Lingua Cultura, 13(4), November 2019, 283-287

P-ISSN: 1978-8118 DOI: 10.21512/lc.v13i4.5933 E-ISSN: 2460-710X

THE CULTURAL MEANING IN VERBAL AND NON-VERBAL EXPRESSION REPRESENTED IN NYAÉBUH TRADITION OF PEOPLE IN AENG TONG-TONG, SARONGGI, SUMENEP

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Received: 10th September 2019/Revised: 22nd October 2019/Accepted: 30th October 2019

How to Cite: Hodairiyah., Rais, W. A., & Purnanto, D. (2019). The cultural meaning in verbal and non-verbal expression represented in *nyaébuh* tradition of people in Aeng Tong-Tong, Saronggi, Sumenep. Lingua Cultura, 13(4), 283-287. https://doi.org/10.21512/lc.v13i4.5933

ABSTRACT

This research aimed to find out the cultural meaning of verbal and non-verbal expression represented in the nyaébuh tradition of people in Aeng tong-tong, Saronggi, Sumenep. This research was a qualitative descriptive using an ethnographic method with ethnoscience analysis. Data were obtained from the interview result with two informants of verbal and non-verbal expression. It finds that this tradition in the form of almsgiving whereby the charity is devoted to the deceased in the hope that it can alleviate and erase the sins of the deceased, in addition to which it can increase unity, harmony, family, harmony between people and others. This research can provide the benefits of knowledge about the meaning contained in the tradition of nyaébuh, and it can give the Sumenep community's insights about the meaning of tradition through verbal and non-verbal language expressions. Besides that, it can share knowledge about the culture and traditions of Madura for each different region.

Keywords: cultural meaning, verbal expression, non-verbal expression, nyaébuh tradition, ethnolinguistics

INTRODUCTION

Indonesia is a nation that has many islands and various cultures as well as languages in each region. Thus, each region has a different way of life in the culture, including Madura. Madurese (people of Madura) has its own way of culture, which is part of Indonesia. Madura is also one of the cultural assets owned by this country. In culture, Madurese have a high tolerance, mutual cooperation, and the spirit of harmony for upholding the sense of unity and unity in brotherhood towards different things in carrying out each tradition. According to Suwito, Hidayat, and Agus (2015), the tradition in the interpretation of society in seeing reality to be addressed with confidence and trust. As with the Nyaébuh tradition, it has been a hereditary tradition and is still developing today.

The Nyaébuh tradition is a salvation tradition practiced by the Madurese community after there are some people who had died. The tradition is carried out until now by the community because it is driven by a firm belief towards the system of values and customs that have been running for generations. Nyaébuh is derived from the word ébuh; the change in the word ébuh means thousand to Nyaébuh with the prefix affix, which is a form of the verb. It shows the meaning of the activities in commemorating the day of the funeral of the deceased person. This tradition usually takes place in wisdom with the reading of tahlil sarwah, as well as joint prayers that are led by the chaplain with the invitees present at the event. One of the things that is very interesting in the Nyaébuh program is not only the procession of a series of events but in terms of serving food that is unique and has its own meaning. This tradition is not only intended to hold a prayer together but also as a benchmark to show the status of belief in culture and traditions that are still strong and thick in society. In carrying out the tradition of *Nyaébuh*, the Madurese determine the date by releasing someone's day of death until it reaches a thousand days. At that time, a series of activities are carried out, starting from preparing for the salvation/ceremonial event, such as jhangonjangan, bherkat, tambul, biddang, dha'eran, nase 'rasol, pan-sampanan which will be given to the invitees after conducting the tahlil sarwah.

This tradition has been still conducted by Madurese. This is a forum for conveying ideas and life views of the Madurese society. The culture possessed by the Madurese community reflects the values, ideas, and forms of knowledge to be conveyed by other communities hereditary from one generation to another. Therefore, those legacy ideas will be sought because the culture is a legacy that holds meaning to be conveyed to the public. Thus, the culture must be understood by the meaning contained in the ideas and patterns of thought and objects. So, through the tradition of Nyaébuh in the Aeng community, the tongs of Saronggi Sumenep sub-district can be seen how the Madurese people understand, appreciate, and look at things related to salvation in human death. Nyaébuh is a salvation tradition to commemorate the thousandth day of the dead because the spirit will go away forever. As revealed by Nyai Haiseh (April 26, 2019), "nyaébuh reah salamettan ka angguy greetagi se mate e baktoh saebuh arenah, sabab spirit abeliah ka aballah place, spirit la jau. Salamettan areah ka angguy sanguh dibudinah."

