

EXPLORING THE *TEMOKAN TRADITION* IN JAVANESE WEDDINGS: AN ANTHROPOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

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Abstract

This study explores the textual, contextual, and non-contextual elements of the Temokan tradition, a vital aspect of Javanese traditional wedding ceremonies. Specifically, it examines the interplay between text, co-text, and context within these ceremonial performances. Data were collected through interviews with informants and analyzed using a descriptive qualitative method combined with an ethnographic approach. The research identifies 10 distinct performances and 10 associated texts, involving 8 types of objects classified based on their co-textual features. The co-text in the Temokan tradition includes material elements such as objects used in the ceremonies, the spatial arrangement and distance between participants, and gestures that convey symbolic meaning. Contextual elements encompass ideological, social, cultural, and situational factors, illustrating the depth and richness of the tradition. These elements are further embedded with values and norms, including religious, logical, ethical, and aesthetic dimensions. Norms such as etiquette, customary practices, legal expectations, and habitual behaviors further reflect the tradition's cultural significance. From an anthropolinguistic perspective, the study highlights key performances such as *Gantalan Sadak*, *Wiji Dadi*, *Wiji Suku*, *Sindur Binayang*, *Pangkon Timbang*, *Tanduring Pengantin*, *Kacar-Kucur*, *Dahar Kembul*, *Martuwi*, and *Sungkeman*. These performances encapsulate the symbolic, cultural, and social meanings that sustain the Temokan tradition's role in preserving Javanese identity and heritage. This research contributes to understanding how linguistic and cultural practices interweave in traditional ceremonies.

Keywords: *antropolinguistic; Jawa; performance; Temokan*

1. Introduction

In anthropolinguistics, "cultural studies" refers to the examination of cultural complexities through linguistic and cultural-linguistic perspectives. Various aspects of human life—such as politics, religion, history, and commerce—are central to anthropolinguistic studies as they are mediated and shaped by language. To function effectively in cultural activities, the structure of language must align with the traditions and conventions of the society in which it operates. Anthropolinguistic research enables a comprehensive understanding of language use by integrating theoretical elements with the customs and cultural practices of a community.

Simalungun Regency, located in North Sumatra Province, Indonesia, is an area rich in traditions and cultural heritage. According to the Central Statistics Agency (2020), its population predominantly comprises Javanese and Batak ethnic groups, with the Javanese forming the largest demographic. Javanese traditions, as intangible cultural heritage, continue to be preserved and transmitted across generations. However, the expansion of Javanese cultural influence has been shaped by various factors, often integrating peacefully into local contexts. In this setting, the *Temokan* tradition, a customary Javanese wedding ceremony, holds particular significance.

Unfortunately, the *Temokan* tradition is increasingly rare, facing a decline in perceived importance due to societal underestimation of its spiritual and cultural grandeur. This marginalization is also observed in Dusun III Karang Keri, Simalungun Regency, where the tradition is regarded as less essential. Anthrop linguistics, as defined by Sibarani (2020), examines the interrelation of language with ethnic customs, kinship systems, traditions, and cultural patterns, providing a valuable lens for studying the *Temokan* tradition.

Within this framework, the *Temokan* tradition reveals the intricate connections between language, symbolism, and cultural identity in Javanese society. The tradition emphasizes core values such as honor, hierarchy, and familial relationships, which are expressed through language and ritual actions. Key anthropolinguistic aspects of the *Temokan* tradition include:

1. Language Symbolism and Social Ethics

Language in *Temokan* rituals embodies symbolism, manifesting through honorifics and refined expressions that reflect Javanese social hierarchies and etiquette, as explored by Errington (1988).

2. Language as Performative Act

Rituals such as *balangan gantal* (throwing betel nuts) and *sungkeman* (seeking parental blessing) exemplify Austin's (1962) concept of performative language, where words serve as actions that alter social realities, such as legitimizing marriage.

3. Language and Cultural Identity

The language of *Temokan* highlights Javanese identity, reinforcing values of politeness, devotion, and ancestral respect, akin to Geertz's (1973) notion of cultural symbols shaping societal identity.

