

Cultural Meaning and Belief in Pamatè Tradition on Society of Aeng Tong-tong, Sumenep, Madura: Ethnolinguistic Study

(Makna Budaya dan Kepercayaan Tradisi Pamate pada Masyarakat Aeng Tong-tong, Sumenep, Madura: Kajian Etnolinguistik)

Hodairiyah

Ahmad Yasid

Sekolah Tinggi Keguruan dan Ilmu Pendidikan PGRI Sumenep

Jalan Trunojoyo, Gedung Barat, Batuan, Sumenep 69451

Tel.: +62(328)664094

Surel: hodairiyah@stkipgrisumenep.ac.id

Izzudin A. Hakim

Universitas Bahauddin Mudhary Madura

Jalan Raya Lenteng, Aredake, Batuan, Sumenep 69451

Tel.: +62(328)6771010

Surel: izzuddin_hakim@unibamadura.ac.id

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Abstrak

Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk menggali makna budaya dan kepercayaan tradisi Pamatè pada masyarakat Aeng Tong-tong di Sumenep. Tradisi Pamatè dikenal kaya akan ekspresi verbal dan nonverbal, seperti kata, frase, klausa, dan kalimat. Untuk mencapai tujuan penelitian ini, digunakan metode deskriptif kualitatif dengan pendekatan etnolinguistik, khususnya model analisis etnosains untuk menganalisis makna di luar ekspresi verbal dan nonverbal tradisi Pamatè pada masyarakat Madura. Untuk mengumpulkan data, digunakan *purposive sampling* untuk mendapatkan data yang lengkap yang dikorelasikan dengan tradisi Pamatè. Selain itu, *snowball sampling* digunakan untuk menentukan informan kunci yang mengetahui tradisi dengan baik melalui teknik wawancara dan dokumentasi. Hasil penelitian ini mengungkapkan bahwa terdapat ekspresi verbal dan nonverbal. Ungkapan verbal yang ditemukan adalah tuturan yang melibatkan istilah, frasa, klausa, kalimat, seperti (a) *Mandi'in*, *panyompet*, *panotop*, *panyundhâng*, *senga' on laon mun nyaba'*, *sabhârâng*, *aniat kula awudhuaginah mayyit karena Allah ta'aala*; (b) *Pundhu'*, *labun taleppet'*; (c) *esambhajangagi*; dan (d) *ependem*. Sementara itu, ekspresi nonverbal yang ditemukan adalah instrumen dan hal-hal yang berhubungan dengan tradisi Pamatè, seperti aeng socceh, sere, sabun, kapas, kan geddhâng, soroi, sampo, dinding are, labun, konyi', lu belluh. Dengan demikian, tradisi Pamatè merupakan bentuk kearifan lokal masyarakat Aeng Tong-tong



yang mengandung simbol dan tradisi lisan yang tercermin dalam ungkapan verbal dan nonverbal.

Kata kunci: etnolinguistik, makna budaya, masyarakat Madura, pandangan masyarakat, tradisi Pamatè

Abstract

This study aims to explore the cultural meaning and belief of Pamatè tradition at Aeng Tong-tong society in Sumenep. Pamatè tradition is known to be rich of verbal and nonverbal expressions, such as word, phrase, clause, and sentence. To pursue the aim of this study, qualitative descriptive method together with ethnolinguistic approach, especially ethnoscience analysis model was used to analyse the meaning beyond verbal and nonverbal expressions of Pamatè tradition at Madurese society. To collect data, purposive sampling was used to get complete data correlated with Pamatè tradition. Besides, snowball sampling was used to determine key informants who know tradition well through interview and documentation techniques. The results of this study revealed that there are verbal and nonverbal expressions. Verbal expressions found are utterances involving term, phrase, clause, sentence, such as (a) *Mandi'in, panyompèt, panotop, panyundhâng, senga' on laon mun nyaba', sabhârâng, aniat kula awudhuaginah mayyit karena Allah ta'aala;* (b) *Pundhu', labun taleppet'*; (c) *esambhajangagi;* and (d) *ependem*. Meanwhile, non-verbal expressions found are instruments and things correlated with pamatè tradition, such as aeng socceh, sere, sabun, kapas, kan geddhâng, soroi, sampo, dinding are, labun, konyi', lu belluh. In short, pamatè tradition is a form of local wisdom of the people of Aeng Tong-tong, containing symbols and oral traditions reflected in the verbal and non-verbal expressions.

