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Linguistic and Cultural Demystifying of Sasak Merariq

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Abstract

The paper serves double purposes, to show the current popular understanding on the most basic value in Sasak community, *merariq*. The commonsense interpretation is proven to be incoherence with the formal state of the language and cultural ideals of Sasak. The second purpose of the study is to propose alternative approach, linguistic formant analysis, in order to arrive at the most cohesive and coherence description and comprehension of the concept. This analysis relies on the very formal evidence, morphological and grammatical mechanism as the basis to start and end at the converging state showing the inter-relation between the semantic and the socio-pragmatic values which structures deep in the lives of the society. It is found that the simple 7-letter word term turns out an amalgam of various morphological, grammatical, semantic on the one hand and the melting pot of conceptual-ritual ideal on the other. In this way, the simple word is quintessentially the core of the most advanced thinking of the Sasak over generations which has unfortunately been biased. The inclusive and solidarity spirit of Sasak *merariq* in linguistic realm is supported by Nothofer (1999) which proves that Sasak term for husband and wife are sterile from the Javanese language style.

Keywords: *Sasak community, Merariq, Language, Cultural ideas, Linguistic realm*

1. Introduction

Merariq 'marriage' is one of the most sacred and essential events supporting the survival of humankind. Its vital role with regards to the survival of humanity thus constitutes position marriage as the most determining procession. Its consequence is thus expected to exist in any aspect of human activities (may it be social, cultural, political conduct). Any aspects of human conduct would ideally be affected in any way. Our present discussion of marriage, the *merariq* in relation to Sasak will be focused on the sociocultural—religious coherence of *merariq* by relying on mainly linguistic elaboration of the term itself.

Merariq in this study is viewed as conceptual bias which involves a clash in socio-semantic cohesiveness. The longstanding term *merariq* which has been passed over generations in Sasak traditional and religious lives unfortunately has been taken as prima facie case whose truth has no conceptual basis. Our current understanding of the term *merariq* has been linguistically (conceptually) defined pejoratively and reduced to a single process of 'elopement'. The word elopement is marked '…' in order to highlight the bias of negative feature of 'stealing'. What is essentially mentioned is

essentially a pragmatically accepted/welcome strategy. The bride family is indeed well-informed but it is not formally and verbally expressed. In this way what happen in the so 'called' elopement is not based on desperation but indeed a social contract by which the bride and bride groom family agree upon. As a case in point, if the social maxim has not been preliminary acknowledged there must be a social consequence which finally in most cases end in a real conflict (physical and legal lawsuit).

It is against such anti-social cohesiveness of the word understanding and application this study is to be conducted. The study will pay close attention on the common understanding, perception and attitude on the term *merariq*. Based on the common practice, the study then proceeds to question the cohesiveness and coherence between the understanding and the cultural values in Sasak traditional lives. The semantic feature of merariq will then be elaborated in terms of the building block which makes the concept. The investigation and cross-checking the cultural and linguistic shows that there is no direct correlation between elopement and *merariq* derivatives found. Linguistic detailing on the derivatives, morphological makeups of the term indeed arrives at extreme opposing ends. The 7-letter words proves to be linguistic complex. It involves both derivational, turning noun into verb *ariq* 'adiq' into applicative/ causative *perariq* and also a inflectional process involving the so called active anti-passive meng-. These process, moreover, is mediated by the object incorporation which indicates strongly the adjacency process involving both physical marriage and conceptual spouse relation. In the incorporation the object is integrated in the verb as a single unit instead of as separate function, object. The fact that the object is included in the verb turns the two grammatical functions into a single lexeme expressing single unite of meaning in which the object and subject gets fused in the lexeme. Thus, *merariq*, in terms of word formation and inflectional state proves that essential projection of marriage as a sacred religious ritual which unites physical biological human states with their cultural-religious ideals. Starting from the structure of the minuteness investigation every linguistic units involved in the construction of the word, to our surprise, the formation leads to the universal mechanism human construct the most advance thinking. We finally arrive to the concept of metaphorical extension by which the socio-religious structure links to the conceptual formula in the Sasak world view. *Merariq* in Sasak value is actually a manifestation of human basic sacred ideals in their survival over generation. Metaphorically taken, *merariq* is the extending of family relation, and in its extension then involves an inclusive instead of exclusiveness. It is a ritual procession of including the bride to the spouse 'sister' in the bride groom family. As a spouse, this new spouse is granted the family rights (the most basic rights a family has).

