

REPRESENTATION OF ETHNIC SYMBOL AS AN EMERGENCY STATUS IN THE MOVIE "TUNANGANKU MAUTKU": SEMIOTICS ANALYSIS

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ABSTRACT

A movie that portrays the traditions of its own region is more effective in conveying moral messages based on events that have occurred. Therefore, this research examines the representation of a short movie originating from the Madurese community titled "Tunanganku Mautku". Which represents the occurrence of the *carok* tradition with a woman as the main cause. Madura has been known for its strong tradition of arranged marriages since ancient times. Just like in this movie, the character Anshori binds his ring finger with Ulfa's through the arranged marriage arranged by their parents. However, behind this, there is a figure named Supri who first captured Ulfa's heart and told her to wait. Supri felt his dignity was being trampled on by Ulfa's family because Ulfa and Anshori were matched by Ulfa's parents on the grounds of greater wealth and

family ties. Based on the results of the reading and analysis conducted by the researcher, the Madurese community has applied a normalization of emergency status with an ethnic symbol, namely *carok*. Therefore, in this context, Supri is not blamed; instead, customary law holds Anshori responsible for taking a woman who is already under Supri's authority. Roland Barthes introduced the terms "signifier" and "signified," which were developed into a theory of metalanguage with two levels: denotation and connotation, and myths. This is in line with research related to the transcript text in the movie to explain the aspects or realities depicted in the movie "Tunanganku Mautku".

Keywords: *Carok*, Emergency Status, Madurese, Tunanganku Mautku

Introduction

The Madurese tribe is one of the 1,340 ethnic groups in Indonesia and is the 5th largest group in Indonesia with a percentage of 3.03 of the total population, according to the 2010 BPS census. Basically, the name of the Madurese tribe is taken from the name of the island of Madura; but the Madurese tribe does not only come from the island of Madura, but the island of Madura and the surrounding islands of Kangean, Raas, Sapudi, Gili Kambing, Gili Raja even in the part of East Java called the "horseshoe" area of Bondowoso to the north of Banyuwangi also includes the Madurese tribe. At first the Madurese tribe was included in the Javanese tribe, but as the dialect of the Madurese language changed, the Madurese were considered to have their own tribal area.

Madurese are famous for their character and loud tone of voice, making some people outside Madura judge all Madurese as rude people (Sari et al., 2022). Outspoken speech is a characteristic of Madurese society, but it becomes its own advantage, namely the growth of honesty among Madurese people when they migrate outside the island of Madura (Syamsuddin, 2019). Through

the habit of Madurese people migrating makes Madurese language socializers famous throughout Indonesia, as evidenced by the songs or poems of the Madurese language known by the general public, such as the song *Ancor Pessenah Tellow* sung by Imam S. Arifin.

The rough character of the Madurese became the origin of the Madurese *carok* tradition. *Carok* is the last way taken by the Madurese community to maintain the *muruh* (maintaining self-respect) and dignity of the community. *Carok* is a fight using a typical Madurese *celurit* weapon, and usually the fight kills the opponent who has been targeted (Ekawati et al., 2023). These fights usually occur when individual's or group honor has been denigrated by someone. The honor of individuals are their women (wives, mothers, and female relatives), their own honor (bullying), defamation, and family revenge. Group honor are community, organizations, and religion. Usually *carok* is caused by fighting over women, or wanting to protect their women, because the Madurese consider women as rare pearls that must be guarded by their honor.

Carok is known as the identity of the Madurese community, although there are some areas that make violence such as *carok* their tradition, such as the tradition in Bugis society (*Sigajang Laleng Lipa*), only different in the use of sharp weapons, namely using *keris* instead of *celurit* (Nurdiansyah et al., 2023). The *carok* tradition is very possible for revenge in both parties. Basically, the Madurese community highly upholds kinship and region of origin, therefore, there is a slogan "*Salam settong dhere*" greetings of one blood, namely one region Madurese (Sari et al., 2022). A strong sense of kinship will cause a prolonged effect in the tradition of *carok*. If one of his family will take revenge then the first person to look for is the perpetrator. If he is not found will, they look for the perpetrator's male family members; brother, uncle of the perpetrator, and nephew of the brother. *Carok* will happen if the oppressed wants it, even if the oppressor does not want it to happen.

