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The existence of *karabhat* symbolic communication in *Tanean Lanjhang* community in Madurese society

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Abstract *Tanean Lanjhang* (the long yard) is a large yard with traditional Madurese houses built in a row and facing each other. '*Tanean*' means the distance between one house and another. Meanwhile, '*Lanjhang*' is the area of the yard that extends along the *Tanean*. The group that inhabits the *Tanean Lanjhang* is a genealogical group from one lineage, usually from the maternal (matrilineal) line. These social phenomena happened in Sanatengah Village, Pasean District, Pamekasan Regency. The current research used descriptive qualitative methodology and studied the people of Sanatengah Village, Pasean Subdistrict, Pamekasan Regency and all its community components. The results of this study indicated that the *Tanean Lanjhang* community is a social order that maintains the influence of relatives in life. Communication between relatives exists because of the role of *Pangaseppo*, or the eldest person of the family; *Oreng Toah* (parents), or mother and father; and *Taretan*, or siblings. Those were the three relatives who have the highest position in Madurese society and must be obeyed by every household members. In maintaining kinship, marriage is also arranged within close relatives, such as between cousins, uncles, and nieces. This study concluded that the *Tanean Lanjhang* upholds the values of kinship. Furthermore, kinship is not only built based on traditional houses but also the tradition of marriage between close relatives.

Keywords: symbolic communication; *karabhat*; *tanean lanjhang*

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INTRODUCTION

This article studied the concept of ethnic space and the ethnic identity of the *Tanean Lanjhang* (the long yard) community, especially in the Sanatengah Village, Pasean District, Pamekasan Regency in Madura Island. The history of *Tanean Lanjhang* began in the 1850s when the Dutch colonial government held power. At that time, social units called 'yards' were formed. Initially, in Sumenep Regency, there was an area called Kampong Meji, where people lived in groups of four or five families from one kinship (*Karabhat*) in a separate yard surrounded by walls or fences. In later developments, the social unit began to be called *Tanean Lanjhang*, which is a large yard with houses built in two rows facing each other. *Tanean* means 'between' or the distance of the yard from the house. Meanwhile, the elongated yard is called *Lanjhang*. Therefore, the unit as a whole is called *Tanean Lanjhang*. The group that lives in *Tanean Lanjhang* is a genealogical unit (of one lineage) called *Karabhat*. Furthermore, married couples are required to live in *Tanean Lanjhang*, together with the parents of the wife in a house specially built for them (Kuntowijoyo, 2002).

Several researchers have studied the *Tanean Lanjhang* community. Research by Wiyata (2002) found that *Karabhat* (kinship) in *Tanean Lanjhang* is divided into three categories, namely *Dhelem* (core kin) consisting of grandfather, grandmother, father, mother and children; *Semma'* (close kin); and *Taretan Jhau* (distant relatives or peripheral kin). Those outsiders of these three categories are called *Oreng Lowar* (outsiders or non-relatives). Meanwhile, Suyono (2018), argued that in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community, there were arranged marriages. Among them, there are *Sapalha'an* (close relatives), such as marriage between cousins (*Saphohpo*), between uncles with nephews, marriages of the family in two facing house, underhand marriage (not recorded in the office of religious affairs or KUA); *Bhakalan* (engagement made since the baby was still in the womb); there are even 'capture and wed' (forced marriages of couples caught violating religious rules or customary law).

The *Tanean Lanjhang* of the Madurese society is not the only one that has such rules. Other similar communities also exist in the world. In Indonesia itself, there is the Samin tribe, which is an ethnic group in Central Java that also has a similar cultural character with the *Tanean Lanjhang* community (Pinasti & Lestari, 2018). The Samin tribe firmly positions religion as the primary foundation in the social life of the community. The Samin tribal community has a saying, "*Agama iku gaman*" which means that the community has its own values. The values teach the meaning to life and prioritise group values by refusing outside values. In the matter of relationship, like the *Tanean Lanjhang* community, the Samin tribe is very careful about the ethics of relations between men and women. Relationships can be justified if a couple is married to someone within the community.

Examples of other tribes that have similar values and rules are the Minangkabau, which is known as one of the ethnic groups in the world that adheres to the matrilineal kinship system (Sasmita, 2012). Minangkabau is one of the largest ethnic groups in Indonesia, which has a unique kinship system. Because of this unique system, the Minangkabau tribe are famous abroad. The matrilineal kinship system of the Minangkabau community is almost the same as the *Tanean Lanjhang* society, where women occupy different positions compared to women in patrilineal societies.

