Politeness Strategies of The *Pembayun*(s) in The Bride-Kidnapping Practices of Sasak Culture

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ABSTRACT

Bride-kidnapping is considered a violation of human rights in many cultures worldwide, but among the Sasak people of Lombok, it has deep customary implications. While the act itself is consensual between the couple, it is an occasion for the families to confront each other and discuss settlements or dispute the offers between each other. The negotiation is a show of tradition or customary norms where politeness strategies is observed during the discussions between the two disputing parties affected by the bride-kidnapping. During the discussions, rituals such as *Sejati*, *Selabar,* and *Sorong Serah* are conducted to neutralise anxiety, address face attacks and reduce disputes that may have arisen due to the bride-kidnapping. In these three rituals, the language resources of the representatives of both families, also known as *Pembayun* (*adat leaders*), is to negotiate and come to a settlement through polite discourse. This study is an ethnographic enquiry and data were analysed based on Brown and Levinson's model of politeness. The study revealed that the most preferred strategy was negative politeness used by both the *Pembayun* in the bride-kidnapping rituals. The notion of politeness and the strategies in which it is achieved in communication is culture-bound and culture-specific.

Keywords: Bride-kidnapping, marriage rituals, politeness strategies, Sasak culture

INTRODUCTION

The Sasak of Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara Indonesia are mostly Muslims who are maritime people. The influence of the Balinese Hindu culture is clearly seen in the unique customary practices and rituals within this Muslim community. As was the practice in many other past kingdoms in the world, local women were made to serve and please the kings, and the same was seen in the history of the Balinese kings in Lombok who often took Sasak ladies as concubines. The recurrence of this obsession for Sasak women caused the Sasak families to reluctantly become accustomed to this practice as they continued to fear and endure the practice among the royalty and the upper class. The marriage practices among the Sasak is performed by kidnapping a woman (bride-kidnapping) from her family.

The practice of bride-kidnapping is a result of Sasak history which was influenced by the Balinese and Javanese kingdoms (Haq & Hamdi, 2016). Meanwhile, from the etic perspective, bride-kidnapping (*Merariq*) in several areas in Indonesia such as Bugis, Makasar, South Sulawesi, Java and others, is a violation of the customary law and a disgrace for both families (Tahir, 2012). Unlike the many cultures which observe bride-kidnapping that ends with rape and impregnating the woman, such as in Central Asia, parts of South Africa (called "*ukuthwala*") and in part of Europe, the marriage culture of the Sasak people is believed to be inspired by love. The Sasak bride-kidnapping is consensual and is in reality elopement rather than bride-

kidnapping since members from both parties assist in staging the so-called bride-kidnapping.

Thus, from the emic perspective, the Sasak in Lombok have developed the cultural cognition that practising bride-kidnapping is a noble custom. In the Sasak culture, bride-kidnapping (*merariq*) is defined as the process of marriage and a cultural marriage ritual. The efficacy of this bride-kidnapping has become a kind of cultural practice where the conceptualisation of the community is reflected through how they redefine and renegotiate the concept of marriage and view the world (Grace, 2004; Smith, 2014).

However, over the years, families would ensure that a suitable bride is paired with their son and this is often the reason for families to encourage bride-kidnapping to circumvent other suitors and to ensure that their son ends up with the woman he loves. This was done in an effort to preserve the honour, accord status, and empower the Sasak women, as they had a choice of whom they wanted to elope with. According to Zuhdi (2012), although the influence of Balinese culture in Lombok is evident, bride-kidnapping is only found in the Sasak culture while bride-kidnapping in Bali is in itself the marriage contract. This marriage is in contrast to the bride-kidnapping in the Sasak community where bride-kidnapping is an initial part of the marriage. The entire marriage is a juxtaposition of both cultural (Balinese-Sasak) practice and religious (Muslim) requirements. After the bride-kidnapping, the solemnisation of marriage

rituals would be in accordance with the Islamic teachings.

The marriage tradition in the Sasak community also includes other forms of marriages such as match-made marriages. However, this matchmaking pattern is almost lost or no longer in existence among the Sasak community, especially in rural areas because marriage is considered the individual's right and choice. The couple are the ones who decide whether it is going to be a private affair without the need for a coercive parent and family. Most Sasak people consider marriages through matchmaking as a last resort and this is considered a setback because it is not always in line with the choice of the couple (Dhana, 2000). Meanwhile, a proposal or request directly to marry one's daughter can be regarded as an insult to the parents of the girl and her family. Thus, the expression of the Sasak people *"merariq dek ne pade marak ngendeng anak manok"* (Asking for one's hand in marriage is not as simple as asking one to hand over 'baby chicks'). On the basis of the above perceptions, it justifies the Sasak community's practise of bride-kidnapping (*merariq*). However, it appears to be a violation of customary norms and creates disputes between the two families when particular issues are not up to the expectations of either one family.