Through these developments, *carok* is now used to an emphasize on the characteristics of violence. In the Madurese tribe, violence that occurs becomes culturally justified and even socially accepted if the incident is intended as a form of settlement to maintain one's dignity. *Carok* as a form of settlement is often a peaceful settlement and can even seem like there is no violence whatsoever, even if it costs lives (Fakhrudin et al., 2019). Of course, this clashes with the rules in Indonesia, which adhere to the rule of law. In this case, the Madurese people believe that a state of emergency can be declared during normal conditions and not only when the country is in a state of security crisis. The crisis often happens in this country, the emergency status of terrorist behavior, the spread of drugs, and the emergency status of natural disasters.

A philosopher named Giorgio Agamben, originally from Rome-Italy, has the idea of a state of emergency in a democracy. According to Agamben (2015), since the beginning of democracy, there has been an ambiguity between constitutional competence and constitutional executive competence. According to Agamben, the so-called sovereign power, which is a figure that cannot be opposed by any force and is not bound by any mechanism, undermines the democratic order by normalizing the application of the state of emergency. Therefore, the application of the state of emergency is not only a phenomenon in a state of war or security crisis, but also a phenomenon in normal situations of public order within the state. There is no longer a difference between a state of emergency and a normal state, between the existence of law and a legal vacuum, between order and chaos. Similarly, in *carok*, which occurs in the Madurese tribe, there is an emergency that cannot be opposed by any party, so it makes *carok* something that must be done.

The Madurese short movie titled "Tunanganku Mautku" produced by Akeloy Production is a movie based on the reflection of stories that really happened in the Madurese tribe. This movie is enough to illustrate the state of Madurese in the new times and the hard character of the Madurese people. Some scenes carried out by the main character also contain a lot of violence, so it is only appropriate if the consumerism of this movie is only devoted to the age of 17+ (Production, 2022).

Through the character Supri in the movie "Tunanganku Mautku", Akeloy Production tells a story about a character who holds great desire, power and revenge for the struggle for rights. The struggle for rights referred to in the movie is a complex review of power, ownership and love. The theme in the movie, which is based on the stories of Madura's culture, is indeed a real picture of what happened there in accordance with the understanding of literary works that the creation of works is a reflection of the surrounding socio-culture.

As of this writing, this movie has been watched by more than 1.5 million viewers within a year after it was uploaded to the Akeloy Production YouTube account. Quite a thumbs up because this is the first movie from the account and many get a positive response to the lifting of Madurese cultures in audio-visual presentations.

Traditions in each region have been influenced by outside areas, as well as in Madurese society, such as research conducted by Hairus Salikin, et al., (2021) entitled "Traditional Madurese Engagement Amidst the Social Change of the Kangean City". He revealed that the custom of engagement in the Madura area has shifted, and has begun to shift the matchmaking in the past with a match of their own choice because of the rise of social media, but there are still some areas that maintain it. This can trigger unwanted things to happen because the couple already has a lover of their own choice.

In research that is in line with the analysis conducted by Leliana, et al., (2021) which suggests moral messages contained in the movie transcript text, he categorizes moral messages in line with the theory used, and gets useful results to serve as motivation. Furthermore, research conducted by Prasetya (2022) which analysis the representation of social classes that run in the community through the movie Gundala. As for the analysis conducted by Salim & Sukendro (2021) which discusses the representation of social criticism in society, society in general will differentiate its class according to its instinctive will, therefore it is necessary to straighten out the problem of social class in society.