2. Word-formation and Inflection of *Merariq*

This writing is focused on the word formation and the morphological process of the word *merariq* which is commonly translated as '***elopement***'. This study is a linguistic study, not really preoccupied by the generally applied meaning in Sasak community. To fulfill the job, we would like to present linguistic evidence supporting the claim that *merariq* is essentially nothing to do with the elopement in the first place. The presentation starts by describing basic and general use of *merariq* (generally accepted use and meaning), then it is followed by morphological details showing the assimilation process (morphophonological) from two different perspectives. In one we show the flaw in how *merariq* is derived from *berari* (*berari* assumption) from which the *merariq* comes to have 'elopement' meaning, some problems with such derivation is implied in this section briefly. In the second, this follows from the defect in elopement interpretation, an alternative derivation is proposed, which is supported by morpho-phonological evidence. Here, the point is how Sasak principle in treating phoneme in combination with other phoneme (alternation). Secondly, I would like to further question the morpho-semantic coherence of the *merariq* formation under this interpretation. After these are done then we would propose alternative analysis of the form by presenting the semantic (the metaphorical extension of *ariq* in affectionate meaning), phonological and morphological derivation (that is by showing the function of the affixes involved, such as me- {ng}, the causative {peR-} and the use of <q> as lexical part as compared with {-q} as suffix.

Two possible derivations of *merariq*, General meaning of the word *merariq* and how it relates to the marriage tradition, alternative formation of *ariq* base. The derivational formation of the word (me- *rariq* analogical form of *berari*), in which the *rari* is analogically interpreted as *rari* form in *berari* (*me* and *be* are found in Sasak). Some common haphazard phenomena to support the idea of misinterpretation. There is a tendency of language hegemony in the pronunciation of Sasak term in terms of non-sasak pronunciation. As an illustration, the name of the Island Lombok with the vowel back-mid /Tɔ/ instead of mid-high /o/ presents a phonological fallacy. Sasak has no such back-mid vowel in its sound inventory. The hegemony of other language on the naming of event is exemplified by the use of borrowed word instead of the local term. For instance, the most popular traditional fights is named after Indonesian perisai 'shield' *perise*an (Indonesian: perisai) instead of per*ende*an which is Sasak lexicon.

It is against such lexical bias, we may arrive to the word *merariq*. It is questionable under this analogy to proceed to Quests the morpho-lexical construct of the word *merariq*. The relevant question goes along the line of what does *rari* mean? Morphologically considered, Sasak has such morpheme as –q whose function is to make causative and applicative construction from the intransitive vase. Thus, the base *julu* 'front' can be made applicative *juluq* 'to pass/overtake'. In addition, Sasak also recognizes ber- prefix which is commonly applied to mark active intransitive as in *berilat* 'to have a base as paddle'. Under assumption that merariq is derived from the meaning of *berari*, it is then highly questionable why the <q> delete in *berari*? Moreover, across the dialect the word for elope or run away is ***pelai. This word,*** which is quite different from the spelling and sound has no formal correlates with the word merariq. In contrast, the word *plai* can accept the suffix –q to realize the meaning represented in elopement. *Plaiq* as in *Maling nu plaiq manuk* 'the thief runs away with the chikens stolen'. Thus, it is relevant to question why the elopement is not expressed by *pelaiq* instead of *merariq*. Based on this morphological and grammatical conflict, it makes sense to interpret a fallacy in the interpretation of word *merariq* as elopement.

Another problem arises from the semantic interpretation of merariq as derivative of *berari* the fact that *merariq* is itself a morphological complex which results from the application of nasal affix ***Ng- before*** the prefix ***peR-***. Under this analysis, the ***mer*** of *merariq* is a composition of two different affixes, the Ng- and per-. The ng- has the allomorph m- in combination with the voiceless stop such as <p> as in *paleq* 'chase' into *maleq* 'to chase'. The per- is also a productive prefix in Sasak to form causative construction. The form *raja* can be turned in to *peraja* 'to treat as raja/king'.

The morpho-phonemic and semantic ***cognate/clash*** of the two perspectives give access to propose alternative analysis by which the semantic and formal representation are mutually treated equal. By assuming the *ariq* base formation as reanalysis of one very crucial sacred ceremonies in Sasak, *merariq*, we have the access for elaborating our analysis further beyond pure linguistic detailing. Taking *ariq* 'sister' as the basis of word formation, we arrive at a more coherence interrelation between the domain of linguistic and the cultural aspect of the term. This word, in its simplicity bridges the language materials with its cultural-social structure and context. In this way, the assumption so far taken as prima facie that inspires the syllogism fallacies of logics: a. *merariq, berari, berarian(*g) is rejected and b. *merariq, perariq, merariqang* 'menikahkan' as the accepted derivation.

A more elaborate description and analysis shows that *ariq* as lexical literal and metaphorical meaning is shown to cohere intensively. The linguistic and cultural (religious) value coherence grammaticalizes in the linguistic structure of the Sasak language and culture.