Keywords: cultural meaning, ethnolinguistic, Madurese, Pamatè tradition, society's view

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is an archipelago that is formed from many islands, differences in race, values, culture, and language. An area will not be separated from a language and culture system because an area is a place where people give birth to culture and language. Through society, a language is born from a culture, and culture will create language. Both are like two sides of a coin that cannot be separated because one side is the language system, and the other side is the cultural system. Masinambouw (in Crista 2012, 1) states that language and culture are two systems that are inherent in humans. If culture is a system that regulates human interaction in society, then language is a system that functions as a means for the interaction to take place.

Aeng Tong-tong community is a community that is very strong in holding its traditions and culture. One form of inheritance from the ancestors is the Pamatè tradition. This tradition is a tradition practiced by Madurese people when someone dies and is *farthu ain*. Pamatè comes from *matè* 'death,' while *pa+matè* is 'the day of death.'

This tradition is a series of activities that must be carried out by the Madurese community so that it becomes a forum for conveying ideas and the way of life of the Madurese community. The culture of the Madurese people reflects the values and ideas or knowledge to be conveyed by other community members for generations. This research intends to express the ideas and knowledge contained in this tradition to convey their meaning to the public. This means that the meaning of the culture contained in various forms both as ideas, patterns of behavior, and objects must be understood. Through the tradition of *Pamatè* in the Aeng tong-tong community, Saronggi,

Sumenep district can be seen as how the Madurese people understand, appreciate, and view things related to human death.

Death in cultural terms is a transition, namely the transition of individuals from the natural world to the supernatural (Mulyadi 1984, 36). The Pamatè tradition has essential meaning for human life. However, even though the Madurese community continued to carry out that tradition over time, the understanding of the meaning in the Pamatè tradition began to be less understood. The elders or Pak Kyai assist the implementation of the Pamatè tradition in the Madura area because only a handful of people can understand this. Therefore, the only reason people continue to use the tradition is that it becomes a habit or just a tradition that was passed down for generations.

However, it can be said that the awareness of the Madurese people on the cultural meaning of the Pamatè tradition is more likely diminishing. Cultural meaning is the meaning of language by the cultural context of the speaker (Subroto in Abdullah 2017, 56). That is, the meaning of a language is based on a culture in society such as translating the meaning in the form of verbal and non-verbal expressions or expressions in the context of the local wisdom of the community in the Pamatè tradition related to the knowledge system that is reflected in the people's view of life.

The purpose of this study is to uncover the cultural meaning and how the community's view of the Pamatè tradition in the Aeng Tong tong, Saronggi, Sumenep community will be viewed in terms of ethnolinguistics. Ethnolinguistics is a study of the relationship between language and culture. Conceptually ethnolinguistics (anthropological linguistics) is a type of linguistics that pays attention to the position of language in a broader socio-cultural context to advance and maintain cultural practices and social structures (Foley in Wakit 2017, 02).

Similar research entitled "The Meaning of Death Rituals in Javanese Islamic Traditions" (Karim 2017) focuses on the meaning contained in the rituals of the death of the Javanese Islamic community in the village of Bakalan, Kalinyamatan, Jepara. The study examines the meaning of cultural ceremonies in death with cultures and traditions that are different from other regions. This is done because each region has its cultural concepts and a variety of works to follow the community since a long time ago as a legacy from the ancestors. The different traditions in each region have their concepts, the meaning of life, and mindset for the local community. Research conducted by Abdul Karim focuses on the meanings of the terms that exist in the ritual death of the Javanese community under the Islamic concept.

Furthermore, Hodairiyah (2019) also conducted a similar study entitled "Lexical and Cultural Meanings of the Majalan Sortana Tradition in Death Ceremony of Aeng Tong-tong Madura Society." The research focuses on the lexical meaning and cultural significance of the Majalan Sortana tradition in death. Pangaribuan (2017) with the "Implementation of the Toba Batak Community Death Ceremony in Pontianak City" focuses on the implementation of the ceremonial death in Batak Toba traditions, especially in Pontianak City. The legal consequences for the Toba Batak people in Pontianak City who did not carry out the ceremonies of death were getting a negative talk from the community, and in their lives, it is believed they would regularly encounter troubles. Customary leaders (Raja Adat) make efforts to preserve the traditional ceremony of the death of the Toba Batak Society in Pontianak by continuing to carry out the customary death ceremony, giving guidance to the community who will carry out the traditional ceremony of death and introducing it to the younger generation.

Based on the description previously mentioned studies, and the fact that similar studies have never been done in the Madura area, especially in the ethnolinguistic domain, the writer is interested in researching and examining the meaning of the Pamatè tradition in terms of cultural significance, the views of the community, and the mindset that is still running as a legacy from the ancestors.

