

Death-related expressions in Javanese *angkating layon* speech and English eulogy

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ABSTRACT

Cultures hold different perceptions of death and demonstrate different linguistic behaviors when performing funeral rituals. This article compares *angkating layon* speech in Javanese society and eulogies in American society focusing on the use of death-related expressions to reveal their rhetorical function and significance in articulating the two societies' perception toward death. The data are collected from ten *angkating layon* speech texts recorded from actual funeral ceremonies and ten eulogy texts downloaded from the internet. Conceptually, this article applies Kunkel's and Dennis's (2003) idea of eulogical rhetoric and Lakoff's and Johnson's (1980) theory of conceptual metaphor. The findings show that both societies conceptualize death into DEATH IS A JOURNEY and DEATH IS REST. *Angkating layon* speech is an allusion for sincere acceptance of death, uses less elaborate positive euphemism as a brief report of the deceased's good characters, and evokes empathy and sincere prayer for the deceased. Meanwhile, a eulogy is a means of maintaining togetherness between the dead and the living, uses elaborate positive euphemism to create a good impression of the eulogized, and thus, appeals more strongly to the memory of the living. It concludes that the Javanese are open about the dead body, create such euphemisms as *almarhum(ah)*, *layon/jenazah*, and *swargi* to mark the dead as 'other' suggesting that he/she is no longer part of the society, and readily accept a permanent separation from the dead. On the contrary, Americans are reluctant to mention the dead body, deny separation from the dead, and use almost non-existent lexical marker 'late' signifying death as another episode of life that never affects their relationship with the deceased.

Keywords: American eulogy; death euphemism; Javanese funeral speech; rhetoric

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INTRODUCTION

We have witnessed changes in many aspects of life, but our fear of death remains unchangeable. "Death is still a fearful, frightening happening, and the fear of death is a universal fear even if we think we have mastered it on many levels." Kübler-Ross (2009, p. 4). If we continue having a fear of death without means to avoid it, how do we deal with it? In Javanese society where death is generally perceived as a natural part of the life cycle, people can accept the death of a beloved more easily.

The remark "everything from God will return to Him" is frequently made upon hearing of a death, regardless of the religion of the deceased (Subagya, 2004, p. 83). Unlike the Javanese, Americans perceive death as a "failure to maintain life" (Laderman, 2003) leading to a general attitude of "denial toward death" (Essman, 2014). How are their different attitudes toward death reflected in funeral speeches?

Taking death as a natural part of the life cycle, Javanese people feel at ease when discussing death,

even in the presence of the bereaved. They expect that an *angkating layon* speech mentions death, the dead, dead body, and burial. The use of a direct way will not cause an offense to the audience. On the contrary, seeing death as a failure of the dead, American society face the death of a beloved with much regret and deep pain. To mitigate the pain, they avoid talking about death, dead body, or burial. When one needs to talk about them in the presence of the bereaved such as when delivering in a eulogy, one will do it in most tactful and indirect ways by means of the euphemism “[to] show concern for the feelings of our fellow human beings” (Abbott, 2010, p. 51). A linguistic study on the set of death-related expressions used in funeral speeches in Javanese and American cultures will reveal the rhetorical function of funeral speeches and the perception toward death in each culture.

Previous studies on funeral speeches across culture and time reveal that they are carefully crafted (see Farghal, 1995; Fernández, 2006; Kunkel & Dennis, 2003;) and carry heavy social, economic, and political messages (Stevanović, 2009; Warambo, Otero, & Suleh, 2015). Studies also reveal various attitudes toward death (see Bailey & Walter, 2016 for conquest of death; Essman, 2014 for denial toward death; Nyakoe, Matu, & Ongarora, 2012 for a negation of death). Euphemisms of death have also been extensively researched both in a single culture (Crystal, 2014 on English euphemism for death; Herat, 2014 on death notion in Sri Lanka; Nyakoe, et al., 2012 on conceptualization of death in EkeGusii euphemism; Pound, 1936 on American euphemism for dying, death and burial) as well as in comparison of two cultures (Gomaa & Shi, 2012 for death euphemism in Egyptian Arabic and Chinese; Rui, 2010 for English and Chinese death euphemism) or even studied cross-culturally (Palgi & Abramovitch, 1984). However, research on euphemisms in a funeral speech in Javanese society has not received equal attention. What is abundant in the literature is *slametan* (review in Boogert, 2017). A brief account on funeral service in Javanese society is available from the earlier publication by Geertz (1973) as part of his studies on Javanese culture. A more comprehensive account on death within the Javanese culture constellation is available in Subagya’s ethnographic study on death (2004). It reveals that death in the Javanese people’s conception is “not seen as an end that consumes one’s life, rather as a passive process that one has accomplished within a certain extent of life. Both Geertz (1973) and Subagya (2004) did not analyze texts produced for the funeral service. So far, a comparative study on Javanese and American funeral speeches has not been conducted. This article addresses two questions related to death in two cultures: how Javanese and American euphemize die, death, the dead, dead body, burial, and grave in their *angkating layon* speech and eulogy, and how their linguistic practices index their perception toward death. The answers to these questions will be expanded upon below to explain

these societies' differences and similarities in perceiving death.