3. The Lemmata Common *Landscape*: *Merariq* is Understood

3.1. Word Formation and Morphological Process: Some Alternative Formations

Anytime we deal with the term *merariq,* the first word to jump out is the word relating to the concept of run away with or elopement which *merariang* (ngeno-ngene) or *pelaiqan* 'run away with' (central dialects). It is not surprising that *merariq* comes to mean albeit a flaw, as elopement. This is the most commonly (haphazard) recognized meaning understood both locally (Austin, 1999, MS) and nationwide (TV One, February 2018 coverage on Sasak Marriage). In general, speakers seem to be compunction about the essential concept of the word. In the absence of detail morphological-etymological definition on the form meaning correlates of the word, we may figure out the (language) rationale of how the word comes to be understood as it is. In Ngeno-ngene dialect, the concept run away with is *merariang*. This might be the closest cognate of *merariq*, in which we can find –*rari*. However, a brief inspection of the form *merariang* proves that there is something missing, the q. in the absence of –q there results unacceptable meaningless form *merari. moreover, the verb *merariang* has nothing to do with marriage, it applies to any activities. The other alternative is to assume that *merariq* is derived from *pelaiqan* which is further absurd as compared with *merariang*. The general understanding of *merariq* as an elopement implies that the word is taken from the form *rari* 'run' by analogy to the verbal expression *merariang* 'to run away with' or *berari* 'to run' (commonly found in Ngeno-ngene dialect).

In the absence of *merari, the word merariq could be assumed to derive from the nonsense 'word' perari. Firstly, the base *rari* is derived into *perari* by using pe-, to express causative meaning, from which the nasal prefix is attached on to produce *merari*. However, as it is stated above, the *merari* which deletes q is simply inexistent in Sasak. The last possible analysis is to take *merariq* as being formed through double prefixation. In one the noun *ariq* 'younger brother/ sister (literal)' is derived into verb *perariq* by adding causative prefix pe-. The derived verb *perariq* is then attached by nasal prefix to form *merariq*.

In this writing, we are positive to take a stance by proposing the last word formation, the derivational *perariq* followed by inflection nasal prefix to make *merariq*. In terms of distribution prefix pe(r)- is found to combine with various word classes. Pe- may combine with adjective base such as *bagus* or *solah* 'good' to create transitive causative *pebagus* or *pesolah*. In addition to this, pe- may attach to 1st person pronoun *aku* 'I' in combination with causative -q to form applicative-causative *perakuq* 'to make thing as mine. Akuq means 'claim as mine, and *peraku* 'make someone claim as his/hers. In the later, the –q is attached first to form *aku* and pe- comes later. The use of –q here is affixal use, it may frequently be confused with the form <q> which is part of the lexicon like in *inaq* (lit.mother) and *amaq* (lit.father). The other use of pe- is the one which is the focus of our study in relation to merariq. It is the combination with noun base, especially noun expressing kinship relation such as *inaq* and *amaq*. Here the pe- adds causative meaning 'to make base function as *inaq* or *amaq*'. So *perinaq* and *peramaq* means to make someone as *inaq* and *amaq*. It should be noted however, *Perinaq* and *peramaq* are commonly used metaphorically in animal relation, for hen and cock.

What we should take note on with the distribution of q as grammatical unit and as lexical unit is the fact that both are distinct in Sasak. Here the symbol –q means prefix and <q> is used as spelling, as a letter which belongs to component of a lexical item. This distinction is crucial especially with regard to the analysis or word *merariq*. The question is whether the q is to be understood as affix as in *sedaq* or as lexical component like *inaq* and *amaq*. However before we proceed to detail this points, let's just elaborate the pe- prefix.

