing scholarly attention, indicating the growing complexity of both the analytical focus and methodological approaches employed. Recent studies have examined food through diverse linguistic frameworks: semantics, metaphor theory, translation studies, communication, multimodal linguistics, cognitive semantics, and anthropolinguistics (Amalia et al., 2024; Citraresmana & Susilawati, 2022; Fatmahwati et al., 2026; Harianja et al., 2026; Hendrokumoro et al., 2023; Kryzhko, 2024; Mounsi, 2025; Mukhammadieva, 2026; Przymuszała, 2021; Setyaningsih, 2022; Skapare, 2020). Collectively, these studies show that food names not only reflect cultural practices, social identities, and local values; but also function as linguistic resources for constructing meaning across various cultural contexts. Despite this growing body of research, few studies have specifically examined the backronymic (*keratabasa*) structures underlying the naming of traditional Javanese foods. Furthermore, to the best of the authors' knowledge, no previous

research has integrated cognitive frame semantics (Evans, 2012; Evans & Green, 2006) with an anthropolinguistic perspective in the context of Javanese culture to explain the relationship between the linguistic structure of backronyms, the conceptualization of meaning, and the cultural values embedded in the naming of Javanese ritual foods. Therefore, this study aims to address this gap. This analysis is based on the concept of Frame Semantics proposed by Fillmore (1982) and further developed through the cognitive linguistic framework advanced by Evans and Green (2012; 2006). Frame Semantics is employed to provide a more comprehensive interpretation of the clauses that constitute the expanded forms of *keratabasa*, as well as to explain how communities conceptualize the world through language and how such conceptualizations are related to their cultural values.

An anthropolinguistic perspective is adopted because the creation of backronyms is inherently shaped by social and cultural contexts, as well as by the beliefs and ideologies of their speakers. This view is consistent with the anthropolinguistic frameworks proposed by Foley (1997), Hymes (2013), Haviland (2002), and Ottenheimer (2006). This study applies the features of cognitive linguistic analysis developed by Evans and Green (2006) (2012) to provide a more comprehensive interpretation of the clauses constituting the expanded forms of backronyms. Through this analytical approach, the study seeks to explain how people conceptualize their world through language and how these conceptualizations are related to their cultural values.

Based on this gap in the literature, this study reinterprets *keratabasa* from a backronymic perspective within an anthropolinguistic framework, employing cognitive frame semantics as an analytical tool. The study has three main objectives: (1) to identify and formulate a structural typology of *keratabasa* in traditional Javanese food names; (2) to examine the micro linguistic processes underlying the formation of these expanded expressions, particularly the correspondence between the original lexical forms and the components of their expanded forms; and (3) to interpret the cultural meanings constructed through these expanded forms by relating linguistic structures to the conceptual frames and cultural values of Javanese society from anthropolinguistic and cognitive frame semantics perspectives. Through these objectives, the study is expected to contribute to a more systematic understanding of backronymic reinterpretation while also offering a typological analytical model that can be applied to linguistic phenomena in other cultural domains.

II. METHOD

This study applied a qualitative descriptive design within an anthropolinguistic framework. This approach was chosen because it enables an in-depth examination of the relationship between linguistic forms, systems of knowledge, and the cultural practices underlying the use of traditional Javanese food names associated with customary ceremonies. From an anthropolinguistic perspective, language is viewed as an integral component of culture that reflects the worldview, lived experiences, and values of the speech community (Foley, 1997).

This analysis combines ethnographic data analysis with Cognitive Frame Semantics to examine food names with their expanded *keratabasa* forms, as well as the cultural conceptualizations associated with them.

The data consist of traditional Javanese food names and their expanded *keratabasa* forms, which are realized as words, phrases, or clauses associated with traditional ceremonies. The ceremonies represented in the data include *selamatan* (communal thanksgiving ceremonies), wedding ceremonies, *bersih desa* (village cleansing rituals), and *kenduri* (communal ritual feasts). Fieldwork was conducted in Central and East Java, specifically in Surakarta, Boyolali, Karanganyar, and Madiun. In addition to linguistic forms, this study also considers information concerning the beliefs, knowledge, practices, and cultural meanings associated with the foods, particularly their preparation, presentation, and use in ceremonial contexts. Seven food names were purposively selected as the final analytical corpus. The selection was based on three considerations: (1) the foods tend to occur frequently in traditional ceremonies and their *keratabasa* interpretations are widely recognized; (2) the items represent recurring structural patterns relevant to the analysis of phonological correspondence and syllabic alignment; and (3) sufficient ethnographic and semantic information is available to interpret their cultural conceptualizations. Accordingly, the selected items are not intended to represent the full range of *keratabasa* found in Javanese food names, but rather to provide a focused corpus that allows recurring structural tendencies and their cultural meanings to be described. Therefore, the typology proposed in this study is descriptive and specific to the corpus examined, rather than comprehensive or statistically generalizable. Data collection did not employ a formal data-saturation criterion to determine the endpoint of the process. Instead, the final corpus was purposively selected from a broader dataset based on the relevance of individual items to the structural analysis and the availability of sufficient semantic and cultural information.

Empirical data were obtained through three complementary techniques: open-ended interviews, participant observation, and document analysis. Four informants with extensive knowledge were involved in the fieldwork: an elder from Surakarta, traditional cooks from Karanganyar and Madiun, and a Javanese cultural practitioner from Boyolali. The informants were purposively selected based on their direct experience and knowledge of traditional Javanese food, traditional ceremonies, and the interpretation of *keratabasa* in cultural contexts. Open-ended interviews were conducted to obtain information about the forms and broader interpretations of the food names, their use in ceremonies, and the cultural meanings associated with them. Participant observation was employed to obtain contextual information concerning food preparation, presentation, and ceremonial practices. Documentary data were obtained from relevant books and cultural documentation, including publications by the Office of Education and Culture concerning traditional food names (Achroni, 2017). These data were used to complement and cross-check the information obtained through fieldwork.