Hussin (2019) revealed that the Sama-Bajau community in Malaysia also has a unique tradition called the *Buwas Kuning* offering. This tradition creates a relationship between the physical and spiritual world to protect the family or community from curses (illness, disaster, treasure and spirit). The Sama-Bajau community also believe that *Buwas Kuning* tradition protects family assets and integrates the community with their identities. The tradition is also a symbol that regulates community members to a patient and purposeful lives. To maintain the authenticity and existence of the ritual, The Sama-Bajau always involves the participation of community members, especially women. This has always been maintained and supported by the community members.

A study in Malaysia revealed that indigenous communities were living in multi-ethnic and multicultural areas, precisely in Sabah, East Malaysia (Majid Cooke & Johari, 2019). Majid revealed that *pribumi* (indigenous) communities were not primordial, but existed concerning dominant identities and other non-dominant Indigenous groups. Identity goes hand in hand with claims of justice in one environment. The Sama-Bajau community is similar to the *Tanean Lanjhang* community because of the land or livelihood that always influences identity formation. Pavo (2019) also revealed through a study in the Philippines, about space as a place to live. The condition was preceded by the migration of night market settlement communities. The night market was interpreted not only as a collection of history and the future of migrants who became street vendors in the city but as locations where creative and practical capacities or agencies were shown. Finally, that was where a new community and culture is formed in society.

From previous studies, it appeared that there had been many studies on culture in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community, starting from the aspects of ecology, buildings, traditions. However, there are matters that, according to the researchers, have not been studied, which is how the phenomenon of communication in kinship (*Karabhat*) can survive until today. It is a form of communication in kinship that has always been the symbol of the existence of the *Tanean Lanjhang* community. This aspect is very important to be studied because other than it is unique, it also relates to the survival for the members of the community.

This article examined the existence of kinship (*Karabhat*) communication in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community, and the underlying assumption was that *Karabhat* communication in *Tanean Lanjhang* becomes a social institution that has its own social rules and forms individuals in the construction of self-compliance for generations. The existence of the *Karabhat* tradition that forms social rules in *Tanean Lanjhang* is inseparable from the roles of figures who continue certain doctrines that oppose the current development.

This article used an ethnic space approach by Gupta & Ferguson (1992). In their writings, they weighed the concepts of 'culture' and 'culture difference,' by looking at whether the notion of space in the context of postmodernism and feminism in which concepts such as 'sensing' (surveillance), panopticons, simulacra, deteriorating, postmodern hyperspace, borders, and marginality are embedded (Gupta & Ferguson, 1992). They then tried to theorise views about the identity space, which in the end differentiates one culture from another, one ethnicity from another, and one identity from another. In the end, the postmodern debate and global culture produced a politics of difference which became their second critique on the emergence of self-identity as the life symbols (Foster et al., 2020). In this context, what is different is exiled, marginalised, and so on, as a result of the distinction of territorial space in the context of globalisation.

Moving on from the theories of Gupta and Ferguson, this article attempted to look at how the *Tanean Lanjhang* community in Pamekasan maintains kinship values as owned ethnic symbols. This research also studied how developments that occur in communication culture and ethnic identity are on the one hand consistently maintained and preserved, while on the other hand experienced changes due to the demands of the developing socio-cultural conditions, different perspectives from generation to generation, and the individual mobility of the community.

With the various changes occurring as a result of the opening of the 'territory' (space) of the *Tanean Lanjhang* community, especially in Pamekasan, Madura, and the need for socio-cultural sustainability, this study attempted to uncover the existence of the *Karabhat* communication in *Tanean Lanjhang* community, and the traditions occurring within the community. Specifically, this study assigned communication culture as a focus of study to examine the issue of ethnic space with the ethnic space approach by Gupta & Ferguson (1992). Therefore, researchers wanted to see how the concept of cultural space (cultural space) in this community occurs, how people maintain the existing culture, and who are the figures who play a role in it.

Therefore, this article was expected to add to the collection of studies on community-based kinship communication and made scientific contributions especially in the study of social science and its relation to communication in specific communities in Indonesia and

anywhere in the world. In addition, this research could also be used as reference material for other researchers.

METHODOLOGY

This research was conducted using descriptive-qualitative methods with a phenomenological approach. Data collection was carried out through observation in which the researcher actively participated in community life at the study site. Researchers did this in order to participate in the routines of the research subjects, observe what they are doing, listen to their stories, and find other information from the surrounding environment for eight months (Giorgi, 2016). The researchers also conducted unstructured interviews by interviewing key informants, exploring information and perceptions about the focus of research to the fullest extent. In this interview, researchers used notes and recording tools to help the interview process. Then, to support the quality of research results, researchers also conducted documentation studies, especially in books relating to Madurese culture and also from various previous studies. (Creswell, 2015).