4. Language and Social Relations

As Duranti (1997) notes, language in rituals not only conveys meaning but also establishes and legitimizes social bonds. In *Temokan*, it serves as a medium for strengthening familial ties and constructing social structures.

By applying an anthropolinguistic approach, the *Temokan* tradition emerges as more than a wedding ceremony—it is a cultural practice that demonstrates the role of language and symbolism in sustaining social cohesion, constructing identity, and upholding the values of Javanese society.

2. Literature Review

Performance has two main assumptions. The first is that discussing performance involves both perception and production. The second assumption is that the scientific method requires us to ignore performance, as it is influenced by "memory involvement, attention and interest shifts, and errors," meaning every perception is linked to human thinking patterns. Hymes (1972) suggests that performance is not mechanical or inferior.

Instead, in many discussions, performance is viewed as a form of creativity within a community, expressed and inspired through conversation and daily life. The Temokan tradition is one such heritage, believed to be the result of the thoughts of past elders and a form of oral tradition where the delivery is adjusted to the context of the situation and activities, in alignment with cultural norms. This perspective aligns with Bauman's (1992) view, which posits that performance serves as a means of communicating behavior and is a type of communication event. Regarding the concept of performance, Bauman (1992) highlights that the common aspect of performance is its actual execution, in contrast to the potential capacities, models, and abstractions of such actions.

In communication, texts as verbal signs are typically accompanied by other signs that work together with the text. Oral tradition texts are similarly used alongside other signs, which play an important role in the practice of oral tradition discourse. These additional signs are referred to as co-texts (Sibarani, 2015). Van Dijk (1985) identifies three frameworks of text structure: macrostructure, superstructure, and microstructure. When these elements support one another, they help build the text, making the study of all three crucial for understanding oral tradition texts. In oral tradition performance, the text represents verbal expression or verbal behavior that conveys culture.

Sibarani (2015) categorizes co-text into paralinguistic, kinetic, proxemic, and material elements. These co-texts serve to clarify the message or meaning of a text and accompany the text during its creation (production), delivery (distribution), and interpretation (consumption) in oral tradition discourse. Oral tradition, as a performance, is always bound to the context of the situation, including the cultural, social, and ideological contexts. Situational context refers to the time, place, and manner in which the text is performed. The questions that arise regarding this context are: when, where, and how is the text performed? Cultural context concerns the cultural purposes for which the oral tradition is used, answering the question: for what cultural purpose is the oral tradition performed? Social context, on the other hand, refers to social factors that influence and shape the use of oral traditions, including gender, social stratification, ethnicity, place, education, age, and other social distinctions. The question here is: who is involved in the text? This includes actors, managers, connoisseurs, and even the supporting community.

To provide a more comprehensive understanding, several relevant studies guide this research. The first is Akhsan's (2022) study titled *The Study of Cultural Values in the Procession of Javanese Tradition Temu Manten in Kediri District*, which found that the implementation of the *temu manten* (or *panggih*) tradition in Kediri Regency involves several processes, including *Sanggan*, *Tukar Kembar Mayang*, *Balangan Gantal*, *Ranupada*, *Sinduran*, *Pangkon Timbang*, *Kacar Kucur*, *Dulangan*, *Mapag Besan*, and *Sungkem/Pangabekten*.

The second study, conducted by Setiawan (2021), is titled *Anthropolinguistic Studies in the Bridal Procession of the Pasuruan Regency Community*. It discusses the use of cultural terms, naming conventions, politeness, and cultural entities, especially in *Kawi* language, to preserve ancient Javanese culture. In contrast, modern bridal processions rarely use standard Indonesian or often incorporate foreign languages to create a more contemporary feel, with Javanese still being used to maintain a polite impression during the ceremony.

The third study by Lusiana (2021), titled *Christian Values Contained in the Temu Manten Ceremony in Javanese Traditional Marriages*, highlights how the implementation of the *temu manten* or *panggih* tradition is intertwined with Christian values, particularly in Catholicism.