METHOD

This research is about the cultural meaning and community views in the *Pamatè* tradition, which is manifested in the verbal and non-verbal language of Aeng Tong-tong society, Saronggi, Sumenep, Madura. This type of research is descriptive qualitative using ethnographic methods with ethnographic analysis models or The New Ethnography or Cognitive Anthropology that are relevant to the analysis based on cultural themes (Spradley in Abdullah 2017, 67), as well as using a method of sharing with the Teknik Bagi Unsur Langsung (BUL) to find out the basic and grammatical meaning.

The data used in this study are lingual units of words, phrases, clauses, sentences contained in the informant's speech as a form of verbal data, while non-verbal data are in the form of symbols in the form of objects or tools contained in the tradition of *pamatè*.

Primary data sources in this study are the utterances of selected informants participating in the *Pamatè* tradition, and secondary data sources are in the form of documents and informants. Document data sources in the form of photographs and informant data sources are a leader (*kiyai*) named (1) Kiyai Kandar (75 years) who works as a cleric in Saronggi district, Sumenep regency and (2) Ustadz Jibrawi (55 years) who is a teacher from the village of Aeng Tong-tong, Sumenep regency. This study also uses a purposive sampling technique to obtain the completeness and depth of data in dealing with the reality that is not single and is directed at data sources that have relevant data and are related to the problem to be investigated (Abdullah, 2013: 78), and snowball sampling techniques are used to assign informants (Sibrani 2004, 290).

The steps of analyzing data are derived from transcribing the results of interviews with resource persons orthographically. Translating data verbally and non-verbally in terms of words, words, and other lingual units are used. Then interpreting and analyzing the context in terms of cultural meaning and people's views to uncover the culture they belong to is assisted by several theories such as cultural semantic theory, semiotics, and others related to data analysis needs.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

After conducting interviews, it was obtained that the people of Aeng Tong-tong, Saronggi, Sumenep, Madura had a tradition of *Pamatè* which in these traditions contained forms of language expression both verbal and non-verbal. These languages have an important meaning in human life itself both for those who have died and those who are left behind. This tradition has still lived and been considered as the legacy of the ancestors to this day. There are three basic obligations must be carried out by the community in the *Pamatè* tradition as a final form of respect for the dead body (*mayyit*).

1. *Mandi'in*

Mandi'in is one of the most mandatory things in death. It is the initial stage that must be done by the community to purify a dead body. Even if the person dies in a sacred state, he must still be sanctified *Tabbud ibādā*. In other words, it is a must to purify or bathe the dead body. *Mandi'in* is derived from the lingual unit *mandi+in* which means 'to bathe.' The rules for bathing the *mayyit*

must be under Islamic law. If the *masyit* is a man, then the person who bathes him is a person who is *mahram* and a man, and if the person who dies is a woman, then the person who has the right to bathe her is her *mahram* and woman. There are several expressions of language found in bathing the *masyit*. They can be verbal such as terms and non-verbal such as objects contained in Pamatè, especially in terms of how to bathe the *masyit*

1.1 *Panyompet*

Panyompet is a lingual unit of terms in Madurese. *Panyompet* is the two relations between the prefix unit *pan-* and the basic morpheme *sompet*. *Sompet* in the Pamatè tradition means to close, while the *panyompet* means a cover. The prefix *pan-* in the forming process of the term *panyompet* changes the class of verbs into nouns. Such a process is a form of derivation. The derivation is the formation of words that produce new words (Subroto 2012, 2).

Panyompet refers to turmeric or ginger which is commonly used as a tool to clog or cover the parts of the dead body that emits the excrement. Either turmeric or ginger is used in the *panyompet* of the *masyit* to prevent the excrement from coming out of the body. Turmeric has the property which its natural ingredient is used to heal any wound more quickly. Traditionally, turmeric is often used by people in various countries to treat various diseases caused by parasitic microbes, insect bites, eye diseases, smallpox, stomach aches (diarrhea, constipation, bloating) digestive disorders, liver, asthma, relieving itching, and other skin diseases, reduce pain and sufferers and rheumatoid arthritis (Hartati 2013, 5).