This research was carried out in an area which is spread over several villages (*Dusun*), namely in Sanatengah Village, Pasean District, Pamekasan Regency, Madura, for eight months. The reason for choosing the location was because there are still many *Tanean Lanjhang* communities in this village that still exist today. Besides that, Sanatengah Village is a village that is located quite far from the hustle and bustle of the regency capital, which is about 70 KM trip (Kuswarno, 2007).

The informants chosen in this study were those who genuinely have capabilities because of their experience and were able to articulate their experiences and views about kinship in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community. Interviews were conducted as much as possible with informants, but researchers re-selected several informants to reveal more about themselves and their communities through further interviews (Kuswarno, 2007). The informants in this study were the community leaders, including *Pangaseppo* (traditional figure), *Bendereh* (an *Ustaz*), *Mak Kaeh* (*Kyai* or Muslim cleric), *Bajingan* (village heroes) and also the general public who can provide information for this research, as the table below:

Table 1. Informant Background

No	Informant	Age	Position	Interview Date
1	Nasrah	64	<i>Pangaseppo</i> (traditional figure)	2 August 2019
2	Sunni	71	<i>Pangaseppo</i> (traditional figure)	3 August 2019
3	Su'ali	63	Bendereh (an Ustaz)	17 September 2019
4	Taha	57	Bendereh (an Ustaz)	18 September 2019
5	Qusyirin	82	Mak Kaeh (<i>Kyai</i> or Muslim cleric)	19 September 2019
6	Karman	49	<i>Bajingan</i> (village heroes)	2 October 2019
7	Abdullah	47	Public	6 August 2019
8	Rahman	50	Public	6 August 2019
9	Kadir	35	Public	6 August 2019
10	Mursida	35	Public	3 September 2019
11	Semih	57	Public	3 September 2019
12	Baihaki	36	Public	2 October 2019
13	Hasan	52	Public	2 October 2019

Source: Author Data (2019)

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The background of the formation of the *Tanean Lanjhang* Community

Tanean Lanjhang (long yard) is a social unit that has its own cultural character in a community unit. *Tanean Lanjhang* is a large yard with houses built in a row facing each other. *Tanean* itself means the distance between one house and another house, while *Lanjhang* is the area of the yard that extends along the length of the existing row of houses (Tulistyantoro, 2005). The group inhabiting in the *Tanean Lanjhang* unit is a genealogical group that is still in one lineage and usually in the maternal lineage (matrilineal), meaning that when there is marriage the men come into the women's house, and women have full power over the land and buildings house. Meanwhile, if a man in the community gets married, then he must leave the community and join his wife's community. Such culture also occurs in other areas of Madura (Mardhatillah, 2014)

In Sanatengah Village, there were many *Tanean Lanjhang* communities scattered almost all areas of the remote village. The boundaries between the communities were paddy fields, hills or rivers with a distance of between 1 and 2 km. The formation of the *Tanean Lanjhang* community was influenced by many factors, including ecological, economic and social kinship. As stated by Gupta & Ferguson (1992), geographically, space on a smaller scale is the association of groups of cultural unity (ethnicity or nation) in a unit of a country whose people are plural with different cultural roots in one region within that country. *Tanean Lanjhang* is one of the diverse communities in Indonesia as a country which is rich in diversity of cultures and traditions.

The *Tanean Lanjhang* Community was built and maintained through several elements. The first element is the matchmaking tradition that occurs within the community. Arranged marriages occurred between siblings in one community and aimed to secure

ownership rights of the assets in the family, so it does not fall to others outside their lineage (Mahfudin & Waq'ah, 2016). The *Tanean Lanjhang* community was formed from the match that ended in the marriage. After the *Tanean Lanjhang* community was formed, there was a tradition and social rules within it which were framed in the concept of *Karabhat* (kinship) and became the characteristics and differentiators of the other *Tanean Lanjhang* communities.

Second, besides marriage, the *Tanean Lanjhang* community is also motivated by economic factors, in this case, the ownership of the land where the community forms new settlements that are close to the land or agricultural arable land. Third, the establishment of the *Tanean Lanjhang* community was also motivated by social conflict. Conflicts usually happen because of the struggle for inheritance rights between siblings. So, one of the conflicting families must succumb by leaving the *Tanean Lanjhang* community by forming a new settlement. Fourth, the occurrence of the *Tanean Lanjhang* community was also motivated by cultural equality. In one village, there were dozens of *Tanean Lanjhang* communities, and each community had a different cultural background (subculture). The cultural differences were based on several factors, including; religion and beliefs, livelihood, geographical location, habits or character of the community, and the use of symbols in social communication.