The Sasak *Pembayun*

Due to the sensitivities of the practice of bride-kidnapping, settlements or solutions are to be proceeded in the form of negotiations between the prospective groom and bride's families through rituals such as *Sejati, Selabar,* and *Sorong Serah*. The aims of the rituals are to resolve the dispute as well as to make the bride-kidnapping known to the community (Adithia, 2010; Dhana, 2000; Fajriyah, 2016; Sirajudin, 2001; Yaqin et al., 2013). In these three ritual stages, family representatives or *Pembayun* are elected to initiate communication between the families. The *Pembayun* are only male representatives, who are chosen by each family to settle the dispute. The *Pembayuns* are usually those with some experience and are older family members who know the family expectations. In accordance with the status of the family he represents, the *Pembayun* plans the strategy, with the approval of that particular family. The *Pembayuns* from both families proceed to influence each other to accept particular terms and conditions as a prerequisite to the performance of the customary religious wedding.

The discussions between the *Pembayuns* is viewed as a dispute resolution that involves emotions and feelings as much as thoughts and ideas that represent those of the families. Naturally, the message or act to be delivered by the *Pembayun* may contain 'threats' to the addressee's emotion or feeling, or what in pragmatics is referred to as 'face' (see, for example, Brown & Levinson, 1987; Goffman, 1974). It is generally the case, therefore, that the act as such is to be redressed or mitigated to the extent that the potential 'damage' could be mitigated to some degree. It is the strategies in this act of redressing or mitigating,

sometimes enforced with persuasive emphasis that concerns politeness strategies. Therefore, the study of politeness strategies in bride-kidnapping needs to be investigated to capture the strategies of the *Pembayuns* when dealing with bride-kidnapping among the Sasak.

Brown and Levinson's Politeness Theory

This theory is vital in the practice of communicating politely. Communication that seeks solely to achieve the effective communication of information and ignores the value of politeness may not augur well for interlocutors (Yaqin & Shanmuganathan, 2018). This means that politeness determines the success of communication. The value of politeness is as important as the value of the information intended. Based on this fact, pragmatics experts offer perspectives or models of language theories to maintain the practice of communicating well with as little dispute as possible.

Pragmatics researchers (Fraser, 1990; Huang, 2007; Reiter, 2000) argue that there are four main models of politeness theory. The four models are (a) face-saving (b) conversational maxim model, (c) conversational-contracts model and (d) social norms model. Among these models, the most influential and comprehensive model is the face-saving model proposed by Brown and Levinson (Watts et al., 2008). In relation to Brown and Levinson's politeness model, Coupland et al. (1988) suggested that Brown and Levinson's analysis was one of the major forces that recorded the realisation of communicative strategies as lexical/structural choices in various languages. However, Brown and Levinson's politeness models have been criticised and continue to be criticised as archaic, in terms of its universal claims. However, Kadar and Mills (2011) pointed out that most theories of politeness had been developed in response to the Brown and Levinson model, which was seen as ethnocentric and based on pragmatic communication perceptions (see Eelen, 2001; Watts, 2003). Hence, post-modern theory of politeness considers the climate, culture and practices of the community under study (e.g., Locher & Watts, 2005; Mullany, 2006; van der Bom & Mills, 2015).

On the other hand, some experts argue that there are aspects of Brown and Levinson's model that can still provide analysts with technical concepts that are relevant (e.g., Grainger, 2018). Harris (2003) suggested that Brown and Levinson's politeness model had an important contribution to the analysis of institutional data, while O'Driscoll (2007) recommended the adjustment of Brown and Levinson's work to be used in cultural interaction. Similarly Holmes et al. (2012) saw that the concepts of Brown and Levinson were useful in workplace analysis.