The data were analyzed using Spradley's (1979, 2006); ethnographic method, as further elaborated by Santosa (2021). The analytical procedure comprised four stages: (1) domain analysis, (2) taxonomic analysis, (3) componential analysis, and (4) the identification of cultural themes. Domain analysis was employed to classify the traditional foods according to their primary ingredients into three categories: (1) staple foods made from rice, (2) side dishes and vegetables, and (3) *jajan pasar* (traditional snacks). Taxonomic analysis was then used to examine the characteristics and relationships among the identified categories from an anthropolinguistic perspective Foley (1997), complemented by cognitive semantic analysis based on Evans & Green (2006); Evans (2012). This stage enabled the identification and description of each linguistic object and its interpretation within the social and cultural context of Javanese society, as observed through fieldwork. The results of the componential analysis subsequently facilitated the identification of overarching cultural themes. These cultural themes were derived by synthesizing recurrent patterns identified in the componential analysis and relating them to the broader sociocultural context. In this study, they reveal the relationship between linguistic structures and the systems of values, beliefs, and life principles that characterize Javanese society. Figure 1 presents an overview of the analytical framework to facilitate readers' understanding of the study's analytical procedure. The framework was adapted from the ethnographic data analysis model developed by Spradley (1979, 2006).

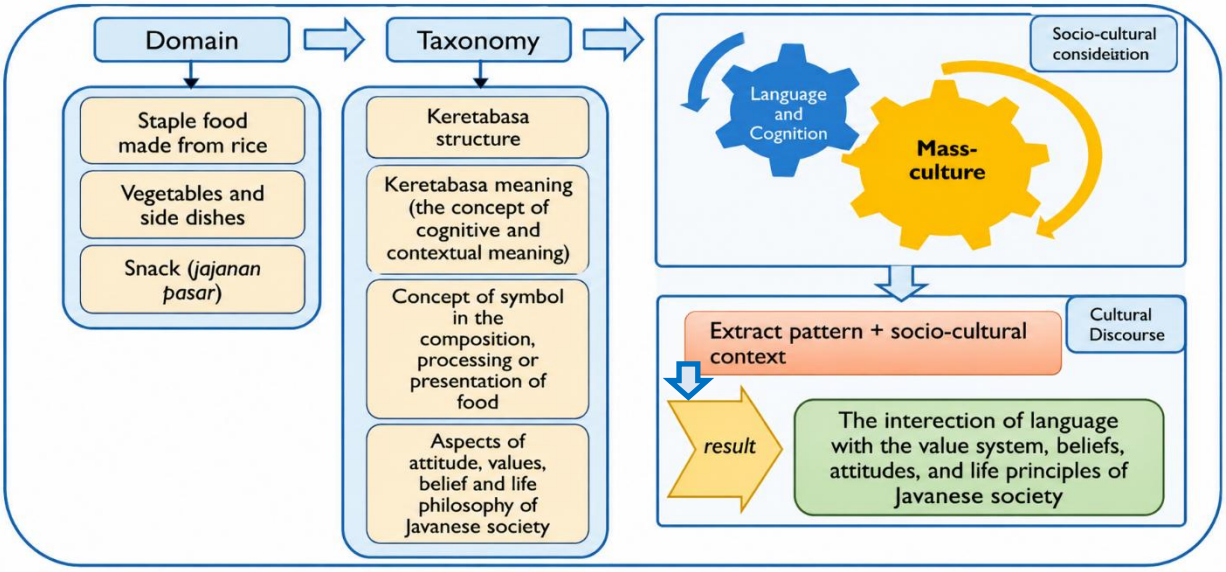


Figure 1. Analytical procedure adapted from Spradley's (1979, 2006) ethnographic data analysis model

III. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Based on the data mapping and analysis, this study identified seven traditional Javanese food names used in various traditional ceremonies that contain *keratabasa* forms. The ceremonies include *Selamatan/Bancakan* (ceremonies involving prayers for well-being and safety), wedding ceremonies, and ceremonies held to welcome the Islamic holiday of Eid al-Fitr. The seven data items were grouped according to food domains, namely staple foods made from rice, accompanying side dishes and vegetables, and traditional snacks. The analysis

focused on the relationship between the original lexical forms and their expanded forms, including phonological correspondence, syllabic alignment, and the cultural meanings constructed through these expanded forms.

Tabel 1. Descriptive typology of the *keratabasa* data

No.	Kerata Basa	Phonological Corespondence	Syllabic Alignment
1	*tumpêng*	Partial + Complete	Mixed
2	*kupat*	Complete	Mixed
3	*jênang sêngkala*	Variation + Complete	Mixed
4	*urapan*	Complete + Variation	Mixed
5	*ingkung*	Complete	Fully aligned
6	*lêmpêr*	Complete	Mixed
7	*lêpêt*	Complete	Mixed

Note: Mixed indicates that the elements of the original form and the expanded form exhibit different degrees of syllabic alignment, resulting in no single uniform alignment pattern across the entire form.

The matrix above provides a descriptive overview of the seven *keratabasa* data items based on two structural dimensions: phonological correspondence and syllabic alignment. The data reveal recurring patterns rather than a single uniform formation pattern. Although complete phonological correspondence is found in several forms, the alignment between the original forms and their expanded forms varies, including fully aligned and mixed patterns. These structural tendencies are further examined through an analysis of each of the seven food names. Each analysis examines the linguistic relationship between the original form and its expanded form, as well as the cognitive semantic frames underlying the culturally constructed meanings.

Backronym of food names in staple foods made from rice

Tumpêng

Tumpêng is one of the dishes often served in traditional ceremonies such as *slamêtan* (a tradition to seek ease and smoothness in carrying out a matter) or *bancakan* (a tradition similar to a birthday celebration, meant to pray for safety, honor, and blessings for someone). According to information provided by a cultural practitioner from Boyolali, an elder from Surakarta, and Achroni (2017), *tumpeng* has the *keratabasa* form *metu dalan sing lempeng*, meaning “walk along the straight path. Based on its linguistic form, the word *tumpêng* [tumpəŋ] follows a Backronym pattern, as shown in Table 1.