3.2. Merariq*: Shibboleth Practice and Conceptual semantic Bias*

Etymologically, the word shibboleth is derived from Hebrew. It is a term, a catch word used by Jephthah as a test word to distinguish the fleeing Ephraimites who could not pronounce **sh**, from his own men, the Gileadites (Hendrickson, 2008). The idea is that shibboleth is used as a test for detecting foreigner; catching adopted by a party. This original meaning develops until present time with relative slight difference or change in meaning. Jephthah practice shows us one important thing, that is one can diagnose a problem by elaborating distinction. Language practice gives access for the speaker to imitate the others. However, language has its own way to establish linguistic prints which can tell the original from the fake one. There are, in short, phono-and grapho-prints (by analogy to finger prints in police practice of investigation) by which real speaker can be easily recognized from the fake speaker. What is interesting in shibboleth is the fact that its user plays core role. It surfaces the speaker's perceived recognition on the linguistic fact of other language output. As we said, language has its own 'finger prints' which is unique to the natives, any imitation should be distinct soon. A central Lombok speaker may imitate with higher degree of fluency, but there is soon bias to be detected. Once, a central speaker tried to speak our dialect, and we soon found there is something wrong. Instead of pronouncing PKI with back mid high [pekoʔi] he said [pekəi] with schwa. In this way the speaker presents his own perception on our dialect. Another example: an interjection by central speaker ketinjotke [kətinTdʒɔtkə] with lengthened mid-back, and the use of particle ke when imitated by other speaker can soon be detected wrong. A *ngeno-ngene* speaker would say instead of using particle *ke* they use sang: sang *tinjot=ku* with sharp pronunciation on ku while central speaker pronounce it with unstressed system and the vowel is pronounced as schwa. The result is sang tinjotku. In short, shibboleth presents the (outsider) speaker's state of native language, it presents what he thinks to be the true one about other. In this regard, shibboleth is bias by nature. Marriage can be assumed to be shibbolethic on the part of social practice. The people make it a catch word for *merariq* by identifying it with just one of the steps involved in the process. The steps involve take the lover away *merariang or pelaiqan, sorong serah nyongkolan, balik lampak*. They are just the techniques applied in *merariq* and cannot be taken as the *merariq* itself as an ideal of Marriage. There exists then bias in language and social practice. People develops in their mind that *merariq* is the eloping, the celebration, party in the street, and all day long carnival. This bias if taken for granted keeps us away from the ultimate sacred ideal of *merariq* as the religious syariah fulfillment of the created to their creator.

3.3. Causative-applicative peR-[1]*, and Causative-applicative isomorphism*

Causative is a term used in grammatical description to refer to the causal relationship between alternative versions of a sentence. English is well-known as language which expresses causal relation using lexical method. For example, the pair of sentences The cat killed the mouse and The mouse died are related, in that the transitive kill can be seen as a 'causative' version of the intransitive die, viz., 'cause to die', that is by using lexical item such as cause or make as in the cat caused the mouse to die, and the mother makes the kid eat. This relationship is established in the morphological structure of some languages (e.g., Turkish, including Sasak), where an affix can systematically distinguish between non-causative and causative uses of a verb ('causative verbs' or 'causatives'), e.g., *Ia tindoq* 'she sleeps', kami *nindoq-ang ia* 'we causes (someone) to sleep, which is similar to English we makes him/her sleep. Applicative is a type of double-object construction (but not necessarily so) in some languages (roughly corresponding to the direct/indirect object

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[1] Some examples on the use of pe- can be taken from *merariq* conversation between Syahdan and Suheri (1999).

construction in English). An applicative affix on the verb encodes as objects a range of roles, such as benefactive and locative. Applicatives are widely found in Bantu languages, and very robust in Bahasa Indonesia and the languages in Indonesia such as Sasak. The intransitive *Linda lari* is applicativized into *Udin melarikan Linda* 'Udin brought Linda away equivalent to Sasak *loq Udin merariang leq Linda'*. Another affix commonly used to applicativize is suffix –i or –in in Sasak as in *Para menteri mendatangi korban tabrakan kereta api*, which is equivalent to Sasak *menteri ino ndatengin korban tabrakan kereta ino.*

In some instances, the causative can be recognized distinctly from the applicative as in the sample above. However, there are cases in which the causative-applicative is not explicitly distinguished. A single marking may express causative or applicative. Thus in bahasa Indonesia, *pemilik hajatan mendatangkan penari,* the clause can be read in two different way. It is causative if understood as the host initiate the coming of the dancer, but it is applicative if the host bring them. Intersetingly, the pe- prefix in Suffix in Sasak may serve isomorphism. It is found to function both as causative and applicative.

In addition to the use of pe- as causative as in *petindoq* 'make one sleep, the prefix is also used in Sasak to express applicative meaning. In such use the application of pe- makes the object as the target of location of action expressed by the verb. Thus, in saying *ndaq petakut temue* the clause can be taken as applicative effect, which in Ngeno-ngene dialect is equivalent to *ndaq takutin temue* (both form are found in Ngeno-ngene dialect). There is also a possibility of interpreting the expression as causative meaning 'do not make your guests terrified'. Implicit in this interpretation is the fact that pe- can hold double function, as causative and applicative marker, an isomorphism of applicative-causative function (Peterson, 2007). Due to such feature of pe- then it is highly probable to be mistakenly understood in the grammar of Sasak. *Merariq* is characterised by applicative-causative meaning and effect. Interpreted as 'targeting X as *ariq* constitutes applicative, but if the focused on causing/*maling* someone *ariq* the causative effect is at work.