In this study, the researchers argue that Brown and Levinson's model can help explain the ongoing interactions between the *Pembayuns* as they conduct the ritual negotiations representing the two families. The issue of bride-kidnapping becomes more complicated if only the couple and not their families are in favour

of the marriage alliance. In this case, meaningful negotiations are crucial for the outcome of the discussions. As Harris (2011) suggested, earnest, and sometimes life-changing decisions could be influenced by interactions between participants, and in this case the families represented by the *Pembayuns*. The prospect that both families are to some extent going to face each other in future for all family events, appropriate politeness strategies are sought to mitigate the discussions. Brown and Levinson's model of politeness strategies not only define intentions but shows how participants make meanings during the interactions within the various aspects of the discursive content and context.

Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of linguistic politeness was coupled with Goffman's concept of 'face', which in Goffman's definition is "*the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact*" (Goffman, 1974). To Goffman, a person in social contact with others tends to experience an immediate emotional response with regards to the way such a context serves his face. Brown and Levinson identified two aspects of the face, namely the positive face and negative face. They defined 'positive face' as the positive, consistent self-image or personality' claimed in interactions (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The other aspect of the 'negative face' is more oriented to a person's 'territory,' 'self-protection' and 'freedom of action'. Based on Brown and Levinson's "positive face" and "negative face," several strategies could be used to minimise FTAs (Izadi, 2013).

According to Brown and Levinson, the speakers perform FTAs when pronouncing an utterance which could threaten the addressee and could use either the on-record strategy or the off-record strategy. In the extreme case of on-record strategy, speakers use utterances without adjustments, and they appear to be less polite, while off-record strategies are used to sound indirect to the extent that the intention and inference could cause confusion. However, depending on the situation or context, or even the cultural practice, the intention for choosing such strategies can be justified. Therefore, to maintain politeness, the speaker should maximise strategies that can minimise FTAs through positive and negative politeness strategies.

The face is, therefore, a construct of some sort that can be either maintained or lost through interaction, of which interactants are continually aware and for which they seem to have mutual 'guarding' strategy to the effect that a face is likely to be preserved or enhanced rather than lost. At the heart of this, Brown and Levinson postulate that certain acts of communication are intrinsically face-threatening. These, which they consistently refer to as 'face-threatening acts,' become the central issue in the linguistic politeness theory that they develop. Essentially, to Brown and Levinson, politeness is the speaker's strategy to minimise the effect of face-threatening acts in communication.

Although Brown and Levinson's (1987) framework is regarded as one of the most influential to address the phenomenon of politeness, a review in the previous section identified important issues with the approach. As Watts (2003) noted, while no study can completely undo Brown and Levinson's conceptualisation of politeness, they may help to 'correct and disentangle' original views. In this respect, how the *Pembayuns* establish harmony in line with their sociocultural rules of language use and the type of politeness strategies used to reach an amicable settlement for the act of bride-kidnapping as endorsed by the Sasak community will be discussed.

METHODOLOGY

The study used a qualitative approach to examine the detailed rituals involved in bride-kidnapping and the interaction between the *Pembayuns* who acted as representatives of both families. The *Pembayuns* may not be related to the family but may have been a close alliance or an old family friend, or a descendant of the *Pembayun* who had represented the family in the past. As such, the study was focused on the communicative behaviours of the interacting *Pembayuns* within the social rituals of the Sasak community.

Data and Data Collection Procedures

The data used in the study comprised audio/video recording of approximately nine hours of interaction recorded during the *Sorong Serah* ritual of the marriage ceremony. The *Sorong Serah* ritual is the final phase before the marriage where an official ceremonial procession from the groom's side would seek a sit-down discussion with the bride's side. The primary data consisted of a live video recording of the *Pembayuns* in action during the interaction between both parties in one marriage ceremony. The entire exchange between the *Pembayuns* were presented as is and were not edited nor revised. The duration of each stage in the *Sorong Serah* ritual of the marriage ceremony was between 50 and 70 minutes. The length of each data varies as the negotiations differed according to how fast the family relented to accept the settlement. Data was orthographically transcribed and the study used a simplified version of Jefferson's transcription convention.

Data collections were carried out at the Sakra district of West Lombok regency in West Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia through observations and interviews. The researchers used two kinds of observation methods, namely participant observation (as a past 'abductor') and non-participant observation (the interaction between the *Pembayuns*). Both methods required the researchers to conduct video recordings and note-taking in a particular location while interacting with the participants (i.e. family members and the *Pembayuns*). Semi-structured interviews were carried out to allow the participants to talk and provide information about the ritual and the meaning of the rituals. The topics of discussion in the interviews were based on threads of conversation concerning among which particular rituals, the *Pembayuns'* roles, the strategies used to negotiate,

and any other information about bride-kidnapping practices. Facial expressions and gestures indicated emotions of anxiety, displeasure, irritation, and impatience during the interactions and were used as indicators that signalled the emotional state of the *Pembayuns* and their use of politeness strategies.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

There was significant use of negative politeness strategies among the *Pembayun*s during their formal face-to-face interaction in the presence of both family members of the couple during the *Sorong Serah* ritual. The preference for the negative politeness strategies indicates the Sasak were concerned about being deferential and self-effacing towards the offended or afflicted party (Garcia, 1989), i.e. the bride's family.