The main reason for the formation of the *Tanean Lanjhang* community was to build and maintain kinship. For the people of Sanatengah Village, *Karabhat* (relatives) meant everything. That was, the presence of relatives was very influential in the survival of the community. The function of relatives was vital, not only in economic affairs but more than that, relatives functioned as a place to anchor all affairs. Many community habits required the role of relatives, such as agricultural land, business capital, house construction, procurement of infrastructure, marriage traditions, religious practices, and others. The *Tanean Lanjhang* community were able to carry out all these activities because of a very long-standing kinship system.

The kinship system developed in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community was unique compared to other communities in Indonesia. This can be seen from the background of the formation of the community, the shape of the building, and the social structure formed that was unique, as well as differentiate itself from other communities, including the *Tanean* community which is spread all over the island of Madura. Of the four districts on the island of Madura, each has unique and unique social groups with different backgrounds. For example, in Sumenep, there is a community group called Kampong Meji, which is a village that formed in one yard and its inhabitants are still in from one lineage. Meanwhile, several other districts in Sampang, Bangkalan, and even some areas in Pamekasan also have social communities which are mostly called villages, but some are called *Tanean Lanjhang*.

From the background of its formation, each *Tanean Lanjhang* community had a different history from one another. Since the Dutch colonial era, in the village territories in Madura, several sub-villages were formed consisting of several Meji (Tanean) villages. Meji village itself consisted of several families. In this way, space functioned as a core principle of grouping in social science and at the same time sometimes disappeared from the analytical sphere. Thus, it could be concluded that in its formation, the *Tanean Lanjhang* community was originally a single household. After some time, as the number of the family grew, so did the houses that form that community (Sattar, 2017). Every individual in a community is still of one descendant, and they were bound by customary rules which have been agreed upon for generations. The feeling of togetherness and solidarity between residents in one community continued to be maintained as a form of existence of the kinship tradition as well as a symbol of social status in society.

In the Madura community, Tanean was a shared space that has its own meaning. Even the Madurese who live overseas (*Madura medalungan*) bring their tradition of habitation to the new area. With different backgrounds of the natural environment and its culture and adjustments to local conditions, shared spaces, in general, were the Tanean, terrace or patio, front room or hall, kitchen, *Langgar* (small mosques), and spaces between houses. On the scale of settlements, mosques, roads, stalls became shared space at certain times (Indeswari et al., 2013).

Communication in the *Karabhat* tradition in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community

The existence of *Karabhat* communication culture of *Tanean Lanjhang* community was reflected in social stratification or social layering of the society which covered several levels, namely 1) *Pangaseppo* also called *Oreng Seppo* as the top layer, namely the elders in *Tanean Lanjhang's* internal unit; 2) *Orenga Toa* or also called *Eppak Embuk*, as the second layer, namely biological parents or foster parents; 3) *Taretan*, namely siblings as the third layer. The social stratification system was closely related to the communication culture of the *Tanean Lanjhang* community, where one's position determined the choice of register used.

There were five levels of language style (*Dhag-ondhagga Bhasa*) in the Madurese language, namely 1) Kraton language style, for example, *abdhi dhalem* (me) and the *dhalem* (you) accompaniment, 2) High language style, *abdhina* (me) and *panjenengan* (you), 3) Fine language style, for example, *kaule* (me) and *sampeyan* (you), 4) Intermediate language style, such as *bule* (me) and *dhika* (you), and 5) Low language style or *Mapas*, such as *sengko'* (me) and *bekna* (you). A child when speaking to *Pangaseppo* will use the high language style, a child to *Oreng Toa* (biological parents) use fine language style,

with *Taretan* (siblings) using the intermediate language style, while with friends using *Mapa*⁵ (low) language style. Differences in the language style levels do not only refer to linguistic differences but a very close relation of one's status with the stratification system or social hierarchy in the community framed in Karabhat (kinship).

Kinship ties in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community were formed through descendants, both from the paternal relatives and the maternal relatives, but generally, the kinship ties between members in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community are very dominant from the maternal line (Wiyata, 2002). The mention of each individual from a family bond differs from one generation to another. For example, a child to their *Pangaseppo* from the father or mother's lineage would call him *Kaeh* (grandfather). In contrast, *Kaeh* would call his grandson as *Kacong*, and children would call their biological parents *Eppak/Beppak* (father) and *Embuk/Emak* (mother), father or mother would call their children *Kacong/Nak*, younger siblings would call their older sisters *Empuk/Eyyu*, while younger siblings would call their older brothers as *Kakak/Mak*. While relatives outside bloodlines also used different terms between one another. For example, a brother or sister from the maternal line was called *Majhadi' Obe'* or *Kutteh* (for men) and *Bibi* (for women), while from the father line as *Paman* or *Anom*.