3.4. Confix or double marking?

At a glance, the form pe- and –q in *pejuluq* behaves like a confix. However, there exists a great difference. Originally, both the pe- and the –q may be used to express causative meaning. Thus, the word *seda* 'broken' gets causative meaning due to –q as in *sedaq* just like in the case of *pesolah* in which the pe- derives verb from adjective. In these examples, each pe- and –q derives verb from non-verb base. If both form express causative the question then raise as to why both forms are used at the same construction. In this perspective we may tend to claim that there exists a redundancy. However, we present another alternative to the 'doubling view'. In Sasak, we have different morphemes to express causative, one which is popular is the use of –ang, and indeed this –ang can be doubled in use as well as it may hold causative and applicative function. In the case of –ang doubling, then both cannot function as causative simultaneously, one of the holds causative and the other is applicative. So, in the case of –ang, we have the form *tindoq-ang* means to make asleep, as well as *tindoq-ang-ang* which means make someone asleep for the sake of someone else. In this way the first –ang is causative, the second one is applicative in function. By analogy to pe- and –q, either pe- or –q may hold causative and applicative use. For me, I assume that it is the –q which is causative marker, and the pe- is applicative. In one –q is hardly found to have applicative reading. Moreover, in the case of co-occurrence with pe-, the pe- is rarely used without –q. Thus, we have *juluq* and *pejuluq* but not **pejulu*[2] happens to be co-occurrence, then either one is causative and the other one holds applicative. In this way, causative doubling is inexistence and thus no redundancy exists.

By now, we are ready to have closer look at the form *merariq*. This word belongs to a complex formation; it includes both derivational as well as inflectional process. As stated above, it can be analyzed as being derived from the root (r)ari as in the form *berari* 'run'. Taken this way then merariq is basically derived from *perari* and then added by nasal prefix which homorganically assimilate the initial consonant of the base. Thus the labial feature of [p] assimilates the nasal to form merariq. This is the first analysis we can take for *merariq*. However, such description leaves questions, one of which is the phonological or perhaps the morphological reduction/ addition and the other relates to semantic bias. Phonologically, it is hard to explain the addition of q, mainly because we simply have no *merari* form. Where does the q come from? Is it an affix, if it is what does it mean? Or alternatively, is it a lexical component of the base? In the first there exists a morpheme addition (ari and affix –q) and in the second the mer- (combination of nasal and pe-) is directly combined with ariq 'younger sister'[3], especially for address term referring the younger female beloved lover.

3.5. Where Does the q of merariq Come From? Is it an Affixal or Lexical Component?

As stated above, the common interpretation of the word *merariq* to mean a process of elopement, a marital procedure in which the bride groom 'kidnap' the potential bride before marriage takes place. Such interpretation leaves problem related to morphological and word formation process as well as semantic correlates between the form and its meaning.

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[2]   A popular expression in Sasak: si julu te*pe*juluq si mudi te*pe*mudiq.

[3]   Special discussion of ariq is required, especially its affectionate/emotive meaning for close romantic relation (the song aro gamaq ariq means female younger, beloved one) in addition to its literal meaning 'younger biological brother/sister'.

In terms of the formal expression, there is no implication available for the running away concept. How can we explain that *ari* means run? Moreover, *ari* is only found in a very specific dialect, and in that dialect the form *berariq* is not found to express causative or applicative meaning. To express causative meaning, the –ang suffix is used instead such as in *ia mberariang jaranne* 'he runs his horse', or *merariang jaran*, and in both forms there is no q allowed. Moreover, cross dialectal observation indicates that the majority of dialects in Sasak use the word *plai* to express the concept 'run'. Morphologically, *Plai* can be attached by –q to express causative, however it's got to be combined by –an, *plaiqan* in order to make it causative. A simple question raises upon the answer why *melaiq*, which is morphologically and semantically more plausible is used instead of merariq. In contrast, in terms of distribution, merariq is never found to occur without q, and no *merari results.

4. Grammatical Derivation

What we learn from such semantic defect is the fact that the form *ari* is not base of the formation ariq. In addition, the whole construction merariq form a derivative from the base noun ariq to the final construction of intransitive verb, verb with no formal object in the argument structure. Because of its intransitive nature the verb *merariq* cannot accept noun without being marked as ajunct phrase such as by adding preposition kanca: in Sasak the construction *merariq kanca dedare bajang* is highly acceptable and the same is not true for *merariq dedare bajang*. For the construction to be acceptable, we have to apply its synonym *tikah* or *kawinang*. For instance, *pengulu tikah/kawinang bule australi no rubin/uiq*, in which the Noun Phrase Object Bule Australi no may surface formally without being introduced by preposition *kance*.