3. Method

The research method employed is qualitative descriptive. The material object of this study is the *Temokan* tradition observed at Javanese weddings in Simalungun Regency. The data sources consist of audio-visual recordings captured during *Temokan* activities across various situations, field notes from interviews, and observations derived from video documentation, which were personally recorded by the researcher. These data are further supported by scholarly articles and books on Javanese culture, particularly those related to the *Temokan* tradition. The data used in this study include:

Video or Audio Recordings:

- Visual documentation of the procedures and symbols used, such as *kembar mayang* and others.
- Audio recordings of dialogues or speeches during the procession, including prayers and marriage advice.

Interview Results:

- Insights from participants or witnesses of the procession, such as *pranata cara* (ceremonial officiants).
- Understanding the philosophical meanings behind each stage of the *Temokan* tradition.
- Variations in the implementation of the tradition across different regions or families, including modern adaptations and changes.

Direct Observation:

- Detailed descriptions of the implementation process, including the sequence of events and the time taken.
- Socio-cultural dynamics: interactions among the bridal family, guests, and community members.
- Emotional atmosphere: expressions of gratitude, happiness, and hope during the ceremony.

4. Results and Discussion

As outlined in the background section, this part addresses three key aspects in response to the problem formulation: performance, text, co-text, and context within the *Temokan* tradition in the Javanese community.

4.1 Performance

Based on the observations and interviews conducted by the researchers, the stages involved in the implementation of the *Temokan* tradition are as follows:

1. *Gantalan Sadak*

Gantalan Sadak is a ritual in which the bride and groom throw *gantalan* at each other. *Gantalan* consists of small rolls of betel leaves tied with "lawe" thread and comes in two types: male and female. The ritual begins with the couple exchanging glances and smiles, followed by gradually approaching one another before throwing the betel leaves. Each stage of this ritual is imbued with symbolic gestures, actions, and objects, each carrying specific meanings and values.



2. *Wiji Dadi*

Wiji Dadi involves the groom stepping on a chicken egg. In this ritual, the groom removes his footwear and steps on a prepared egg. Each element of this stage, including words, actions, and objects used, holds its own meaning and value.



3. *Wiji Suku*

Wiji Suku is a tradition in which the bride washes the groom's feet after the “Wiji Dadi” ceremony. The water used for this is made from “Sekar Triwarna” flowers, which are a blend of rose, jasmine, and “kanthil” flowers.



4. *Sindur Binayang*

Sindur Binayang is a tradition where the couple stands behind the bride's father, holding the back of his clothes on each side. The bride's mother then accompanies them, covering their shoulders with a red-and-white "sindur" cloth as they walk towards the wedding dais alongside the bride's father.



5. *Pangkon Timbang*

Pangkon Timbang is a ritual where the bride's father holds both the bride and groom; the groom sits on his right side, and the bride on his left, symbolically weighing them.



6. *Tanduring Pengantin*

Tanduring Pengantin is the moment when the bride's father places the couple on the wedding dais.



7. *Kacar-Kucur*

Kacar-Kucur is a tradition where the groom pours symbolic offerings, or *guno-koyo*, which the bride collects using a “kacu bangun tulak” cloth.



8. *Dahar Kembul*

Dahar Kembul is a tradition where the bride and groom eat together and feed each other. The bride first feeds the groom, and then they drink coconut water from a cup.



9. *Martuwi*

Martuwi refers to the moment when the couple formally invites the parents of the groom.



10. *Sungkeman*

Sungkeman is a tradition where the couple kneels and kisses the knees of their parents in turn. The sequence starts with the groom's father, followed by the groom's mother, then the bride's father, and finally the bride's mother.