Nyaébuh tradition has an important meaning in human life. However, over time, the understanding of the tradition of Nyaébuh began to be less understood by the Madurese community even though the tradition is still implemented. The implementation of this tradition in the Madura region is assisted by elders and chaplains because only a few people can understand this. Therefore, the only reason people continue to use the tradition because it becomes a habit or just a tradition passed down for generations. This can show that the knowledge of the Madurese community about cultural meaning through the view of the community in the tradition of its shining is clearly reduced. Thus, the researchers decide to use cultural meaning theory to solve the research problem.

Cultural meaning is the meaning of language in accordance with the cultural context of its speaker (Subroto in Rais, 2017). This is intended to translate the meaning in the form of verbal and non-verbal expressions in the context of the local wisdom of the community in the Nyaébuh tradition related to the knowledge system reflected in the people's mindset or outlook on life. Therefore, the aim of this research is to reveal cultural meaning and how is the public's view of the Nyaébuh tradition in the Aeng Tong tong, Saronggi, Sumenep community, which will be viewed from an ethnolinguistic perspective. 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 social-cultural context to advance and maintain cultural practices and social structures (Foley in Rais, 2017).

In similar research, Sari (2017) has focused on the existence of the tradition of the salvation of death that still survives to this day that has positive values for the local community from different perspectives. The research is seen as a positive reality, such as for friendship or connecting bonds of brotherhood and community relations. Besides, Mulyadi (2018) has revealed that tradition meaning in the Sumenep Madura Muslim ritual, which is understood as a local or popular ritual. It is related to the determination of the calendar in Islam. This ritual, when expressed and understood in practice, is always based on popularizing the names of local Islamic calendar with certain insights and meanings. With a deductive-inductive-explorative approach, this research reveals three popular ritual practices of the Sumenep Madura community, namely Death, Peret *Kandung*, and *Sonnat* rituals. In addition, Karim (2017) has also conducted similar research that focuses on the meaning contained in the ritual of the death of the Javanese Islamic community in the village of Bakalan Kalinyamatan Jepara.

Moreover, Samingin (2007) has focused on the form of the death salvation, the symbolic meaning of each ubarampe used in the salvation to commemorate the death, as well as the outlook on life and the mindset of Javanese people related to death.

Furthermore, Hodairiyah (2019) has also conducted similar research that focuses on the lexical meaning and cultural significance of the Majana Sortana tradition in death. Then, Pangaribuan (2017) has researched the implementation of the ceremonies of death in the Batak Toba customs, especially in Pontianak. If the group of Batak Toba people in Pontianak do not conduct salvation, they will get a negative assumption from other people. They believe that those people will obtain trouble continuously. Customary leaders (Raja Adat) make efforts to preserve the traditional ceremony of the death of the Batak Toba society in Pontianak by continuing to carry out the customary death ceremony/ salvation, providing guidance to the community who will carry out the traditional ceremony of death and introducing it to the younger generation. Besides, Wahyuningsih (2018) has also conducted research to describe and analyze the meaning of denotation, connotation, and myth in the representation of the ritual ceremony of the death of the Toraja tribe in the Indonesian documentary program Bagus NET TV Toraja episode. This research is seen from the perspective of Roland Barthes's semiotics. Ayu (2014) has studied traditional ceremonies that are routinely carried out in religion every year, called the Khaul Buyut Tambi. She explains the cultural classification, description, and reflection of the concepts of life and death in the Buyut Tambi Khaul lexicon. Embon and Saputra (2018) have also conducted similar research that aims to describe and reveal the symbols in the Toraja traditional signs of the solo ceremony. It is a tradition to perform the last ceremony for people who had died.

Based on these descriptions, the researchers are very interested in research and study more about the meaning of *nyaébuh* tradition in cultural meaning through the views of the people and the mindset that still runs as an inheritance from the ancestors. It is because this research has never been conducted in the Madura region, especially in the ethnolinguistic realm. So, it aims to describe the cultural meaning in verbal and non-verbal expression represented in the *nyaébuh* tradition of people in Aeng Tong-tong, Saronggi, Sumenep.