The *Tanean Lanjhang* community only recognised three categories in the concept of kinship, namely *Taretan Dhelem* (core kin) consisting of grandfather, grandmother, father, mother and children; *Taretan Semma'* (close kin); and *Taretan Jhau* (distant relatives or peripheral kin). Other than these three categories were called *Oreng Lowar* (outsider or non-relative) (Wiyata, 2002).

Based on the kinship category, the *Tanean Lanjhang* community always builds affiliation and conduct activities with the *Taretan Dhelem* which includes direct lineage, such as parents (father-mother), grandfather, grandmother, child, grandchildren, *majhadi'*, nephews, cousins (*sapopo*) and second-generation cousins (*dupopo*). Besides, affiliation was also built with *Taretan Semma'* which included family descendants from grandparents (*juju'/enju'*), third-generation cousins (*tello popo*), and offspring of children and grandchildren. Meanwhile, fourth-generation cousins (*pakpopoh*) were included in the *Taretan Jheu* category. Each category had a different level of closeness or kinship: the first category was very close or close, then becomes more distant in the next category (A'La et al., 2018).

To maintain the existence of family unit kinship communication in Tanean, community members usually carry out a variety of activities such as social activities, visiting each other both in the event of happiness (marriage, engagement and marriage) and grief (death, disaster). Besides that, in maintaining the existence of lineage-based kinship, the *Tanean Lanjhang* community also carried out a tradition of matchmaking in the community that must occur in close relatives (Mahfudin & Waqi'ah, 2016). Among them were *sapeleen* (close

relatives) marriages such as cousins (*sapopo*), uncle with niece, house-to-house marriage, under-marriage marriage (not recorded at the religious affairs office or KUA), engagement since in the womb, or even 'capture and wed' marriages (for couples who violates religious rules or customary law) (Suyono, 2018). Marriage between families was believed not to cause disaster but instead can maintain and preserve family relationships called *Mapolong Tolang* (collecting scattered bones). For wealthy families, economic purpose usually motivates the marriage. This means that marriages between family members were intended to keep family assets from other people (*Oreng Lowar*) (Wiyata, 2002).

The *Tanean Lanjhang* community also knows the rules of speech. The use of the level of language (*Thak Onthak Phasah*) is of extreme concern, as explained earlier. The community is cautious in the use of language because good relations are also very much determined by the use of speech, punctuality, and ethics in speaking. Language speech is a person's accuracy in pronouncing the language. Mistakes in pronouncing language can change the meaning and meaning of words. An example of a Madurese expression is "*badha baddhana beddhak benddha*" (there is a torn powder container) where the spelling and sound are almost the same, but the pronunciation is different.

Communication patterns on environmental differences were associated with a family environment and other socio-cultural environments. In the family, there were many variations in communication and language styles. Some used *enjag-iya*, *engkhi-enten language style*, while others use *engkhi-bunten*. The communication between husband and wife usually use an *engkhi-enten* language style. Meanwhile, daughter-in-law talked to their parents-in-law using *engkhi-punthen*. On the other hand, parents-in-law talked to son-in-law using *enjag-iya*, which also applied to parents to their children. Children talked to parents using *engghi-bunten*. On the other hand, parents used *enjag-iya*, while between siblings *enjag-iya* was used.

In the context of the social environment, communication patterns between one another in one community or cross-Madurese community were arranged in speech manners which were generally arranged as follows (Wibisono, 2007): 1) The young used the *ankhi-bunten* (fine) language style to talk to the old. Vice versa, the old used *enjag-iya* (low) language style to the young. 2) Men used *enjag-iya* (low) language style to women of the same age, and vice versa women used the *engkhi-bunten* (low) language style to men of the same age. 3) Men with men of the same age usually talk using *engkhi-enten* (intermediate) language style. 4) Women with other women who are the same age usually use the *engkhi-enten* (intermediate) language style. 5) Ordinary people talked to clerics/*ulama*/*bindara* descendants using the *engkhi-bunten* (fine) language style, and vice versa clerics/*ulama*/*bindara* talked to ordinary people using the *enjag-iya*

(low) language style. 6) Employers used *enjag-iya* (low) language style to their domestic helpers, while the helpers used *engkhi-bunten* (fine) language style to their employer.