Angkating layon speech and eulogy

Funeral ceremony in the Javanese society is generally called *angkating layon*. The name suggests the departure (*angkat-ing*) of the deceased (*layon*) from home to the grave. Strong adherents of Javanese custom might follow with a series of postfuneral rituals to pray for the dead (or *slametans*) because of their significances for the community (Boogert, 2017; Kistanto, 2016). With the rising awareness of Islam, it is performed today under a strong influence of Islamic teachings, and no longer followed with *slametans*. In predominantly non-muslim regions, however, it remains purely Javanese, and the *slametan* continues.

Angkating layon among Javanese speech society demonstrates some invariant speeches as an expression of respect by condolence sayers to the dead and the bereaved family, and vice versa. They are generally short due to a commonly held belief under the Islamic influence that a funeral ceremony should be brief to allow immediate internment. The first speech is by a member of the bereaved family which contains an expression of gratitude to the condolence sayers for their sympathy and the neighbors for their assistance, appeal for forgiveness for the dead, and transfer of responsibility from the dead to the survivors. The second speech is a response by a representative of the condolence sayers. The speeches share similar structure and expressions that reveal a unified collective perception toward death among the Javanese society.

Eulogy in American society is a way to acknowledge the life of a person who has died, delivered by a family member or a close family friend. Regarding the significance of eulogy, Davies (2002, cited in Bailey & Walter, 2016, p. 153) argues that ‘words against death’ in the funeral ritual is powerful because they give back the energy of life to the mourners in the face of death. He further elaborates the words that can transform the mourners into living more strongly include words of comfort to the grieving, words proclaiming the religious meaning of death, words evoking any ‘significant realm’ in which death may have a meaning, words assuring that death will not have been in vain, poetry expressing loss and survival, and words incorporated into music and drama (p.154). These words also reveal the American society’s perception of death.

(Death) Euphemisms

In a narrowed scope definition, euphemism is “a way to convey something without saying a specific word that may be considered too blunt or direct” (Heerema, 2018). Broadly defined, euphemism is any word or phrase that substitutes for another word or phrase that makes us uneasy (Keyes, 2010). In the context of death, euphemism is “an attempts to evoke gentle emotions to find in death and burial a melancholy romance or noble dignity” (Pound, 1936, p. 196) and “are routinely

employed as a linguistic device for holding the emotional distress elicited by bereavement at arm's length" (Brennan, 2014, p. 192). Today, euphemisms for death range from the solemn and dignified to the jocular and mischievous (Crystal, 2014). Jocular euphemisms for death are regarded by Pound (1936) against the tradition of sentiment. Crystal (2014) identifies sources of euphemisms in the Bible, classical texts, Greek mythology, Latin, shipping, livestock industry, pastimes, mining, finance, and wartime. Euphemisms also vary in style; some example of the contrast between formality and solemnity with colloquialism and slang are given by Crystal (2014): "yield the ghost," "expire," and "pass away" versus "go off the hooks," "kick the bucket," and "zonk."

METHOD

Data collection

Euphemisms and non-euphemisms for death and dying were collected from ten *angkating layon* speeches recorded from actual funeral services performed by the Javanese speech community in Yogyakarta during the 2011-2012 periods, and ten eulogies downloaded from several websites some of which also provide an audiovisual recording of the funeral service to verify that the eulogies are original. The eulogies were selected to represent different circles in American society, which are a politician, athlete, soldier/ firefighter, artist, and religious figure. The *angkating layon* speeches were transcribed orthographically, while the transcript of the eulogies is available from the websites.

The research focused on the identification of death-related expressions and their context. It aims at recognizing the euphemism types in *angkating layon* speech and eulogies.

Data classification

The data are classified into euphemism or non-euphemism type. A further classification of euphemisms follows Conzelmann, Hernandez, and Sherpa ("Euphemism for death"), who divide death euphemism into five types, which are general, religion, medical, murder/suicide, and related term.