METHODS

This research is about cultural meaning in the *nyaébuh* tradition that is an only one-time event to hold the day death of someone that is represented in the verbal and non-verbal language of people in Aeng Tong tong, Saringgi, Sumenep, Madura. This type of research is a 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 Rais, 2017).

Data used in this research are verbal and non-verbal data by doing the interview. The verbal data are in the form of informants' speeches in the form of lexical units of words, phrases, clauses, sentences contained in the tradition. In contrast, nonverbal data are in the form of symbols in the form of objects or tools contained in the tradition. The source of primary data are utterances from selected informants who become the leader in the

tradition of *nyaébuh*. The secondary data sources are such as documents and informants. The document data source in the form of photos and informant data sources are a leader (Kiyai) named (1) Nyai Haiseh (80 years), who works as an elder in Saronggi Sub-District, Sumenep District; and (2) Ustadz Jibrawi (55 years), who works as a teacher from the village of Aeng tong-tong, Sumenep District. This research also uses a purposive sampling technique to obtain the completeness and depth of data in dealing with the reality that is not single and directed at data sources that had important data. The data are related to the problem to be studied (Rais, 2017) and snowball sampling techniques for assigning informants (Sibrani in Hodairiyah, 2019).

The steps to analyze data are by transcribing the results of interviews with resource persons in an orthographic manner. Translate data are verbally and nonverbally in terms of words and other lingual units. Then it interprets and analyzes the context in terms of cultural meaning and community views. In other words, culture and all activities of community life can be used as a reference for writers to interpret their worldview and mindset in order to uncover the culture they belong to, assisted by theory such as cultural meaning theory related to data analysis needs.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

After conducting an interview with two informants, people of Aeng Tong-Tong, Saronggi, Sumenep, Madura have *nyaébuh* tradition in death where there are forms of language expression in both verbal and non-verbal languages. These languages have cultural significance in the lives of people themselves, both those who have died and those who have been left behind and are basic obligations that have been carried out. Thus, the tradition of *nyaébuh* has still lived and occupied as the legacy of the ancestors to this day.

Nyaébuh is a tradition to commemorate the thousandth day of the deceased. On that day, it is believed that the spirit would go far away so that it would not return. Therefore, the family holds salvation in the form of a ritual performed to accompany the departure of the spirit. The thousandth-day commemoration carries out in the afternoon by the family that is a form of existence of trust held strongly from generation to generation, as if people are reluctant to commemorate salvation at night.

The activities of *nyaébuh* that is event or ceremony to hold the thousandth day of someone's death could be expressed in the form of lingual unit form of language in the form of terms, words, phrases, clauses, and sentences in Madurese about the tradition and expressed in symbolic form. Thus, the forms of language in ethnolinguistic studies are classified into two parts, namely verbal language, and non-verbal language, which are encapsulated in the tradition of *nyaébuh*.

There are five expressions of verbal language in nyaébuh tradition. First is, "Ding la nyaébuh kluarganah ta' tedhung gan peddhuk polanah roh reah bhakal nyimpangah. Ronah roah la sossa can." (When a thousand days, his family did not sleep until noon because the spirit was going to leave, the spirit was hard to go). This express reveals that if someone died and has reached the thousandth day, then the family does not sleep until noon because the spirit will go and experience the hardship. Therefore, on the thousandth day, the family holds salvation to commemorate it by conducting joint prayers and reciting tahlil and Yasin,

which are devoted to the deceased family in the daytime. It aims that the deceased will be given a calm, facilitated all his/her affairs with the most power.

It is because the spirit would go before noon. Therefore, the commemoration of the thousandth day is held to accompany the departures of the spirits as sangu or their provisions in passing away. A belief about the sayings of society to the verbal expression on the day of nyaébuh basically is the placement of spirits. The spirit is divided into five parts; (1) the spirits of the prophets come out of the body like oil and straight to heaven. (2) The spirits of martyrs come out from the body; Allah creates a blue (green) bird and entrusts the spirit in the bird. It means that the spirit is inserted into the bird, and the bird is in heaven eating fruits in heaven. (3) The spirit of a devout person goes straight to the garden of heaven, but they do not eat, and they are not happy in heaven but only see heaven. (4) The spirit of immoral Muslims who does not have time to repent will haunt, including heaven and earth. (5) The spirits of infidels are directly entered into a blackbird and put into a hell of a Sijjin, which is under the earth number 7. Its spirit is tortured while its body in the tomb feels the torture. Supposedly against the sun in the fourth sky while the light reaches the earth (Ianatut tholibin, juz 2, page 107, in the interview of Ust. Jibrawi, 30th December 2018).