There were different attitudes and behaviours in speaking that described the position of the speaker and the receiver based on the of social status. For example, if someone with high social status talked to others who had a lower social status, then the one with higher status would use *enjag-iya* (low) language style in a tone that tended to be higher while grumbling or pointing. Meanwhile, people whose status as lower (*kabula*), would use the fine language style of *engkhi-bunten* while bowing respectfully, kissing hands, and if on a journey would position themselves behind people of higher status.

In terms of gender, the *Tanean Lanjhang* community was very concerned about manners in communication. Women were restricted from talking to men who were not their *mahram* or not married. They could communicate or interact only when there was a companion or parent of one of them. For those who were married, manners between men and women also remained a public concern. Married men and women did not receive guests inside the house, but outside the living room or at the terrace. This was done to follow religious rules, keep the family's dignity or secrets, and avoid slander from neighbours. When there are social and religious activities in some *Tanean Lanjhang* communities, men and women areas are always separated. It proves that the *Tanean Lanjhang* community strictly upheld religious values and maintained their dignity, especially for women.

The different levels of social status, attitudes, and speech behaviour illustrated the position of the speaker or interlocutor. For example, if a speaker from a high class talked to a lower-class person, he would use something other than *engkhi*. In addition, the attitude and behaviour of the speech would be looking into the eyes and pointing. Conversely, interlocutors who have a low status or *kabula*, would use fine language style and attitudes and behaviour that showed high respect. This can be shown by not talking while staring but must bow or not face to face. Also, the right attitude was sometimes shown by sitting on the floor, kissing the hands of people with high social status (Wibowo, 2002).

The *Tanean Lanjhang* community also observed language styles influenced by social status and age. People with lower social status spoke to people with high social statuses such as *Kyai* (clerics), *Klebun* (village head), *pangaseppo*, *lora*, and affluent people using *enggi-bhunten* (fine) language style. The same rule applied to older people, as illustrated by Abdullah (47):

The use of fine language does not only apply to social status and age differences but speaking to new people also uses high or fine language style. Besides that, the fine language style is also used in the community or when someone speaks in public (for example), for example when an Ustaz or *Kyai* gives a

lecture or is talk in a study (recitation) (Interview with Abdullah, 47).

The language style in the language of the *Tanean Lanjhang* community showed that Madurese has a level where each level has its own place and stage. The community praised individuals who often use fine language in speaking because they were categorised as friendly, polite, and had good personalities. On the other hand, someone who speaks in the low language style would be categorised as a person who was impolite and did not have manners in socialising, as explained by Nasrah (64):

...that the level of language a person uses when speaking strongly reflects that person's personality. Moreover, many educated children, especially Islamic boarding schools, have a different character than those at home, including in this case, when using language levels daily (Interview with Nasrah, 64).

In speaking, the *Tanean Lanjhang* community also had ethics. The existence of layers in the social life of the community showed that the condition of the relationship between one person and another is different. Wibowo (2002) explained such a concept in his research in Sumenep. He synthesised that if a speaker comes from a high class and his interlocutors are also of high class, then they generally use *engghi-bhunten*, which is the fine language style. If the speaker and the interlocutor are the middle class, then the language style used is the intermediate *engghi-enthen*. If the speaker is a high class while the interlocutor is low, then the high one uses the low language style, *enjag-iya*, while the interlocutor uses the high language style, *engghi-bhunten*. If the speaker and interlocutor are both low class, then they usually use *enjag-iya* language style.

The *Tanean Lanjhang* community was very concerned about time and place of speech. The afternoon was the best time to convey messages or affairs to others. In this community, there was the term *bakrembhak* (discussion), where residents discussed an urgent matter that concerned a common interest. The place most often used for this purpose was in *kopung* (mosque) or the house of *pangaseppo* (elders) (Heng & Kusuma, 2013). Mistakes in choosing the time and place to talk or counsel were very influential for the desired results. For example, there might be a conflict between one community member and another.

To convey particularly important messages, the *Tanean Lanjhang* community used various methods, from face to face, or through a media (intermediaries). Face-to-face meetings were usually done by people in any place and not bound by time. This method was done when talking about something that was not too urgent or regular interaction. However, when discussing important issues usually done by *Anjangsana* or visiting one's house. Besides meeting face-to-face or

visiting, in delivering certain messages, the community also used an intermediary. This practice was usually carried out in communication of very vital and private matters, such as the affairs of a girl, marriage, selling land, and others. Intermediaries were commonly the influential people, such as religious leaders (*Kyai, bendare*, cleric), and can also be community leaders such as *Klebun* (village chief), *pamong* and *pangaseppo*. The intermediary came to the house of the person referred to by the sender to convey all the messages. The intermediary would return to the sender of the message to convey whatever agreement was reached. However, if an agreement did not occur, then the intermediary may be asked to return again to reach an agreement between the two parties.