Types of Politeness Strategies

Negative politeness was found to be one of the more prominent of the two redressive on-record ways of doing FTAs as postulated by Brown and Levinson (1987). An utterance is regarded as containing a negative politeness strategy when the illocutionary act reflects the speaker's intention to satisfy the addressee's negative face, in which the addressee wants to be unimpeded and wants to enjoy the freedom of action. The manifestation of such intention in communication is reflected in the speaker's use of certain devices, both from the pragmatic and linguistic aspects, in which the utterances carry the illocutionary act.

In line with Brown and Levinson's (1987) conception of 'negative face', the *Pembayuns'* negative politeness strategies can be subsumed under two main categories, namely, 'appealing' strategies and 'softening' strategies. While a set of sub-categories belongs to the former, the latter consists basically of 'direct' and 'conventionally indirect' strategies. The direct softening strategies can further be classified as those using 'supportive moves' and those that employ 'downgraders' (cf. Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). The supportive moves and downgraders are identified as softening devices. The conventionally indirect strategies, too, include a number of different modes of softening the force of FTA-carrying utterances.

Appealing Strategy

During the *Sorong Serah* ritual, the groom's family would seek the help of the *Pembayun Penyerah* (Ph) who is the main spokesperson for the family and is assisted by *Pembayun Pisolo* (Po) in terms of seeking permission to have a meeting, helping to deliver the gifts to the bride's family and in ensuring that her family is willing to start the discussions. On the bride's family, there is only one main representative, the *Pembayun Penampi* (Pi) who would speak on the family's behalf. Appealing strategies are used mostly by the *Pembayun Penyerah* (Ph) representing the male family, to mitigate certain illocutionary acts.

Appeal strategies are used by the family of the groom to appeal to the bride's family

on several instances. On arrival of the party to the bride's village, the assistant, *Pembayun* Po would appeal to the *Pembayun* Pi to give consent to have a discussion, and also to accept their gifts as compensation. Throughout the discussions, the appealing strategy was the most prevalent strategy used, with the potential of threatening the addressee's negative face. These strategies are shown in Table 1 and are marked by the speaker's use of certain linguistic devices to do FTAs such as acts of requesting, suggesting, and reminding.

A type of appealing device found frequently in the *Pembayun*s utterances is the 'approval strategy,' which is represented by an interrogative lexical form *nggih* which is realized as a question tag at the end of an utterance. The form *nggih* occurs when the speaker chooses to use the refined level or variation of the language. So, *nggih* is one different form of the same appealing device the choice of which is related to the speaker's decision on what speech level to use. As a pragmatic device, the form *nggih* is not semantically empty as it can be used to express a semantic meaning equivalent to either 'yes', 'right', or 'okay', which pragmatically expresses 'agreement', acceptance', or 'approval'. The form *nggih* in the Sasak language is very productive in the sense that it may serve different functions in communication. The

following extract serves to illustrate how the *Pembayun* Ph (groom's side) seeks to get the approval from *Pembayun* Pi (bride's side) whether the gifts sent as compensation was acceptable to the family.

Data 2:

5	Pi	: ***Sampun bise*** *ketampi,* ***nggih?***
		Is it accepted, yes?

6	Po	: Alhamdulillah, matur agung tampiasih
		Alhamdulillah, Yes, Thank you very much.

In extract (1), Pi uses the question tag '*nggih'* to soften the question. This strategy is similar to the acceptance strategy as the use of the lexical '*nggih*' share the same linguistic form. The *nggih* form in the Sasak language is very productive and using lexical '*nggih*' at the end of the utterance (Line 5), Pi has laid the phrase *sampun bise* (Noble Sasak language) to show over-politeness by combining *sampun bise* at the beginning and '*nggih*' at the end of the utterance. (see Izadi, 2016; Watts, 2003).