Data analysis

The data analysis involves 1) studying the context of the identified death-related expressions and interpreting the speakers' intentions of use, and 2) comparing the findings of the analysis and inferring the two societies' perceptions toward death. The first applies the concepts of eulogical rhetoric (Kunkel & Dennis, 2003) that eulogies should respond to the target audience's situation and expectations, and the second applies the conceptual metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

In line with the research questions, the first part of this section is death related expressions and their rhetorical

function in both *angkating layon* speech and eulogy, and the second part is an interpretation of the two societies' perception toward death.

Both Javanese and American societies share the death repertoire containing a set of expressions for 'dying,' 'death,' 'dead person,' 'dead body,' 'burial,' and 'grave.' Table 1 shows that *angkating layon* speeches explore all the sets, while eulogies restrict the use of expressions for dead body and grave. However, the comparison (Table 2) reveals that the eulogy uses more types of a euphemism than the *angkating layon* speech.

Death-related euphemisms in *angkating layon* speech

Angkating layon speech uses various euphemisms for die, death, burial, and grave, which are discussed in the followings.

Euphemisms for 'die'

Six euphemisms for 'die' share the invariant core meaning "returning to God the Creator" under the category of religion. The underlying belief is that the soul unites with the origin of existence '*sangkan paraning dumadi*' (Subagya, 2004, p. 181) rather than decaying with the body, and departs to the world of eternity; death becomes a means for human to reach the perfection of life (Subagya, 2004, pp. 75-77). Death bestows a new status for the dead person becoming more respectable than any living person. All previous statuses are replaced with an image of glorified life. This concept is clearly an influence of Islam and Christianity. The metaphors involve God's names recognizable among the Javanese such as *Alloh* (Arabic), *Pangeran* or *Gusti* (Javanese), and *Gusti Alloh* (Javanese+ Arabic) with such an attributive noun/adjective for glorification as *Subhanahu wata'ala* (Arabic 'the most magnificent and the highest'), *ingkang Maha Kuwaos* or *ingkang Murbeng Agesang* (Javanese 'the Almighty' and 'the Creator of life'). The choice of God's name regards the audience's expectation: pious Muslim community prefers *Alloh Subhanahu wa ta'ala* (*Alloh* for short); ordinary Muslim community prefers *Gusti Alloh*; non-Muslim community or Javanese-Islam community prefers *Pangeran* or *Pangeran Inkgang Maha Kuwaos*, or *Gusti ingkang Murbeng Agesang*. The rising awareness of Islam in today Javanese results in the diminishing appeal of the local terms *Gusti* and *Pangeran* due to the fear of comparing God with deity or human. They continue to be in use, but more likely among ordinary Muslim groups or Christians.

The passive forms (*kapundhut* 'being taken,' or *katimbangan* 'being called') imply the absence of men's free will consistent with the Javanese belief that humans are puppets dependent on the hands of the puppet master. Being strongly influenced by Islam and Christianity, the euphemisms emphasize the afterlife in death. Therefore, the saying "went to be with God" should be understood not as an avoidance tactic by the

Javanese society, but a shared reminder of the comfort found in their belief (c.f. Heerema, 2018).

Euphemism for ‘death’

“*Kapundhutipun*” in “*Kapundhutipun almarhum*” (‘his passing’) is a derivative noun from the passive verb

kapundhut (‘being taken’) and the suffix *-ipun*. It is the only euphemism for one’s death. Another form exists -- *sedanipun* from *seda* ‘die’ and the suffix *-ipun* + nasalization, but is hardly used in *angkating layon* speech due to its incongruence with the passive forms *kapundhut* and *katimbalan*.