The novelty that distinguishes the analysis conducted by the researcher is that it starts with different data sources and places and leads to different results. Researchers are trying to reveal the emergency status in the movie "Tunanganku Mautku" which is in accordance with the customs of the Madurese community, namely *carok*. And researchers are trying to reveal the triggers for *carok* based on the data in the text of the short movie by Akeloy Production. This research is very important because it highlights issues that are sensitive to the Madurese community. Furthermore, the movie "Tunanganku Mautku" is a movie released directly by Madurese creators, making it a very suitable subject for a study.

The main question, which will be analyzed and developed using Roland Barthes' ideas on the meanings of denotation (the literal meaning of the sign), connotation (the emotional and associative meaning), and myth (traditional story or legend), as they occur in the text of the movie "Tunanganku Mautku." Then, whether it is right or wrong for the Madurese people to suspend the application of customary law and the release of perpetrators involved in *carok*, and what the consequences of these actions are.

Methods

There are many theories that reveal semiotic analysis, including those of Ferdinand de Saussure, Charles Sanders Peirce, Roland Barthes etc. However, the approach method of this research uses Roland Barthes' theory, he put forward Ferdinand de Saussure's terms, namely signifier and signified, which were then developed into a theory of metabases with two levels. However, the method of approach in this study uses Roland Barthes' theory, he put forward Ferdinand de Saussure's terms, namely signifier and signified, which were then developed into a theory of metabases with two levels, namely the level of denotation and the level of connotation and myth.

The first level is denotation, which is known as the real meaning of the sign. The second level is connotation and myth. Connotation describes the interaction that occurs when a sign meets the feelings or emotions of the reader as well as the values of the culture. While myth itself is a story used by a culture to explain or understand some aspects of reality or nature, it is different from the myth discussed by Roland Barthes but still related. According to Umar Yunus' view, myths are not formed through education, but through assumptions based on crude observations which are then generalized to make them more real in society (Rahayu, 2020).

This research method employs a qualitative descriptive research type. According to Moleong (2010), qualitative descriptive method describes or explains data as collected without intending to draw conclusions or generalizations accepted generally, whether the descriptive data are in the form of written words. Therefore, this qualitative descriptive method is highly suitable for the

research the author is conducting, to elucidate or provide an overview of the functions and meanings of expressions that trigger *carok* in the Madurese ethnicity.

The data sources in this research are transcripts of the short movie "Tunanganku Mautku" sourced from YouTube. Additionally, this study is reinforced with interview data conducted by the author with several figures from the Madurese community in the Omben District, Sampang Regency, Madura, and data from the author as a native speaker and native language of Madurese.

Data collection is carried out using the observation and note-taking technique as described by Sudaryanto (1993), namely by watching the short movie "Tunanganku Mautku" from the YouTube channel. Subsequently, to facilitate this research data collection, note-taking techniques are employed, which involves transcribing dialogues from the movie followed by categorizing expressions that truly evoke the origins of the *carok* tradition. Then, the researcher analyzes the denotative, connotative, and mythical meanings within the movie using the theory proposed by Roland Barthes. Throughout this research, the author records essential aspects that might meet the criteria for someone in the Madurese community to have an emergency status to engage in *carok*.

Result

The design of the various ideas described above will be analyzed together with the object that has been chosen by the researcher. The analysis will be presented in the sub-section of *causa* (conversation that triggers the occurrence of *carok*) below.

1. The First Causa

Love does have to be with the blessing of parents because marriage is not about two people but also about uniting two big families. That's how the movie "Tunanganku Mautku" begins. The romance between Supri and Ulfa began a year ago. They grew in love with each other, flirting all the time until Supri tied her with a gold necklace as a sign of Supri's seriousness, before he was ready to meet Ulfa's family.

