

The Forms of Marriage in Manggarai Society

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ABSTRACT: *This study explores the forms of marriage in Manggarai society in view of social anthropology, a branch or subfield of anthropology which explores the relationship of society and culture aimed at understanding how a society as members of a social group live and how they make their lives meaningful. The study is descriptive in nature. The results of study show that the forms of marriage in Manggarai society are specific to Manggarai culture as the parent culture in which they are embedded. In terms of the patterns of relationship, the forms of marriage in Manggarai society are of three kinds involving cako, tungku, and cangkang. Both the cako marriage and the tungku marriage are identified as endogamous marriage, while the cangkang marriage is identified as exogamous marriage because the marriage occurs between a man and a woman of two different clans. Along with the dynamics of Manggarai society, there have been some changes in the forms of marriage. Both the cako marriage and the tungku marriage have been no longer practised in today's Manggarai society, except the cangkang marriage due to the increasingly widespread of Manggarai society.*

Key words: forms, marriage, Manggarai society

I. INTRODUCTION

It is widely recognized that different societies share different cultures. The differences is are due to the fact that every culture has its own ways in viewing and making sense of the world, including both the factual world and the symbolic world (Boas, 1962; Berger & Luckman, 1967; Schneider, 1976; Cassirer, 1978; Casson, 1981; Keesing, 1981; Wallace, 1981; Hall, 1997; Suriasumantri, 2001; Bustan & Kabelen, 2023; Bustan & Liunokas, 2019; Porat, 2021). The differences between cultures can be seen in the system of social organization, one of the main elements of culture which is concerned with a pattern of relationship among members of a society as members of a social group. The system of social organisation shared by a society has specific features in some respect to the parent culture in which it is embedded. The specific features are reflected in the system of kinship which is referred to as the culturally defined relationships between individuals who are commonly thought of as having family ties (Keesing, 1981; Ochs, 1988; Hornby, 1990; Koentjaraningrat, 1990; Koentjaraningrat, 1992; Birx, 2011; Bustan, 2016). It is noteworthy that the system of kinship is one of the main concerns of study in the field of social anthropology because it affects not only the social structure, but also the social life of a society as a whole. In terms of the patterns of relationship, the system of kinship can be classified into two basic kinds involving blood kinship which is established on the basis of blood ties and marriage kinship which is established on the basis of marriage ties (Koentjaraningrat, 1990; Koentjaraningrat, 1992).

This study explores the features of marriage kinship in Manggarai society as members of Manggarai ethnic group living and residing in the region of Manggarai that occupies the western part of the island of Flores in the province of East Nusa Tenggara, Indonesia (Bagul, 1997; Erb, 1999; Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2009; Bustan, 2016; Bustan et al., 2017; Bustan and Bire, 2018; Gunas et al., 2023; Bustan, et al., 2023). As marriage kinship is so complex that the study focuses on the forms of marriage applied in Manggarai society. We are interested in conducting the study for the reason that the forms of marriage in Manggarai society have specific features to Manggarai culture as the parent culture in which they are embedded (Sudikan, 2001; Kaplan & Manners, 1999; Boas, 1962). Another reason is that, as in other societies, the forms of marriage in Manggarai society decide who can marry with whom and where marital relationships are taboo or avoidance relationships and determine their rights and obligations (Koentjaraningrat, 1990; Koentjaraningrat, 1992; Sudikan, 2001; Koentjaraningrat, 2004; Lawang, 1999; Kaplan & Manners, 1999; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016). Due to the dynamics of Manggarai society in the last few decades, there have been some changes in Manggarai culture and the forms of marriage are not immune to the changes as well. This is also one of the reasons why we are interested in exploring the forms of marriage kinship in Manggarai society as the main concern of the study.