Table 1. Death-related expressions in *angkating layon* speeches and eulogies

Euphemisms in <i>angkating layon</i> speeches	Euphemisms in eulogies
<p>Die:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Kapundhut wangsul dhateng ngarsanipun Allah SWT</i> (being taken home to meet God) - <i>katimbalan dening Pangeran Inggang Maha Kuwaos</i> (being called by God the Almighty) - <i>Kapundhut kondur ing Ngarsanipun Gusti</i> (being taken home to meet God) - <i>Katimbalan marak ing ngarsanipun Pangeran,</i> (being summoned before God) - <i>Katimbalan marak sowan ing Pangayunaning Gusti Allah ingkang Murbeng Agesang</i> (being summoned to the protection of God the Creator of life) - <i>Kondur wonten ngarsanipun Allah SWT</i> (returning home to meet God) 	<p>Die:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - summoned to eternal life beyond all striving, where everywhere is peace - returns home to the place where it all began... - accomplished a kind of spiritual leaving - off you go, escorted by an army of angels to your Heavenly Father - go in peace - rest in greatness - his noble soul rests in peace - only waits for us in another place - is resting, singing with the angels - is a beating pulse in the center of every person he touched - is now serving us from the other side... - is gone - goes to his grave - collapsing... - the dying comfort - taken from us - down, will not get up - wiped out - the curtain falls - the drama of their earthly life comes to a close - raising the roof like no one has ever before
<p>Death:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>Kapundhutipun almarhum</i> (his passing) 	<p>Death:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the loss - the passing/one's passing - a silence that can never again be broken - the absence of a smile that can never again be seen - the ugly realities of mortality - ultimate sacrifice
<p>Dead person:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>ingkang sampun suwargi</i> (who is already in heaven) - <i>suwargi/swargi</i> (heaven dweller) - <i>almarhum/almarhumah</i> (late+gender marker) - <i>alusipun bapak/ibu...</i> (the spirit of Mr/Mrs...) 	<p>Dead person:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - late X
<p>Dead body:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>layon</i> (the dead’s body) - <i>jenazah</i> (the dead’s body) 	<p>Dead body:</p> <p>N/A</p>
<p>Burial:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>badhe kasareaken</i> (will be laid) - <i>tindakan layon ngantos dumugi ing papan palereman</i> - <i>ingkang pungkasan.</i> (the journey of the deceased to the final resting place) 	<p>Burial:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - goes to his grave
<p>Grave:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>papan palereman ingkang pungkasan</i> (a final resting place) - <i>Makam</i> (grave) 	<p>Grave:</p> <p>N/A</p>

Euphemisms for ‘dead person’

All euphemisms for ‘dead person’ reflect the Javanese’s division of life: *alam wadag* ‘life in bodily form’ and *alam kelanggengan* ‘life in spiritual form’. The latter is regarded pure and refine, a better world for purified souls, and of a higher status than the first (Subagya,

2004, pp. 87-88). The euphemisms are *ingkang sampun suwargi* ‘who is already in heaven’ or *suwargi/swargi* ‘heaven dweller’, and *alusipun bapak/ibu...* ‘the spirit of Mr/Mrs...’ The euphemism ‘*alusipun*’ is unique, referring the dead with the spiritual form. ‘*Alusipun*’ is a noun derived from the adjective *alus* ‘refine’ fittingly

highlight the purity and impalpability of the spirit. Despite the belief in heaven and hell, *angkating layon* speech never mentions any term associated with hell.

Except for *almarhum(ah)* --an Arabic borrowing with gender marker-- all the euphemisms use an indirect referent to the deceased. *Alusipun bapak/ibu*, for instance, refers to the spirit instead of the deceased. For

the Javanese, a dead person is no longer a whole entity of body and soul. Accordingly, the dead are referred to as either a body (inanimate) or a spirit (animate). A linguistic marker *Kyai* (male)/*Nyai* (female) addresses the dead as an inanimate following the Javanese habit of naming sacred objects, while *Swargi* or *Almarhum(ah)* addresses the deceased as a spirit.

Table 2. Categories of death-related euphemisms in *angkating layon* speeches and eulogies.

Category	Angkating Layon	Eulogy
General (transformation from existence to non-existence; presence-absence)	-	- the loss - the passing - one's passing - (is) gone - late X
Religion (religious concept of creator-creation, and worldly-after life)	- <i>Kapundhut wangsul dhateng ngarsanipun Alloh Subhanahu wa ta'ala</i> (being taken home to meet God) - <i>katimbangan dening Pangeran Inggang Maha Kuwaos</i> (being called by God the Almighty) - <i>Kapundhut kondur ing Ngarsanipun Gusti</i> (being taken home to meet God) - <i>Katimbangan marak ing ngarsanipun Pangeran</i> (being summoned before God) - <i>Katimbangan marak sowan ing Pangayunaning Gusti Allah ingkang Murbeng Agesang</i> (being summoned to the protection of God the Creator of life) - <i>Kondur wonten ngarsanipun Alloh subhanahu wa ta'ala</i> (going home to meet God) - <i>Kapundhutipun almarhum</i> (his passing)	- summoned to an eternal life - returns home to the place where it all began - accomplished a kind of spiritual leaving - off you go, escorted by an army of angels to your Heavenly Father - go in peace - rest in greatness - his noble soul rest in peace - is resting, singing with the angels - He is now serving us from the other side
Medical (concept/technical term in medical science)	-	- collapsing in my mother's arms - the dying comfort - a beating pulse in the center of every person he touched - the ugly realities of mortality
Murder/Suicide (unnatural cause)	-	- taken from us - fallen (brother)
Burial (bodily experience; interment)	-	- goes to his grave
Related Term (analog to daily life happening)	-	- down, will not get up - wiped out - the curtain falls - the drama of their earthly life comes to a close - only waits for us in another place (speaks to us today from there) - a silence that can never again be broken - the absence of a smile that can never again be seen - ultimate sacrifice - raising the roof like no one has ever before