Table 1
First Causa

Movie text	Translation
<i>Engkok ajhenjeh ke sedeh Mas, ejhege'eh hubungan riah, insyaAllah tak kerah bedeh reng taoh. Ben engkok ajhenjeh jhek e tang ateh riah karo nyabhe' nyamanah sedeh.</i>	I promise you Mas, I will keep this relationship, insha'Allah no one will know. And I promise, if in my heart I only keep your name.

Source: Akeloy Production, Tunanganku Mautku, 00.53

Denotative:

Ulfa, the female lead in the movie, made a promise to keep the relationship with her partner Supri, who had been confided to everyone, and always kept Supri's name in her heart.

Connotative:

In the conversation, Ulfa dared to promise to always maintain her relationship because of her deep love, and keep her heart a secret from to others as well as their relationship. This is because they are not ready to ask for the blessing of their parents. And Ulfa promised that there was only Supri's name engraved in the recesses of her heart. From a religious point of view, they should be Muslims because they said the phrase InshaAllah.

Myths:

In this *causa*, promising is something that must be kept even though it is hampered by situations and conditions that are not possible for the promisee, and in Islam when someone promises it must be accompanied by *insyaAllah* (if Allah wills), because something promised will not be kept unless by Allah's permission. Maintaining a relationship is something that must be done among people who love each other and there is a follow-up to maintaining it, namely the marriage bond.

2. The Second Causa

The self-esteem of the Madurese people is very high, but all of this is accompanied by good manners and etiquette, so that if something happens, they will prioritize older people or someone who has high dignity.

Table 2
Second Causa

Movie text	Translation
<i>Benni dhek remmah Ba, engkok riah epethodus reng Bini' Ba. Engkok se deyyeh riah ken minta pendapat ke sedeh dhek remmah nyamannah.</i>	How could I not, Bah?, I was humiliated by a woman. I just want to ask you for your opinion on the right decision.

Source: Akeloy Production, Tunanganku Mautku, 12.06

Denotative:

Supri complained to his parents that he had been humiliated by his partner, and he asked for their opinion.

Connotative:

In deciding on *carok*, it is not necessarily taken in a state of heat, as well as Supri, he still went to his parents to find the right solution. Supri's parents, who hold Madurese customs strongly, certainly consider it to be demeaning to their son's self-esteem.

Myths:

A person must first ask permission from their parents when they want to do something, which is the manners of the madurese.

3. The Third Causa

Deep love will produce feelings of pity and concern, reportedly always waiting for you, even if you don't see each other for several days, it feels like several years. There is no action that hurts love except betrayal.

Table 3
Third Causa

Movie text	Translation
<i>Engkok andhik sir-sirren, le parak olleyah setaon engkok se andhik hubungan bhik nak kanak binik jiah. Deddhih, bherik dumalem jiah engkok ngiding kabher jhek se binik jiah abhekalan bhik sepoponah. Ben sengkok mareh ketemu ben se binik, eajhek bhuruh tak ghellem, esoro pebhurung tak ghellem kiah. Sedangkan engkok le bhi kabbbhiyaghi ke nak kanak binik jiah, le eroktorok aghi bhik sengkok. San setia, pas ken etemmuh abhekalan tak abhelen ke sengkok.</i>	I have a girlfriend, it's been about a year now. So yesterday I heard the news that this girl is engaged to her cousin. Then I met her yesterday, I asked her to run away but she didn't want to, told her to break up with her fiancé, who also didn't want to. While I have given everything to her and now, she is engaged without saying a word to me.

Source: Akeloy Production, Tunanganku Mautku, 12.06

Denotative:

Supri told his parents "I have a girlfriend, it's been about a year. So yesterday I heard the news that this woman is engaged to her cousin. Then I met her yesterday, I asked her to run away but she didn't want to, told her to break up with her fiancé who also didn't want to. While I have given everything to her and now she is engaged without any words to me".

Connotative:

After telling everything that happened to him, Supri asked his father an advice.

Myths:

Curcol or *curhat colongan* (tell stories spontaneously) is a natural thing for humans to do when they meet the right person to talk to and discuss together.