The procedure for covering the excrement hole is that the turmeric must reach the rectum of the *masyit*, meaning that naked eyes cannot see turmeric or ginger. If it still can be seen, it is not considered legal as it is like a person who is doing *istihadoh*. People with *istihadoh* still can pray even when they are bleeding as long as it is kept covered, and things that cover it up should not be visible. If they are visible to the naked eyes, then the person's prayer is considered invalid. Like a person who dies, if the cover is too long and is visible to the naked eyes, then it is considered invalid to do praying for the *masyit*. Likewise, people who do not circumcise are forbidden to be done praying for. This also works for the dead body from which comes the excrement. The dead body must be covered in his/her scrotum until things covering it up are invisible. However, if the excrement comes out continuously, the *masyit* must be kept being bathed. Jibrawi explained (in interview 27 December 2018) that,

“Rèya padhanah ban rèng hed. Rèya mun kaloar dharah teros, istihadoh. Kan koduh apejang. Esompet. Rèya sompettah tak ollè ngunyul kaloar, mun ngunyul ka loar jârèya ta' sah sholattah. Karanah se e sholaten bâdâ najissah. Padhanah ban orèng matè, mun sompettah rèya lanjhang bâdâ se ngajul ta' sah genèka maskè e sholaten. Nèka sompet tak ollè ngajul. Koduh pamasok ka dhâlemnah dhubur. Padhanah ban rèng qulub, ta' asonnat. Haram mun e sholaten. Nah.. padha ban orèng matè se bhuru se kaloar najis, ta' bu ambu. Kulâh nyoro sompet, mun gi' kaloar. Gi sholaten neng e loar, e pamandian.”

(“This is the same as menstruation. This, if blood is continuously bleeding, is called *istihadoh*. You have to keep doing prayer. Gagged. This cannot be seen; if you look outside the prayer is invalid. Because what is purified is unclean. Same with people who die, if the cover is extended, there is something that looks invalid even if it is circumcised. This cover cannot be seen. Must be inserted in the rectum. It's the same as a genital, not circumcision. Unlawful if prosecuted. Well ... the same as the dead person who came out unclean not stop. I asked to block it if it still came out. Yes, it is being prayed outside, in the baths.”)

From the above explanation, it can be concluded that *panyomp̄et* is a verbal term in the form of a noun which means the cover referring to turmeric or ginger as a non-verbal form that functions as a cover for unclean discharge because turmeric is believed to be a pure ingredient and ginger as a warmer for the body. As for the procedures in the closing scrotum of the *mayyit* with *panyomp̄et* not allowed to use *panyomp̄et* that is too long because people who die are being prayed, then the prayer will not be valid because the cover or the so-called *panyomp̄et* is still visible.

1.2 *Panotop*

Panotop is a lingual unit of word terms in Madurese. *Panotop* is the two relations between the prefix unit *pan-* and the basic morpheme *totop*. *Totop* means 'to close', while *panotop* means an item that is covered. The process of forming the term *panotop* in general as a prefix *pa* functions to change the class of verbs into nouns. A conversion process is a form of derivation. The derivation is the term formation of words that produce new words (Subroto 2012, 2).

Panotop refers to cotton as a material to cover body parts such as two eyes, two nostrils, two ear holes, mouth, genitals, and rectum (if it does not emit excrement). It is essential to be covered with the aim that wild animals or insects do not quickly enter the *mayyit*. The procedure for the provision of cotton as a covering tool is not only sufficient to do the bathing. It takes cotton, incense, and camphor in the shrouding process. Cotton is given incense and is placed in his eyes, nose, mouth, and each joint and folded hands. The stage of giving a cover to each hole in the body is only after being bathed. It is just that ordinary people put more cotton in each joint. After being covered with cotton and included with a fragrance, the aim is not to be quickly eaten by caterpillars, ants, or other insects because the ants are the type of insects that readily enter into those holes. Therefore, the holes are stuffed with cotton with fragrances as animals do not like fragrances.

From the explanation above, it can be concluded that *panotop* is a verbal term in the form of a noun which means the cover which refers to cotton as a non-verbal form that functions to cover holes in the body with the aim that insects do not easily enter the body. The cotton will be perfumed, and camphor as insects do not like the fragrance.

1.3 *Panyundhâng*

Panyundhang is a lingual unit of the word in Madura. *Panyundhang* is a two-relation between the prefix *pan-* and the basic morpheme *sondhang*. *Sondhang* means to hold, while *panyundhang* is an item used to hold. The prefix *pan* changes the class of verbs in the term *sondhang* into nouns. A conversion process is a form of derivation.

Panyundhang is a tool used to hold the *mayyit* when bathed. The tool is a banana tree (*kan geddhang*). Usually, a banana tree is placed in a bath in a row of 4 pieces. Laying four banana trees in a row above the bath of the *mayyit* is done so that the water when bathing *mayyit* is not splashed. Banana tree as a base in the bathing of the *mayyit* aims to make it easier to clean the lower body area of the *mayyit*. It is highly encouraged to lay the *mayyit* in the higher place. This is one of the reasons why banana tree trunks are used on which the *mayyit* has lied.