Moreover, further analysis on the form *merariq* shows that its status as intransitive verb indicates another interesting fact. *Merariq* is essentially a 'grammatical derivative of its causative-transitive base. In its base construction, the verb used to involve a formal object which is later fused into the verb via causativization. The form merariq consists of two micro situation: X *miyaq* Y and This Y becomes Z. so in *Udin merariq* the are two micro situations implied; in one Udin does something to Y and that Y becomes Z (ariq). The free translation would be that of Udin makes Y his wife (metaphorical extension of ariq). Later on the two micro situations are derived structurally as single macro situation in which the Y in the micro situation in transferred/incorporated into the argument structure of the verb to create the meaning of 'marry'. Such incorporation of object into the verb structure impacts on the status as intransitive. An equivalent sample can be illustrated with the Indonesian 'memperbudak' which implies the process of turning someone who is not a slave into slave (either literally or figuratively). Thus, when we read in the headlines '*para majikan malaisia memperbudak TKW Indonesia*' we understand it to be a human abuse, exploitation, laborious 'slavery' job.

4.1. Linguistic Approach to Merariq: Language and Social Structure Congruence

Based on formal (morphological) and semantic difficulties as a result of misinterpretation of the word *merariq*, we personally propose an alternative solution for the comprehensive understanding of our sacred concept merariq. In order to do this, we supply a *linguistic* (formal and semantic) approach to the word *merariq*, and after that a *real use* of the word base is elaborated to show its real use in the society and finally, we arrive at the *religio-cultural contribution* of the interpretation to the culture of Sasak. In terms of derivational morphology, I take the *merariq* as complex construct which involves inflectional morphology and derivational formation. Firstly, the root *ariq* is combined with pe- to form *perariq* and later the stem *perariq* is attached by nasal prefix[4] to form *merariq*. One of the functions of pe- prefix[5] in Sasak is causative marking. The form pe- is commonly realized as per- in combination with the base initialized by vowel sound. Pe(r)- can be attached to different categories to derive transitive causative verb. When attached of nominal base, however, the pe- results in intransitive ***incorporative*** verb, in which the object of the verb is involved in the verb, meaning that the resulting verb express 'becoming', the causing of the noun to exist. Thus, *peraja* which combines pe- and noun raja 'king' literally means to treat someone as king,is constructed by incorporating the object raja in the verb . Such function is also equivalent to Indonesian *perbudak* 'enslave' in which the pe- combines the nominal base *budak* to derive verb *perbudak*. This formation is also observed and illustrated in Sasak merariq. The base *perariq* is derived from pe- and the base ariq 'younger sister/ beloved one'. The combination *perariq*[6] expresses the idea of turning someone who is not sibling into family relation with a metaphorical extension. In similar way to *peraja* or *perbudak, perariq* is understood as causing/ making someone as a younger sister, by marrying her. The *perariq* further proves the

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[4]   See Ahmadi and Garmager for nasalization.
[5]   See Peterson on causative-applicative isomorphism p.64.
[6]   The basic function of per in perariq is equivalent to per in perinaq, and peramaq. But in Sasak, the later use extends to/ pejoratively used for animal pairing like chicken.

idea of **incorporating** outsider into insider, the non-family member into family membership indiscriminately. In this case, the incorporation is carried out metaphorically, and this further is strengthened by the attachment of emotive, religious nuance to the word. It is emotional because in *merariq* the women is treated and addressed as ***ariq***. After the formation of *perariq*[7], then the nasal prefix is added and the final result is *merariq*. Nasal prefix in Sasak is realized into different allomorphemic variations depending on the initial form of the base/stem[8]. In the case of *merariq*, the base is initialized by voiceless bilabial consonant, and this triggers the assimilation to homorganic feature. The nasal in short assimilates the labial and surfaces as m.

This kind of linguistic analysis may solve the formal and semantic flaw as the result of misinterpretation, haphazard reading commonly practiced by Sasak speaker. It helps explain the formal and meaning correlation, and thus makes sense in terms of the form- meaning correlates. Furthermore, it has further implication on explaining how the word is not just a word but indeed it functions and rooted deep in the core of Sasak (spiritual) values. Initially *merariq* is motivated by intention to engage a woman into man's life. To do so, intimate relation is to be promoted, and that's the emotional relation. Such background serves double functions; in one it is motivated by biological desire, to pursue the biological relation. However, this biological matching is much less essential compared to the emotional needs, that are to make the woman as a family, in kinship circle. As a family, then right and obligation mixed into one, a union taking place literally and metaphorically. As *ariq*, the man has a strong commitment to guard the woman not only in this life but to the life after because a woman (wife: read *ariq*) is an *amanah*, sacred *amanah* by which Allah will judge us later in our other lives. With this in mind, it makes sense why merariq is originally directed to the *syariah* (Islam jurisprudence) instead of the secondary festivity and celebration. The grand design in *merariq* is the union of biological and emotional states of married couple instead of the celebrations.