The understanding of the spirit and the spirit that will not come back is the form of public confidence without a basis of thinking. However, it is better because with such an existence, it is indirectly motivated by a sense of sharing among people, and there is still respect for the deceased. Thus, the family does salvation in a thousand days with the intention of alms in the form of food, cakes, and equipped with clothes. It is intended that the charity is specifically for the deceased.

The second is, "Sandhakkaen mi'dhateng ka dhalem mimpenah oreng, mi'ngaton." (Afraid to come into his/her dreams, afraid of being present). Logically, clothes donated would not arrive at the deceased person in the form of clothes. The deceased person would not wear the clothes, but his deeds would be delivered to the deceased. This charity would ease the burden on people who died. However, in fact, it is ok if it is not conducted because to remember parents who had died do not have to give. It is enough to pray for him/her every day without stopping. It depends on the standard of his/her children and grandchildren, remembering his/her parents. When the deceased person comes, it is a cause for his child or family who do not remember him/her to just pray for him.

The third is, "Duh, jha' reng ta'e berri' lemas jeryah lamba', ye adha' jeryah pas daddih." (Duh, she didn't give lemas in the past, so, she becomes ghost). This expression culturally gives a negative impact if it is not provided lemas, which caused people who died wandering. It is only a belief of some people. Lemas is a good donated to other people because the oldest people find it very difficult to do alms because of the difficulty of the economy and to support themselves. As the words of Nyai Haiseh's advice (26 April 2019), "Mak tak daddiyah, daddih mun lamba. Jhak benni keng korang abajang, keng korang amalah, mun oreng lamba' se ekakanah beih malarat, mak entara ebagi ka oreng, jhak se anuh areah sadakah koduh mabanyak amal. Mun tak asadaka daddih onggu mun lamba'. Mun sateyah reng la soki, adha' caretana din dhadin." (If it used to be. It is not because of lack of worship, just lacking in charity, if people do not want to be eaten first, let alone give it to people, the important thing is to give alms to charity. If not

giving alms, so it really happened before. Now people are rich; there's no ghost story). From this expression, lemas indirectly encourages someone to donate. Charity is a good thing that has to be spread by everyone to add to the deeds of worship.

The fourth is *Jhâng-onjhângan* (invited guests). *Jhâng-onjhângan* is a term in the nyaébuh tradition that has the meaning of invited guests. Culturally, *Jhâng-onjhângan* is the invited guests who come to pray together and recite tahlil together to pray for the dead to be forgiven of their sins and make things easier. *Jhâng-onjhângan*, who come to attend the salvation, would be given a kind of *bharkat* as a form of almsgiving for those who died because they come to pray for the deceased person. Attending an invitation is a must to honor those who have invited. Logically, people who come to attend invitations with respect to people's invitations are counted as a form of kindness. The virtue of praying for someone who has died is a form of reward that is earned by both those who are prayed for and those who pray.

The fifth is *tahlil sarwah* (reading tahlil). It is a ritual tradition in death by reading it 7000 times. Recitation of tahlil sarwah held at the funeral home is not only in the tradition of *nyaébuh*. However, the previous days in the tradition of death such as the tradition of pamaté (day of death), wa-duwa' (second day), lo'-tello' (third day), pa'empa' (fourth day), ma'-lema' (fifth day), nem-enem (the sixth day), to-petto' (the seventh day), Pa'polo (the fortieth day), nyatos (the hundredth day), nyataon (the annual day), and nyaébuh (the thousandth day). This tradition is an attempt to pray for the dead to be calm in the Barzah. In the tradition of tahlil sarwah, people present with reading Yasin, and tahlil of 7000 times, in which the reward is set aside for the person who has died. Besides, the family also provides *shodagoh* in the form of food treats for mourners who pray with the hope that the reward of *shodaqoh* is also conveyed to the person who has died.