After bathing the *mayyit*, usually, people throw those banana tree trunks. There is a belief that some people are still embedded up to now. The belief is expressed with "senga on laon mun nyaba" 'watch out, be careful when putting them.' The verbal expression in the form of the clause has a contextual meaning that it will be fatal if we throw a banana tree carelessly, meaning that

the person who died will become a ghost or haunt. Therefore, the elders require to be more careful when throwing the banana tree trunks used in the bathing process. They likened that throwing the banana tree trunks is like putting a dead person. This is following the explanation of Ust. Jibrawi (in an interview on 30 December 2018) said that,

“Daggi’ kan gheddhang mun e dinna’ kan ebuang. Ding muang rèya mun pas eontalagi bisah dhâddhi masalah. Koduh sabâ’ on laon. Arapah mun eontalagi bisah dhâddhi rang-sabhârâng can mun e dinna’”

(“Later a banana tree will be removed here. Throwing away it can be a problem. It must be placed slowly. What if it is thrown away? People believe that it could be a problem.”)

The above explanation—if you place a banana tree it must be slow because if you throw it there will be undesirable things happening—can be seen from the lingual unit of the term *sabhârâng*, which means something undesirable. Even though it is obvious that there is no way that people who have died will be ghosts or haunts. The understanding of ghosts or dead people haunting is a form of community belief without a basis of thinking. However, such a belief has a positive influence on society since it gives them the awareness that every job has an ethic and manners. Indirectly, the speech describes so that humans have the nature and sense of caution in carrying out everything in their life. It can also provide a picture of death if it befalls him.

In addition, the banana tree can also reflect the mindset, the way of life of the people towards life. Philosophically, a banana tree is a reflection of living things providing benefits to humans. A banana tree is a tree that only lives once. Like humans, they only live once by doing good things and spreading benefits for others before they finally die. The use of 4 banana trees has the meaning that 4 is a form of basic direction possessed by humans. In the sense, that living humans must have a direction and purpose in life.

From the above explanation, it can be concluded that *panyundhang* is a non-verbal expression of the noun form which has a buffering meaning that refers to a banana tree. It has functioned as a base for bathing the *mayit* so that it is easier to clean the lower body area of the *mayit* and not splashed water from below. Therefore, it is *sunnah* to bathe the *mayit* by exalting it. In addition, banana trees are also a reflection of how humans should live their life by spreading the benefits before they die. The use of a banana tree provides a picture of life for humans that life is only once. The use of 4 banana tree trunks in the bathing process of the *mayit* gives valuable teaching that humans must have direction and purpose.

1.4 Aeng Socceh

Aeng socceh is a term in the form of a noun phrase that means purified water. In bathing the *mayyit*, the water used must use purified water to cleanse the body of the *mayyit* from the dirt that adheres to it. It is done since the *mayyit* will face God. It was stated by Subha, a Muslim scholar (20 April 2019) in interview that, “Ya epamandian reah sepenting aeng socceh” (“It is important that water in the bathing process must be purified”). That is, the use of water to bathe the *mayyit* must be purified water since God loves things that are clean and purified. God created humans in a state of nature or purification. Therefore, people who die are encouraged to die in a purified condition before they encounter their God. It is also the last form of respect the family must show to the *mayyit* so that the *mayyit* is bathed using purified and purifying water.

From the explanation above, there is a non-verbal expression in the form of a tool that is in the tradition of bathing the corpse in the form of babble as a form of a noun phrase that has the meaning of purified water that is used to bathe the *mayyit* to remove impurities in the body.

1.5 *Sabun*

Sabun (soap) is one of the tools in bathing the *masyit*, which is useful for removing impurities that are attached to the body of the *masyit*. Soap is useful for making it easier to remove the impurities. Soap is a non-verbal expression in the tradition of the *masyit* bathing as a form of objects in the form of tools.

1.6 *Sampo*

Sampo (shampoo) is one of the tools in the tradition of the *masyit* bathing. *Sampo* is usually used to clean the hair of the *masyit* and to avoid odor. *Sampo* is a non-verbal expression in the form of objects in the form of tools.

1.7 *Soroi*

Soroi is also one of the tools used to comb the hair of the *masyit* when bathed to ensure the hair is exposed to water. *Soroi* is a non-verbal expression in the form of objects in the form of tools.

1.8 *Sere*

Sere is a leaf used to cover the nose and mouth of the *masyit* when the *masyit* is watered or bathed to ensure the water does not enter the nostrils of the *masyit*. It is said by Hj. Rofiqoh (April 26, 2019) in interview that,

“*Sere* se epanotop elongah makle tak taserna’. Elong barang alobang, aroah ekarassah. Reah kolek sakek. Makanah mun mandiin reah tak ning tak santak, ronah jerya sakek. Kan badha syiiran jhak tak santak mikol bula gik ngabassa anak ban bala. Kan badha ngak roah, roah ekarassah mun ronah keng gun tak acaca ronah roah sakek.”
 (“*Sere* is made to cover the nose, by aiming the water does not enter to the nose because it can be a pain. The skin felt pain. So, if bathing the *masyit* may not be hard, the spirit of *masyit* is pain. It is on *Syrian*, don’t be faster in bringing me, still want to see my sons and brothers. The spirit feels but does not talk.”)