Tabel 2. Backronym pattern of *tumpeng*

Syllables in the original word	***Expanded form***	***Syllables in the original word***	***Expanded form***
Tum-pêng [tum-pəŋ] → *mê-**tu** dalan sing lêm-**pêng*** (walk on straight path)			
***tu**m-*	*mê-**tu*** (walk on)	***-pêng***	*lêm-**pêng*** (straight)
Half of the full penultima	Full ultima	Full ultima	Full ultima

In Table 1, the word *tumpêng*, which consists of two syllables, has an expanded form: the syllable *tu* [tu] refers to the word *mêtu*, and *peng [pəŋ]* refers to the word *lêmpêng* ('straight'). The backronym structure in the second-to-last syllable (penult) follows an uneven order in the first syllable but a parallel order in the second syllable. It is considered uneven because the first syllable of the original word, /*tu*/, is in the penult position, whereas the phoneme similarity in the expanded form appears in the ultima position. However, the second syllable of the original word maintains a parallel structure, as it shares phonemic similarity in the ultima position.

Regarding phonemic similarity within the syllables, some are incomplete. For example, in the first syllable, only the phonemes /t/ and /u/ show resemblance in the expanded form, as seen in the word /*mêtu*/. Meanwhile, the second syllable of the original word exhibits complete phonemic similarity, as it fully matches the syllable in its expanded form.

The expanded word backronym structure often leads to a more complete expression with the addition of the words *dalan* ('road') and sing ('which'), which provide explanatory attributes to the form *mêtu* and serve as conjunctions to enhance the coherence of the phrase. As a result, it forms mêtua *dalan sing lêmpêng* ('walk on the straight path'). Since *tumpêng* is used as a complement in the *bancakan* or *sêlamatan* tradition for someone, the suffix {-a} in the word *mêtua* functions as an imperative marker, expressing a wish directed toward the child or person celebrating the *Sêlamatan* ritual. The child or person becomes the subject or actor of the verb *mêtu* ('to pass through'). Meanwhile, those expressing this wish are the attendees of the *selamatan* or *bancakan* ceremony, who utter it as a form of prayer or hope.

In terms of meaning, the clause *mêtua dalan sing lêmpêng* ('walk on the straight path') functions as a metaphor. Based on frame features in cognitive linguistics, the word mêtu ('to pass through') can evoke the following frames: (1) *jalan* ('path'), in this case, a life path, (2) *tujuan* ('goal'), (3) *sikap* ('attitude'), (4) *niat hati* ('intention'), or (5) it may even extend to *nasib* ('fate'). This relates to a person's disposition when moving through something or striving toward their life goals. Meanwhile, the phrase *dalan lempeng* ('straight path') evokes the following frames: (1) *tidak berkelok* ('not winding'); following rules, (2) *lancar* ('smooth'), and (3) *mudah dilalui* ('easy to pass through'); without many obstacles. Therefore, the metaphor within this backronym can be interpreted as a person's life journey being free from major obstacles,

aligned with rules and norms, smooth, and easy to navigate. This interpretation then establishes its function as a prayer or hope that the person hosting the event with *tumpêng* as a dish may live a life with good conduct, without breaking any rules, and free from difficulties. If *tumpêng* is used in the context of a *selamatan* ('safety' or 'blessing') ceremony for an upcoming event or by an organization, it can be understood as a wish for the event to proceed smoothly or for the organization to achieve its intended goals.

The concept of meaning related to a straight attitude, intention, or purpose is also reflected in the form of the *tumpêng* dish, which resembles a conical geometric shape, as shown in the picture.



Picture 1. Festive Indonesian *tumpêng* platter

Symbolically, the conical shape of *tumpêng*, with its sharp point facing upwards, carries the signified symbol of intent and prayer directed upward to God. It represents human efforts to achieve perfection and draw closer to the Creator.

This interpretation is also supported by the explanations provided by an informant with cultural knowledge of the use of *tumpêng* in Javanese tradition. An informant from Boyolali (60 years old), whose family has kinship ties to the Kasunanan Surakarta Palace community, explained that the word *lempeng* in the expanded form of *tumpêng* refers not only to a straight direction or a shape without bends, but also conveys the idea of living in accordance with established rules and attaining safety as a consequence of such conduct. These rules can be understood as norms that regulate individual behavior in social life. Another informant associated the meaning of *lêmpêng* with the "divine path," referring to a way of life that conforms to religious teachings. Thus, the interpretation of *mêtua dalan kang lêmpêng* as a hope that a person will follow a straight path in life, in accordance with social and religious

norms, is not merely the researcher's interpretation; it is also rooted in the cultural understanding conveyed by the informants.

This is also reflected in the attitudes and behavior of the community. When someone holds a *selamatan* ceremony and serves *tumpêng*, before the *tumpêng* is cut and served to all those present, the person hosting the event or assigned to the task reads prayers and good wishes. Everyone presents at the event joins in affirming the prayer. This reflects the religious attitude of the Javanese people and also demonstrates their mindset regarding their relationship with God and with other humans. The Javanese believe that harmonious relationships occur when they can maintain a good connection with both God and the community. Therefore, the serving of *tumpêng*, which contains backronym, shapes a mindset of hope and prayer, while also reminding that human should always behave well, so that their lives may be safe, smooth, and free from obstacles or hardships.

Kupat

Kupat is also a dish that is often served at traditional events, such as the *Syawalan* tradition. This event is held in the month of *Syawal* as a celebration of the *Idul Fitri* holiday for Muslims. The figure of Kupat can see in the picture 2.



Picture 2. *Kupat*

Based on its linguistic form, the word *kupat* [kupat] has the expanded form *ngaku lepat*, meaning 'to admit fault' (Achroni, 2017). The backronymic structure of *kupat* is presented in Table 2.

Table 2. Backronym Pattern of *Kupat*

Syllables in the original word	***Expanded form***	***Syllables in the original word***	***Expanded form***
ku-pat [kupat] <*ngaku lêpat*> (to admit fault)			
ku-	*nga-**ku*** (to admit)	***pat***	*le-**pat*** (fault)
Full penult	Full ultima	Full ultima	Full ultima

In Table 2, the word *kupat*, which consists of two syllables, has a Backronym form with both non-parallel and parallel order. The syllable *ku* [ku] in *kupat*, which is in the penultimate position, refers to the word *ngaku* 'to admit,' where the syllable /ku/ from *ngaku* is in the ultima position, so based on the order, it can be said to be non-parallel. Meanwhile, pat [pat], which is in the ultima position, refers to the word *lêpat* 'fault/mistake,' where the syllable pat [pat] is also in the ultima position, making it parallel. Based on the similarity of sounds, each syllable of the base word corresponds to the syllable in the expanded form, and therefore, it is said to be intact.