Text

A text is an expression or statement produced by a performer. This means that text contains expressions with messages conveyed by the performer to the audience. Meanwhile, the meaning of the text refers to the significance derived from the realization of lexicogrammatical elements, which serve as the medium to produce a structured text, whether written or oral, and fit within a specific context when the language is used, often following a periodic pattern (Martin, 1992:10). The following are the texts gathered from the study of the *Temokan* tradition in Javanese weddings:

Text 1:

"Assalammualaikum Wr. Wb. Kita ketemu kulo nang acara temu penganten putu kita Suriadi ambe putu kulo Marlinda, sholawat berangkaikan salam mari lha kita panjatkan puja dan puji syukur kehadiran Allah SWT ambe kanjeng nabi Muhammad SAW junjungan kita dunio iki. Ashaduallahillahaillallah waashaduanna muhammaddarasulullah."

The meaning of Text 1 is to seek the blessing of Allah SWT, conveyed through the expression of **salawat** accompanied by greetings. It invites us to offer praise and gratitude to Allah SWT and the Prophet Muhammad SAW. In essence, the **salawat** with greetings encourages us to praise and thank Allah SWT and the Prophet Muhammad SAW.

Text 2:

"Temanten kakung mecah hantiga, punika pratandha bilih piyambakipun sampun samekta samapta yen ta badhe ngayani, ngayemi lan ngayomi garwanipun"

The meaning of Text 2 is that when the groom breaks an egg, it symbolizes his readiness and willingness to bring happiness and protection to his partner in any situation. The act of stepping on the egg reflects the responsibility the groom takes on in marrying his partner, comparable to taking the bride's virginity—just as an egg cannot be restored once broken, the groom is expected to uphold happiness and provide protection. This message implies that when a husband takes his wife's purity, he should be prepared to bring happiness and shield her through life's challenges.

Text 3:

"Temanten putri hamijiki ampeyanipun temanten kakung, punika minangka pralampita bilih piyambakipun sampun samekta samapta badhe bektos dhateng kakungipun."

The meaning of Text 3 is seen when the bride washes the groom's feet, symbolizing her willingness and readiness to serve her husband. This action also serves as advice to the bride to fulfill her role of devotion to her husband in married life.

Text 4:

"Ing pungkasan upacara ngumbah sikil, penganten putri ngaturake sembah marang penganten kakung utawa kakung. Penganten kakung ngangkat garwane sing ditresnani lumaku jejer ing lorong. Bapak lumampah wonten ing sangajengipun penganten menika gadhah teges inggih menika bapak maringi tuladha saha tindak tanduk ingkang sae kangge penganten. Ibu mlaku bareng karo penganten, nutupi pundhake penganten nganggo kain sindur sing diarani sindur binayang, tegese Tut Wuri Handayani. Kanthi ati sing mantep lan bangga. Bapak mlaku dikancani penganten kakung tumuju selawe"

The meaning of Text 4 is represented by the father walking ahead of the couple, symbolizing his role as a model of good behavior for the newlyweds. It also conveys advice to the bride's father, highlighting a father's responsibility to set a positive example for the couple.

Text 5:

"Sanggya adilenggah ingkang minulya, punika lah ingkang winastan Timbangan, temanten kekalih kapangku ing jengku, ingkang ibu matur, "awrat pundi Pak ?" Ingkang rama mangsuli "ah, padha wae" punika minangka pepenget dhateng tiyang sepuh supados mboten mbedakmbedakaken antawisipun putra lan mantu, sedaya sampun karengkuh putra piyambak"

Text 5 reflects the interaction between mother and father as they ask each other, "Which one is heavier, dear?" The father responds, "Oh, they are the same." This exchange shows that parents make no distinction between their biological child and their child-in-law; both are treated as their own. In this stage, the couple sits on the bride's father's lap, and the mother asks, "Which one is heavier, dear?" The father replies, "Oh, they are the same," indicating that parents do not differentiate between their child and their child-in-law. Both are cherished equally, viewing the child-in-law as their own. Therefore, this stage advises that parents should love their child-in-law as they love their own child.

Text 6:

"Adicoro tandur penganten katindakaken dene ingkang room kanti ngelenggahaken penganten kekalih soho paring pangandikan: sing teguh, sing kukuh lan sing pengkuh anggota mbangun brayat"

The meaning of Text 6 is about advice, displayed when the father sits on the wedding dais with the couple and gives them counsel. His purpose is to strengthen the couple so that they may always be steadfast and stable in their married life, which is symbolized by the

father's action of sitting with them. Through this gesture, he continually prays for harmony and smoothness in their household. His words are intended to strengthen the couple as they embark on their marital journey.