From the explanation above, *sere* is a non-verbal expression in the form of a tool or leaf that is useful for covering the nostril of the *masyit* so that water cannot enter them. It is believed that *sere* is a leaf from heaven. Hj. Hosna (April 15, 2019) explained it in the interview, “Aroah lamba’ can *sere* areah un dhaunan se badha e soargah, *sere radhin*” (“It was believed that *sere*, which was called *sere radhin*, is a leaf from heaven leaves in heaven”). Therefore, Madurese people, especially in the village of Aeng Tong-tong, use *sere* to cover the nostrils of the *masyit* when bathing the *masyit* as *sere* is believed to be a leaf from heaven.

1.9 *Ewudhui*

Ewudhui is one of the obligations undertaken towards the *masyit*. This verbal expression comes from the lingual unit of the word *wudu*’ which has changed to the word *ewudhu*’i with the presence of a confix {e+i}. The lingual unit process with confix {e+i} on the verb *ewudhui* is a form of inflection process because it does not produce a new class of words. This is evidenced by the class of basic words in the form of verbs and the class of words that get confixes in the form of verbs. Both have the same class of words, verbs. In the same reference, Subroto (2012, 2) explains that the term inflection cannot be called word formation because it does not produce new lexemes.

Ewudhui is a process of ablution of the *masyit* which includes the intention of “*aniat kaula awudhu’na masyit panikah karena Allah ta’alaa*” (“I intend to ablution of this *masyit* because of Allah”). In the tradition of ablution, there is a verbal expression in the form of an intention made

by someone to ablate the *mayyit* after the *mayyit* is bathed in a clean state. The process of ablating the *mayyit* is carried out by mahram of the *mayyit*, whether male or female. If the *mayyit* is a male, then the people entitled to abdicating the *mayyit* are males, and if the *mayyit* is female, then people who are entitled to abdicating the *mayyit* are women.

2. *Pundhu'*

Pundhu' 'wrapping up' is the second obligation that must be carried out towards the *mayyit*. Verbal expressions in the form of a lingual unit of the term *pundhu'* also have the process of changing the word to *pundhu'*. The process of changing the verb word *pundhu'* into a noun with the suffix *e* in *pundhu'en* refers to *labun* as a non-verbal form. *Labun* is a means of wrapping the *mayyit*. That conversion process is a form of derivation. Derivation is the term formation of words that produce new words (Subroto 2012, 2).

The way to wrap this *mayyit* in Madura as regulated in the sharia is that if the *mayyit* is a male then the wrapping cloth must be 3 layers, and if the *mayyit* is female, then the wrapping cloth must be 5 layers. Wrapping the *mayyit* is an obligation in taking care of the *mayyit* after the bathing process. In wrapping the *mayyit*, there is a verbal expression in the form of the unit phrase *labun taleppet*. It is believed that if people wrap the *mayyit* in a shroud with an untidy or folded cloth, the person who dies will become a haunt or ghost. Usually, the person in charge of wrapping up the *mayyit* will be notified "senga'senga' labunah jha' pa leppet. Pa ce' sepa'en." This verbal expression in the form of the sentence has a contextual meaning that someone should wrap the *mayyit* neatly. If it is not neat enough, then the *mayyit* will become a haunt.

The belief regarding *labun taleppet* will result in people who die will become a ghost is only the belief of some people without any foundation of knowledge. Those people did not have enough knowledge about wrapping the *mayyit*. The belief intends to ensure that people are careful in the wrapping process and are not doing it carelessly.

From the above explanation, it can be concluded that *pundhu'* is a verbal expression of the verb form which means 'to wrap,' and *pundhu'en* with the suffix *en* as a noun form that refers to *labun* as a form of non-verbal expression which means 'to wrap the *mayyit*.' Besides, there is a verbal expression in the form of the phrase *labun taleppet* which refers to a ghost as a non-verbal form. It is usually said "senga'senga' labunah jha' pa leppet. Pa ce' sepa'en" which means that people who wrap the *mayyit* are encouraged to be careful and neat in the wrapping. Such verbal and nonverbal expressions are the belief of some people who do not have sufficient knowledge. The purpose of the ancient people regarding these expressions is to ensure that people who wrap the *mayyit* are more careful and neat in the wrapping process. This shows that Madurese people are always full of caution in doing anything to ensure that the results are as they wish.