In terms of meaning, cognitively, the clause *ngaku lêpat* ('to admit fault') is a declarative clause. Based on the frame features within the cognitive linguistics concept, the word *ngaku* ('to admit') conceptually refers to the following frames: (1) awareness, in this case, remembering something that was thought, done, or said, either by oneself or by others; (2) evaluative, knowing what is right and wrong about a matter, in this case, related to experiences of attitude, thoughts, and words from both oneself and others; (3) forgiveness, where it is knowing and then understanding the shortcomings, limitations, or negligence as an individual or social being. Meanwhile, the word *lêpat* ('wrong/fault') refers to the frame: (1) not correct, (2) not suitable, (3) something that could have a negative or unpleasant impact on others. Contextually, this can refer to an action that causes harm to another party due to one's actions, whether intentional or unintentional, as a result of negligence or ignorance.

Therefore, based on conceptual and contextual meaning, the clause in the expanded form of the Backronym word can be interpreted as someone who has realized the right and wrong of their thoughts, actions, and words, whether directed towards others or received from others. Additionally, this expression also means someone who has acknowledged their limitations, shortcomings, or negligence, leading to forgiveness for those actions.

This interpretation is also supported by the informant of a 50-year-old cook from Karanganyar who is frequently asked to prepare *kupat* dishes. When *kupat* is wrapped in coconut leaves, or *janur*, it should not be unwrapped by removing the leaves one by one; instead, it should be cut directly. According to the understanding of the informant (a cultural expert, 60 years old) from Boyolali, unwrapping the *janur* one leaf at a time before cutting the *kupat* is considered *pamali* (taboo), as it is believed that doing so would prevent the person from fulfilling the meaning of *ngaku lepat*, or to admit fault as expressed in the expanded form of *kupat*. This is because cutting the *kupat* directly carries symbolic meaning, which the informant

associated with efforts to put an end to disputes and avoid reopening old wounds or bringing past mistakes back to the surface.

The informant's explanation illustrates that the meaning of *ngaku lepat* (‘to admit fault’) is constructed not only through verbal expression but also through the cultural practices accompanying the serving of *kupat*. The act of not unwrapping the *kupat* before cutting it is understood as a symbol of refraining from bringing past mistakes or conflicts back into discussion. Thus, the acknowledgment of mistakes conveyed by *ngaku lepat* is intertwined with acceptance, forgiveness, and efforts to bring disputes to an end. From the perspective of Cognitive Frame Semantics, this practice reinforces the interpretation of the *Forgiveness and Reconciliation Frame*. Through analysis of the frame feature, we can understand that "*ngaku lêpat*" ‘to admit fault’ is not just about words or actions of asking for forgiveness, but about the entire situational structure that encompasses mistakes, acknowledgment, acceptance, and response.

Jênang Sêngkala

Jênang sêngkala is a dish often served during traditional ceremonies, such as *ruwatan*. The *ruwatan* tradition is performed to ward off misfortune/disasters, cleanse oneself from bad luck, eliminate negative influences, and provide protection and good fortune for the individual undergoing the *ruwat* (Endraswara, 2012; Wasisto et al., 2021).

In the *ruwatan* ceremony, there are offerings or foods presented to the spirits of ancestors, deities, or other supernatural beings (Izzuddin et al., 2022). *Jênang sêngkala* is one of the offerings in this *ruwatan* tradition. Etymologically, the word *sêngkala* itself comes from Old Javanese, consisting of the words *sêng* meaning sign or symbol, and kala meaning time (Dhanu Priyo, 2007). In Javanese culture, *sêngkala* is understood as a symbol of time that indicates the presence of a disaster or misfortune that needs to be avoided through a ritual to ward off bad luck.

The word *sêngkala* was then used as a name for a food offering, known as *jênang sêngkala*. Based on information provided by an elder from Surakarta and a traditional cook from Karanganyar, the word then undergoes expansion, which became widely recognized in the form of backronym *sêmingkirna saka murwakala* ‘move away from bad things’. The word *murwakala* comes from two words in Old Javanese: *murwa*, meaning "beginning" or "start", and kala, referring to the god of time or a giant that symbolizes negative power and destruction in Javanese mythology. Therefore, *murwakala* can be interpreted as "the beginning of time" or "the beginning of disaster" (Zoetmulder, 1985). The figure of *jênang sêngkala* can see in the Picture 3.



Picture 3. *Jênang Sêngkala*

Based on its linguistic form, the word *sengkala* [sêŋkɔlɔ] follows a Backronym pattern as shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Backronym pattern of *Sêngkala*

Syllables in the original word	Expanded form	Syllables in the original word	Expanded form	Syllables in the original word	Expanded form
sêngkala [səŋkɔlɔ] < *sêmingkira saka murwakala*> (move away from bad things)					
seng-	***se**mi**ng**kira* (move away)	***ka-***	*sa**ka*** 'from'	***la***	*murwaka**la*** (bad things)
Full antepe-nult	Antepe-nult with sound variation	Full penult	Full ultima	Full ultima	Full ultima

In Table 3, the word *sêngkala*, which consists of three syllables, has two parallel syllables and one non-parallel, with similarities in the sounds of the syllables, some of which are intact and some of which undergo sound variation. The syllable *sêng* [səŋ] in the position of antepenult refers to the word *sêmingkira*, where the syllable /sê/ [sə] is in the position of antepenult, and the following syllable also contains the sound /ng/, so in terms of phonemic similarity, it undergoes variation. The syllable *ka* [kɔ] in the position of penult refers to the word *saka* [kɔ] 'from', which is in the ultima position and remains intact, while *la* [lɔ] refers to the syllable *murwakala*, both of which are in the ultima position and are identical.