4. The Fourth Causa

A parent's self-respect lies in their child's honor. When their child is betrayed, parents who have high self-esteem will act, that's how Madurese society does.

Table 4
Fourth Causa

Movie text	Translation
<i>Yeh mun deyyeh cong ceretanah, kolek eng kopeng peddis ngidinganghi cong. Ajiah deyyeh cong, mun eajhek bhuruh tak ghellem, esoro pebhurung tak bisa, ajiah le peccaeng hedeh kabbbhi, epedhekremma'ah beih, masalah ebhudih, karenah pencaen engkok</i>	If that's the story, son, the skin of my ears just feels sore listening. Tell you what kid!. if invited to run away don't want to, told to break up the relationship also don't want to, now it's up to you what you want, the problem behind is my business.

Source: Akeloy Production, *Tunanganku Mautku*, 13.06

Denotative:

Supri's parents gave advice about something that happened to their son "If that's the story, son, my ear skin feels sore listening. Tell you what son, if you are invited to run away, you don't want to, told to break up the relationship also doesn't want to, now it's up to you what you want, the problems behind are my business."

Connotative:

Supri's parents' answer certainly supported what his son will do, because if a man is humiliated and harassed and he has no sense of defending his dignity then he will be scorned for not being a man (*lo' lake*). Even with some phenomena in Madurese society he does not deserve to be called a Madurese. If so, *carok* also means one of the Madurese ways of expressing one's ethnic identity. All of that reinforces the notion that *carok* is not violence in general, but violence that is laden with socio-cultural meaning and therefore must be understood in its context.

Myths:

All problems should be talked through, and good advice will affect someone who is hurting or feeling down, instead of fueling the fire.

5. The Fifth Causa

Even if the carcass is hidden in a place where no one will find it, the stench will eventually be smelled. Likewise with sinful acts, no matter how clever you are at hiding them, they will definitely be revealed.

Table 5
Fifth Causa

Movie text	Translation
<i>Mas tang reng tuah le mulai curiga, le jiah curiga jhek engkok le esseh. Anak riah bhik engkok terro epeggereh, engkok takok etemmmuh.</i>	Mas, it seems my parents have started to get suspicious, yes suspicious that I'm pregnant. I want to abort this child, I'm afraid of getting caught.

Source: Akeloy Production, *Tunanganku Mautku*, 13.06

Denotative:

Ulfa told Supri that her parents had begun to suspect that she was pregnant. And she wanted to terminate the pregnancy, for fear of being found out (snippet of Ulfa's speech to Supri after she was impregnated out of wedlock by Supri).

Connotative:

Ulfa was already afraid of being found out about her pregnancy, so she dared to say she wanted to abort so that no one would know.

Myths:

Basically, everything that is done must be known sooner or later.

6. The Sixth Causa

There would be no smoke if there was no fire, nor would there be conflict if there was no one to start it. Madurese society highly values honor and self-respect regarding women.

Table 6
Sixth Causa

Movie text	Translation
<i>Pola sedeh le taoh yeh, jhek bhekallah sedeh esseh tang anak?</i>	Do you know if your fiancée's stomach is carrying my child?

Source: Akeloy Production, *Tunanganku Mautku*, 18.45

Figure 1
The *carok* between Supri and Anshori



Source: Akeloy Production, *Tunanganku Mautku*, 18.53

Denotative:

Supri influenced Ulfa's fiancé to get carried away with his emotions by saying "Maybe you already know, if your fiancé contains my son."

Connotative:

In terms of legality, the occurrence of *carok* between Supri and Anshori is evidence of courage in stepping over the rules of state law. However, in the perspective of Madurese people, when the *carok* is caused by the problem between Supri and Anshori above, the *carok* will become a commodity that gives birth to customary law sanctions against the perpetrators. Here, Supri, who impregnated Ulfa, is not the main suspect although he is also the winner of the *carok* incident. In Madurese customary law, Anshori is the main suspect because Anshori is considered to have harassed Supri by taking his woman. Likewise, if they had no arranged marriage plan then the incident would not have happened. Neither customary law nor community law justifies what Supri did to Ulfa, but Supri cannot be made a suspect in both customary law and state law.