The *Tanean Lanjhang* community also had manners in socialising from the gender aspect. The norm highly regulated communication between men and women. Men and women who were married could have direct communication only if accompanied by their *mahram*. Meanwhile, men and women who were both still unmarried could only communicate if accompanied by their parents. If a person violated the manners of relations between men and women who are not mahram, then he will get traditional and moral punishment by the local community. Principally, Madurese people uphold the dignity and dignity of a woman. Women are the rulers of Tanean and also as a symbol of ethics. So, in Madura, female circumcision is believed to be an obligation that must be carried out (Farida et al., 2018).

Wibowo (2002) explained that in the current development, relations between women and men had been established normally, and the dividing boundaries were no longer available. Manners based on old norms have also faded. A conversation in a public place or office is common. Even speaking manners do not have to use specific codes.

In the latest developments, the values of the *Tanean Lanjhang* community have also shifted. The emergence of a smartphone that could be owned by all dramatically affected the establishment of value-free communication patterns in the community. People could freely talk with anyone and at any time without anyone being controlled. This had significant implications for the development of household conflicts caused by the use of communication media, such as modern social media. Domestic conflicts that often occur, for example, are disputes and even divorce.

In greeting, people in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community had terms that adjust to one's social status in society. Generally, the greeting used in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community included *Ajunan, Ajunan Dhalem, Panjenengan, Empeyan, Sampean, Dhika* and *Bekna* (you). These terms were only a few examples of the many different Madurese greetings. Different regions had different greetings. For example, in the Bangkalan area, the term *Kakeh, Sedeh* (you) were typically used.

The *Ajunan, Ajunan Dhalem*, were the highest greetings. For a long time, the greeting was used to call people with high social status,

including for the King or *Ratoh*, *Kyai* and *Bendere*. The high greeting was very rarely used for people with low social status, between friends, even to parents. People with low social status would use high language styles when talking to *Kyai*. However, when a *Kyai (ulama')* gave a public lecture, he would speak using the high greeting, even when the congregation was mostly people from the lower class. This indicated that the language greeting was very dependent on the conditions under which the greeting was delivered. Dul Halim (56 years) said that the use of greetings in communication was hugely determined by whom we communicate with, when we communicate, and where we communicate.

In the *Tanean Lanjhang* nuclear family, there were also greeting patterns between one family and between families. One family usually consists of a father who is usually called *Eppak*, a mother called *Emmak*, a grandfather called *Kaeh*, a grandmother called *Nyaeh*, an older sister called *Eyu*; an older brother called an older sister, and a brother both male and female the woman called *Alek*. While greetings for other families (other residents in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community), usually outside the nuclear family, consisting of an uncle who is usually called *Paman* or *Obak* (brother of the mother), *Kutteh* was a nickname for uncle's brother from the father's side, *Anom* or *Lek* is the uncle's from both the father and mother's sister, *Phippik* is the nickname for the sister's aunt from the mother's side, and *Mak* is the nickname for the older cousin. At the same time, *Embhuk* is the nickname for the female cousin from both the father and mother.

The use of greetings that seemed like a simple in principle was very thick with the meaning and values of kinship that was built in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community. Accuracy and consistency in greeting were critical to maintaining the existence of Tanean identity as conveyed by Zainul Hasan (48):

The use of greetings in kinship ties is standard or final. When there is someone in a *Tanean Lanjhang* who uses a greeting that is not following the community's custom, then that person can be said to have committed an offence and even an insult to kinship ties by Hasan, (48).

However, in the current development, the existence of the greeting had begun to fade, especially among young people. The development of globalisation and information flow had become a significant problem in this community—many parents taught Indonesian from childhood to their children, not Madurese as mother tongue. Therefore, regional languages, including greetings in Madurese, were automatically lost. Now, many children called their mothers *Mama*, *Mami*, dan *Bunda*; while fathers were now called *Papa*, *Bapak*, dan *Papi* (Pribadi, 2019).

Gupta & Ferguson (1992) revealed that the postmodern era had fundamentally compelling fiction that was in line with cultural mapping

in terms of place and society. One of them is a rapid shift in terms of products and a very rapid movement of capital. To exploit the smallest differences in labour and raw material costs, all are built in a more sophisticated communication and information network and better facilities for transporting goods and people, which in this case also has significant implications for the changing culture of an area.