In terms of meaning, the clause *sêmingkira saka murwakala* 'move away from bad things' is an imperative clause, meaning a command and a hope. Based on the frame feature in cognitive linguistic concepts, the word *semingkira* conceptually refers to the frame: (1) go; move away, with the insertions {-um-/ -êm-} in *sêmingkir* forming a verb, while the suffix {-a} indicates both a command and a hope. Contextually, this word expresses the hope that the

subject will be moved away from the object, in this case, things that may cause harm or badness to oneself or the surrounding environment. Meanwhile, *murwakala* metaphorically has the frame meaning: Bad; flaw; evil; misfortune; disturbance; catastrophe; disaster. Therefore, contextually it can mean anything that is bad or unpleasant, a disturbance, disaster, or calamity originating from nature or from things that are supernatural, which can have a negative influence on someone or society.

Based on the meaning, the clause in the expanded form *sêmingkira saka murwakala* can be interpreted as a command to the object, in this case, the negative entities or bad things that can cause misfortune, disaster, or danger, to move away or even disappear from the person being purified. Additionally, it also contains a meaning of hope, which is a hope directed towards the spirits of ancestors or God, asking for protection from disasters, misfortune, and for safety.

The meaning contained in the backronym of *jênang sêngkala* actually has a function and impact on the behavior patterns of the community. This backronym concept can serve as a reminder of the potential presence of things that could damage, cause harm, become obstacles, or disturbances that could lead to badness and misfortune, both to oneself and those around them. Therefore, people become more cautious so that everything proceeds smoothly without obstacles. For example, *jenang sêngkala* made in the *Wedhak ripih* tradition in the Madiun and *ruwatan* in Surakarta regions. According to an informant who is a traditional cook and respected elder from Madiun. This dish must be prepared (mixed, stirred, and served in a special place) by an elder who has inherited knowledge passed down from previous generations. This means that the person who prepares the dish is not just anyone, as the dish is believed to be an offering to the ancestors for protection and to be kept away from danger. Therefore, the *jênang* must be served in a special way. This behavior is also reflected in the ritual's execution. Before the *jênang* is served, the traditional elder will recite a mantra, where the *jênang* is considered a form of charity that can redeem misfortune or act as a disaster repellent.

The meticulous process of its preparation, filled with prayers, actually reflects a behavioral pattern in harmony with the principles of caution and harmony for the collective safety, ensuring protection from dangers. The steps in making *jênang sêngkala* also carry symbolic meaning. According to cultural experts from Boyolali, rice, which is rigid and coarse, is transformed into *jênang* or porridge with a smooth, thick, and delicious texture, requiring patience and precision. This behavior symbolizes the transformation of human traits, where one needs to be patient and cautious in order to change a rough, harsh attitude into something smooth and calm, fostering harmony with society and the surrounding environment.

Group of vegetables and side dishes

Dishes in Javanese traditional ceremonies or events are often accompanied by side dishes that complement nasi *tumpêng*. Foods in this category of side dishes also exhibit forms of backronym. These side dishes and vegetables generally serve as complements to the *tumpêng* meal, where they are served in a single container with the nasi *tumpêng* and arranged around it.

Urapan

Urapan is a term referring to a dish made from a combination of green vegetables that have been boiled, such as spinach, water spinach, *kenikir* (marigold), papaya leaves, bean sprouts, carrots sliced like matchsticks, cabbages, and long beans, which are then mixed with grated coconut that has been seasoned. This vegetable mix is often served as a side dish with *tumpêng*, placed around the *tumpêng* rice. The figure of *urapan* can see in the Picture 4.



Picture 4. *Urapan*

Based on its linguistic form, the word *urapan* [urapan] is a polymorphemic form of the word {*urap* +-an}, where the meaning of the suffix {-an} indicates a variety or type. The term was described by an informant who is a traditional cook from Karanganyar and the cultural expert from Boyolali. this word has a backronymic form *uripa mapan* meaning "live in a stable or established state." The pattern of the backronymic form is as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. *Backronym pattern of urapan*

Syllables in the original word	Expanded Form	Syllables in the original word	Expanded Form	Syllables in the original word	Expanded Form
u-ra-pan [urapan] < *uripa mapan*> (live well-stabilized)					
u-	***u-****ri-pa*	***rap-***	⦰	***-an***	*map****an***
Full antepenult	Full antepenult	Penult		Half ultima	Ultima

In Table 4, the word *urapan*, which consists of three syllables, has an expanded form. The syllable u [u] in the penultimate position refers to the word *uripa*, where the syllable /u/ [u] in that word also appears in the penultimate position, making them parallel. The syllable rap doesn't have an exact expanded form, but there is a phonetic modification with the form /rip/ in the word *uripa*. Meanwhile, the syllable an, which is in the ultima position, refers to the syllable pan in the word *mapan*, both of which occupy the half-ultima position, remaining intact. The word *uripa* is a polymorphic form of the base word *urip* meaning 'life,' receiving the suffix {-a}, where the suffix {-a} indicates hope. Therefore, in terms of meaning the form *uripa mapan* ("live well-stabilized") represents an imperative clause conveying hope. In cognitive semantic theory, a frame refers to the mental structure used to organize knowledge and experience. The word *urup* ('life') has a conceptual frame, meaning: (1) something that refers to activities done daily in this world, and (2) activities carried out daily in the world after today or tomorrow. Additionally, it can refer to someone's life after marriage. On the other hand, *mapan* ('stable') has a frame that can conceptualize everything that has stability, tranquility, resilience, and order in one's life.

Contextually, the meaning of *uripa mapan* can refer to a hope for a stable life. When related to the life of the Javanese community contextually, *mapan* or stability can be understood from various perspectives, including economic, social, or emotional. Someone considered *mapan* economically refers to a stable condition where they have a continuous job and an income that meets their living needs. Mapan socially refers to strong social relationships within the family or community. Emotionally, *mapan* can refer to a mental state that is stable, unaffected by changes or pressures, feeling peaceful and calm, and resilient in facing challenges or difficulties. The complexity of the *uripa mapan* concept, which is a backronym for the naming of food, also reflects the behavior patterns of its society. *Urapan*, which is usually served as a side dish to *tumpêng*, shows the concept of thinking that in life, something can complement another. Just as *tumpêng* rice, without the presence of *urapan* side dishes, would taste bland, so too would its nutritional composition be lacking. This complexity is also reflected in the composition of vegetables used in *urapan*. The suffix {-an} in the word *urapan* refers to the various types of vegetables or dishes. This reflects the complexity of the Javanese people's thinking patterns, where achieving *mapan* or harmony requires a diverse set of abilities or skills.