3. *Esambajangaghi*

Esambajangaghi is a fundamental obligation in taking care of the *mayyit* after the wrapping process. *Esambajangaghi* comes from the lingual unit of the word *sambhajang*, which means to pray with confix {*e+aghi*} on the word *Esambajangagi* which means to be worshiped. The verb lingual unit process with {*e+aghi*} confix in the verb *esambajangagi* is a form of inflection process because it does not produce a new class of words. This is evidenced by the class of basic words in the form of verbs and the class of words that get confixes in the form of verbs. Both have the same class of words, namely verbs. Subroto (2012, 2) explains that inflection cannot be called word formation because it does not produce new lexemes. Therefore, the word *esambajangagi* with *sambhajang*

are two words that have the same class of words because they do not produce changes in new word classes or new lexemes even though they have confix {*e+aghi*}.

Esambhajangaghi means to worship the *mayyit* by the family and community members. Worshipping the *mayyit* is an activity to pray for the *mayyit* which is done with 4 *takbir* and two greetings. This is done as a form of final respect for the *mayyit* who will face God. In worshipping the *mayyit*, people ask for the *mayyit* to be forgiven and lightened in the hereafter.

The term *Esambhajangaghi* is a passive meaning which means that the activity is carried out by the community to pray for the *mayyit* which begins with the intention “*aniat kauleh asholattagiyah mayyit ka ‘dintoh 4 takbir because of Allah ta’ aala*” (“I intend to pray for this *mayyit* because of Allah”). After making the intention of prayer, it is then followed by 4-time *takbir* and ended with a 2-greeting. Also, it is accompanied by a special pray for the *mayyit*, which is “*Allohummaghfirlahaa warhamhaa wa’aafihaa wa’fu’anhaa wa akrim nuzulahaawawassi ‘mudkholahaawaghsilahaabil maa-i wats tsalji wal barod. Wa naqqihaa minal khothooyaa kamaanaqqoitats tsaubal abyadho minad danas. Wa abdilhaadaaron khoiron min daarihaa wa ahlan khoiron min ahlihaa wa zaujan khoiron min zaujihaa wa adkihilhal jannata wa a’idzhaa min ‘adzaabin qobri au min ‘adzaabin naar*” (“O Allah, forgive and bless him. Free and forgive him. Expand his tomb and bathe him with water, snow, and dew. Purify him from all mistakes such as cleaning a white cloth from dirt. Give him a better home than his house (in the world), a better family than his family, a better partner than his partner. Then put him in heaven and protect him from the trials of the grave and the punishment of hell”).

From the above explanation, *esambhajangaghi* is a verbal expression of the verb form which gets the {*e+aghi*} confession in the lingual unit of the word *sambhajangaghi*, which means to worship the *mayyit* which is included with the intention and prayer to pray for the *mayyit* as a final form of respect by asking forgiveness to make all matters in the hereafter easier for the *mayyit*.

4. *Ependem*

Ependem is the last mandate undertaken towards *mayyit*. *Ependem* means to bury. The term *ependem* is different from the term *ekoburagi* even though both have the same meaning. *Ependem* and *ekoburagi* are lingual units of words that experience inflection with the same changes in the word *pendem* and *kobur*. Both are basic verbs getting confix {*e*} in {*e*}+*pendem* and {*e+aghi*} in {*e*}+*kobur*+{*aghi*}. Subroto (2012, 2) explains that the term inflection cannot be called word formation because it does not produce new lexemes. Therefore, *ependem* and *ekoburagi* are the same verbs that come from one basic verb, namely *pendem* and *kobur*.

In the tradition of *ependem*, the *mayyit* is usually buried in the ground with the depth of the *sapamanjengan ban sajengnguan*, meaning that the grave for the *mayyit* is based on the height of a living person and as he can reach the *mayyit* from inside the grave. Moreover, the grave is profound, so it does not emit odor. As stated by Ust. Jibrawi (27 December 2018) in the interview, “*lobang kobhuran nêka, komattah wa bastotah, mun neneng kêtah, atoran nêka. Samanjengnah orèng ban sajengnguan.*”