II. FRAMEWORK

This study is viewed from the perspective of social anthropology as the branch of anthropology which explores the relationship of both society and culture in an attempt to understand how a society as members of a social group live and how they make their lives meaningful (Cassirer, 1987; Suriasumantri, 2001; Birx, 2011). More specifically, in the perspective of social anthropology, the existence of a society as members of a social group is explored through the prism or lens of culture aimed at knowing the ways they view and make sense on their world (Cassirer, 1987; Koentjaraningrat, 1992; Kaplan & Manners, 1999; Kupper, 2008; Hogg & Abrams, 1988). As the term 'society' can be defined differently, in the perspective of social anthropology, society can be defined as an ethnic group. In line with this, according to Sudikan (2001) and Koentjaraningrat (1992), a society is identified as members of an ethnic group because they are bound by the awareness of the ownership of the same culture and which is often supported by the awareness of the ownership of the same language (Bustan, 2005). In this regard, language they employ is defined as the mirror of culture they share as it serves as the window of their world (Koentjaraningrat, 1992; Koentjaraningrat, 2004; Bustan, 2016) or the window into their minds (Yu, 2007; Goodenough, 1964). As the definition and significance of culture vary from school to school, according Ochs (1988), within the field of social anthropology, most approaches treat culture as in the following: (1) a system of implicit and explicit ideas that underlies and gives meaning to behavior in society, (2) a system of symbols and meanings, (3) premises that order and organize thought and feeling, and (4) a worldview of a society. The orientations of those approaches are realised in a number of cultural aspects, as reflected in such social behaviors as: (1) political, economic, religious, kinship relations, events, interactions, and institutions; (2) values; (3) conceptions of the world; and (4) theories of knowledge (Alshammari, 2018; Sudikan, 2001).

While in terms of its function, culture serves as the glue that binds them together and, at the same time, as the blue print that guides their patterns of behaviors. In addition to governing their patterns of behaviors, culture also makes them sensitive to matters of status, helps to know what others expect of them, and what will happen if they do not live up the expectations of others (Cassirer, 1987; Brown, 1994; Alshammari, 2018). As mentioned earlier, the functions of culture can be seen, for instance, in the system of social organisation. That is one of the main elements of culture which is concerned with a pattern of relationship among members of a society as members of a social group. Similar to other elements of culture, the system of social organisation shared by a society has specific features to the parent culture in which it is embedded. The specific features are reflected in kinship which refers to the culturally defined relationships between individuals who are commonly thought of as having family ties (Ochs, 1988; Keesing, 1981; Hornby, 1990; Koentjaraningrat, 1992; Birx, 2011; Bustan, 2016). More specifically, in terms of the patterns of relationship related to family ties, the system of

kinship shared by a society as members of a social group can be classified into two basic kinds, involving blood kinship and marriage kinship. Blood kinship is established on the basis of blood ties and marriage kinship which is established on the basis of marriage ties (Ochs, 1988; Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2016; Koentjaraningrat, 1990; Koentjaraningrat, 1992).

III. METHOD

This is a descriptive study as its aim is to describe the forms of marriage in Manggarai society on the basis of conceptualization ascribed in their cognitive map or cultural knowledge (Muhadjir, 1995; Palmer, 1996; Palmer & Farzad, 2007; Nusa Putera, 2011). The data were of two kinds, including the primary and the secondary data. Along with the process of acquiring the data, the procedures of research were field and library research. The field research was aimed at collecting the primary data dealing with the conceptualization of Manggarai society on the forms of marriage they apply. The field research was carried out in Ruteng as the capital city Manggarai regency as the main location. The data were obtained by using ethnographic approach, especially dialogic-ethnographic approach (Bernstein, 1972; Hymes, 1974; Gumperz, 1992; Spradley, 1997; Geertz, 1998; Duranti, 2001; Bustan, 2005). The main method of collecting the data was interview, involving direct interview and indirect interview mediated by using handphone. The interviews were done several times with five key informants representing Manggarai society selected on basis of ideal criteria proposed by Faisal (1990), Spradley (1997), Sudikan (2001), and Bungin (2007). The aim of the interviews was to distill the conceptualization ascribed and imprinted in their cognitive map or cultural knowledge regarding the forms of marriage in Manggarai society. In addition to recording, the techniques of collecting the data were elicitation and note taking. The library research was done to collect the secondary data relevant to the objectives of the study. The method of collecting the data was documentary study in which the documents used as the sources of reference were general documents (books) and special documents (scientific articles, results of research, paper). The collected data were then analyzed qualitatively by inductive method as the analysis was started from the data to concept or theory, that is a local-ideographic theory describing the forms of marriage in Manggarai society (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2016; Bungin, 2007; Sudikan, 2001; Nusa Putera, 2011).

IV. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

The results of study show that, in terms of the patterns of relationship, the forms of marriage in Manggarai society are of three kinds, including *cako*, *tungku*, and *cangkang* (Bagul, 1987; Lawang, 1999; Erb, 1999; Bustan, 2016).