The implementation included prays which aimed sins of the deceased people had been forgiven and tortured were relieved by Allah SWT. As for the determination of tahlilan from the tradition of pamaté, wa'-duwa', lo'-tello', pa'-empa', ma'-lema', nem-enem, to'-petto', pa'-polo, nyatos, nyataon, and nyaébuh. From some of these traditions, there was no different thing in every reading and ritual. It is because the event was filled with tahlil sarwah, yasin, as well as recitation of prayer specifically for people who died. However, for the tradition of pamaté, wa'-duwa', lo'-tello', pa'-empa', ma'-lema', nem-enem, and to'-petto', the family did not invite others to pray, but people who mourn who came alone to participate in praying for the dead. Besides, for pa'-polo, nyatos, nyataon, nyaébuh, it was the family who invited people to pray for the deceased.

This tradition has critics from other people. Some people accuse that this tradition is a heresy as well as a tradition of ancestors that have no sharia basis. Regardless of the debate, the scholars still agree to maintain the implementation of the tahlil sarwah based on the strength of the arguments of the hadith, Al-Qur'an, and classic books that strengthen it. Thus, many benefits are felt from the implementation of the tradition of tahlil sarwah; one of them is repentance efforts for oneself and relatives who have died. It could increase the kinship between the living and the deceased, remind that afterlife, there must be death, strengthen harmony among people, and establish harmony and cohesiveness between people.

The sixth is Sandekka (alms/donation). Sandekka is

a term in *nyaébuh* in the tradition of the Madurese when there is death, which means alms/donation. Culturally, a *sandekka* is giving or changing the clothes of the deceased by distributing or giving them to others with the aim of charity for the deceased. *Sandekka* tradition in Madurese is identical to clothing (as a substitute for clothes), umbrellas (so that it does not overheat on its journey), pillows (to be comfortable in resting), mats (as a base for resting). This is a belief for some people. Logically, people who have died do not need this; they only need prayer. However, this could encourage children and grandchildren to keep remembering their parents with sandekka. With the sandekka activity, people would set aside their wealth to give alms that are a form of kindness for everyone because this is believed to be a provision of charity in his/her life in the afterlife.

Besides these non-verbal expressions, there are six expressions of non-verbal language in *nyaébuh* tradition. First is *tambul biddhang* (cake and coffee). *Tambul biddhang* is two words becoming one with a different meaning in the form of a phrase that is a noun form. Tambul is a cake served as a drinking partner to be served to the invitees. In contrast, biddhang is a form of the word noun, which means a drink in the form of coffee with a mixture of hot water and sugar. Culturally, the given of *tambul biddhang* is a must in the *nyaébuh* event. It is because giving *bambhang tambul* to the invited guests is a form of respect and gratitude for being willing to attend the invitation for the ceremony and prayers addressed to the family of the deceased. *Tambul biddhang* is also a form of almsgiving where charity is devoted to the deceased.

The second is dha'eran (food). *Dha'eran* is one of the language expressions, which the term is found in nyaébuh. *Dha'eran* is a noun form of the word *dha'er* verb that are two relations between the units of the lexeme *dha'er* and suffix –an. It means rice and soup and side dishes while *dha'er* means 'eating'. Culturally, *dha'eran* is a form of donation/alm of rise and meal. This alms is carried out by family members who have died with the aim of charity from alms intended for the deceased. This is done only to ease the burden borne by the deceased because alms could erase existing sins. Therefore, giving *dha'eran* to invited guests who have prayed together to forgive all the sins of the deceased are also assisted by giving *dha'eran* as a form of help to erase their sins as well.

The third is *nase'rasol* (rice of Rasul). *Nase'rasol* is combining two words in forming a phrase. The word nase' means rice, and rasol means apostle. *Nase'rasol* is prophet rice, which means that the rice is offered a prayer to the apostle. This rice is in salvation to glorify apostles because the prayers and the blessings are offered first to *Rasullullah* as a messenger of God. This rice is given or included in the salvation to be prayed for, and it is different from the others because it is equipped with side dishes in the form of noodles or serundeng and meat terms with tompang. The value of *nase'rasol* has more reward because of more alms. It is a form of almsgiving, which is given to people who come to attend the invitation to be married. Giving alms is expected that the charity is devoted or conveyed to people who have died.