Euphemism for 'dead body'

Layon and *jenazah* are two euphemisms for 'dead body.' *Layon* is derived from *layu* (adj) + *-n* with sound modification in the final syllable. It relates to *lelayu*, which also derives from Javanese base *layu* 'wither; decay' literally used for a plant but metaphorically for

the human. *Jenazah* is an Arabic borrowing meaning 'the body of a dead person.' Javanese borrows two Arabic words having similar meanings, i.e., *mayit* 'a dead person' and *jenazah* 'the body of a dead person,' but *jenazah* gains a more pleasant association than *mayit*. Having a negative connotation 'frightful,' *mayit*

is very rarely used, except in the prayer for the dead recited in Arabic.

Euphemism for 'burial'

Badhe kasareaken 'will be laid,' and *tindakan layon ngantos dumugi ing papan palereman ingkang pungkasan* 'the deceased's journey until the final resting place' are two euphemisms for 'burial.' The first is more direct, while the latter is circumlocutionary, for it does not use any word directly referring to burial: *tindakan layon* which literally mean 'the departure of the remains' and *papan palereman ingkang pungkasan* which metaphorically means 'grave.' The word *kasareaken* derives from *sare* meaning 'to sleep,' but the surrounding context dictates a secondary meaning 'rest,' thus, conceptualizing DEATH IS REST.

Euphemism for 'grave'

Papan palereman ingkang pungkasan 'a final resting place,' and *makam* 'grave' are two euphemisms for 'grave.' Javanese *lerem* means 'peaceful.' The euphemism *makam* is an interesting language phenomenon of specialization in Javanese. This Arabic borrowing originally means 'a place,' then, it gradually earns a new, specific meaning 'grave.' A similar Arabic borrowing is *kubur* but not used in *angkating layon* speech. Another Arabic borrowing for the grave is *makbaroh*, which is gaining a higher frequency of use in death announcement among Javanese.

Angkating layon speeches show consistent use of metaphors for 'die,' 'death,' 'burial,' and 'grave' which conceptualize DEATH IS A JOURNEY and DEATH IS REST. *Kapundhut kondur dhateng Ngarsanipun Alloh* (being taken home to God) for 'die,' *kasareaken* (laid down to sleep) for 'burial,' and *papan palereman ingkang pungkasan* (final resting place) for 'grave' indicate a journey to a place of peaceful rest. They are in dignified and solemn style (see Crystal, 2017).

Death-related euphemisms in eulogies

American eulogies are more restricted in talking about death-related topics. Most eulogies mention death and some give clues for the cause of death, but they avoid addressing the eulogized as a dead person or referring to his dead body, burial, and grave. On discussing 'die' and 'death,' eulogies use various categories of euphemism as in Table 2.

Euphemisms for 'die'

The influence of religion is seen in ten out of twenty-one euphemisms for 'die' with the notion of 'going' or 'being in a different place,' conceptualizing DEATH IS A JOURNEY and DEATH IS REST (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). *Returns home to the place where it all began; accomplished a kind of spiritual leaving; off you go, escorted by an army of angels to your Heavenly Father; go in peace; summoned to an eternal life beyond all striving; is now serving us from the other side...; and only waits for us in another place* conceptualize DEATH IS A JOURNEY. *Rest in greatness; his noble soul rests in peace; and is resting,*

singing with the angels conceptualize DEATH IS REST. A vast majority of Christians believe in heaven, in which the deceased enjoy the presence of God and loved ones for eternity ("Christianity on the afterlife," 2017). Such words as *angels*, *eternity (eternal life)*, and *Heavenly Father* carry strong associations with the afterlife, while *another place* and *the place where it all began* have weaker associations.

Despite the established Christianity concept of the afterlife, the new interpretation is possible. The euphemism *serving us from the other side* denies the idea of an idyllic rest which is seen negatively among American industrial society. The euphemism of *a beating pulse in the center of everyone he touches* is from medical term motivated by the spirit of giving: 'A beating pulse' signals life, and 'a transplanted heart' saves other's life. In other words, American society challenges the idea of death as an end by asserting that 'death' is a transformation into another form enabling one's to continue the business as usual. The euphemisms *down, will not get up; wiped out; the curtain falls*, and *the drama of their earthly life comes to a close* borrow sport- and performance-related terms carrying the sense of temporariness. Crime and disaster are commonly regarded as unnatural causes of death, and the victims are considered brave and innocent. For that, euphemisms *ultimate sacrifice; ...fallen (brother); and ...having been taken from us* are created to strengthen the senses of sacrifice, bravery, and innocence, carrying a positive association to glory, heroism, and precious property.