The Cako Marriage

The *cako* marriage is the form of marriage between a man and a woman of the same clan which is known as *wa'u* in Manggarai language which is referred to as patilineal-genealogic clan (Verheijen, 1991; Bustan, 2016). As conceptualized in the cultural knowledge of Manggarai society, the aims of the *cako* marriage are twofold, that is (1) to enlarge the members of the *wa'u* as patilineal-genealogic clan and (2) to strengthen the power of the *wa'u* concerned due to having many offsprings. The aims are in line with the conceptualization ascribed and imprinted in the cognitive map of Manggarai society that the more members of the *wa'u* as patilineal-genealogic clan the stronger and the more respected them in the eyes of other clans (Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2016). On the basis of the customary rules that have been traditionally practiced by Manggarai society, the *cako* marriage is only allowed between a man of the *wae ka'e* 'the elder offspring' and a woman of the *wae ase* 'the younger of offspring' of the third layer above. As a result of the *cako* marriage, the social role and status of the *wae ka'e* as the elder offspring decrease as the *wae ka'e* acts wife-taking family which is known as *anak wina* in Manggarai language. In contrast, the social role and status of the *wae ase* as the younger offspring increase in

some respect as the *wae ase* acts as wife-giving family which is known as *anak rona* in Manggarai language (Bustan, 2005; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016).

As the two families have blood relationship as the members of the patilineal-genealogic clan, the request of dowry which is known as *paca* or *belis* in Manggarai language are not so strict. The basic reason is that, if the request of dowry from the *wae ase* as wife-giving family to the *wae ka'e* as wife-taking family is relatively high, then it is like hitting their own knees or cutting their own legs. The conceptualization is reflected in the verbal expression of Manggarai language, *tuku cala tu'us agu paki cala wa'i*. The verbal expression analogizes the relationship of both the *wae ase* as wife-giving family and the *wae ka'e* as wife-giving family as the relationship of knees 'tu'us' and legs 'wa'i' as the organs of the same human body (Bustan, 2016). This is because, as mentioned earlier, the two families are the members of the same *wa'u* as the patilineal-genealogic clan.

The deviation of the customary rule, say for example, the man of the *wae ase* as the younger offspring' marry the woman of the *wae ka'e* as the elder offspring is defined taboo in Manggarai society. This is because the deviation violates the harmony of social relationships between them as the members of the *wa'u* and the harmony of transcendental relationships with their ancestors as the first sources of the customary rules. In an attempt to maintain the harmony of social relationships in one side and the harmony of transcendental relationships on the other, the couples are sanctioned by terminating their love relationship or even excommunicating them from the membership of the *wa'u* and they are no longer acknowledged as the members of the *wa'u* for life (Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016). The *cako* marriage was the form of marriage mostly applied by Manggarai society in the past because one village was only inhabited by the members of one *wa'u* (Verheijen, 1991; Bustan, 2005). Because of the increasingly widespread of Manggarai society due to the extension of cross-cultural communication, however, the *cako* marriage is not longer practised in today's Manggarai society.

The *Tungku* Marriage

The *tungku* marriage is the form of marriage between a man, the son of *ego*'s sister, and a woman, the daughter of *ego*, aimed at reconnecting the relationship between the two families that has been broken due to the *cangkang* marriage. As conceptualized in the cognitive map or cultural knowledge of Manggarai society, the purpose of the *tungku* marriage is that the inheritance of properties belonging to the *ego*'s family and that of the *ego*'s sister still remains in the same extended family circle (Lawang, 1999; Bustan, Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016). In accordance with its purpose, therefore, the discussion of dowry in the *tungku* marriage is not the main concern of negotiation between the two families.

The procedure of the *tungku* marriage in Manggarai society is usually started by carrying out a special ritual known as *teing hang* in Manggarai language aimed at giving food for their ancestors at the initiative of the *ego*'s sister's family. After the ritual has been carried out, the family of the *ego*'s sister tell the *ego*'s family that the intention of their coming is also aimed at requesting the *tungku* marriage between the son of the *ego*'s sister and the the *ego*'s daughter. The request is conveyed in the verbal expression of Manggarai language, *inang olo, wote musu* that lexically means that 'the aunt in the front and the sister in-law in the back' (Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016). The verbal expression implies meaning that the the *ego*'s daughter is requested to live together with the *ego*'s sister as her aunt for a certain period of time in order to build a closeness of love with her son. If the love relationship between them is established, then the *tungku* marriage can be held, or conversely, if the son of the *ego*'s sister does not fall in love with the *ego*'s daughter, then the *ego*'s daughter must be escorted back to the *ego*'s house through a customary rule which is known as *pedeng roto* in Manggarai language. The verbal expression means that the escort of her the *ego*'s daughter back should be carried out traditionally by bringing a certain amount of money and a horse to convey an apology that the *tungku* marriage

cannot be held for the reason that their two children are not matchmakers. The *pedeng roto* makes the relationship between both the *ego*'s family and the family of the *ego*'s sister remain well established even though their two children are not married through the *tungku* marriage (Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016).