As Gupta and Ferguson stated, the pattern of kinship communication in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community has begun to change a lot. For example, the relationship between men and women in some communities is not as ideal as before. The use of smartphones in village people has had a tremendous impact on society, especially in young educated members of the community. The manners that were once held in high esteem by the people have now begun to fade. The grammar levels used between layers of age, social strata, and also the relationship between men and women have begun to be abandoned. Similarly, research conducted by Noer Umam (2016), showed how Madurese women from the *Tanean Lanjhang* ethnic community lived their lives in Java Island (in Jakarta) were considered an outcast. This phenomenon showed the resistance of the women in the community against the existing cultural hegemony. Digital-based communication and information media gave birth to generations of communities that are pragmatic and even hedonistic. A culture that is easily accessible through the internet and television networks can shape the behaviour of people who were previously very religious to be pragmatic and even opportunistic.

Opinion leaders who play a role in *Karabhat* communication in *Tanean Lanjhang* community

Communication of the *Tanean Lanjhang* community continued to be preserved amid globalisation. It is inseparable from the role of the figures who maintained the traditional heritage for generations in globalisation that continued to threaten the existence of these traditions. The characters who played a role include 1) *Mak Kaeh* (a *Kyai*) who was a cleric or caregiver and owner of Islamic boarding schools, 2) *Bendoro* (the *Kyai*'s son who was usually called *Lora*) or the Koran reciting teacher, 3) *Pangaseppo* (elderly figure), and 4) *Bastards* (village heroes). Each of these figures has its own function in society. *Mak Kaeh* (*Kyai*) was a central figure in the village. *Mak Kaeh* was very instrumental in the religious, socio-political affairs and acted as a mediator of communication between members of *Tanean Lanjhang* community. The *Bendoro* was a figure who lived in the village consisting of 4-5 *Tanean Lanjhang* communities. The *Bendoro* was the helper of the *Mak Kaeh* in the community who helped to teach religious (Islamic) knowledge, usually in the form of teaching the Koran in *Langgar* (mosque) (Heng & Kusuma, 2013).

Pangaseppo was the elderly figure whose position is crucial in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community. This figure had a vital role in the internal

affairs of the community, including religious affairs, arranged marriages, deaths, *karabhat* (kinship), livelihoods, births and others whereas *Bajingan* (village heroes) was a title that was given to someone who was considered to have a certain magical power in the community. The bastard label was usually given to someone who worked as a thief or was a former thief. They provided security for the community, even at the village level, mostly when there were activities that involved the mass, such as the Koran grand recitals, *imtihanan* (open exam for Islamic school graduation), elections of *Klebuns* (village chiefs), *Lodruk* performances (comedy performances), and weddings. The heroes or *bajingan* were very closely associated with the pride and honour of Madurese, including in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community. The issue of respect for Madurese seemed to be a package in terms of the consistency of daily attitudes to avoid violations of the agreement on socio-cultural aspects. This was always maintained so as not to shame society. This pride showed the ability of a man to uphold and defend the good reputations of his parents and wife. If someone in his family were underestimated or belittled, he would be significantly offended because his pride was put at stake (Hidayat, 2012).

CONCLUSION

This study concluded that the *Tanean Lanjhang* community was unique in the Madurese ethnic group. One of its uniqueness was the design and architecture of the buildings that line up extending from west to east, facing each other. This design signified that its inhabitants highly upheld togetherness and brotherhood. Besides that, the inhabitants also highly upheld religious values; this could be seen from the existence of the *Kopung* (Mosque) building in each community. A *Tanean Lanjhang* community was inhabited by a family group that was still a direct descendant and usually in the maternal (matrilineal) line. This showed that women assumed authority over Tanean.

Tanean Lanjhang Community was not just culturally unique, more than that, this community possessed the mystery of kinship traditions in it. One of them, kinship, was built by a matchmaking culture that occurred between members in one community. Arranged marriages between brothers occur on the grounds of maintaining ownership of the family's assets so that they did not fall to others outside of the relatives. Kinship was also built by the existence of social strata in the community; the unit level strata that given to someone had a very significant role in daily affairs.

The existence of *karabhat* communication in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community was also inseparable from the role of influential figures, which included; 1) *Mak Kaeh* (a *Kyai*), 2) *Bendoro* (the *Kyai's* son who is usually called *Lora*), 3) *Pangaseppo* (traditional elderly leader) whose position is crucial in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community, and 4)

Bajingan (village heroes). These figures had their own functions both within the family, in the *Tanean Lanjhang* community units, and the village.

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