4.2. The Address Form: Emotive Inclusiveness of Ariq

The word *ariq* in Sasak is found in three functions. In one the word ariq has a lexical meaning and reference, it refers to a younger brother or sister. The second and third is deictic in nature, they used as pronominal expression. However between the two there exists differences. In the second use, the word ariq is used as 1st person singular as in the signage: *Kalo jaga kebersihan saja tidak bisa, bagaimana bisa jagain adiq*? Here the word *adik* means *saya* 'I'. the third type is the use of ariq as address form to refer to 2nd person. Another difference between the second and third is that in the second and also in the first, the ariq can be either male or female, but in the third it indiscriminately female. In another word, the *ariq* as address form is gender (feminine) sensitive, it is in opposition to *kakaq*. More importantly, in relation to our *merariq* analysis, the address form ariq has connotative-metaphorical extension of affectionate and emotive meaning 'female lover/beloved one'.

4.3. Noun (Object) Incorporation and Valence-Changing Mechanism

Sound-sense fusion Whose woods these are I think I know His house is in the village thouse (Robert Frost)

Languages have their own strategies to mark the membership of sentential component in the structure of their arguments and the interrelation between the arguments, the noun involved in the verb structure. English for instance uses word order and verbal marking to mark the relation between subject and object (the participant involved in the event stated by the verb. In John drives the car, the verb drives ties two participants (arguments) the driver (subject) and the thing driven (the car). Our judgment for English constituency (subject, object) is based on the word order, John comes before the verb and the car (object) follows the verb, as well as verbal marking. The subject John is marked in the verb by –s suffix (agreement). Depending on the number of arguments involved in the argument structure of the verb, he sentence is thus transitive is thus transitive. English, just like other languages has a strategy to modify the argument structure, such reducing the number of arguments involved in the mapping of predicate. Passive is one of the ways to reduce core participant in the semantic of the verb. Thus in *the car is driven (by John)*, there is only one participant involved, the patient (basic object) because the agent is optionally stated in the sentence. Passive realizes a decreasing valence strategy. English also has a way to increase argument number in the verb structure such as causative. This is conducted lexically by increasing the argument number in the core argument of the predicate, that is by introducing new agent (John) to the basic clause. This is exemplified by the verb walk, as in *The toddler walks* and *John walks the toddler* . This causativizing strategy is called lexical causative. Languages may differ in the ways they mark the valence change.

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[7]   Subtle distinction: perariq, perariang, berariang. Perariang and berariang may be found to occur as free variation, means the same to take away by running away. This function should not be confused with perariq because the q in perariq may not delete, being part of the lexical component of ariq. To take away in sasak is expressed by perariang, not perariq.

[8]   See Ahmadi and Garmager 2015.

If in English passive reduce argument agent in the number of verb argument, or increase valence by lexical method, Cuckchee does the reduction by incorporating the argument object into the verb, as a result the clause left without object and the clause turns to intransitive (Dixon, 1994). Indonesian and Sasak are close to Chuckche strategies, in the sense that it has equivalent strategy in reducing verb valence. In Bahasa Indonesia transitive clause the verb *perbudak* 'enslave' is constructed by integrating noun budak into verb. The basic proposition ditransitive clause *dia menjadikan kami budak* is turned into mono-transitive *dia memperbudak kami*[9]. In the same way, Sasak incorporating strategy is demonstrated by the form merariq. As it is explained above, merariq which firstly derives verb *perariq* from base *ariq* 'younger sibling', is later attached by nasal prefix to form merariq. Merariq is a verb as a result of noun incorporation. The noun ariq which constitutes object in the base proposition such as double object *Ia pinaq dengan solo ariq* 'the beloved one' (see term address) is incorporated in the predicate *perariq dengan Solo* and further turns into intransitive *merariq* as in *Ia merariq kance dengan Solo*. Here in the last sentence *dengan solo* is turned in to adjunct being marked by preposition kance 'with'. The result is *Ia merariq kance dengan Solo* is no more transitive but an intransitive.

Sasak also has increasing strategy which is discussed in Applicative causative section. One popular strategy for valence-increase constitutes the morphological strategy by marking the participant relation to verb using grammatical affix such as the use of –ang, pe- , se- and –q in addition to lexical strategy like what is exemplified in English (i.e., Ia miyaq kanak ino tindoq). The –ang and pe- interestingly can be used both as causative and applicative markers which both are Transitivizing, adding new argument to the structure of verb contents. For instance: *kanak no tindoq leq spring bed, Inan kanak ino nindoqang adiq leq kasur*. Pe- attaches on adjective or noun to make transitive: *Bale no beleq, Amaq pebeleq bale no*.