The deviation of the customary rule, say for example, the son of the *ego*'s marries the daughter of the *ego*'s sister is an avoidance relationship which is known as *wali elar* in Manggarai language meaning 'reversal relief'. The reason is that the deviation violates not only the harmony of social relationships between the *ego*'s family and the *ego*'s sister's family but also the harmony of transcendental relationship with their ancestors as the first sources of the customary rule. To maintain the relationships, the couples are sanctioned by terminating their love relationship or even excommunicating them and they are no longer acknowledged as the members of the children for life. In line with its aim, the *tungku* marriage was the form of marriage that Manggarai society longed for in the past. Due to the dynamics of Manggarai society, however, the *tungku* marriage has no longer practiced by Manggarai society nowadays. Another reason is that there is an appeal of the Catholic church in the region of Manggarai whose majority of the population embraced the Catholic religion not to conduct the *tungku* marriage as the two families have very close relations as brothers and sisters (Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016).

The *Cangkang* Marriage

The *cangkang* marriage is the form of marriage between a man and a woman of the two families that have no blood and marriage relationship before aimed at shaping a new marriage relationship between the two families. The aim is reflected in the verbal expression of Manggarai language, *tenung woe nelu* 'knitting marriage relationship', which is firstly conveyed by the spokesperson of the man's family in the proposal ceremony. Along with the lexical meanings of the words, the verbal expression means that the coming of the man's family as wife-taking family known as *anak wina* in Manggarai language to the woman's family as wife-giving family known as *anak rona* in Manggarai language is to knit marriage relationship (Lawang, 1999; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016).

As the two families involved as the main participants have no previously blood and marriage relationship, it is not surprising that the mechanisms of communication between them tend to be formal at a certain level. The mechanisms of communication can be clearly seen when they negotiate the number of dowry as the number of dowry for both money and animals such as horses and buffaloes requested by the *anak rona* as wife-giving family to the *anak wina* as wife-taking family tends to be relatively high. This is because, as conceptualized in the cognitive map of Manggarai society, being wife-giving family, the *anak rona* has privilege to request the number of dowry whether it is high or low to the *anak wina* as wife-taking family. The privilege of the *anak rona* as wife-giving family is reflected in the verbal expression of Manggarai language, *Deng eta kanang ata naun, deng wa kang ata naun*, that lexically means 'To fasten sarong above is still smart, to fasten sarong below is still smart'. The verbal expression appears in the form of a compound sentence made up of two independent clauses or complete sentences as its component parts. The two independent clauses or complete sentences as its component parts are as follows: (1) *Deng eta kanang ata naun* 'To fasten sarong above is still smart' and (2) *Deng wa kang ata naun* 'To fasten sarong below is still smart' (Fairclough, 2003; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016).

The privilege of the *anak rona* as wife-giving family to request high dowry to the *anak wina* as wife-taking family is reflected in the independent clause (1), *Deng eta kanang ata naun* 'To fasten sarong above is still smart'. More specifically, it is reflected in the word (adverb of place) *eta* 'above' in the verbal phrase, *deng eta* 'fasten above' that functions as the subject of the clause. Conversely, the privilege of the *anak rona* as wife-giving family to request low dowry is reflected in the independent clause (2), *Deng wa kang ata naun* 'To fasten sarong below is still smart'. More specifically, it is reflected in the word (adverb of place) *wa* 'below' in the verbal phrase, *deng wa* 'fasten below', that functions as the subject of the clause. The verbal expression

implies meaning of power relationship between both the *anak rona* as wife-giving family and the *anak wina* as wife-taking family (Fairclough, 2003; Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016).