This understanding is further supported by an explanation from an elder in Surakarta who acquired knowledge of the tradition from their parents. According to the informant, the vegetables used in *urapan* should consist of various types, such as spinach, long beans, bean sprouts, cassava leaves, basil leaves, sliced carrots, and cabbage. These various vegetables are then mixed with grated coconut seasoning to form a unified dish. According to the informant, the diversity of elements in *urapan* symbolizes diversity in life, reflecting the heterogeneity of society, the varied needs of human beings, and the complexity of problems encountered in life.

The informant's explanation provides a contextual basis for interpreting *uripa mapan* as a hope that a person may live a stable life amid the diversity and complexity of life. In other words, being *mapan* does not mean being free from diversity, needs, or problems, but rather having the capacity to face and manage various conditions in a balanced manner. From this perspective, *uripa mapan* expresses not only a hope for a sufficient and stable life but also a hope that a person will possess resilience in facing the dynamics of life.

Urapan, which is typically served as an accompaniment to *tumpêng*, also reflects the concept that, in life, one element can serve as a complement to another. Just as *tumpêng* rice is served together with *urapan*, the accompanying side dish completes the meal in terms of both taste and nutritional composition. The suffix {-an} in the word *urapan* indicates a form or dish consisting of various types of vegetables. Within this conceptual context, the diversity of elements in *urapan* can be understood as representing the idea that a stable and harmonious life requires various elements that complement one another.

Ingkung

Ingkung is a dish consisting of chicken that has been seasoned, cooked, and served whole, without being cut into pieces. In some areas, such as in Surakarta, Karanganyar and Boyolali the *Ingkung* dish in traditional ceremonies is arranged in a position as if the chicken is laying eggs, with its head upright but positioned downward. There are also chickens arranged in a prone position. The figure of *ingkung* can see Picture 5.



Picture 5. *Ingkung*

This is related to the meaning found in the backronym form contained in the word *ingkung*. *Ingkung* has an expanded form that is widely known by the Javanese community, namely *ingkang manêngkung* or 'the one who sits in meditation, worshiping', where the person sitting in worship is in a cross-legged position or folding their legs as a sign of respect or humility to God. The backronym pattern can be seen as shown in Table 5.

Table 5. Backronym pattern of *ingkung*

Syllables in the original word	**Expanded Form**	**Syllables in the original word**	**Expanded Form**
ing-kung [ɪŋkUŋ] <*ingkang manêkung*> ((the one) who sits in worshiping)			
ing-	***ing-****kang*	***-kung***	*ma-ne-****kung***
Full penult	Full penult	Full ultima	Full ultima

In table (5), the word *ingkung*, which consists of two syllables, exhibits a parallel correspondence in both syllable sequence and phonological form with its expanded form. Specifically, the second-to-last syllable (penultimate) of the backronym corresponds directly to the second-to-last syllable of its expanded form, while the final syllable (ultimate) also corresponds to the final syllable of the expanded form. This parallelism indicates that the backronym preserves both the syllabic order and phonological similarity of the original lexical form. For example, the syllable /ing-/ [ɪŋ] in *ingkung*, occupying the penultimate position, corresponds to the syllable /ingkang/ [ɪŋkaŋ] in the expanded form *ingkang manêngkung,* which also occupies the penultimate position. Likewise, the syllable /-kung/ [kʊŋ] in *ingkung*, occurring in the ultimate position, corresponds phonologically to the final syllable /-kung/ in *manêngkung* [manəkuŋ], thereby maintaining the same syllabic sequence and sound pattern.

In terms of meaning, the phrase *ingkang manêkung* ('the one who sits in meditation, worshiping') has a conceptual frame that forms the following ideas: (1) a person who is sitting cross-legged, bowing their head in silence to mention or remember God, the Creator; (2) a person who is sitting cross-legged, bowing their head with the intention of being humble, surrendering themselves; (3) a person who is sitting cross-legged, bowing their head to pray. Contextually, the meaning of the phrase *ingkang manêkung* can refer to a person who is sitting calmly with their legs folded, with the aim of praying to God, the Creator, so that their wishes and hopes may be fulfilled.

The backronymic form in the word *ingkung* is not merely a play on words by chance. In fact, there are philosophical aspects and cultural values embedded in that expression. According to elderly informant from Surakarta, *manêkung*, which indicates a sitting position with crossed legs in humility, serves as a symbol of a person who is praying, representing an attitude of humility and surrender to God. Therefore, this word reflects the perspective of the Javanese people that in their lives, they must always maintain a relationship with their Creator, by praying and surrendering to Him. This sitting position also symbolizes surrender and powerlessness, acknowledging that God is the one who holds control over everything. Thus, the expression within this backronym can function as a reminder for humans to always surrender and place their hopes in God.

This way of thinking is also reflected in the behavior during the implementation of traditional rituals, such as *selamatan*. Before people begin to eat the food served with *ingkung*, they will sit in a circle with their legs crossed and then pray together.

Backronym of the snack category

Lêmpêr

This snack is made from glutinous rice, which is filled with shredded chicken or beef, usually in the form of dried shredded meat (*abon*). *Lêmpêr* is commonly served as a snack during traditional Javanese ceremonies such as weddings, *sêlamatan* (ritual prayers for safety), and *bersih desa* (village cleaning ceremony).



Picture 6. *Lêmpêr*

According to a cultural practitioner from Boyolali, the expanded form of *lemper* is *dilêm aja mèmpêr*, meaning "when praised, do not take it for granted", backronym structure of *lêmpêr* are as follows in Table 6.