The diversity of euphemisms in eulogies reveal influences of not only of religion, but also business, sport, and performance. They also reveal acceptance and denial attitudes. The acceptance is driven by a total submission to God's control over man's destiny, while the denial is driven by human's innate desire to maintain happiness and comfort in life.

Euphemism for 'death'

Six euphemisms for death in use contain two popular metaphors (see Heerema, 2018) *the loss* and *the passing*. The rests characterize "inventions of modern funeral orators or newspaper biographers" (Pound, 1936), which are *silence that can never again be broken; the absence of a smile that can never again be seen; an ugly reality of mortality; and ultimate sacrifice*. They are synonymous with 'loss' of various kinds: the losses of enjoyable noise, sweet smiles, and precious property, and more sentimental and poetic than those in *angkating layon* speeches.

Euphemism for 'burial'

Only one euphemism for burial *goes to his grave* is found in the eulogies consulted. It suggests that burial-related topic is even more sensitive to discuss than 'die' and 'death' because it is a bitter reminder of physical separation; it is strongly against 'togetherness' with the dead that the bereaved want to maintain. For many, the presence of the body helps them to accept the loss of a

relative (Natasha, 2016). Alternative funerals such as cremation may also make burial less relevant to discuss.

Non-euphemism for 'die' and 'being dead' in eulogies

Non-euphemisms are sometimes in use for death from violent acts, terminal diseases, or while on duty. They express pride of the dead's bravery in facing death or condemnation against the act of violence. Some examples from the data are *Brian's death comes at a time of great challenge for police officers across the country* (death while on duty); *And yet they died nobly* and *They have something to say to each of us in their death* (death from a bomb attack); *Coach Van Townsend died on Monday, too young, of cancer* and *I am sad that Van is dead* (death from cancer). Without using any lexical marker for the dead, they address the dead as a living person.

Unlike eulogy, *angkating layon* speech never uses non-euphemism. The absence of non-euphemism for 'die,' 'death,' 'the dead,' and so on, creates formality and builds solemnity. It supports the general attitude among Javanese that funeral service is a sacred ritual to be performed in due respect.

Rhetorical function

Imagining "an actual ending of our own life" is hard, and our death is only possible by a "malicious intervention from the outside by someone else" (Kübler-Ross, 2009, p. 2). Javanese and American societies show different manifestations of this unconscious mind about death.

Funeral services in today Javanese society remain as described by Geertz (1973), namely without hysterical sorrow created by uncontrollable emotional sobbing or wailing. The atmosphere is calm while everyone restrains from bursting into tears because crying is undesirable. The Javanese understand funeral services as instilling the sense of genuinely accepting death. All euphemisms in use (Table 1) lead to a wholehearted submission to God's control over one's life. It is contrary to "taken from us" in eulogy which suggests individual possession of life. Neither is death seen as "an ugly reality". This attitude of accepting death rather than denying it heals the pain more quickly (see Kübler-Ross & Kessler, 2014).

The primary function of *angkating layon speech* is to seek the salvation of the dead. It appeals the audience to witness the dead person's good character, forgive any misdeeds, and pray for the deceased. The lack of urgency in talking about the dead's life in *angkating layon* speech makes it generally short (approximately 250 words). The audience is content with the brief account, convinced of the dead's good conduct in life, and then deliver their forgiveness and prayer. Forgiveness from as many people as possible guaranty the salvation of the dead. In general, Javanese also prize mutualism, which is translated into sincere forgiveness for the dead in the hope that they will also obtain sincere forgiveness from others in return. A shared

sense of responsibility to forgive and pray for the dead helps the speech achieve that goal.