The fourth is *bharkat* (gift). *Bhakat* is a Madurese term from *barokah*, which means blessing. In the Madura, *bharkat* is a gift in the form of a variety of cakes, rice, and soup in one container. This is usually given to invitees or people who take part in the *tahlilan* of death. This *bharkat* is a form of almsgiving whose charity is reserved for people who have died in the hope that almsgiving becomes

a blessing or brings blessing to both the deceased and the family.

The fifth is pan-sampanan (boat). Pan sampanan is the form of offerings available on the day of nyaébuh. It has the meaning the spirit would sail and will go somewhere crossing the ocean. It is a boat made of paper which contains various kinds of offerings such as satay and complete side dishes. Inside the boat, there is a symbol made of three colors from a basic material called tettel. The colors are black, yellow, and white that symbolize sangu or provision of people who would depart. This understanding is an understanding of ancient culture. In fact, the spirit is divided into five parts, as explained. Such rituals in the pamate tradition should be kept away because they are the heresy of madzmumah. However, this ritual still survives until now due to ignorance and the lack of public understanding of this tradition. When the tradition is not able to be changed as the proposition that reads "man raaa minkum munkaran fal yuwayyir biyadih," (if one of you sees evil, then it should be changed by hand), "fa illam yastatit fahuwa bilisanihi" (enough to say). However, if this does not work, it would cause hostility, then it was enough to deny in the heart. In this tradition, pan-sampanan is a form of offerings offered to people who are specific to the deceased. The charity is expected to erase and forgive all of his/her sins.

The sixth is *lémas aghung* (offerings/sesaji). *Lémas aghung* is a combination of two words *lemas* and *aghung*. *Lémas* is a noun form, which means a pyramid, while *aghung* is an adjective, which means great. *Lémas aghung* is the last offer of the greatest to accompany the departure of a spirit who would go far without anyone knowing where he is going. In the tradition of *nyaebuh*, lemas is a form of the boat made from young coconut leaf assemblages containing *'juko' nase*, snacks in the form of song *lessongan*, prayer beads, *reng-orengan*, and *panyakseh*. *Nase juko* is rice and side dishes, snack/jajan is a cake formed similar to a mortar, prayer beads, scarecrow, and *panyakseh* in the form of money as provisions in his journey. The offerings/*sesaji* is given or donated to people and specifically to those who have died so that the deeds are felt by those who have died.

CONCLUSIONS

The salvation activity about the thousandth day of someone's death can be expressed in verbal language and non-verbal language. The verbal language can be seen from the utterances in the form of terms, phrases, clauses, sentences, such as; (1) Ding la nyaébuh kluarganah ta' tedhung gan peddhuk polanah roh reah bhakal nyimpangah. Ronah roah la sossa can; (2) Sandhakkaen mi' dhateng ka dhalem mimpenah oreng, mi'ngaton, (3) Duh, jha'reng ta'e berri'lemas jeryah lamba', ye adha'jeryah pas daddih, (4) Jhâng-onjhângan, (5) Tahlil sarwah, (6) Sandekka. While in the non-verbal of nyaébuh tradition are; (1) Tambul biddhang, (2) Dha'eran, (3) Nase' rasol, (4) Bharkat, (5) Pan-sampanan, (6) Lemas aghung.

The meaning of salvation consists of some offerings that aim at providing supplies of the deceased to go far. This offered charity is reserved for the deceased. Alms are expected to remove and forgive the sins of people who have died. Besides, the implementation of the tradition of *nyaébuh* can also strengthen the ties of friendship with others, a sense of unity, and brotherhood.

This research can provide the benefits of knowledge about the meaning contained in the tradition of nyaébuh,

and it can give the Sumenep community's insights about the meaning of tradition through verbal and non-verbal language expressions. Besides that, it can share knowledge about the culture and traditions of Madura for each different region. The research about verbal and non-verbal expressions reflect in the *nyaébuh* tradition in this death ceremony is still very limited, only in one tradition that is revealed with cultural significance. Research on language and culture related to death, in addition to the tradition of being used, is still very potential to be used as further research material such as a hundredth day, a year day of someone's death, or it can be accorded by each culture in some places. The research uses to describe a meaning for societies and some generation as the form of local cultural maintenance.

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