Softening Strategy

The softening strategy was found to be used by both *Pembayuns* in direct and conventional indirect strategies in the *Sorong Serah* of the marriage ceremony

Table 1

Appealing strategy of negative politeness

Sub-Strategy	Device Used	Realisation	Act Redresses
Approval Strategy	Lexical	*Nggih*	Request, Suggestions, Order

to downtone the act of bride-kidnapping. Direct strategies can be divided into two categories. The first category refers to external modifications called supportive moves, while the second category refers to the 'downgraders'.

Direct Strategies Used as Supportive Move

The study found that the *Pembayun* used direct strategies as a sub-strategy as shown in Table 2:

One of the strategies used by the *Pembayun* to soften the FTAs is to make the addressee willing to accept an action. This is revealed in the use of a pragmatic device called a 'preparator' which is a term introduced by Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) and their study on requests. In this case, the speaker prepares the addressee to make him aware of his actions (requests, orders, suggestions, reminders and so forth) and intentions. This strategy makes an act less direct so that its force is minimised. One type of supportive move strategy is the *preparator* which acts as an external element of utterance to the next action (Blum-Kulka et al., 1989). This device works to provide the addressee subsequent actions and therefore, usually leads to the next course of action. Extract (2) shows an example of which this device is used to prepare the other side on subsequent action. In Extract 2, the *Pembayun* Ph explains why the family was delayed and arrived late.

Data 12:

17	Ph	: ***Dewek titiang puniki matur wikan ritakale dewek puniki ligar saking negareng sakre,*** *datang lian hikayakti punang sane mapak tan lupe-lupe ring dadalan wenten tapak punang harte brane sane wenten ring pungkur dewek titiang puniki,*
		I must say that, when I left Sakre Village, the road was very crowded. There was a traffic jam, however, I did not forget to carry the luggage with me.
18	Pi	**:** *Nggih, kanjeng rame agung durmalih dane hikang nyarenging sane mangkin pengarse agung.*
		Yes, a noble spokesperson, and a group that accompanies you now.

In extract (2), Ph makes a humble request directed to Pi in the ritual of *Sorong Serah* meeting to accept his explanation of behalf of the groom's family. The utterance of Ph in Line 17 '*dewek titiang puniki matur wikan ritakale dewek puniki ligar saking negareng sakre*' (I must say that when I left from Sakra Village) is preparatory and intended to enable the addressee

Table 2

Supportive move of negative politeness

Sub-Strategy	Device Used	Realisation	Act Redresses
Preparator	Syntactic	Express preparing the act	Request, Suggestions

(Pi) to receive his request, "There was a traffic jam, however, I did not forget to carry the luggage with me". As shown in this utterance, the preparator may specify deductions of information such as 'I must inform that when I left from Sakra Village' or 'there is something I will notify', which at the same time serves to inform the addressee of subsequent requests.

Direct Strategies Used in Downgraders

The findings show that 'downgraders' contain sub-strategies such as understaters as shown in Table 3:

The *Pembayuns* used a softening device (shown in Extract 3), a form of downgrading, known as 'understater'. The device is characteristically manifested in non-quantifiable forms such as *sadidik* (a little). The Sasak language used '*semendak*' and '*sekedik'* (a short moment) where the speaker "underrepresented the state of affairs denoted in the proposition". Blum-Kulka et al. (1989) explained that it was used in order to soften the force of the illocutionary act being launched. The device is used commonly with acts such as requests and orders. Extract 3 illustrates the use of this sub-strategy.

Data 12:

13	Pi	: *Nggih, ampure, tiang sampun nunasan maring mamik, sanak, sampun niki jam 5 dawek yen pekayunan mangkin sadidik panegare dawekan wonten lami langing **dawek sadidik eling***

  Alright. I would like to apologise to the gentlemen present today. Now, it is five o'clock. Because we've been waiting for a long time, **it's good if you give us a little entertainment.**

14	Po	: *Singgih, yen sekadi puniku dadih pangandike jeng handike maring tapengan agung sani mangkin ngaturan **wantah-wantah sepisan puniku ugi***

  Well, if it is felt like that, as you have told us, we would now offer a little entertainment.