Table 6. Backronym pattern of *lêmpêr*

Syllables in the original word	**Expanded Form**	**Syllables in the original word**	**Expanded Form**
	lêm-pêr [ləmpər] <*dilêm aja mèmpêr*> (don't feel complacent when praised)		
lêm-	*di-**lêm** 'praised'*	***-pêr***	*mèm-**pêr*** 'feel complacent'
Full penult	Ultima	Ultima	Ultima

In Table 6, the word *lêmpêr* consists of two syllables that exhibit a Backronym form that is neither aligned nor complete. It is not aligned because the first syllable of the original word does not match the first syllable in its expanded form, but it does match the second syllable. It is considered complete because this syllable has the exact same sound as the syllable in its expanded form, as seen with /lem-/ [ləm] in the word *lêmpêr* [ləmpər], which becomes /lêm-/ [ləm] in its expanded form *dilêm* [diləm], thus showing a complete phonemic similarity. Meanwhile, the second syllable is aligned and complete, as the second syllable (ultima) in the original word matches the second syllable in the expanded form, with both syllables having a complete phonemic similarity in each.

In terms of meaning, the word *dilêm* in the Backronym *dilêm aja mèmpêr* ('don't feel complacent when praised') has a conceptual frame that includes: (1) being praised, (2) being labeled with a good quality or trait, (3) having one's goodness acknowledged or brought up. Meanwhile, *mèmpêr* ('complacent') refers to the meaning: (1) to accept as true, (2) to accept without doubt, (3) to agree, (4) to justify. In the middle of this phrase, there is a negation *aja*

('don't'), which carries the intention of prohibiting or urging someone not to act in the way suggested by the phrase. Therefore, the expanded Backronym form of *lêmpêr*, in context, can be understood as a recommendation or prohibition for someone not to agree with or justify the praise given by others, as a form of humility. According to a cultural practitioner from Boyolali and an elder from Surakarta, not agreeing with the praise means not becoming arrogant or overly proud of the compliments given by others, and recognizing that the praise is indeed deserved. In Javanese culture, such arrogance can easily lead to pride. One should remain humble and polite when receiving praise.

The expression in the form of a prohibition or appeal is actually also reflected in the cultural attitudes of the Javanese people. Someone who is organizing a traditional ceremony will present various dishes and arrange the event's proceedings by paying attention to the comfort and service of the guests. For the Javanese, someone who can organize an event and make the guests feel impressed, satisfied, and happy brings pride to the host. If the guests feel impressed and satisfied, they will give compliments and praise to the host. According to a cultural practitioner from Boyolali, praise directed at the host can naturally make the organizers feel satisfied and proud. However, this feeling is susceptible to making them arrogant or proud, which ultimately may lead them to do things excessively, such as holding an extravagant event beyond their means. Therefore, the Backronym of the snack *lêmpêr* actually serves as a reminder for someone to prioritize the essence of the tradition and not go beyond their abilities.

Lêpêt

Lêpêt is also a type of snack served in various traditional ceremonies, such as weddings and feasts in thanksgiving events. According to a traditional cook from Karanganyar, as corroborated by an elder from Surakarta, *lêpêt* has the expanded form *silêp sing rapêt*, meaning "hide tightly/closed.". Further analysis is as follows in Table 7.

Table 7. Backronym pattern of *lêpêt*

Syllables in the original word	**Expanded Form**	**Syllables in the original word**	**Expanded Form**
lê-pêt [ləpət] <s*ilêp sing rapêt*> (hide tightly/closed)			
lê-	*si-**lêp*** 'hide'	***-pêt***	*ra-**pêt*** 'tightly/closed'
Full penult	Full penult	Full penult	Full ultima

In Table 7, the form *lêpêt* [ləpət] consists of two syllables that have a backronym structure which is not aligned and aligned with the order of syllables in its expanded form, yet complete when viewed from the perspective of phonemic similarity within the syllables.

In terms of meaning, the word *silêp* 'hide' in the backronym *silêp sing rapêt* 'hide tightly/closed' has a conceptual frame which includes: (1) something known is stored, (2) not revealed, (3) not verbally disclosed. Meanwhile, *rapêt* has a conceptual frame that includes: (1)

closed, (2) no gap. Additionally, the conjunction sing is used to further clarify the imperative clause form. The expanded form *silep sing rapet* 'hide tightly/closed', in context, refers to advice or a recommendation to someone to keep any bad things or secrets about others carefully, as long as these things do not have the potential to harm others.

This is consistent with the information provided by an elder from Surakarta. According to the informant, keeping other people's shortcomings or wrongdoings strictly confidential means refraining from gossiping about or exposing their faults. This practice aims to maintain harmony within the community and preserve good relationships with others, recognizing that human beings are never free from mistakes. Therefore, one should be understanding of other people's shortcomings and refrain from exposing their faults.

The advice encapsulated in the backronym *lêpêt* also reflects the cultural attitudes of the Javanese people. In preparing *lêpêt*, when wrapping the ingredients, whether with corn husks or young coconut leaves (*janur*), it must be done tightly and securely. This is done so that when it is boiled, the wrapped mixture does not come undone, resulting in *lêpêt* with a dense, chewy texture that is firm and not soggy or faded, as shown in the Picture 7.



Picture 7. *Lêpêt*

In addition, the backronym can serve as a reminder that when we are guests at a cultural or traditional event, and we notice shortcomings in the event's organization, we should keep it to ourselves and not talk about it to others, in order to maintain the image of the host.

Cognitive and cultural construction of meaning in Javanese *keratabasa*

The analysis of seven traditional Javanese food names used in traditional ceremonies reveals recurring structural tendencies in the formation of *keratabasa*. The data are drawn from three food domains. The typological analysis focuses on the relationship between the original lexical forms and their expanded forms. At the structural level, the analysis considers two main dimensions: phonological correspondence and syllabic alignment. These two dimensions provide a descriptive basis for examining how food names that originally exist as lexical forms are reinterpreted through expanded words, phrases, or clauses.