However, it is not the case in Madura even though the *illat* requires it to be done that way. Importantly the *mayyit* was not eaten by wild animals and so as not to cause odor. Therefore, it is recommended that the grave needs to be deep, although it needs not be as deep as the height of a living person. It is because the *illat* is that for the *mayyit* not to produce odor. In this tradition

there are several terms in the form of *mukka* 'tale tello', meaning to open the 3 ropes that are on the *mayyit*. Then, tilting the *mayyit* or *mireng bara' olo dhaja* (the *mayyit* is faced towards the qibla with the position of the head of the *mayyit* is in the north). After that, the *mayyit* remains tilted towards the qibla then it is given a buffer in the form of *lu bellu*. *Lu bellu* is a round fist made of land that is used to prop up the *mayyit* for keeping it to face towards the qibla and is accompanied by *dinding areh* which is a long white wall of stone which is mounted as a row wall for the *mayyit*. Therefore, the *mayyit* is not buried directly in the ground. Subha, a Muslim scholar, said (20 April 2019) in the interview,

“Epo buin dinding areh. Mayyit makle tak katambenan tanah. Gabay kennengnah mayyit. Polanah dhabunah Allah reah jhak na' potonah adam reah mulja. Mangkanah epasangin dinding areh.”

(“The *mayyit* must be given *dinding areh* so that the *mayyit* is not buried directly in the soil. For *mayyit* place. Because Allah said that the sons of Adam are noble. So, it is given *dinding areh*.”)

Therefore, it can be said that humans are noble creatures so that in the process of burial, humans are treated differently from animals that are directly piled with soil when they die. To glorify the *mayyit*, the community provides *dinding areh* as a space or place for the *mayyit* in the tomb. It is believed that the *mayyit* when will wake up even though people do not know how the way they will wake up.

From the above explanation, *ependem* and *ekoburagi* are verbal expressions of verb forms that get confix *e* on the lingual unit *pendem*, and {*e+aghi*} on the lingual unit *kobur*. Both are types of inflection because they do not produce new lexeme. *Ependem* is the final obligation undertaken towards the *mayyit*. In addition to the verbal expressions found in *ependem* or *ekoburaghi*, there are several non-verbal expressions in the form of tools such as *lu belluh*, which means a rounded ground fist to hold the *mayyit* when facing towards the qibla and *dinding areh* which is used to avoid the *mayyit* from being buried directly in the ground. It also aims to make space for and to glorify the *mayyit* because humans are glorious creatures.

CONCLUSION

There are several verbal expressions in the form of terms and non-verbal forms of tools or objects found in Pamatè tradition which contain suffixes, derivation affixes, and inflections in Madurese. Such expressions indicate an act done by someone else because the person concerned cannot do it himself/herself, such as (1) *mandi'in* which is derived from the word *mandi* with the suffix *-in*. *Panyompêt* is the relation between the *pany-* and the basic morpheme *sompêt*. *Panotop* is also relation between the prefix *pa-* and the basic morpheme *totop*. *Panyundhang* also has relation between the prefix *pany-* with the basic word *sondhang*. *Aeng socceh*, *sabun*, and *sampo* which are also a form of basic words or terms in Madura language that aims as a tool to clean the *mayyit*'s body from the dirt attached to it, while *sere* is also categorized as a basic word in Madurese. *Ewudhu'i* is a form of confix *e+i*. The verb lingual unit process with confix {*e+i*} on the verb *ewudhui* is a form of inflection process because it does not produce a new class of words. (2) *Pundhu'* is a basic word that means wrapping, and *pundhu'en* with the suffix *-en* as a noun form that refers to *labun*. Besides, there is a verbal expression in the form of the phrase *labun taleppet* which means that the person who dies will be haunting or will become a ghost. Moreover, “*senga-senga' labunah jha pa leppet. Pace' sepa'en*” means that people who wrap the *mayyit* are encouraged to be careful and neat in wrapping the dead so that nothing unexpected happens. (3) *Esambhajangagi* is a verb that gets confix {*e+aghi*} on the lingual unit of the word *sambhajangagi*. (4) *Ependem* is a form of

inflection because it cannot form new words. In terms, there are non-verbal expressions in the form of *lu-bellu* and *diding areh* as tools or objects used for burial purposes.

This finding is a form of primary obligation by the surrounding community in taking care of the corpse (*mayyit*). This obligation has become an entrenched tradition in Aeng Tong-tong community. They must carry out a series of Pamaté traditions. The tradition is a belief or belief held by the community for generations and carried out by the ancestors. Confidence in the Pamaté tradition which contains symbols and oral traditions reflected in the verbal and non-verbal expressions of the community becomes a reference for people's lives in social life to maintain good relations between the spirits of people who have died, relationships between people, and relationships to God. This tradition is a form of local wisdom of the people of Aeng Tong-tong, which is very much preserved for generations.

Research on the cultural meaning and views of the people reflected in the Pamaté tradition at the ceremony of death is still minimal, only in one tradition that is revealed with cultural meaning. Research on language and culture related to death in addition to the *pamaté* tradition that is used is still very potential to be used as further research material.

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