Pembayun Pi in this extract expresses the request that the other party takes some form of action, perhaps in the form of entertainment to while away some time while waiting, thus appearing to be somewhat of an imposition to the addressee. The illocutionary force of the utterance *'sadidik'* when softened is much weaker than it would have been. In fact, the *Pembayun* Pi exercised mild imposition in the form of a request targeted at the addressee *Pembayun*

Table 3

Downgraders strategy of negative politeness

Sub-Strategy	Device Used	Realisation	Act Redresses
Understater	Lexical	Sadidik	Request

Po. Except for the supposed justification in terms of unsymmetrical power distribution, the *Pembayun* Pi appears to assume more power at the point of this request. Even so, assuming the speaker does have more power, the threat of the imposing act to the addressee's face remains less severe as it would be if the power distribution is symmetrical or, even worse when reversed. The understater of the lexical '*sadidik*' as in Line 13 means that the addressee does not feel imposed upon.

Conventional Indirectness Strategies

Another type of negative politeness strategy utilised in the *Pembayuns* communication is recognisable as a kind of indirectness. Brown and Levinson (1987) referred to indirectness as any communicative behaviour that rendered more meaning than its literal meaning. The term 'conventional indirectness' has now been used to refer to the negative politeness strategy that combines the desire not to coerce the addressee (Kasper, 1990). This strategy is manifested in utterances that, by virtue of conventionalisation, have contextually unambiguous meanings, which differ from the meaning they literally render (Brown & Levinson, 1987). In this study, one mode of conventional indirectness is identified in the *Pembayuns*' communication with their interlocutors in the bride-kidnapping marriage rituals. The Conventional indirectness strategies shown in Table 4:

The *Pembayun* indirectly communicates certain FTAs, such as orders, requests, and suggestions by stating such acts as a general rule to be obeyed. This means that the speakers communicate indirectly by asserting what is generally held as a rule, a norm, a convention, or an obligation without making explicit what the addressee or the speaker has to do with it as shown below.

(4) Data 1:

35	Pi	: *Nggih dawek, muk olen dawek, pengonta sampun bareng isi kaen telungdase telu lembar dawek, jari ajin sewuita sak kenen suwita enampuluh enam dawek, **ye mule harge adat rage tiang enam puluh enam utami,** nunasan,*
		Yes, please. If the gift *olen* has been checked with the contents and containing thirty-three pieces of cloths, please ensure the price is sixty-six. That is the custom price agreed upon by you and me. Please explain this.
36	Ph	: *Singgih, nunas agung sinampure, dane-dane para pelinggih kerame sedaye pengemong kebaos saniwauh puniki, pare kauwal wargi kebaos sami sanak,*
		Yes, alright. I sincerely apologise to the audience, *adat* representatives (traditional leader), village chiefs and family leaders present today.

This reflects the *Pembayuns'* intent and efforts to separate both speakers and addressee from FTAs and to escape from potentially threatening the addressee by way of coercion. In this strategy, the speakers also appear to indicate that the act is conveyed not because of his intention to impinge on the addressee but some

Table 4

The conventional strategy of negative politeness

Sub-Strategy	Device Used	Realisation	Act Redresses
Stating the Act as a General Rule	Syntactic	Expression of a Convention	Request, Order, Suggestions, Forbidding

regulation or normative convention held by the community. The speakers may also convey the FTA by indicating that certain obligations have to be met in relation to a particular religious or customary (*adat*) activity. Extract 4 illustrates the use of this strategy.

The strategies shown in extract 4 are used by Pi to assert to the addressee that the act of requesting is conveyed because of the convention held by the community. Thus, the addressee has to accept the amount according to the usual convention. So, on the face of it, there is no mention that the speaker wants something out of the ordinary, nor is there any wording about the addressees wanting something exorbitant. In other words, FTAs are conveyed without associating the interlocutor with it and thereby without compelling the addressee to accept it. This means, there is no potential FTAs inflicted on the addressee.

CONCLUSION

Based on the findings above, this study concludes that Bride-Kidnapping is a cultural practice that is deeply rooted in culture. The families rely on their representatives, the *Pembayuns,* to ensure the family status, name and dignity is kept at all times. Findings also show the apparent use of negative politeness strategies used, particularly appealing strategy and softening strategies made up of the exchanges. In addition, the politeness strategies were also found, and a number of devices such as supportive moves, downgraders, and conventional indirectness devices were used throughout the negotiations.

The study explicates that in the Sasak culture, being polite is not motivated solely by the desire to save face but that these are moral demands in accordance with the cultural values of the community. In addition, the politeness strategies of the Sasak community does not conform only to the culture of that community but also reflects how cultural values and norms are embedded in the social activities of its people in which language acts as the vehicle for such activities. Finally, the notion of politeness and the strategies used to achieve the intent in communication are culture-bound and culture-specific.

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