Text 7:

"Kacar – kucur sagung minulyo. Adicoro adat mniko kasusul. Adicoro tompo koyo, ingkang paring pertondo bilih penganten kakungnggadahi tanggél jawab dumateng garwanipun."

The meaning of Text 7 pertains to the groom's responsibility toward his wife and family. The phrase "Kacar-kucur" represents the principle that a husband must always take responsibility for his wife and family. The expression "Kacar-kucur wong lio dadi sedulur" implies a transformation from strangers to family, underscoring the husband's duty to prioritize his family. As the wedding celebration unites both families, it emphasizes that people who were once strangers are now part of a single family.

Text 8:

"Pinongko tondo silih asih, asah lan asuh, kalihkalihipun nindakaken, adicoro dulangan utawi ahah walimah. Dulangan, punika mujudaken setunggaling kekudangan supados temanten kakung putri tetepa setunggal raos ing lair lan batos, jumbuh ing reh sedaya gegayuhanipun"

Text 8 reflects aspirations and hope, as the bride and groom declare their commitment to mutual love, support, and understanding. This message emphasizes the importance of loyalty, understanding, and cooperation in marriage, symbolizing the mutual love, guidance, and support necessary for marital life. When the couple exchanges glasses of water, it represents their commitment to protect one another and create a safe and harmonious household.

Text 9:

"Poru rawuh ingkang kinormatan, kasusul rawuhing besan netapi adicoro tilik pitik, besan martuwi. Ing ngarsanipun/dumateng Bp/ibu sumonggo kerso mapak Bapak soho ibu besan dumaten penganten kekalih kasuwun jumeneng sak watewes wedal nampi rawuhipun bp/ibu besan sampun samodyo wonten papan wismanipun bp/ibu ngaturaken sugeng rawuh ing ngarsamipun bp/ibu besan soho kulo aturi lenggah ingkang sakeco"

The meaning of Text 9 is about advice. In this stage, the couple invites the groom's parents to sit together on the dais, symbolizing the bride's dedication to her in-laws, just as she is to her own parents.

Text 10:

"Risang penganten jengkar saking palenggahan, tumuli anjengku tumungkul amarikelu yayah konjem ing pratiwi. Tangkeping asta sumembah ing jengku ramaibu, sinartan eninging cipta rumasuk telenging kalbu, nyuwun pangestu cumadhong rumentahing sih pudyastuti. Penganten enget bilih ingkang rama punika kang wus sembada ngukir jiwa raga miwah dadya lantaraning tumuwuh. Enget bilih ingkang ibu wus kawawa dadya lantaraning yogabrata salebeting sangang wulan sedasa ari. Enget yen wus digegadhang kanthi kebak ing raos asih, bisaa mikul dhuwur. mendhem jero asmaning asepuh. Sanadyan lir sinendhal mayang"

panggalihipun rama-ibu dupi hanampi sungkemipun ingkang putra, jroning galih tansah mawantu-wantu paringipun puji pendonga, mugi risang penganten sarimbit tansah Temokan cepaka mulya sawakulwakul gedhene. Liripun sageda lestari pinesthining jodho, atut runtut bagya mulya, cinaket ing nugraha, tebih ing gora godha lan rencana, tansah sembada kang sinedya, tansah linuberaan sihing Kang Maha Kuwasa"

Text 10 conveys the idea of hope, where during the *sungkeman*, both parents receive respect from the couple. It symbolizes that parents continuously offer blessings and that the couple may receive grace, abundant blessings, and always remain under Allah's protection.

Co-text

Co-text refers to the accompanying elements that support the main text in the performance of the Temokan tradition. These elements relate to meanings and symbols that clarify the tradition's narrative. The co-textual elements in the Temokan tradition during Javanese weddings include material components (such as objects), physical proximity, and gestures.