Regardless such different privilege, it is worth noting that the *anak wina* as wife-taking family is still given opportunity to negotiate the number of dowry requested by the *anak rona* as wife-giving family. Many facts show that the process of negotiating the number of dowry for both money and animals such as horses and buffaloes takes hours until late at night and, if there is no agreement, the negotiation will be continued the next day. The *anak wina* as wife-taking family will try to negotiate in such way that an agreement with the *anak rona* as wife-taking family regarding the number of dowry for both money and animals such as horses and buffaloes will be achieved as expected. This is because, as conceptualized in the cognitive map of Manggarai society, it is not good for the *anak wina* as wife-taking family to go back home in vain, as reflected in the verbal expression of Manggarai language, *toe naun kope ba kole*, that lexically means 'it is not good to bring back machete'. The word (noun) *kope* 'machete' symbolizes male genitalia which refers to the candidate of the groom, while the word (noun) *bako* 'machete glove' symbolizes female genitalia which refers to the candidate of the bride (Bustan, 2006; Bustan, 2016).

The *cangkang* marriage is mostly practised in today's Manggarai society due to the extension of cross-cultural communication with those coming from different cultural backgrounds. The amount of dowry for both money and animals such as horses and buffaloes requested by the *anak rona* as wife-giving family to the *anak wina* as wife-taking family is still relatively high, but it is just for the sake of prestige for the woman's family, as reflected in the verbal expression of Manggarai language, *kudut pecing pa'ang ngaung musi*. This verbal expression lexically means that the *anak rona* as wife-giving family requests a relatively high amount of dowry to the *anak wina* as wife-taking family in order to be known by the people of the village as a whole. Whereas the method of payment is gradually because, as conceptualized in the cognitive map of the Manggarai society, the marriage relationship is not a moment but for life. The conceptualization is reflected in the verbal expression of Manggarai language, *ai bom neho salang tuak salang wae, ngong wae teku tedeng*, that implies meaning that the marriage relationship is not like tapping liquor that doesn't run continuously (*bom neho salang tuak salang wae*) as the run of water from its source that is continuously tapped from time to time (*salang wae, ngong wae teku tedeng*) (Bustan, 2016).

It is worth noting that one of the interesting social phenomena in today's Manggarai society is that the amount of dowry is considered along with the level of education that a woman has attained. One obvious example is that if a woman has a medical doctor education, the dowry is relatively very high. The underlying reason is that the process of getting medical doctor education costs so much money from the very beginning. This is one of the controversial issues among members of Manggarai society because such a social phenomenon shows the commercialization of woman which leads to harassment and degradation of woman's dignity as human beings.

CONCLUSION

The features of marriage kinship in Manggarai society are specific to Manggarai culture, as reflected in the forms of marriage that include *tungku*, *cako*, and *cangkang*. The *cako* marriage is the form of marriage between a man and a woman of the same *wa'u* as patilineal-genealogic clan. The *cako* marriage is only allowed between a man of the *wae ka'e* 'the elder offspring' and a woman of the *wae ase* 'the younger of offspring' of the third layer above. Due to the *cako* marriage, the social role and status of the *wae ka'e* decrease, while those of the *wae ase* increase. As the two families have blood relationship, the request of dowry are not so strict as it is like hitting their own knees or cutting their own legs. The deviation of the customary rule is forbidden as it violates the harmony of social relationships and that of transcendental relationships with their ancestors. The *cako* marriage was the form of marriage mostly applied by Manggarai society in the past as one village was only inhabited by one *wa'u*. Due to increasingly widespread of Manggarai society, the *cako* marriage is no longer

practised nowadays. The *tungku* marriage is the form of marriage between the son of the *ego*'s sister and the daughter of the *ego* aimed at reconnecting the relationship that has been previously broken due to the *cangkang* marriage and, as such, the inheritance of property remains in the same extended family circle. The dowry is not the main concern of negotiation as the two families are of the same clan. The deviation of the customary rule is forbidden as it violates not only the harmony of social relationships between the brother's family and the sister's family but also the harmony of transcendental relationships with their ancestors. The *tungku* marriage was the form of marriage that Manggarai society longed for in the past, but it is no longer practised nowadays. The *cangkang* marriage is the form of marriage between a man and a woman of two families that have no marriage relationship before aimed at shaping a new marriage relationship between them. The number of dowry for both money and animals such as horses and buffaloes requested by the *anak rona* as wife-giving family to the *anak wina* as wife-taking family tends to be relatively high. Being wife-giving family, the *anak rona* has privilege to request the number of dowry whether it is high or low. The *cangkang* marriage is mostly practised by Manggarai society nowadays due to their extension of cross-cultural communication with the members of societies coming from different cultural background. However, an interesting social phenomena occurring in today's Manggarai society is that the amount of dowry is considered along with the level of education of woman that leads to the commercialization of woman.

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