The Javanese create circumlocutionary euphemisms for 'die' in a similar way like Arabic (c.f. Farghal, 1995). One example is *Katimbalan marak sowan ing Pangayunaning Gusti Allah ingkang Murbeng Agesang* in which only *katimbalan* (called) and *Allah* (God) carry the most important idea of death. The rests, *marak sowan* (to present oneself), *ing Pangayunaning Gusti* (into God's protection), and *ingkang Murbeng Agesang* (who is the Creator of life) are modifiers. Another example is *kondur wonten ngarsanipun Alloh Subhanahu wa ta'ala* 'returning to God, the most glorious and the most exalted.' Ability to produce an exact copy of standard expressions such as these euphemisms is regarded as an exceptional skill among Javanese, which contributes to the *angkating layon* speech's monotonous rhetorical structure. In addition, being a speaker producing a monologue speech in formal functions is a privilege for only a small group of male members of the society who are considered linguistically capable and socially respectable (Munandar, 2013, p. 101). The same person when delivering *angkating layon* speech in several different funeral services will very likely repeat the same expressions.

In American funeral services, the eulogy is to celebrate life. For that, it presents a long list of achievements to recall good memories of the eulogized and conceal the unpleasantness of death. As such, they can be quite long containing up to 1,214 words (see Clinton's eulogy for Muhammad Ali "In their own words," 2016). It is personalized, expecting the speaker to have a special, close relation with the deceased such that he/she is able to deliver an impressive, accurate account of the deceased. Unlike *angkating layon* speech which allows only the formal style and tone, eulogy gives room for various styles and tones. The language may be formal (respectful) to show the speaker's respect for the eulogized, or informal (casual), or even contain laughter-evoking humor to show intimacy. At other times, eulogies can be emotionally overwhelming, bringing both the speaker and audience to tears.

The descriptions of the person's life are often hyperbolic, even sounding too good to be true. The data provide these examples:

- *He coached to the final days until collapsing in my mother's arms; and*
- *They are the martyred heroines of a holy crusade for freedom and human dignity. And so this afternoon in a real sense they have something to say to each of us in their death.*

The eulogy's accuracy is important, but its authenticity (the speaker's personal knowledge) is even more so (Bailey & Walter, 2016). The speaker will "avoid expressing unwelcome facts as an act of kindness" (Abott, 2010, p. 52). For the audience, questioning the truth of the speaker's account is regarded as disrespectful behavior.

Eulogies also create circumlocutionary euphemisms. An example is *victims of one of the most vicious and tragic crimes ever perpetrated against humanity* in which "crimes" is the headword modified by other eleven words. The words are carefully chosen to give a special effect to the audience, producing a positive image of 'innocence' which evokes sympathy. An even stronger effect is produced by the description of the crime as inhumane, which transforms the euphemism into an appeal to much deeper sympathy.

Unlike *angkating layon* speech, eulogy allows greater freedom of creativity to explore a diversity of euphemisms. The spirit of individualism in the American society drives people to seek for fresh expressions in the eulogy that may even deviate a particular standard form. Apart from that, the heterogeneity in American society also contributes to the diversity of death-related euphemisms in eulogies. On the contrary, being part of a collectivistic culture, the Javanese prioritize conformity to the standard form in their *angkating layon* speech resulting in a monotonous structure.

Perception of death

All euphemisms in *Angkating layon* speeches show the dominant influence of religion. Eulogies, on the other hand, use more variety of euphemisms revealing the influence of not only religion but also sport, business, and others. Another difference is the range of topics. None of the eulogies consulted mentions dead body, burial, and grave suggesting that those topics are too sensitive to discuss. Meanwhile, *angkating layon* speeches use euphemisms *layon* and *jenazah* to talk more openly about dead bodies, and *papan palereman* for a grave. Besides, they have euphemisms *suwargi* and *almarhum(ah)* both as pronouns and as attributive. Eulogies have no special pronoun for the dead, and use an attributive adjective 'late' only infrequently; the deceased is addressed in the same way as a living person. The following discussion interprets the perception of death in the two cultures based on those properties.

Javanese's perception of death

Generally, the Javanese see death as destiny and a test from God, best phrased into *cobining Pangeran*. It comes from Islam and Christianity that introduce God's predetermination. Through death, He wants to see who, among them, accepts His absolute decision and is able to endure suffering from the loss of a beloved. Accordingly, the Javanese have the expressions *nandhang duhkita* 'suffering deep sadness' and *nampi cobining Pangeran* 'facing a test from God.' Preventing lament over the deceased is part of the test, for tears and grieving will make the deceased restless and hesitant to leave the family (Subagya, 2004, p. 129). It is best to help overcome sadness and regret more quickly by talking about death and the dead openly as fact, as well as letting the family know that everyone is willing to forgive and pray for the dead. In turn, when the family

finally accept the fact of death, the deceased will be released from any burden and can leave for the afterlife happily.