Context

Context encompasses the cultural elements that influence the use of language during a cultural event to convey ideas or concepts. It also includes the broader cultural purposes associated with the text, covering ideological, social, cultural, and situational dimensions. In the Temokan tradition performed at Javanese weddings, the context incorporates ideological, social, cultural, and situational aspects.

The following are detailed explanations of the performance contexts in the Temokan tradition:

1. Situational Context

Situational context pertains to the time, place, and textual use within the event. The Temokan tradition at Javanese weddings is typically performed in the morning, between 09:00 and 12:00 WIB. The day of the event is chosen based on mutual agreement between the families of the bride and groom, considering auspicious days in Javanese beliefs. The venue for the Temokan tradition is generally either the bride's or the groom's home. The ceremony usually concludes before the midday (dzuhur) prayer. A significant aspect of this event is the meeting of the bride and groom, which includes verbal expressions such as congratulations, advice, and hopes for their future together. The situational context also involves the arrangement of participants, including the bride and groom, the protocol officer, the procession director, musicians, and the audience. The context determines the roles and positions of all participants within the designated spaces for the event.

2. Social Context

The social context highlights factors influencing variations in language use, such as gender, social class, and age. For instance, age determines whether individuals are eligible to marry according to tradition, religion, and national regulations. Social class can also impact the number of guests attending the ceremony.

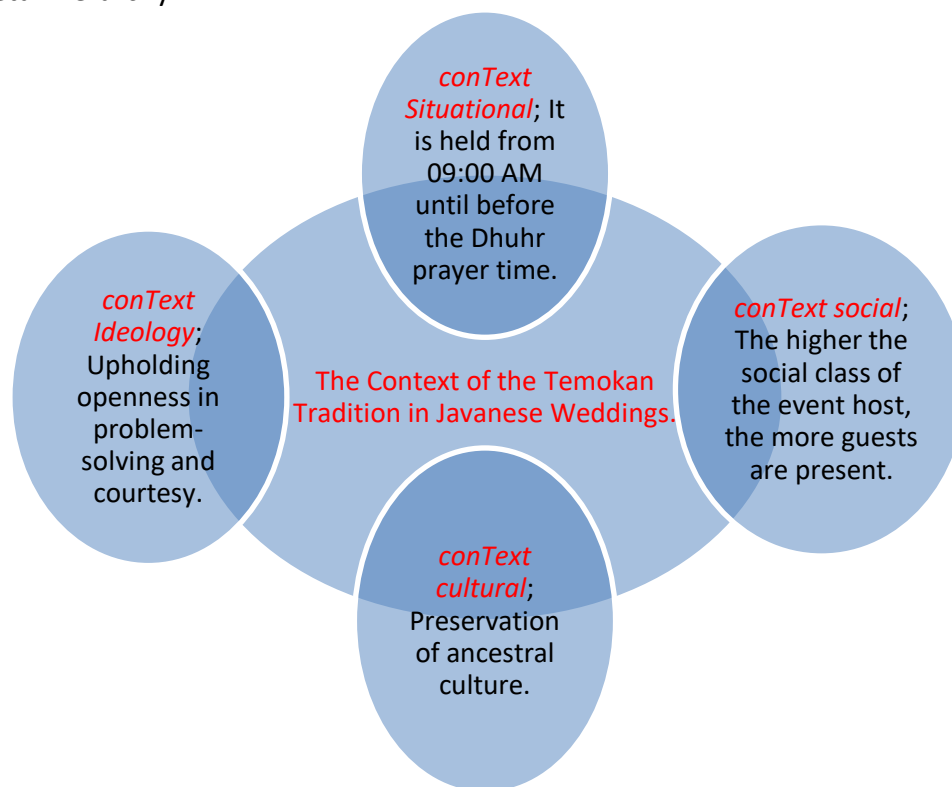
3. Cultural Context

The cultural context reflects the broader purpose or intention of preserving the Temokan tradition within Javanese weddings. This tradition serves to uphold and perpetuate Javanese cultural heritage, ensuring it remains vibrant despite modern influences.