In noun incorporation the basic object of clause is transferred and incorporated as the predicate of clause. In Bahasa Indonesia *Ia mengendarai sepeda motor ke pelabuhan*, turns into intransitive by object incorporating object to the predicate: *Ia bersepedamotor ke pelabuhan*. In a similar way the proposition to treat someone as the beloved on (wife) is conducted by integrating the object ariq into the lexical information of the verb (predicate). This is the point: In *Ia pinaq=n ariq* the *ariq* a separate entity with regard to the verb *pinaq*, but in *Ia merariq,* the *ariq* is fused in the predicate and the clause is no more transitive because there is no object, *merariq* in indivisible event. Here the *ariq* is the epicentrum of event, being the core of the clause. Thus, *merariq* is an epicentrum, quintessentially linguistic genius which marry linguistic structure with socio-cultural structure (constructs) as one indivisible union. In term of linguistic structure, merariq incorporate object ariq and in terms of social-cultural events merariq itself involve the integrating non-sibling into kinship domain. Merariq flows the forms and event just like the flow of instrumental melody and dancer to perform dancing; just like the fusion of singer and the song to address singing. merariq, dancing and singing go in harmony to serve the ultimate truth that humanizes human fellows, by connecting physical/ biological marriage to meet the Syariah, making family. *Merariq* is absolutely Shakespearean and Chaucerian in human linguistic and social invention. *Merariq* presents us a vivid landscape of the marriage of linguistic genius with socio-cultural even religious cohesion in which biological and spiritual (sacred) marriage converge.

The *merariq* incorporation is poetical in nature, condensed in structure and meaning. *Merariq* serves exactly the two lines of Frost. Upon his/her arrival in the woods in a long, tiring and uphill travelling, the speaker was stunned by the evening landscape in the woods. It deserves his/her reveries and in his/her heavy –suffocated breath blow the lines perfectly present vivid situation of the speaker. The lines facilitate access for normal-encyclopedic representation of the speaker situation. In doing so, the line reverse the structure: which normally I think I know whose woods these are/ although his house is in the village. The reverse order result in the alliteration of approximant consonants (sound produced with no blockage of airstream during its production) before stop consonant. This is normal for a desperate, tired person to produce. We can imagine how weird the pronunciation would be if the normal structure is applied. The like would something like: [aihiŋainohuswudðiza:] [olhouhizhausizinðəvileidʒ]. Thus by the alliteration, the speaker has access for approximant sounds before he/she is ready for consonant with blockage of airstream. The lines fuse the sound and sense simultaneously to represent perfectly the wholeness of the situation. Just like the poem, *merariq* although fuses in its own way the linguistic states and the virtues simultaneously.

5. Merariq in Core Sasak Inclusive Value and the Sharia (Religious) Conceit

5.1. Merariq and Metaphorical Extension

Merariq in terms of semantic analysis realizes a mapping system of the real conduct of getting married, of involving the non-siblings into kinship line. It can be expressed as metaphorical expression 'marriage is the spouse making. That is, in

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9   Dia mengambil istri orang Solo- dia (mem)peristeri orang solo.

merariq there is a physical engagement of marrying (concrete event) and this event of taking someone as physical relatives extends to the conceptual mapping or correlation, the conceptual involvement of the party into family line (younger sister/spouse). This involving process (spouse inclusive) realizes the Islamic values (sharia) that hereafter she has the rights as a family member, the right for housing, wealth and most importantly of all is of inheritance. In line with Lakoff (2003), the event of marriage in *merariq* makes a structural relationship between one physical domain (physical engagement) and the abstract domain (abstract concepts of kinship, family membership), the so called conceptual metaphor. However, *merariq* also proves the opposite end. The event of physical merariq performs a coherence of spiritual religious values with cultural values. In this way culture belongs to hyponym instead of hypernym or superordinate terms in relation to religion.

6. Linguistic-Level Sterility and Social Inclusiveness

Nothofer (1999) and Mahyuni (2006) note that among those of terminologies, the majority of *Halus* lexicon in Sasak High level are found to correlate closely with the Javanese lexicon. Sasak is one of the few Western Indonesian languages in which we find an elaborate language level system. The other languages are Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese. This system is not a feature of an older proto-language (such as Proto-Malayo-Polynesian) to which these five languages belong (nor of Sumbawa to the immediate east), but appears to have emerged in Javanese around 1000 AD (Errington 1983). Interestingly, the terms related to marital status like husband and wife are short-cut of proto-Austronesian and none with the Javanese. Level of language is one of the stumbling stone of inclusiveness both in socio-cultural solidarity as well as language mutual communicativeness. To the most, level of language establishes exclusiveness and socio-culturally taken it abuses the human wish to have equal relation expected to background the establishment of family. What is mazing then, with regards to Nothofer (1999), *merariq* which direct manifestation of family relationship *surpasses* the exclusive nature of language strata. *Merariq* is directly derived from PAN which is well-known to be highly sterile from social discrimination.

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