Myths:

If no one is influenced to do something, then it is impossible for people to do something they don't want to do, because emotions will affect a person's mind.

7. The Seventh Causa

Parents' wishes basically want the best, but everything must be based on deliberation to reach a consensus. Parents who expect their own wishes will not have good results.

Table 7
Seventh Causa

Movie text	Translation
<i>..... sengkok amittah ke sedeh, jhek Ulfa tang anak epopolongah ben Supri anak eng H. Hasan.</i> I ask your permission if my daughter will be married to Supri, the son of H. Hasan.

Source: Akeloy Production, *Tunanganku Mautku*, 24.56

Denotative:

Ulfa's parents asked permission to marry off their daughter to H. Hasan's son.

Connotative:

Ulfa's parents asked Supri's parents for permission so that there would be no arguments in the future.

Myths:

A person must first ask permission from the person concerned when they want to do something, which is the manner of the madurese.

8. The Eighth Causa

There must be retribution for every action, but in this case retaliation for carok cannot be normalized because it results in the loss of a person's life, so it is not justified to retaliate against carok for carok that has occurred.

Figure 2

Carok in return, between Anshori's brother and Supri



Source: Akeloy Production, *Tunanganku Mautku*, 39.18

Table 8
Eighth Causa

Movie text	Translation
<i>Du taon sengkok te' dhente'an sedeh semalesseh, iyak capok ombor kiah. Pola le siap yeh, apolong bhik taretannah yeh?</i>	"It's been 2 years since I've been waiting for you to take your revenge. Is it possible that you are ready to follow your brother?"
<i>Huta' le taoh sedeh jhek edinnak riah reng Madhureh, mun urusan tengka tak kerah e otang bhik sengkok. Apapole dunnyah, makeh nyabeh etarogahinah bhik sengkok</i>	Supri said this to Anshori's brother. "Don't you already know that here is the Madura area? If it's about behavior, it won't be possible to owe. Let alone the world, I will put my life on the line," Anshori's brother said to Supri.

Source: Akeloy Production, *Tunanganku Mautku*, 38.25 – 38.45

Denotative:

Supri said to Ulfa's fiancé brother "It's been 2 years since I've been waiting for you to take your revenge, is it possible that you are ready to follow your brother?"

And Anshori replied "Don't you already know here is the Madura area? If it is about behavior it will not be possible to owe. Let alone the world, I will put my life on the line".

Connotative:

Revenge must exist in Madurese society for those who have been offended or wronged; therefore, Supri realized that there would be those who tried to take revenge from Anshori's family.

Myths:

In Islam and other religions, it is not allowed to repay evil with evil. In fact, this status-quo normalization is a loophole in the Madurese tribe. Defeat in *carok* is possible retaliation from the family of the person who lost against the person who won the *celurit* duel. Most likely the revenge will be carried out by the parents first. If the parents cannot be present or are no longer around due to age or other reasons, siblings (brothers or sisters) or close relatives such as cousins may also be considered in the retaliation. However, *carok* revenge cannot

usually be carried out immediately, as the enemy or perpetrator is usually under close surveillance from his family. Because they know that blood will be paid in blood.

Discussion

Based on the results of the reading and analysis carried out by researchers, this research provides broad insight into the Madurese ethnic community which has implemented normalization of emergency status with the Madurese ethnic symbol, namely the *carok*, in order to be able to obtain protection from custom and blur the law. So based on the analysis that has been carried out using Roland Barthes' theory, it shows several speculations, including in the meaning of denotation, connotation and myth.