Islam and Christianity contribute to the Javanese's perception that God creates, and has total control over life. The dominant euphemism 'returning to the Creator' presupposes 'a transition' because of the belief in both religions in the afterlife. It may be a peaceful life, or rest, in heaven as a reward for good conducts, or eternal suffering in hell as punishment for evil conducts. Geertz (cited in Subagya, 2004, p. 87) notes that before the propagation of Islam and Christianity in Java, the Javanese held two different perceptions of death. The first was the disappearance of life after reaching perfection (the body simply turns into dust) and the second is a reincarnation (the soul enters an embryo for rebirth). Javanese who continue to hold a traditional belief (*Kejawen*) today deny reincarnation. Therefore, the concepts of the afterlife in Islam, Christianity, and *Kejawen* are harmonious. They differ only in the place of the dead: in heaven or hell ("Heaven and hell in Islam," 2016), in heaven-like place ("Christianity on the Afterlife," 2017), and in *alam kelanggengan* 'a world of eternity' (Subagya, 2004, p. 95).

Javanese euphemisms of death also imply that death separates the dead and the living. The use of indirect-impersonal terms of address 1) *ing kang sampun suwargi*, 2) *suwargi/swargi*, 3) *almarhum/almarhumah*, 4) *alusipun bapak/ibu...*, and 5) *layon* or *jenazah* creates distance with the dead. Creating distance between the deceased and the living helps realize the impossibility of maintaining togetherness with the deceased.

Americans' perceptions of death

Americans accept death neither as destiny nor as an end, but as transformation and sacrifice. Seeing death as rest is probably universal (compare Crystal, 2014; Gomaa & Shi, 2012; Herat, 2014; Nyakoe et al., 2012; Palgi & Abramovitz, 1984; Pound, 1936; and Rui, 2010). However, Americans extend their value 'action/work orientation' (Kohls, 1984; p. 5) into the afterlife, interpreting it as 'a rest from suffering,' in which the dead are able to develop the potential to achieve higher. It is in line with transformation, or transition, to another life where one does only good things for others. By negating death (see Nyakoe et al., 2012) or conquering death (see Bailey & Walter, 2016), Americans want to believe that death cannot stop one from contributing to society or pursuing achievements. Moreover, death brings regret because man has to sacrifice his independence, and togetherness with the beloved. Sacrifice can have a positive meaning --voluntary, or a negative meaning --against the 'personal control over the environment' value (Kohls, 1984, p. 2).

The underlying perception of death as not an end (continual togetherness) is reinforced by the use of direct personal terms of address for the eulogized and the marginalized use of 'late.' The eulogy addresses the eulogized with his/her name, kinship terms, or collegial terms so as not to create distance. The marginalized use

of a lexical marker 'late' for the deceased is to compensate for the desire for uninterrupted togetherness. This denial of death and separation produces eulogies which hardly refer to a dead body. "Non-euphemistic synonyms" (Danglli, 2014) for death and die are in use but only in eulogies for victims of crime or for athletes and other 'brave' professionals.

CONCLUSION

Death-related euphemisms in *angkating layon* speeches and eulogies explore words associated with religion. Such words as *Gusti*, *Pangeran*, *Alloh*, *almarhum*, *suwargi*, and *makam* in *angkating layon* speeches, and Heavenly Father, angel, spiritual leaving, and eternal life in eulogies are linguistic evidence of the influence of religion. Death-related euphemisms in both cultures conceptualize DEATH IS JOURNEY and DEATH IS REST, major concepts on the afterlife introduced by Islam and Christianity. The Javanese emphasize the idea that death is a return to the Creator, which underlies death-related euphemisms in *angkating layon* speech, and makes the use of euphemisms for 'die,' 'being dead,' 'burial,' and 'grave' show consistency. Meanwhile, the Americans show more variations in both form and idea. They contradict the idea of death as rest with the idea that death cannot stop one from making the contribution. They restrict themselves to talking about the dead body and the burial.

Javanese and Americans share similarities in honoring the dead. Both aim at describing the good sides of the deceased to win audience approval and reaffirm that the deceased was a good person. However, they show different manners in doing so. Eulogies are hyperbolic, while *angkating layon* speech is modest. If American eulogies appeal the audience to maintain good memories of the eulogized while allowing the use of different tones and style, *angkating layon* speech asks the audience to forgive the dead by maintaining a serious tone and formal style.

The Javanese see the dead as no longer a whole person to be in line with the idea of the soul and body separation. The deceased is seen as either an object (*jenazah*) or spirit (*alus*). A lexical marker in use helps to identify which is being addressed. On the contrary, Americans see a dead person as a living one, hoping that death will not ruin their togetherness. This attitude is strengthened with the use of direct personal addresses for the deceased and the absence of the lexical marker 'late.'

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