At the micro-level, the analysis identifies three patterns of phonological correspondence between the original lexical forms and their expanded forms: complete phonological correspondence, partial phonological correspondence, and phonological variation. The analysis also reveals variation in syllabic alignment, ranging from fully aligned patterns to mixed patterns. Full alignment occurs when a syllabic element in the original lexical form corresponds to an element occupying the same syllabic position in the expanded form. In contrast, a mixed pattern occurs when different constituents in an original form correspond to constituents occupying different positions in the expanded form. These patterns indicate that the seven data items exhibit recurring structural tendencies. The expanded expressions associated with *keratabasa* in the food lexicon may also be related to similarities in the foods' physical aspects or characteristics, ingredients, preparation methods, and modes of presentation, as well as to symbolic expressions of prayers and hopes held by the communities that maintain these traditions. Accordingly, their meanings are interpreted through the cognitive identification of these characteristics and subsequently related to the cultural practices, life principles, and local wisdom of Javanese society. Further analysis indicates that these elements are intrinsically interconnected, forming an integrated system in which each component contributes to the overall cultural interpretation and cannot be understood in isolation.

The present study's micro-level analysis of backronym structure, focusing on syllabic alignment and the degree of phonological correspondence between the original lexical forms and their expanded forms, represents a novel contribution that has not been addressed in previous research. Existing studies on acronyms, backronyms, and related forms of linguistic creativity, including those by Al Salman & Haider (2021); Gustilo et.al (2021); Gradinaru (2024); Novoseletska et al. (2024) , have not examined these phenomena from a micro-linguistic perspective. Instead, their analyses have primarily focused on grammatical structure. Similarly, Hadiyansyah et al. (2025), who investigated backronyms in the slogans of Al Azhar Indonesia University, and Ubaidilah (2022), who examined Javanese backronyms (*keratabasa*) in general communicative contexts, likewise concentrated on grammatical aspects without exploring micro-level features, particularly the structural typology based on phonological characteristics. Yet, analysis at this level offers a more nuanced perspective on meaning

construction, enabling a more comprehensive interpretation of the cultural and linguistic significance embodied in backronyms.

Analysis of the meanings conveyed by the expanded forms of backronym structures reveals that these expanded forms are not merely denotative; rather, they are rich in figurative language, metaphor, and symbolism. As linguistic expressions, the expanded forms represent prayers, hopes, moral teachings, appeals for protection, social harmony, and the Javanese worldview transmitted across generations through culinary traditions. Accordingly, interpreting backronyms through the lens of cognitive linguistics enables these figurative and metaphorical meanings to be explained in a more systematic and theoretically grounded manner by revealing how cognition, embodied experience, and culture shape the ways in which a community conceptualizes human beings, social behavior, and cultural values. These findings are consistent with previous studies that have employed cognitive linguistic approaches to the analysis of metaphor in English, such as those by Tianying et al. (2023) and Martin-Gascón (2023). However, to the best of the authors' knowledge, such an analytical framework has not yet been applied to the interpretation of metaphor in Javanese. Consequently, this study offers a new perspective for scholars of the Javanese language and culture by demonstrating the value of integrating cognitive linguistic analysis into the study of Javanese backronym.

The integration of cognitive linguistic analysis within an anthropolinguistic framework also reinforces the perspective advanced by Wasiuta (2023) and Budiono et al. (2026), who argue that cognitive linguistics has increasingly shifted toward empirically grounded approaches by incorporating corpus-based methods to investigate linguistic variation and cognitive processes, including the interpretation of metaphor and other figurative expressions. In this regard, the present study demonstrates that cognitive linguistic analysis can also be effectively integrated into anthropolinguistic research to examine culturally embedded linguistic phenomena. Accordingly, this interdisciplinary integration not only enriches the theoretical foundations of both cognitive linguistics and anthropolinguistics but also offers a practical analytical framework for uncovering the complex interactions among language, cognition, society, and culture. In the context of this study, it provides a more comprehensive understanding of how linguistic forms in Javanese encode and transmit culturally grounded systems of knowledge and meaning.

This perspective is consistent with Foley's (1997) proposition that linguistic structures shape the ways in which individuals perceive and conceptualize the world. Consequently, anthropolinguistic research may incorporate multiple analytical dimensions as the discipline continues to evolve. These include the investigation of language and culture through semiotic systems, cultural transfer, and intercultural exchange (Leerssen, 2021); semantic approaches to idioms and other figurative expressions (Leguy, 2021; Lyu & Li, 2020; Polyezhayev et al., 2024) and analyses of register variation and code-switching in multilingual educational

settings (Iroth et al., 2026). Within this broader development of anthropolinguistic research, the integration of cognitive linguistic analysis adopted in the present study extends previous work on ethnolinguistic and anthropolinguistic approaches to food (Osipova, 2021), as well as studies of Javanese linguistic phenomena in other domains (Prasetya et al., 2026; Widayat & Dwiadmojo, 2023).

IV. CONCLUSION

Keratabasa in traditional Javanese food names represents the interconnectedness between linguistic creativity and the cultural values of Javanese society. Based on the findings, this study proposes an initial descriptive typology of *keratabasa* based on two dimensions: phonological correspondence and syllabic alignment. Phonological correspondence comprises complete correspondence, partial correspondence, and phonological variation, while syllabic alignment encompasses aligned and mixed patterns. At the micro linguistic level, expanded *keratabasa* forms are constructed through relationships between the sound structure of the original forms and the phonological and syllabic elements of their expanded forms. These forms may take the shape of words, phrases, or clauses that connect food names with cultural meanings. From anthropolinguistic and Cognitive Frame Semantics perspectives, *keratabasa* conceptualizes cultural values including prayers, morality, humility, protection, forgiveness, social harmony, and well-being. In a broader context, this initial typology provides a perspective for examining the relationship between lexical reinterpretation, sound correspondence, and meaning construction in *folk etymology*, *phono-semantic matching*, and *word formation*. Thus, Javanese *keratabasa* data may serve as a starting point for comparative studies of similar phenomena across languages and cultures. However, because this study covers only seven *keratabasa* data items associated with traditional food names used in traditional ceremonies, the proposed typology remains preliminary and descriptive and cannot yet be generalized beyond the research corpus. Future research may investigate the application of this structural typology to other Austronesian languages that employ sound-based wordplay or folk etymology in naming practices.

DECLARATION

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