The tradition also aims to introduce the bride and groom to their extended families, religious and community leaders, and local neighbors. By continuing this practice, the Javanese community ensures that younger generations remain connected to their cultural roots, enabling the tradition to endure for future descendants.

4. Ideological Context

The ideological context involves the beliefs, values, and principles upheld by a community. Among the Javanese, openness and family involvement are core ideals, particularly in resolving matters during traditional events. The Javanese also value politeness and respect, as demonstrated in the Temokan tradition, where elders and honorable individuals are given precedence. This reflects a deep appreciation for parents, knowledge, and societal hierarchy.



Values

Javanese society continues to uphold and preserve the values and norms associated with its traditions. At the same time, Javanese people exhibit a dynamic character, enabling them to discern and adopt aspects of other cultural traditions that are deemed beneficial without abandoning their own cultural heritage.

The values reflected in the performance of the Temokan tradition at Javanese weddings are as follows:

1. Religious Values

This tradition is performed as an expression of gratitude to the Creator, Allah SWT, with the hope of receiving His blessings and guidance at every stage of the Temokan tradition.

These values emphasize the importance of being grateful and providing mutual counsel. The religious significance of the tradition is evident in the following linguistic expressions:

"Assalammualaikum Wr. Wb. We meet kulo nang event temu penganten putu kami Suriadi ambe putu kulo Marlinda, sholawat berangkaikan salam let us praise and thank Allah SWT ambe kanjeng nabi Muhammad SAW junjungan kami dunio iki. Ashaduallahillahaillalah waashaduanna muhammaddarasulullah."

2. Logical value

This tradition continues to be practiced in the area due to its inherent logical value, as it is believed to bring positive benefits. Moreover, it is thought that performing the tradition with sincere faith can lead to the fulfillment of one's requests.

3. Ethical Values

Ethical considerations in communication are essential during the Temokan tradition. Words spoken, often in the form of prayers and advice, must be delivered with politeness and sincerity. The ethical framework of this tradition, particularly the sequence of its execution, emphasizes respect for elders and individuals of higher social status. This adherence to proper etiquette ensures that the event is conducted in an orderly manner, reflecting values such as mutual respect, appreciation, responsibility, and social harmony.

4. Aesthetic Values

The aesthetic value of the Temokan tradition is evident in the traditional attire and material elements used during the event. Decorations such as tarub installations and the vibrant colors of traditional clothing—red, golden yellow, and blue—create an atmosphere of joy, grandeur, and peace. These aesthetic elements highlight the tradition's appreciation of beauty, symbolizing magnificence and celebrating humanity as God's most perfect creation.

5. Conclusion

The *Temokan* tradition in Javanese wedding ceremonies exemplifies a rich tapestry of cultural expressions, rituals, and symbolisms that convey profound values and societal expectations in married life. This study explores the interconnected dimensions of performance, text, co-text, and context within the *Temokan* tradition. The performance aspect highlights the intricate sequence of rituals, each imbued with symbolic meaning and purpose. From *Gantalan Sadak*, symbolizing mutual acceptance, to *Sungkeman*, embodying respect and gratitude toward parents, these rituals reflect the cultural significance of unity, responsibility, and familial harmony. The textual analysis reveals how linguistic elements convey values and advice integral to the ceremonies. Expressions like those in *Wiji Dadi* and *Sindur Binayang* emphasize the roles and responsibilities of both the groom and bride while also offering wisdom on marital harmony. The texts reflect a shared cultural ethos of respect, devotion, and partnership, encouraging couples to build a stable and fulfilling family life. The co-text and context dimensions underscore the broader societal and familial framework in which the *Temokan* tradition operates. Each ritual and accompanying text reinforces community values, emphasizing the interconnectedness of family, tradition, and societal roles.

Overall, the *Temokan* tradition serves as a powerful cultural mechanism for transmitting values, fostering unity, and preparing couples for the journey of married life. Its intricate blend of performance, textual richness, and contextual depth showcases the enduring relevance of Javanese cultural heritage in contemporary society.

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