The depiction in the movie "Tunanganku Mautku" of the Madurese *carok* tradition has the potential to increase the audience's awareness and understanding of the dangers that threaten every individual and community group. Movie is a powerful medium for providing moral messages, education and fostering empathy (Leliana et al., 2021). Through the characters in the movie "Tunanganku Mautku", Supri and Ulfa's romance is so deep, they develop feelings of love for each other, and do not want to be separated by anyone, however, the romance story will not always be smooth as both of them wish, there will be storms accompanying it, namely when Ulfa's parents didn't want romance between the two of them. Ulfa's parents took the initiative to match Ulfa with Anshori (a man Ulfa didn't know) so that a fight arose over Ulfa's figure. The romance is depicted realistically and without stereotypes, the audience can better understand the challenges faced by the two, however, the final step chosen cannot be justified. Viewers will better understand the conditions in the movie, so they can reduce the *carok* tradition (Ekawati et al., 2023). Therefore, accurate and empathetic depictions in mass media such as movies, can play an important role in supporting the reduction of the *carok* tradition, and understanding its dangers in Madurese society.

Community legal awareness is a benchmark and assessment of the legal structuring process, so that the assessment is not based on fines or sanctions that will be given but rather awareness that the law is in line with the values and norms developing in society (Firdaus et al., 2021). A similar case is also experienced by the culture of the Bugis community, namely "*Sigajang Laleng Lipa*" which has similarities to the practice of *carok*, but now "*Sigajang Laleng Lipa*" has been preserved as a dance performance that does not threaten life safety (Mukaromah et al., 2022).

Although this research makes significant contributions, there are several limitations that need to be noted. First, this research uses one movie and does not go directly into the community, so the generalization of the results may be limited. Second, this research uses Roland Barthes' semiotic theory. In my opinion, this semiotic theory is not suitable and not in depth for analyzing from a cultural and customary perspective. For further research, it is recommended to explore more Madurese traditional movies, and dive directly into society, then for semiotic theory it is recommended to use Halliday's semiotic theory.

Conclusion

This research shows that Supri was not charged as a suspect under state law, and customary law blamed Anshori for taking the woman who was already under Supri's authority. The emergency status (*carok*) that occurred against Anshori, who was killed, became void in the law against Supri, who killed. When this happens, Anshori holds a status that Agamben refers to as homosacer. People with this status become victims of violence without legal protection, and there are no consequences for the perpetrators, because state law is restrained by stronger customary law. Madurese ethnicity is thick with self-esteem that is upheld, when self-esteem is stepped on, the state law is cut down with one pull of a *celurit*, because according to the Madurese community *ango'an pothe tholang etembeng poteya mata* (it is better to die than to bear shame), the Madurese community believes that what Anshori did was an act of destruction of the customary order and an act of harassment of Supri's dignity unconsciously because Anshori had taken the woman

Anshori owned even though in a good way. To repair the abuse and restore dignity, the believed way to overcome it is through the occurrence of *carok*. However, there is a role that will continue to occur, namely the opportunity for retaliation from subjects who lose the legal vacuum in Madura and can also occur outside there. Seeing the possibilities that will occur, if the country's legal apparatus lives and acts more quickly, this will be able to be overcome immediately so that there are no longer any homosacer figures triggering repeated bloodshed incidents. In the first conversation, when Anshori approached Supri, there was a statement, "It's been 2 years I've been waiting for you to take your revenge," indicating that every *carok* in Madura will have a gap or maybe even an opening for retaliation against this emergency status. Which the next gap of retaliation will be open also from Supri's family.

The perpetrator who wins the *carok* will be included in the group of people who are good at it or often called *blater*. These people will have a tendency to keep the *celurit* used to kill their enemy as proof that they won. This cellulitis is well maintained and cared for without erasing the remnants of blood that are still attached, although they eventually dry up and look like black spots. It is the blood stains that reveal to everyone that this *celurit* was once used to kill an enemy.

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